

We would like to inform our readers that from 1992 our periodical ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES will be published semi-annually in journal form rather than annually in book form. The conception of our journal, however, will not undergo any major changes.

The Editors

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The editors bear no responsibility whatsoever for the views expressed by the contributors to this journal.

## ARTICLES

### THE BIBLE AND CHINESE LITERATURE AS SEEN FROM THE ANGLE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION\*

Marián GÁLIK, Bratislava

This study concentrates upon the reception of *The Bible* in China from the end of the sixteenth century up to the present, showing the many undesirable misunderstandings and distortions in the new milieu.

*The Bible* certainly was and still is the most read book in world literature and very probably the one which has had the greatest impact in the last two millennia. In any case this holds for the whole Western Christian world but through the communication channels in the last centuries, *The Bible* has become quite widespread in many different countries of Asian and African continents and elsewhere, being read by the converts and believers in non-Christian religions, and even atheists.

1

A well-known book by Jacques Gernet *China and the Christian Impact* has as its subtitle *A Conflict of Cultures*. Its subject are the last years of the sixteenth and greater part of the seventeenth centuries. As follows from the *Introduction* to this book, if "Christianity found little success in China, if it was the object of violent attacks it could only be for reasons that reflected poorly on the Chinese. Christianity was a religion that changed customs, called into question accepted ideas and, above all, threatened to undermine existing situations. Attention has been drawn to the jealousy of the Buddhist monks, who regarded the missionaries as dangerous competitors, the resentment of the employees and mandarins of the astronomical service at finding themselves supplanted by the Jesuit mathematicians introduced at court, the rivalry between the missionaries and the Chinese men of letters in respect of their authority over the common people and the connection established between the missionaries' evangelical efforts and threats to China from outside."<sup>1</sup>

\* This paper was supported by Grant agency: grant No. 999 351.

<sup>1</sup> GERNET, J.: *China and the Christian Impact. A Conflict of Cultures*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1990, p. 1.

European Christianity, or exactly Catholicism, came into China with Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in 1583.<sup>2</sup> He and the Jesuit fathers had been quite successful in their work, especially in spreading Western mathematical, astronomical (mostly pre-Galilean) and technical knowledge in China, but did not persuade the Chinese intelligentsia about their Christian truths due to many reasons.

Jesuit missionaries, some of them of really towering stature like M. Ricci, Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) and many their *confrères*, had great impact among the Chinese and European intelligentsia, but they could not be proud of many conversions. Their mathematical and astronomical knowledge was admired by many Chinese experts, even in the court, both of Ming and Qing dynasties, but not always their Christian teachings. For the first time in the history, European missionaries, after the division of the world by the papal authority between Portuguese and Spaniards, they met the “heathens” with such high intellectual and philosophical niveau, and so different in their substance from Europeans and the inhabitants of the Near and Middle East. Jesuit Fathers were humanist representatives of Christianity and they were extremely adaptable to the indigenous conditions. Matteo Ricci could boast of relatively correct knowledge of written and spoken Chinese, his learning by heart “the *Four Books* of the sect (sic!) of Confucius”, his knowledge of mathematics and the curious objects he brought with him (clocks, religious paintings, Western books, etc.), his talents in alchemy, and his Christian teachings. He did not forget to regret that those Chinese “who come for the last reason are the least numerous.”<sup>3</sup>

Ricci and his followers came to China with the vision of St. Francis Xavier: China was for the Jesuit Fathers a door to the whole Far East. At first the companions of Ricci wore the plain gray robes of Buddhist monks which later they changed for silk garments of Confucian scholars. Scholars were for him, his fellows and successors something similar to the angels parading on Jacob’s ladder. Jacob, one of the Hebrew patriarchs, saw a ladder “set up on the earth and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.”<sup>4</sup>

Although Ricci never saw the emperor Wanli (reigned 1573–1620), the most liberal of all Ming rulers, Adam Schall von Bell had an access to the young emperor Shunzhi (reigned 1644–1662), who even used to call him “Ma-fa” that in Manchu means “Honourable Father”, not because of his cleri-

<sup>2</sup> In reality there were Christian Nestorians during the Tang dynasty around 781 A.D. and later during the Mongol rule in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Chinese territories, but they were probably not Chinese themselves with the exception of several thousands of Roman Catholics in Southern China around 1328. The “Black Death” in the years 1348–1350 caused the shortage of clergy even in Europe and for about 70 years no missionaries were sent to China, or those sent there, never reached it.

<sup>3</sup> GERNET, J.: *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Genesis*, 28, 12.

cal status but due to his deep respect.<sup>5</sup> This, of course, did not make him immune from his enemies and during Shunzhi’s successor Kangxi (reigned 1662–1722), the greatest among Qing emperors, he was sentenced to death, although later pardoned. Ferdinand Verbiest’s success was even greater during the long reign of the same Kangxi. Not only his knowledge of astronomy but also of engineering has been fully used and he was a steady companion of the indefatigable emperor. The higher was his and his friends position on the ladder, the deeper was the fall of Christianity later. In the so-called Rites Controversy concerned mainly with the worship of the ancestors and of Confucius (and with some portion of Jesuit religious teaching), Jesuits had only two possibilities: to agree with Rome and to fight customs most dear to the Chinese, or to comply with the court in Peking and literati, to proceed in the way of doctrinal and practical accommodation to the tastes and the minds of Chinese intellectuals.

Both ways were problematic for the members of *Societatis Jesu*, although Pope’s decision from the year 1704 meant the end of Jesuit practices in China. In 1706 Kangxi allowed Christian missionaries to follow either the “practices of Ricci” or to leave China.<sup>6</sup> This order was not completely fulfilled and Kangxi remained in friendly relations with Jesuit Fathers.

Rites Controversy was similar to the sword of Damocles. It never fell upon the heads of Catholic missionaries in China with its full weight, but the papal constitutions *Ex illa die* and *Ex quo singulari* with their strictures and prescription of an oath for all Roman Catholic missionaries not to follow just the way of Ricci, meant an end of Xavier’s and Ricci’s visions. In Jacob’s famous dream God promised that his seed “shall be as the dust of the earth” and that Jacob through his seed will “spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south...”<sup>7</sup> The vision of Jesuit missionaries proved to be the *fata morgana* after the two encyclics just mentioned, but not only due to them. The soil of the Middle Kingdom was too arid and their seed did germinate with only negligible results or was exterminated later.

## 2

Matteo Ricci when trying to persuade the Chinese literary elite about the Christian truths as compatible with the indigenous truths of the Confucianists had to begin with the most basic notions of Christianity (and partly, of course, of the Jewish traditions, too): “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,”<sup>8</sup> we read in the first sentence of the *Genesis*. Already here the difficulties arose. The Chinese were always quite sure that the world (or

<sup>5</sup> TREADGOLD, D.W.: *The West in Russia and China. Religious and Secular Thought in Modern Times*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, At the University Press 1973, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Genesis*, 28, 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 1.



cosmos) was never created; it came into being by the action of the uncreated primordial energy called *Dao* (as taught by Taoists) or *Taiji* (Great Ultimate or Supreme Ultimate). The second was the teaching of Neo-Confucianists, but nearly wholly "stolen" from the religious Taoism.<sup>9</sup> According to the second, the Great Ultimate is the same as Ultimateless (*Wuji*) and "through movement (*dong*) produces the *yang* (male principle, M.G.). This movement, having reached its limit, is followed by quiescence (*jing*), and by this quiescence it produces the *yin* (female principle, M.G.). When quiescence has reached its limits, there is return to movement. Thus movement and quiescence, in alternation, become each the source of the other."<sup>10</sup> Then through the transformation and union of both *yang* and *yin*, water, fire, wood, metal and earth are produced. These then further produce all things in the universe. It is the same as in Laozi's *Daode jing*:

"The way (i.e., *Dao*, M.G.) begets one; one begets two, two begets three; three begets the myriad creatures.

The myriad creatures carry on their backs the *yin* and embrace in their arms the *yang* and are the blending of the generative forces."<sup>11</sup>

According to Ricci *Taiji* is either an "abstract concept", or if it is "the first, substantial, intelligent and infinite principle, we should agree to call it God and none other."<sup>12</sup>

The Chinese intellectuals and Jesuit Fathers could not understand each other. The prevalent anthropomorphic view of God (did not God say: "Let us make man in our image and our likeness"<sup>13</sup>), could not persuade the opponents who thought about God differently. That principle or principles for the mechanism of creation-transformation (*zaohua*) could not be God (or Master of Heaven - *Tianzhu* in Ricci's terminology)<sup>14</sup> who allegedly created the world in six days and on seventh day he rested "from all his work which he had made."<sup>15</sup> Matteo Ricci in his most representative book *Tianzhu shiyi* (*The True Meaning of the Master of Heaven*) used the arguments concerned with Aristotle's four causes "explaining that God is the supreme, efficient and final cause."<sup>16</sup> Many Chinese literati of that time and probably many educated Christians of our days would agree with Martin Heidegger who in one of his lectures said: "God can in the light of causality sink to the level of a cause,

<sup>9</sup> FUNG YU-LAN: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1953, pp. 435-451.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 435-437.

<sup>11</sup> *Tao Te Ching*. Transl. by D.C. Lau. Hong Kong. The Chinese University of Hong Kong 1982, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> This is from a letter written by Ricci to the General of the Jesuits in 1604 and quoted according to GERNET, J.: *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>13</sup> *Genesis*, 1, 26.

<sup>14</sup> GERNET, J.: *op. cit.*, pp. 26 and 115 and TREADGOLD, D.W.: *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Genesis*, 2, 2.

<sup>16</sup> GERNET, J.: *op. cit.*, pp. 209 and 243.

a *causa efficiens*",<sup>17</sup> and then he allegedly added something like following: "If you want to prove God's existence by way of any of the traditional proofs, whether ontological, cosmological, teleological, ethical, and so on, you thereby belittle Him, since God is something like the *tao*, which is ineffable."<sup>18</sup>

The concept of Heaven did not represent less difficulty. Heaven (*tian*) according to the Chinese understanding is different from relatively simple Christian concept of heaven as abode of God, angels, saints and those who entered it after the virtuous or penitential life on the earth. Chinese Heaven manifests a non-anthropomorphic holder of power which is partly divine, partly natural and cosmic. It presents the order whose divinity is in its fateful lot (a bit similar to the Greco-Roman or Nordic understanding of Fate), but also whose natural mission is to direct seasonal life, plant cycles, the weather, agricultural activities very important for the country like China. The Heaven of Chinese Confucianists was not the highest, quasi personal realization of this order, but a completely un-personal and un-psychical entity that is active and silent because the "Heaven does not speak".<sup>19</sup> The attitude of the Taoists to this special deity was very similar: "Heaven and earth are ruthless, and treat the myriad creatures as straw dogs."<sup>20</sup>

Adam Schall von Bell in his *Zhuzhi qunzheng* (Countless Proofs that the Master of Heaven Governs the World) tried in vain to persuade the Chinese to believe that the biblical God was the creator of all things inclusive the *Taiji*, the *yang* and the *yin*.<sup>21</sup> While he stressed to believe, the Chinese tried only to understand.

The same difference between the Christian and Chinese concepts seen in relation to the creation and Heaven held true also in relation to God. It was even worse for Roman Catholics where some of the *New Testament* teachings were concerned. The Chinese could not understand or found it only very difficult to accept the teaching of Christ's incarnation, the dogma upon which the Christianity and in any case the Catholicism is founded. And if they acknowledged it, then only *privatissime*, never in their literary or philosophical work. According to J. Gernet "the seventeenth-century Chinese Christians never make any allusions to Jesus in their writings, limiting themselves to paying homage to the Sovereign on High, or *shangdi*."<sup>22</sup> *Shangdi* was originally a highest "deity" of the Shang-Yin dynasty (1766-1154 B.C.), a divine projection of their royal ancestor, deceased sovereign, and Ricci used design him as an equivalent to the biblical God. The "heathen" Chinese have seen usually in

<sup>17</sup> HSIAO, Paul Shih-yi: *Heidegger and Our Translation of the Tao Te Ching*. In: PARKES, G. (ed.): *Heidegger and Asian Thought*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1990, p. 98.

<sup>18</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> These are the words of Mencius (ca. 372-ca. 289). See LEGGE, J.: *The Chinese Classics*. Vols 1 and 2. Taipei reprint 1969, p. 355.

<sup>20</sup> *Tao Te Ching* (Lau's translation), p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> GERNET, J.: *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.



Christ "a criminal of a Western Kingdom in the Han Period",<sup>23</sup> or a "criminal who has transgressed the laws..."<sup>24</sup> One of those Chinese, Yang Guangxian (1597-1669), who was jealous of Jesuits because they were much better than him in astronomy and mathematics, was on the other hand right when he remarked about Fathers: "Why do they say nothing of the way that he died nailed down?"<sup>25</sup> It is true that Jesuits in China never spread their teaching with *Crucifixi dolorosi* in their hands and Ricci in his book *The True Meaning of the Master of Heaven* deliberately did not mention the mysteries of the Christian faith in order not to frighten the educated Chinese. He mentions Jesus' coming but not his death and resurrection, although he knew very well the teaching of St. Paul that "if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain."<sup>26</sup>

Much bad feeling among the Chinese literati and Buddhists bred the Christian idea of original sin and the doctrine of divine perfection. They had in vain pondered over the contradiction between the high moral qualities of God and the reality or existence of bad spirits (like devils) and bad men created by him. Why was God so cruel and trapped Adam and Eve into the net in the Eden just for eating one piece of the "fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden."<sup>27</sup> God expelled them from this earthly Paradise and made all humankind suffer for a negligible transgression. Xu Dashou (flowered around 1630s), expert also in Buddhism, in his work *Zuopi* (The Aid to Refutation), left posterity his conversations with Father Giulio Aleni (1582-1649), in which he wrote that contrary to the Master of Heaven, Buddhism "shows a true compassion, for it seeks to save even the worst criminals, whereas the Barbarians say that once one has fallen into hell, one remains shut there for all eternity."<sup>28</sup>

When West European and Chinese culture met at the end of the sixteenth and during two next centuries, it was really a conflict of cultures. For the first time in history two religiously, philosophically and linguistically very different worlds came into contact as mentioned earlier.

The pioneers in this field of research were three: Marcel Granet with his *La Pensée chinoise* from the year 1934, Joseph Needham with his article *Human Laws and Laws of Nature in China and the West* published in 1951 and a part of his monumental work entitled *Science and Civilization in China*,

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>26</sup> I. Corinthians, 15, 14.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Genesis, 3, 1-14 and GERNET, J.: op. cit., p. 236.

<sup>28</sup> GERNET, J.: op. cit., pp. 236, also 12 and 295. More on the problem of the relation of the Chinese intellectuals to Christianity see also: LEE, Thomas H.C.: *Christianity and Chinese Intellectuals: From the Chinese Point of View*. In: LEE, Thomas H.C. (ed.): *China and Europe. Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 1991, pp. 1-27.

Vol. 2, with the part concerned with the associative or correlative thinking that appeared in 1956, and Arthur F. Wright with his seminal study *The Chinese Language and Foreign Ideas* from the year 1953. All these three erudites stressed the linguistic differences between Chinese and other languages and Wright has shown that the "proponents of foreign ideas - whether they were Chinese or foreigners - have recognized that the Chinese language was a singularly intractable medium for the expression of their ideas. Many felt that the language by its nature and structure, inevitably distorted or deformed the foreign ideas expressed in it."<sup>29</sup> It was caused not only because the ideas from inflected polysyllabic languages came (were translated or transposed) into the uninflected, isolating language, but also due to the fact that the Chinese characters (signs) had a "wide range of meanings accumulated in the long history of the language plus a still wider range of allusive meanings derived from their use in a richly developed literary tradition."<sup>30</sup> This was, of course, an excellent medium for poetry, prose and fiction but not for the philosophy and even not for religion. The term *shangdi* was very misleading for biblical God in Chinese, as Dainichi (in reality Mahavairocana)<sup>31</sup> for just the same in Japanese.

Another scholar who made an excellent contribution in this field of study was Frederick W. Mote in his article *The Cosmological Gulf Between China and the West*. His research goes back to the basic assumptions concerning the Chinese and European *Weltanschauungen* as reflected in their different mythological and cosmological notions. The non-existence of the divine creator *ex nihilo* in Chinese indigenous tradition (with the exception of Pangu that was of Indian and in any case of alien origin) is here underlined.<sup>32</sup> If God is not the *causa activa* in creating the world, the *causa essendi* is hidden somewhere else, and Joseph Needham has shown it when reconstructing the "philosophy of organicism", where the world in the Chinese eyes (the educated Chinese intellectuals are meant) is "an ordered harmony of will without an ordainer".<sup>33</sup> The Chinese always admitted the existence of spiritual beings but

<sup>29</sup> WRIGHT, A.F.: *The Chinese Language and Foreign Ideas*. In: Wright, A.F. (ed.): *Studies in Chinese Thought*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1953, pp. 286-287.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. ibid., p. 289. In *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, compiled by William Edward Soothill, Taipei reprint 1973, p. 90 is Dainichi identified as the "chief object of worship of the Shingon sect in Japan". We may imagine what could have followed in the minds of the Japanese converts after their conscious or unconscious identification of Dainichi with Christian God.

<sup>32</sup> MOTE, Fr. W.: *The Cosmological Gulf Between China and the West*. In: BUXBAUM, D.C. and MOTE, Fr. W. (eds.): *Transition and Permanence. Chinese History and Culture. A Festschrift in Honor of Dr. Hsiao Kung-ch'uan*. Hong Kong, Cathay Press Ltd. 1972, p. 7. Cf. also BODDE, D.: *Myths of Ancient China*. In: KRAMER, S.N.: *Mythologies of Ancient World*. New York, Anchor Books 1961, pp. 367-408.

<sup>33</sup> NEEDHAM, J. with the assistance of WANG LING: *Science and Civilization in China*. Vol. 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1956, p. 287. Revised version of this study ap-

only as a once part of normal human life who became such after the death. It changed somewhat after the impact of Buddhism and its belief in transmigration of souls and *karma*.<sup>34</sup> There were some lesser gods in China in different social and religious levels, but their significance was negligible, and there even primitive polytheism in comparison with other non-Chinese societies, was something different and more or less meaningless.

The different character of Chinese cosmology had more or less an impact more or less in all spheres of life. E.g. the laws important for all human societies with some niveau of development, were in China never sanctified by divine authority;<sup>35</sup> church and state were always separated, the Chinese cared much more, if not fully, for the life here on the earth and not beyond. This, of course, held true for the Chinese elites, and they were in China "salt" and "light" of the world.

3

After the Jesuit humanists left the scene (and it was obligatory after the abolition of the Society of Jesus in 1773), the fundamentalist Protestants slowly fulfilled the vacuum after 1807. While the first were hypostasis of Renaissance humanism and European sciences, and the *Gospel* was the last book the content of which they tried to preach in front of Chinese Confucianists, these uneducated Christian pietists were for the most part ethnocentric Europeans, full of contempt for ordinary Chinese to whom mostly they have little access with the exception of "rice Christians" who were prepared for or even received baptism. For these the *Bible* was the first and last authority and they fully believed in its omnipotence. Ignorant preachers of the *Bible*, often completely in despair for the paucity of conversions, were even dumping "water-tight crates of Bible in Chinese translations into the ocean near the China coast, hoping they would float ashore, be opened and read..."<sup>36</sup>

Nobody knows the ending of this kind of catch, but after nearly of half a century with few conversions, there came at the beginning of the 1850s an un-dreamed success in the Taiping tianguo (Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace). This sort of Christianity may be compared to new Leviathan, the old enemy of God from the *Old Testament*, dragon of the sea, whose heads were broken to pieces by God.<sup>37</sup> To some extent this Leviathan has been a product of the fundamentalist Protestantism. Hong Xiuquan (1813–1864), in future the most important leader of Taiping rebels, somehow came to nine tracts entitled

peared as *Human Law and the Laws of Nature*. In: NEEDHAM, J.: *The Grand Titration, Science and Society in East and West*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd 1969, pp. 299–331.

<sup>34</sup> MOTE, Fr.W.: op. cit., p. 12. *Karma* is a *terminus technicus* for moral action (good or bad) causing the future retribution after death, i.e. during the following transmigration.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 15 and the whole above mentioned study by J. Needham.

<sup>36</sup> TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>37</sup> *Psalms*, 74, 14.

*Quanshi liangyan* (Good Words to Admonish Age), whose author was Liang Afa, a disciple of Robert Morrison (1782–1834), the first Protestant missionary in China.<sup>38</sup> Much of these tracts were written on the basis of Morrison's translation of the *Bible* published in 1823. Hong, who was mentally ill, had allegedly several visions, where he found that he himself was a son of the Heavenly father and the younger brother of Jesus Christ. Following the order of God, he had driven all the demons out of the Heaven. Later the God (*Shangdi* in his nomenclature) commanded him to drive the devils out of the earth.

The devils on the earth were synonymous with Confucian gentry and rich Chinese. After he and his cousin mutually baptized each other, Hong received more Christian education from the Baptist missionary Issachar J. Roberts.<sup>39</sup> Having the elementary biblical knowledge and being quite sure about his divine mission, he launched a rebellion and proclaimed himself *tianwang* (Heavenly King). The history of this kingdom lasted thirteen years, less than that of the Nazist empire, but it was equally cruel and disastrous: it cost the lives of about thirty million of people. Its "Christianity" was peculiar. The Taipings took over the idea of the Father and Holy Spirit from the Trinity; Christ was a *Salvator mundi*, although he was not "the only begotten"<sup>40</sup> son; the idea of sin was accepted (but not always that of "original sin" which seems to be irrational for Chinese as shown above), then the keeping of the Sabbath and Moses' Ten Commandments. The Taipings did not have the priesthood (as this was unknown to the Chinese in the history) and the sacrament of Eucharist, they identified more or less religion with ethics.<sup>41</sup>

Primitive Christian and egalitarian ideology became only a façade behind which the mutual misunderstanding between Taipings, totalitarian régime, mass butchery of the devils among themselves completely dominated the arena. The armies led by Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), an ingenious Confucian leader, and the "Ever Victorious Army" led by two Anglo-American Christians – Frederick T. Ward and Charles George Gordon – completely destroyed the "New Jerusalem" (or the "New Babylon") of the Taipings.

Fundamentalist Protestants did not grow wiser after this terrible experience. Probably they never did comprehend the measure of their own fault in Taiping's experiment and if they did, they never acknowledged it. There were some exceptions among them like Timothy Richard (1845–1919) who tried to go the way of Ricci's followers. He succeeded in gaining support of the Chinese intellectuals during the Hundred Reforms in 1898, which was not too

<sup>38</sup> TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>40</sup> *St. John*, 1, 14.

<sup>41</sup> TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., pp. 49–53. Very good article on the "Christianity" of Taipings appeared recently in the *Social Sciences in China*, 1, 1993, pp. 85–97 by Xia Chuntao under the title *Changes in Attitude of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Towards the Bible*, where new materials were presented and opinions elucidated.

much, but it was a beginning. Allegedly for him, it was wrong to think that Confucianism and Christianity are either identical or antagonistic to each other; between them there should be harmony and mutual regard.<sup>42</sup> If this assertion is true we have to regard him as an herald of modern intercultural communication and understanding.

The Protestant modernists had much bigger success in Chinese society. This movement was introduced into China around 1900 and later. It was connected more with American than European missionaries, although Europeans were probably its best theoreticians. For the Chinese intellectuals the "social gospel" it brought and disseminated there, was very important, and what is interesting, both for Protestantism and for Marxism in China was typical its pragmatic, instrumental message: new ideology, whether Christian or atheist, as a means for social and political action. Christian modernists were liberal, different translations of the *Bible* in Chinese were at the disposal of the Chinese intellectuals even ordinary people. The modernists were not interested with the theological but only with practical and social aspects of its contemporary interpretation. Christian socialism was one of the slogans of the day. The results seemed to be quite impressive: the first president of the Republic of China Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) lived and died as a Christian.

4

The Chinese men of letters reached after the *Bible* as a source of inspiration or an object of creative and critical *Auseinandersetzung* only in the time around the May Fourth Movement 1919. In the era of Protestant fundamentalists the old principles of Confucianism prevailed: the ideology was firmly in the hands of the traditionalists who were conservative, i.e. all fields of spiritual culture should be loyal to the basic Chinese values, and only practical side, some improvements in material culture, could be influenced by or taken from the Euro-American world. In the era of Protestant modernists this *tiyong* formula, i.e. Chinese values as the fundamental structure *ti* and Western achievements for practical use *yong*, has already been discredited. The Chinese understood that the building of the new spiritual and material culture should go hand in hand. At first this impact of Western and Christian ideas was seen in the realm of religion or philosophy, like in the works of Kang Youwei (1858–1927), Liang Qichao (1873–1929) or Tan Sitong (1865–1898); literature came later and hardly before Lu Xun (1881–1936).

It seems that Lu Xun read the *Old Testament* with Ernst Haeckel's (1834–1919) *Die Welträtsel* (*The Riddle of the Universe*) in hand.<sup>43</sup> Since there was

<sup>42</sup> TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., p. 212.

<sup>43</sup> According to *Lu Xun shou ji he zangshu mulu* A Catalogue of Books in Lu Xun's Private Library. Vol. 3. Philosophy Section. Peking 1959, p. 1, Lu Xun owned Haeckel's *Die Welträtsel*. *Gemeinverständliche Studien über die monistische Philosophie*. Stuttgart, A. Kröner 1903.

not much sympathy in Haeckel's mind towards many assertions of the *Bible*, Lu Xun's attitude was similar. As a young scholar in the year 1907 he wrote one of his most important essays entitled *Ren zhi lishi* (*The History of Man*)<sup>44</sup> which should point out his understanding of the interpretation of the monistic approach to the Haeckelian phylogeny. He, of course, gave preference not to biblical explanations, not to belief but to reason, and followed closely Haeckel's and later arguments. From Lu Xun's arguments it is clear that Qu Yuan (ca. 340–278 B.C.) should be more clever than Moses because of his sceptical attitude to the ancient myths, when he asked in his *Tianwen* (*Questions to Heaven*): "When the Great Turtle walks along with an island on his back, how does it keep steady?"<sup>45</sup> In another study (and most famous in his young age) called *Moluo shili shuo* (*On Satanic Power of Poetry*), Lu Xun took side with Byron's Lucifer and Cain against the biblical God.<sup>46</sup>

Lu Xun was surely one of the first Chinese intellectuals who regarded Jesus Christ (together with Socrates) as a great man in the history of mankind and criticized those who condemned deed for which they both should die.<sup>47</sup> This admiration we may see in his poem in prose *Fuchou* (*qi er*) *Revenge* (II), where he delineated Jesus on the cross. It is addressed to him as a son of man but not the Son of God.<sup>48</sup> Lu Xun was much more critical towards God the Father.<sup>49</sup> Where Jesus is concerned, maybe the impact of Friedrich Nietzsche was involved, "whom he (i.e. Nietzsche, M.G.) respected",<sup>50</sup> while repudiating the faith in him as Christ and *Redemptor mundi*.

Another famous man of letters, Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), one of the fathers of Chinese revolution around 1919 and the Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party in the years 1921–1927, in 1920 highly evaluated the

<sup>44</sup> *Lu Xun quanji* The Complete Works of Lu Xun. Vol. 1. Peking 1973, pp. 13–23. Henceforth only *LXQJ*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14 and *T'ien Wen* *The Heavenly Questions*. In: *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of The South*. Transl. by D. Hawkes. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press 1959, p. 51.

<sup>46</sup> *LXQJ*. Vol. 1, pp. 72–74.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48. Here Lu Xun writes: "Those who praise the majority (in relation to the individuals or to minority in human society, M.G.) and revere it like the gods, they see only its bright aspects, they do not look at its other aspects, and therefore they admire it. If they could also see its dark sides, they would realize their faults. One case was that of Socrates who was poisoned by the Greek crowd, and another that of Jesus Christ, whom the Jewish masses crucified. The writers of later generations condemned these deeds, yet, they were executed according to the will of the people."

<sup>48</sup> *LXQJ*, Vol. 1, pp. 478–481.

<sup>49</sup> See *Tantande xuelan zhong* *Amid Pale Bloodstains*. In: *LXQJ*, Vol. 1, pp. 534–535 and *Selected Works of Lu Xun*. Vol. 1, Peking 1956, pp. 358–359.

<sup>50</sup> KAUFMANN, W.: *Nietzsche. Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist*. Cleveland, The World Publishing Company 1966, p. 288.



life and teachings of Jesus.<sup>51</sup> In Christian teachings (but not in the church institutions), according to Lee Feigon "Chen claimed... to see the kind of purity of intention and ideals that he had long felt very essential ingredients for motivating the Chinese people. Because of Christianity, he said, Westerners emphasize beauty, religion and pure feelings, while Chinese culture stressed only outer feelings and moral doctrine."<sup>52</sup> Contemporary Christianity was very much connected with militarism and imperialism and he tried to find support from those Christians who had a sympathy for his socialist and even communist ideas of that time.

Zhu Zhixin (1885-1920), a faithful socialist and Marxist follower of the first Chinese Christian President, wrote the essay entitled *Yesu shi shenmo dongxi* (What a Creature Was Jesus?). Here he tried to show the "trustworthy records"<sup>53</sup> concerned with Jesus as being an illegitimate child of his mother and a foreign soldier serving in the Roman army. He took this and some other assertions from the same book by Haeckel,<sup>54</sup> as Lu Xun. Jesus was a rebel like many bandits in Chinese history. Another source of information was a booklet by the Japanese anarchist and writer Kotoku Shusui (1871-1911) which appeared later in Chinese translation as *Jidu mosha lun* (On the Obliteration of Christ), according to whom Christianity is a phallic cult and the cross a phallic symbol.<sup>55</sup> If Jesus is comparable to the Chinese charlatans, magicians and rebels, but his teachings are in the view of Zhu Zhixin, of high value, the idea of equality, all-embracing love, love to one's neighbour, are nothing new, they are only the instructions handed down to us from ancient times.<sup>56</sup> Christ's teaching was nice, but his character, just as that of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), was that of *kuangmiu*<sup>57</sup> wild maniac. As a proof of this assertion he gives one of his parables about ten virgins and a story concerned with Jesus' cursing of the fruitless fig tree. Zhu says that the first is an example of Christ's and Christianity's *zili* selfishness and the second one of *fuchou* revenge.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>51</sup> CHEN DUXIU: *Jidujiao yu jidujiaohui* Christianity and Christian Churches. In: CAI SHANGSI (ed.): *Zhongguo xiandai sixiangshi jianbian* A Concise Compendium of Materials in Modern Chinese Intellectual History. Vol. 2. Hangzhou 1982, pp. 32-34. Henceforth only CP.

<sup>52</sup> LEE, Feigon: *Chen Duxiu. Founder of the Chinese Communist Party*. Princeton. Princeton University Press 1983, p. 144.

<sup>53</sup> CP, Vol. 1. Hangzhou 1982, p. 508.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 508-509 and HAECKEL, E.: op. cit. Leipzig, Alfred Kröner Verlag 1918, pp. 204-205.

<sup>55</sup> CP, Vol. 1, p. 510 and *Zhongguo zongshumu* A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books with Complete Index Translation, Shanghai 1935, p. 256.

<sup>56</sup> CP, Vol. 1, p. 511.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 513.

<sup>58</sup> Loc. cit.

Understanding the story about the fig tree with leaves without fruits "for the time of figs was not yet"<sup>59</sup> in rational way, Zhu Zhixin was right when he pointed out that Jesus' anger and curse was not justified, and has shown that Pu Songling's (1640-1715) *Tou tao* (Stealing of Heavenly Peaches) was much more human. Pu's story is longer than that of Christ's, therefore its fabula is only presented here: two actors, father and son, tried to please an audience of scholars and officials, by bringing them the peaches at the beginning of spring. Since at that time they could grow only in the heaven, in the higher nature according to Chinese cosmology, the father using his magic power conjured a ladder reaching from the earth to the highest spheres and commanded his son to climb the heaven. The son steals there a big fruit and throws it down to the earth, but he loses his life, since only *membra disiecta* of his body return back. After putting them into coffin somehow "he is risen", *redivivus* so-to-say, to the immense joy of his trembling and amazed father.<sup>60</sup>

Here Zhu Zhixin rightly plays with the imagination of his Chinese reader: terrestrial father sends his son to the heaven having in mind the danger for and even the death of his son (allusion to the God as Heavenly Father who sent his Son Jesus, i.e. Saviour, who should die on the earth in order to save human beings from their sins). Among the traditionally educated Chinese the death of Jesus was in reality usually understood as that of a rebel, a criminal or an enthusiastic preacher, a wild maniac like in the essay under the analysis. They never needed a Saviour. The death of a young actor has been appreciated as a piece of magic art of the great writer. The deed of the old actor has been received with sympathy, but that of the Heavenly Father remained completely uncomprehended within the cosmological musings of the Chinese intellectuals. The same holds true for Jesus' "cursing".

The conflict of cultures is not a matter of the past in our century. Pu Songling's story is a memento and his ladder leading to the heaven, too. This ladder made of a long and probably thin *sheng* rope was, of course, very different from that in Jacob's dream. This last one was a part of mythopoeic conception found in some different countries of the world representing a means of connection between higher and lower strata of the universe, like that of Buddha Sakyamuni descent from Tushita heaven to the earth with the help of Indra's ladder, or the shapes of Egyptian pyramids enabling to ascend the higher mansions after the death.<sup>61</sup> The Chinese didn't need this kind of the ladder since they did not know that God Father, "the Lord stood above it".<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *St. Mark*, 11, 13.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 11, 13-14 and 20 and Pu Songling: *Liaozhai zhiyi xuan* A Selection From the Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio. Selection and Notes by Zhang Youhao. Peking 1957, pp. 384-386. Very good translation is that by Herbert A. Giles' *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*. Third revised edition. Repr. by Chinese Materials Center. San Francisco 1974, pp. 374-376. See also *St. Mark*, 16, 6.

<sup>61</sup> TOKAREV, S.A. (ed.): *Mify narodov mira* (Myths of the Peoples of the World). Vol. 2. Moscow, Izdatelstvo "Sovetskaya entsiklopediya" 1982, pp.50-51.

<sup>62</sup> *Genesis*, 28, 13.

For them the image of the old father-magician was enough attractive in order to appreciate it.

There is no word in the *Bible* about the stuff Jacob's ladder was made of. I read this story when six or seven years old in popular biblical version, a kind of the *lianhuan tuhua* picture book.<sup>63</sup> The story differed quite a lot from the *Bible* and very probably had been written under the impact of the drawing by Julius Schnorr von Carlsfeld (1794–1872). Here the Slovak "translator", enthralled by this picture following the traditions of Raffael's *Bible* in Loggias of the Vatican Museum and Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel,<sup>64</sup> improved upon the original text with the golden ladder (or better to say staircase as alluded by the drawing) and surrounded it with the burning cloud! Here one may feel the scent of the Renaissance and Baroque spirit. Why then not to implant the Chinese spirit into the *Bible* reminiscent of the works of Sima Qian (145–86 B.C.), Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–406), Li Bai (701–762) or Pu Songling?

5

Those Chinese writers – both men and women – who wrote on the biblical subjects and were influenced by the Christianity, may be divided into two groups: one probably smaller consisting of the members which had good experience with Christianity, namely with its institutions, and the second one where chiefly the impact of the last was negative.

When writing about Friedrich Nietzsche and Rainer Maria Rilke, Professor Walter Kaufmann remarked that a poem "can illustrate a philosophy insofar as the philosophy itself is a metaphysical projection of an experience, a mood, an attitude. The poet may know this mood as one among many or as the dominant experience of his own life; he may enter into it as a virtuoso or be trapped in it; he may illustrate the same philosophy over and over again or bring to life many, whether as a tour de force or as an unwitting record of his own range of experience; and he may be quite unaware of the fact that others have converted such experiences into philosophies."<sup>65</sup> Kaufmann illustrates this assertion by the translation of Rilke's poem *The Panther*. Here is its first stanza:

His glance, worn by the passing of the bars,  
has grown so weary it has lost its hold.  
It seems to him, these are a thousand bars,  
and then behind a thousand bars no world.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Písmo sväté v obrazech* (Bible in Pictures). Trnava, Spolok sv. Vojtecha 1936, p. 31.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. SCHNORR, J. von Carlsfeld: *Die Bibel in Bildern*. Dortmund, Harenberg 1983, p. 81 and the blurb of this book. This is a reproduction of the original edition published in Leipzig, Georg Wigands Verlag, n.d. (after 1852).

<sup>65</sup> KAUFMANN, W.: *From Shakespeare to Existentialism*. Garden City, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1960, pp. 222–223.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

All this could be written as an introductory part to the early literary work of young Bing Xin (born 1900), during the years 1919–1923. I tried to show elsewhere<sup>67</sup> the impact of Judeo-Christian cosmology and teachings on her work within this space of time. Her universe was confined to the firmament of heaven known to her from the *Bible*, but it was fulfilled also with the notions and images taken over from Buddhism and the *Upanishads*, familiar to her through the mediation of Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). The Chinese always tended to syncretism in philosophy and religion. When she wrote her early poetry, she was probably unaware of the differences between the three sources of her spiritual inspiration. All-embracing love manifested in her literary works – common for Christ and Tagore – has become a merger and a compass. She has been baptized, but not openly<sup>68</sup> due to the antireligious temper in her surroundings and the overall ideological climate. In contrast to her fictional works, poetry and essays written on the basis of Christian and Tagorean ideals, are excellent.

Xu Dishan (1893–1941), the older colleague and friend of Bing Xin, was not very much different, only his knowledge of religions (Christianity included), was much more broad and deeper. In spite of the fact that he himself was a Protestant preacher, he valued highly some Buddhist teachings like *sunyata kong* emptiness, all things are unsubstantial, void, impermanent, everything are only the thoughts or fabrications within the Ultimate Mind. According to one of his friend he felt "that the proof of God's revelation in the person of Jesus Christ lay not in His original essence (supernatural origin), but in his moral conduct" and that from his "actual life on earth one can infer both his pre-incarnate nature and incarnate temperament."<sup>69</sup> Here the stress on the unimportance of substantiality and the impact of the Buddhist and Hinduist reincarnation of souls, likewise the teaching regarding the the *Buddha-kaya foshen* Buddha-embodiments is quite apparent. For Professor Xu the morality of Christians was of paramount value and not the belief in virgin birth, miracles, not even resurrection. This two-dimensional character of his short stories has been observed by the researchers. Personally I like most his *Chun-tao* (translated into Chinese as *Big Sister Liu*) where the religious appurtenance is not highlighted, but the sincere love and compassion of Buddhist-Christian kind of a poor woman who manages to live with her long lost and

<sup>67</sup> GÁLIK, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: VI. Young Bing Xin (1919–1923)*. Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), 2, 1993, 1, pp. 41–60.

<sup>68</sup> FAN BOQUN (ed.): *Bing Xin yanjiu ziliao* Materials for the Study of Bing Xin. Peking 1981, p. 102.

<sup>69</sup> ZHANG ZHULING: *Duiyu Xu Dishan jiaoshoude yige huiyi* A Recollection of Professor Xu Dishan. In: *Zhuidiao Xu Dishan xiansheng jinian tekan* A Special Edition of Mourning in Memory of Mr. Xu Dishan. Hong Kong, International Commercial Press, Sept. 21, 1941, p. 14. Quoted according to ROBINSON, L.S.: *Double-edged Sword. Christianity & 20th Century Chinese Fiction*. Hong Kong, Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre 1986, p. 40.

now returned husband – crippled beggar – and her healthy and robust boy friend.<sup>70</sup>

There are some other outstanding Chinese men of letters whose works were at least partly connected with the Christianity or biblical teachings. Guo Moruo (1892–1978) wrote the novel in letters *Luo ye* (Fallen Leaves)<sup>71</sup> and some poems after the conversion to Christianity in November 1916<sup>72</sup> and proclaimed himself a *shen* god in January 1922.<sup>73</sup> This god was not God from *Genesis*, but a kind of Spinoza's *Deus sive Natura*, a representation of the universe and its self-expressive force. His knowledge of the *Bible* applied to the reality of his own life with the “seduced” Christian girl and delineated from the Freudian point of view, is quite impressive. The strength of the Confucian tradition is also obvious. For the time being Guo Moruo tried to overcome the despotic spirit of Confucianism with the help of Christian ideology, since he believed that modern Christian attitudes are compatible with his efforts for “individuation”, the process of self-awakening and complete individual freedom within the framework of his self-aggrandizement and moral self-exposure.

For Guo Moruo's good friend Yu Dafu (1896–1945) the Sermon of the Mount was the point of departure of his story *Nan qian* (Moving South) from the year 1921. Just like L.N. Tolstoy Yu regarded the first sentence of Christ's teaching: “Blessed are the poor in spirit: for their's is the kingdom of heaven”<sup>74</sup> as the cornerstone of real Christianity. For this assertion he brought together a sample of examples like that from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* or from the life of St. Francis of Assisi. While the target of social criticism of the story is opulence of the American missionary stations and poverty of Chinese, the most important literary message of the work is the moral self-criticism of the hero. The best elaborated character of Yu Dafu's fiction is probably Yu Zhifu (evidently alluding to the name and real personality of Yu Dafu) who in one of his stories is introduced with these words: “A man who believes in the future has a bright star upon his forehead. Even when he gropes in the dark sand desert, his mind is ruled by one Jew.”<sup>75</sup> This “one Jew” could not be

<sup>70</sup> Xu Dishan *xuanji* Selected Works of Xu Dishan. Peking 1952, pp. 111–137. Its English translation appeared in *Masterpieces of Modern Chinese Fiction 1919–1949*, Peking 1983, pp. 113–138 under the title: *Big Sister Liu*.

<sup>71</sup> GUO MORUO: *Luo ye* Fallen Leaves, Shanghai 1926. L.S. Robinson analyses this novel in op. cit., pp. 26–33 and M. Doleželová-Velingerová in *A Selection Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949*. Vol. 1, Leiden, E.J. Brill 1988, pp. 86–88.

<sup>72</sup> ROY, D.T.: *Kuo Mo-jo: The Early Years*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1971, p. 64.

<sup>73</sup> GÁLIK, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: IV. Young Guo Moruo (1914–1924)*. AAS XXII, 1986, pp. 55–56.

<sup>74</sup> *St. Matthew*, 5, 3.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. YU DAFU: *Fengling Wind Bell*. In: *Yu Dafu quanji* The Complete Works of Yu Dafu. Vol. 3. Shanghai 1929, p. 57 and MA JIA: *Yaoyide shangdide mianying*. *Jidujiao wenhua he “Wusi” wenxue* Slightly Shaking God's Image. Christian Culture and Literature of the May

anybody else except of Jesus Christ. An analysis of Yu Zhifu's “case” shows wonderful example of literary decadence and psychopathological states of mind of modern Chinese intellectual suffering from guilt: morbidity in his obsession with abnormalities (e.g. fetishistic masochism) which is, provided the promise of Christ to forgive the sins is implied, connected with an effort at self-purification or an act of self-punishment. Yu Zhifu is really penitent, a male hypostasis of Mary Magdalene, when he unexpectedly sees a beautiful girl in the nude and asks God for forgiveness. He also regrets having to recourse to auto-erotic practices after she leaves the bed where they have spent a night together. But we would be misled if we would regard these feeling of guilt only as an outcome of Christian influences. Elsewhere I tried to show the impact of Taoist ideas on his moral development and his endeavour to clean his heart and purge it out of passion in the interest of his individual and social self-realization.<sup>76</sup>

At first the hope in and later the hate of Christianity was characteristic for the prolific writer Zhang Ziping (1895–1947) who was eleven years old when he joined Protestant missionary school with the desire after receiving the baptism and to live in Christian community to become, according to St. John, one of the sons of God.<sup>77</sup> He saw with his own eyes the discrepancy between the teaching of the Church authorities and their deeds and found that they were hypocrites in the service of flesh and Mammon and he described it. Quite similar was the experience of some other writers like Xiao Qian (born 1911), Yang Yi (born 1907), better known as Ou-yang Shan, partly also Lao She (1899–1966) and some others.<sup>78</sup>

The image of Christianity became more sympathetic during the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945) in China, e.g. in some works of Ba Jin (born 1904) or Mao Dun (1896–1981).<sup>79</sup>

After the victory of the Communists in 1949 on the Mainland the interest in the *Bible* dissappeared, or better to say, was suppressed and there are no traces of it in the literature up to the 1980s. It emerged on Taiwan in the 1960s in the works of some authors, among them probably the best is Ch'en

Fourth Movement. *Zhongguo xiandai wenxueshi yanjiu congkan* Studies in Modern Chinese Literature, 4, 1989, p. 47.

<sup>76</sup> GÁLIK, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917–1930*, Bratislava, Veda – London, Curzon Press 1980, pp. 104–111.

<sup>77</sup> In *St. John*, 1, 12 we read: “But as many as received him, to them gave he the power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name” (James' *Bible*). In the Chinese translation into vernacular entitled *Xinyue quanshu* All Books of the New Testament, published in Shanghai by British & Foreign Bible Society, 1934, p. 191, “the sons of God” are translated as “Shangdide ernu” children of God. *Shangdide ernu* God's Children is a title of a novel by ZHANG ZIPING.

<sup>78</sup> ROBINSON, L.S.: op. cit., pp. 89–143.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 154–183. For Mao Dun see also GÁLIK, M.: *The Mythopoeic Vision in Mao Dun's Fiction, 1929–1942*. *Guoji Nanshe xuehui congkan* Bulletin of the International Southern Society Association (Hong Kong), 4 (in press).



Yingzhen (born 1936), but he is also the most problematic. He is similar to young Guo Moruo or Yu Dafu, his is a vivisection of human heart with the double-edged sword of Christ's teaching and moral example including the problems concerned with their following and realization in the everyday life in modern and postmodern world.<sup>80</sup> Robinson was right when he wrote that Taiwanese writers "go beyond strictly religious or humanistic interpretations to apply the teachings of Jesus Christ to the psychological and spiritual inner life of the individual. Faith is essential in this new approach, but it is a faith placed not so much in the transcendental Christ – though that is important to some of the Christian authors – as in the inner Christ, the archetypal wisdom behind life which urges us on to great wholeness."<sup>81</sup> This is a Christ as a paradigm of self-perfection in the world of desires and even passions in our hearts and bodies that could be regarded and condemned as bad in certain circumstances.

In the PRC at the end of 1980s one year before the Tiananmen Incident on June 4, 1989 a polygenological work appeared under the title *Shizijie shang On the Cross*,<sup>82</sup> written by Wang Meng (born 1934). Here the spiritual purification is aimed with the hope for the new post-Communist social revolution based on Christ's principles: *renai* love among the people, *qianbei* modesty, *qianjing* mutual respect and namely *kuanshu* forgiveness: maybe here a vision is involved that was accomplished at the end of 1989 in the former Czechoslovakia during its "velvet revolution".

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More than four hundred years after Matteo Ricci reached in 1583 the land of Confucius (571–479 B.C.), Mencius, Laozi (4th cent. B.C.) and Zhuangzi (3rd cent. B.C.), and nearly four hundred years since 1600 when he succeeded in establishing his mission in Peking, there are still many problems connected with the conflict our very different cultures. There are, of course, some achievements, too. For the educated Chinese of Ricci's time a crucifix was a sign of shame, a kind of evil spell, an artifice commemorating a dead criminal who supposed to be a Son of God.<sup>83</sup> For Wang Meng *crucifixi dolores* are among the most adored objects of medieval and later art.<sup>84</sup> During the time of Jesuit mission (1582–1774) no one of the Chinese Christians dared to

<sup>80</sup> ROBINSON, L.S.: op. cit., pp. 246–280.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>82</sup> Wang Meng's work appeared in the journal *Zhongshan*, 3, May 15, 1988, pp. 45–58 and has been translated into English by J. Wickeri, *Renditions*, 37, 1992, pp. 43–68. For the analysis see GÁLIK, M.: *Mythopoetische Vision von Golgatha und Apokalypse bei Wang Meng*. *Minima sinica* (Bonn), 2, 1991, pp. 55–82, or Wang Meng's *Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and Apocalypse*. *Annali. Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi* (Naples), 52, 1, 1992, pp. 62–82.

<sup>83</sup> GERNET, J.: op. cit., pp. 121–122.

<sup>84</sup> *Renditions*, 37, 1992, pp. 47 and 51–52.

write a word about Jesus Christ, but in the twentieth century even in the eyes of the enemies of religion in China, he was admired for his moral teachings, even if regarded sometimes as a magician, charlatan or a rebel.

The land of Confucius, Laozi and of their followers was and still is now different from the land of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the countries (mostly in the West), from where they took the legacy of the *Old* and later also of the *New Testament*. The cosmological gap between the Chinese and to a great extent the Far Eastern world and our Western world is so wide that to bridge it completely is almost impossible where the religious beliefs are concerned. And just for these beliefs, better to say for this *credo*, there is not much space within the traditional Chinese *Weltanschauung*. The cases of Xu Dishan, Ch'en Yingchen and even of Wang Meng are typical. No one of them discusses the issues (or mysteries) that are behind the grasp of the traditionally educated Chinese. E.g. there is no story concerned with Christ's resurrection in modern literature. But there is relatively much concerned with his teaching and death, and namely his ethical message is embraced and creatively expressed.

From the point of view of intellectual communication and understanding it is a pity that the *New Testament* lacks something comparable to the mythologeme of Jacob's ladder connecting the lands of missionaries and their objects in the countries where the biblical teaching was spread. At first the God of the *Old Testament* and later Logos made Flesh of the *New Testament* were mediators between the heaven and earth, but they were and more or less remained incomprehensible to the Chinese and at least partly for the inhabitants of East Asia. Christ's mission: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature",<sup>85</sup> or "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost",<sup>86</sup> has been supplemented in St. Mark's work partly with the promise: "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," partly with the anathema: "but he that believeth not shall be damned."<sup>87</sup> This mythologeme of eternal damnation was not completely different from the mythologeme (and reality) of the sword and *jihad* sacred war used in the spread of the Islam. St. Mark, who was a missionary for some time together with St. Paul, should have had experience with different religious cults in the Near East and the Mediterranean area that had similar features as Christianity, like the belief in the life after death, or even

<sup>85</sup> *St. Mark*, 16, 15.

<sup>86</sup> *St. Matthew*, 28, 19.

<sup>87</sup> *St. Mark*, 16, 16. The authenticity of the last twelve verses (i.e. 16, 9–20) is disputed since they are not present in the best manuscripts of St. Mark Gospel. According to the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the decree issued on June 26, 1912 by the authorities of the Catholic Church, arguments "adduced against the Markan authorship of these verses were not strong enough to prove that they were not truly Markan." See HARTMAN, L.F. (ed.): *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*. New York, McGraw-Hill Comp. Inc. 1963, pp. 1454–1455. This conservative attitude certainly does not promote the spirit of intercultural understanding and mutual respect.

in the resurrection (like in the case of Osiris or Euridyke), in divine redeemer (Mithra), initiation rites (Dionysos cult) or in the holy supper (Eleusis cult).<sup>88</sup> The soil had been well prepared for a religion like Christianity in this part of the world in the Hellenistic and the Roman era (300 B.C.-300 A.D.). The most important was probably a search for a God who could promise and realize the personal bliss in this life and after. Christ's teaching of mutual love symbolized in *agape*, was the basis of the social and political organization of the first Christians and very important prerequisite for the abolishment of the slavery.

Nothing like that was present in China except for some elements in Buddhist beliefs. But these elements hardly operated like the "convergent currents", when they met foreign Western religion. Around 1600 probably the most prominent Chinese philosopher of that time Li Zhi (1527-1602) wrote about Matteo Ricci, whom he admired very much as a man of deep knowledge and high moral: "I do not really know what he has come to do here for. I think it would be much too stupid for him to want to substitute his own teaching for that of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. So that is surely not the reason."<sup>89</sup>

And that exactly was the reason. It was, of course, an adventurous enterprise full of risks without any great hope for the success. Ricci certainly had taken the words of Christ into the consideration, but not exactly in their Markan-Pauline explanation. "Much too stupid" were the Christian fundamentalists because of their ethnocentric orientation, religious conceit, mystic belief in the miraculous power of the *Bible*, their intellectual narrow-mindedness and ignorance. Timothy Richards was the first swallow of the new understanding in the intercultural communication at the spreading of the *Bible* in China.

Mythological ladders were always constructed in a simply way. The "ladders" of intercultural communication and understanding are necessarily much more complicated and should be constructed according to different systemo-structural entities coming into direct contact with each other. From this "each other", the other is extremely important and should be stressed in this communication. The awareness of Us and the Others, their specificities, may lead to mutual understanding which always presupposes deep mutual knowledge, not only for the pure living objects, but within the framework of the whole tradition, contemporary state and the overall milieu. Mutual acceptance or at least respect is a *conditio sine qua non* for this communication and its psychological, or even rational justification.

Richard's idea in relation to the necessity of harmony and mutual regard between Christianity and Confucianism should be now and in the future applied also to other religious teachings or philosophical views provided they have adequate intellectual, moral and aesthetic standards.

<sup>88</sup> FERGUSON, J.: *Mysterienkulte*. In: CAVENDISH, R. and LING, T.O. (ed.): *Mythologie der Weltreligionen*. München, Christian Verlag GmbH 1981, pp. 144-155.

<sup>89</sup> Quoted according to GERNET, J.: op. cit., p. 19.

The accumulated knowledge we have at our disposal at the time of our dying century is sufficient for the assertion that the excellent achievements of Jewish faith, Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism are of equal value and they are noble and grand products of humanity.

Rilke's image of a panther behind the bars is a *caveat*. Those who work within the realms of intercultural process are also responsible for its results. In any case they should try to transcend the narrow cage of their own vision and to understand the word beyond, to liberate themselves from the cells where they are imprisoned like orang-utans towards more broad horizons. This world really needs an intercultural communication and understanding.

## THE INTERLITERARY COMMUNITY OF TURKIC NATIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE EUROPEAN CULTURE\*

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The aim of this study is to research the laws governing the interliterary, supranational process. Qualitatively, these laws possess a different character from those deriving from research into the national-literary process. The study considers previous efforts at determining the principles, factors and criteria that have conditioned the origin and development of the interliterary process within Mediaeval Turkic literatures, as well as in their relation to Arabic-Persian literary traditions.

Literary scholarship has not as yet achieved a satisfactory definition of the concept "world literature". An attempt has been made at reducing the tension between the universal and the particular – two extreme poles represented by world literature on one hand, and national literature, on the other – using the concept of a specific interliterary community as proposed and elaborated by the Slovak comparatist Dionýz Ďurišin in collaboration with his team.<sup>1</sup>

A significant role in the integration of national literature into the worldwide system was played by its coexistence with certain other national literatures within an interliterary community. Yet, the specific interliterary community is not understood as a permanent grouping, but rather as a flexible and open system which comes into being, evolves, and/or dies out. The flexible nature of this system is also attested by the fact that one national literature may simultaneously enter into two different interliterary communities.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The results of an international project directed by D. Ďurišin, were published in five volumes: ĎURIŠIN, D. et al.: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvá I* (Specific Interliterary Communities I). Bratislava, Veda 1987. The first volume comprised various studies in Slovak and a short summary in Russian and English. Volumes 2-5 contained studies in Slovak and summaries in French, therefore, besides a Slovak title, these volumes also carry a French heading. For reasons of space, we give here the French variant only: ĎURIŠIN et collectif: *Les communautés interlittéraires spécifiques*, Bratislava, Veda. Vol. 2 – 1991, Vol. 3 – 1991, Vol. 4 – 1992, Vol. 5 – 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Dealt with in D. ĎURIŠIN's study: *Communautés interlittéraires en tant que concrétisation des conformités à la loi de la littérature mondiale*. In: *Les communautés interlittéraires spécifiques 2*, pp. 11-39.

In our study entitled *The Interliterary Community of Turkic Nations within the Context of Islamic Culture*<sup>3</sup> we tried to show how a community of a specific type, carrying numerous particular features, including Ottoman, Azerbaijan and Chagatai literatures, gradually formed within the framework of an extensive group of literatures primarily determined by Islamic religious ideology.

During the period under study, i.e. roughly from the second half of the 11th century – when the first works of Turkic Islamic literature appeared,<sup>4</sup> until the end of the 16th century – when integration of by then advanced Turkic literatures with Islamic culture culminated, the ideological factor incontestably was of primary significance in the origin and existence of the above specific literary community. The Muslim religious doctrine represented a constitutive and unifying element in a great part of the then known world, acted as an ideological strength influencing mode of thinking, attitudes and the actions of both individuals and entire social groups. The Muslims found their basic identity in the religious community, that is, in the entity defined more by Islam than by ethnic origin, language or State membership.<sup>5</sup>

Not even the advanced Persian culture – ultimately forced by violence to accept Islam – could resist the pressure of this youngest world religion which, at the time of its origin and the peak of its upsurge, held the monopoly of a *Weltanschauung* in this domain. Soon, however, the former began to revive, to regenerate; an interaction set in with the essentially younger and less advanced culture of the conquerors thus causing two different cultures to supplement each other. The qualitatively new Islamic culture also found application and space for further development within the framework of State formations under the hegemony of Turkic rulers who, in contrast to the Persians, accepted Islam voluntarily. This phenomenon represents a typical feature, a law in the transformation of various cultures and their ultimate historic synthesis.

A contribution to a cultural exchange within the Muslim world was made by the existence of two universal languages of the Middle Ages of the Near and Middle East, viz. Arabic and Persian.<sup>6</sup> In particular, the latter, to be more exact, its revived form, i.e. new Persian (*farsi*, *dari*) occupied for a very long

<sup>3</sup> The study was published in: ĎURIŠIN, D. et collectif: *Les communautés interlittéraires spécifiques 3*, pp. 16-20, 41-55 and in an English version in *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 2, 1993, No. 1, pp. 61-70.

<sup>4</sup> Two written monuments have been preserved from the early period of Islamic Turkic tribes: *Qutadğu Bilig* (1069, Gladdening Science) by Yusuf Hass Hadjib and *Dīvān-i Lügati-it-Türk* (1072-7, Divan of Turkic Languages) by Maḥmūd Kashgar.

<sup>5</sup> LEWIS, B.: *The Political Language of Islam*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1988, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> We analyse in more detail the causes of a priority position of Arabic and Persian and how this fact shared in the formation and consolidation of a specific interliterary community of Turkic nations, in our study *The Interliterary Community of Turkic Nations within the Context of Islamic Culture*.



time the position of a superior or sole literary language among the less developed Turkic literary languages.

Bilingualism or even trilingualism was no exception with poets of Turkic origin, however, works written in Turkic dialects out of which Azerbaijani, Ottoman Turkish and Chagatai literary languages developed, were subject to canons of Arabian-Persian poetics which strikingly differed from the traditional Turkic poetic schemes. These facts raise the question as to the measure in which Turkic literatures of the relevant period fulfilled the function of a specific interliterary community. Our study referred to above, attempted at least partially, by suggestions, to give an answer to this question. Alongside the ideological factor which in the early and classical period integrated Turkic literatures into the broad frame of Islamic culture, two further factors were also active here, viz. the principle of ethnic proximity and related linguistic affinity.

The principle of ethnic kinship creates conditions for an analogy of poetic motifs and schemes as the way of life and thinking among related ethnic communities that stimulated their origin, is analogous. This holds not solely in relation to folk, but also artistic literature.

The most conspicuous element of pre-Islamic heritage, hence, a heritage whose foundations had already been laid in the common primeval region of Turkic tribes at the foot of Altai, was the syllabic metre unreservedly maintaining its position in the anonymous poetry and predominating in the works of folk and mystic poets. But a tendency to quantitatively adapt to the metre of the original metric scheme is also apparent in writings belonging to the framework of artistic literature.<sup>7</sup> A preference is also manifest here for certain poetic forms at the expense of others, particularly the Turkic form *tuyug* which achieved the greatest flourish in works of Azerbaijani, Ottoman and Chagatai poets in the second half of the 15th and early 16th centuries.<sup>8</sup>

A mutual exchange of achievements in the field of mastering Arabic-Persian poetics among poets of the above three regions, as well as an exchange of epic motifs and entire plots in the literary and folk epic, was made possible by the linguistic affinity which is closely related to ethnic kinship. In the subsequent development of Turkic literatures these two factors grew in importance for the preservation of the significance of the ideo-social component which, thanks to the hegemony of the Turkic element in the Islamic world, acquired new dimensions.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. MARTYNTSEV, A.J.: *K probleme "ritm i metr" v tyurkoyazychnom klassicheskom stikhslozhenii* (On the problem of "rhythm and metre" in Turkic classical prosody). In: *Turkologiya* 1980. Leningrad, Nauka 1986, pp. 172-179.

<sup>8</sup> For more details, see the study by STEBLEVA, I.V.: *Svyaz formy i soderzhaniya v zhanre tuyug* (Relation of form and content in the Tuyug genre). In: *Teoriya zhanrov literatur Vostoka* (Theory of genres of Oriental Literatures), Moscow, Nauka 1989, pp. 45-58 and STEBLEVA, I.V.: *K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii zhanra tuyug* (On the origin of the Tuyug genre). In: *Turkologicheskii sbornik* 1970. Moscow, Nauka 1970.

In the 16th century a great part of the Islamic world came under the rule of Turkic dynasties.<sup>9</sup> The capital of the most expansive of these dynasties, the Ottomans, became not only the administrative centre of a vast empire spreading on three continents, but also the seat of caliph,<sup>10</sup> the religious centre for Islam. Istanbul, thanks to its wealth and influence attracted artists from the entire Islamic world, primarily from areas with a predominantly Turkic population. Ottoman Turkish came to be the third universal means of communication beyond the frontiers of the Ottoman empire; this gave rise to numerous bi- and multi-domicile<sup>11</sup> authors and works.

In the 16th century, hence, at the climax of classicism in Islamic culture, the measure of interaction and complementary processes in Ottoman, Chagatai and Azerbaijani literature, which had achieved the level of the highly developed Persian literature, attained a high degree. On the other hand, Persian literature, as a result of Shi'i orientation, gradually found itself in isolation.<sup>12</sup> If we add to this the persisting stagnation of Arabic literature, then the increasing interaction of Turkic literatures and their orientations was a natural phenomenon.

Disintegrating trends in relation to the Arabic-Persian literary tradition are the first sign of awakening national consciousness. A significant role in this process was played by middle urban strata from the 17th century onwards which became a more and more important recipients of the literary production. This created room for interaction between literature and folklore. And thus, while court poetry began to stagnate proportionately with the growing crisis of the military feudal system and the related global decline of Muslim States, its formalism went on deepening, this creation which was addressed to a non-aristocratic consumer, went on developing with new genres and artistic methods coming into being.

<sup>9</sup> Besides the Ottoman dynasty which ruled uninterruptedly from 1281 until 1922, there was the Safavid dynasty in Iran (1501-1736), the Shaybanid dynasty in Transoxania (1499-1599) and the Mughal dynasty in India (1526-1838).

<sup>10</sup> From 1517 when Salim I, having conquered Cairo, transferred the last Abbasid calif al-Mutavakkil (1509-1517) to Istanbul, the Ottoman sultans also usurped the title of head of the Muslim religious community. The califat was done away with only after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1924.

<sup>11</sup> The term dual-domicile (multi-domicile) occurs in the theoretical and comparative studies by D. Ćurišin and his team. It expresses the reception and incorporation of an author or of a work (even an anonymous work may be involved) in two or more literary systems.

<sup>12</sup> Jan Rypka justifies this isolation as follows: "Their (i.e. the rulers from the Safavid dynasty - X.C.) 'cultural' interest was focused on propaganda and reinforcement of a politicized religion, which is done through an uplifting of both theological sciences, and religious poetry - however, both in the Shi'i spirit... Nevertheless, a Shi'i orientation could not be endorsed by Central Asia, Afghanistan and India, countries altogether Sunni, hence, neo-Persian literature ceased to be international..." RYPKA, J.: *Dějiny novoperské literatury až do začátku XX. století* (History of neo-Persian literature up to the early 20th century). In: *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury* (History of Persian and Tajik literature). Prague, ČSAV 1963, p. 246.

Azerbaijani, Turkish, Uzbek and from the 18th century also Turkmenian literatures give ample evidence of an interaction with genres of folklore. Folk poets (Azerbaijani and Turkish *ashiks*, Uzbek and Turkmenian *shairs*) contributed to this in significant measure. The works of many of them, namely of those living and creating in an urban environment, represented a specific synthesis of court and folk poetry. Equally as with mystical poetry, which had by that time passed its zenith, the work of folk poets became an intermediary between classical literature and folklore and contributed to the activation of their complementary function.

Probably as far back as the 15th century already, written records from the domain of folklore began to appear. Manuscript collections from the 18th and 19th centuries document in a broad range works of folk poets. Many of them can be spoken of as having dual- or multi-domicile, because their original works as well as their adaptations of works by other authors or of anonymous works formed an organic part of several literary systems. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that these were for the most part migrating authors, the sphere of their activity was often considerable in extent. In addition, the measure of their dual- or multi-domicile existence depended also on the structure of their repertory – indisputably it was enhanced most by the presence of epic topics in the repertory, in the great majority of cases, forming part of several literary systems.

The turn of the 16th and 17th centuries witnessed the culmination in the formation of a specific epic genre represented by romantic stories of couples in love (*hikâye*). This genre was moulded by whole generations of folk poets both on the substratum of oral traditions and on the basis of Arabic and Persian literary topics the roots of which reached back to the earliest mythological conceptions of mankind. A variability of the most diverse literary and folkloric motifs and of entire topical schemes is extremely abundant in this genre.

For example the episode of Kerem and Aslı, widespread from Central Asia up to the Balkans, whose author probably is the Turkish folk poet Kerem Dede (Aşık Kerem, 16th cent)<sup>13</sup> comprises episodes that can also be found in the epopees of Nizami and Fuzuli, but also contains motifs linked to the episode of Bamsı Beyrek Bolu from the Oghuz epic *Kitab-ı Dedem Korkut*. The Azerbaijani version of the story simultaneously shows analogies with that Kozi Korpesh and Bayan Sulu, spread among the Karakalpaks, Bashkirs and Kazakhs.<sup>14</sup> Certain situations from the last one were in turn absorbed by the Uzbek variant of the story about Tahir and Zühre.<sup>15</sup> A great variability of one

<sup>13</sup> BORATAV, P.N.: *Folklor ve Edebiyat (1982) II* (Folklore and Literature). İstanbul, Adam Yayıncılık 1983, p. 241

<sup>14</sup> TULU, S.: *Chorasantürkische Materialien aus Kalāt bei Esfarāyen*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1989, p. 176.

<sup>15</sup> ZHIRMUNSKY, V.A. – ZARİFOV, A.T.: *Uzbekskii narodnyi geroicheskiy epas* (Uzbek heroic epic). Moscow, OGIZ 1977, p. 301.

and the same plot within the same literary system is characteristic of all Turkic epic genres.

A work marked by a considerable variability is the originally Azerbaijani-Turkish epic cycle *Köröğlu* (*Gorogly*) which probably originated in the 16th century and gradually won great popularity among nations of the Near East and the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Siberia. In later Central-Asian versions, the principal hero, of a noble outlaw, became transformed into the image of a just ruler. This may be linked in some measure to the persisting relation to Firdausi's *Shahname* as a source of permanent stimuli in both artistic and folk epics in this area. Central Asian *Gorogly* simultaneously shifted from the position of a romantic story with realistic elements, to that of a heroic epos – *destan* in which the miraculous prevails.<sup>16</sup>

A frequent recurrence of mythological and fairy motifs is also characteristic of the Uzbek-Kazakh-Kara-Kalpak epos *Alpamys*, which represents the earliest epic plot fixed in the creative memory of Turkic nations, as well as of the Kirghiz epos *Manas* the development of which has not yet been terminated. The residuum of the earliest epic motifs whose roots reach back to the primeval homeland of the Turkic nations below the Altai, brings out the urgency to study the genesis of heroic epic together with the ethnogenesis of these nations, their material and spiritual cultures.<sup>17</sup> Alongside the shamanist traits of some personages, particularly those of the titular hero Dede Korkut, there are parallels of heroes and motifs of the ancient Greek epos in the *Kitab-ı Dedem Korkut* which constitutes the basis of the cultural heritage of the Azerbaijanis, Turks and Turkmens (peoples deriving their origin from the Oghuz). The presence of many classical motifs and their parallel in the epic of Turks, Turkmens and Azerbaijanis goes to show that their centuries-old vicinity to the Byzantine Empire left a trace in the folklore of these peoples.

In the history of Turkic literatures and their interliterary communities, a significant role devolves upon folklore. It was an expression of a cultural identity of various Turkic tribes and tribal bonds in times of their migration to new localities where they came into contact with different ethnic communities and their cultures. Precisely thanks to folklore which represented the basic or exclusive way of cultural life of the masses, no total cultural nor literary assimilation of these tribes – and later of Turkic nationalities and nations – took place with the universal Islamic culture. Can we consider the beginning of the development of Turkic literary tradition in Islamic culture to be in the 11th–14th centuries when elements of traditional Turkic poetry still penetrated into the first written literary works; or at the peak of the classical period in the 15th–16th centuries when some renowned authors, such as e.g. Alishar Navoi consciously turned to the original forms? Or was it in the subsequent centuries

<sup>16</sup> For more details see CEJPEK, J.: *Iránská lidová slovesnost* (Iranian folk literature). In: *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*, pp. 572–576.

<sup>17</sup> This requirement was dealt with by R.Z. KYDYRBAYEVA in her *Genesis eposa Manas* (Genesis of the epic *Manas*). Frunze, Ilim 1980, p. 278.



when the converging relationship to Arabic-Persian literature began to turn into a divergent one. The rich and steadily developing folk literature was that significant factor which reinforced the consciousness of the specificity of individual Turkic literatures and simultaneously of their solidarity.

Folk literature also played a central role in the formation process of Turkic nations which began roughly in the mid-19th century and was conditioned by an analogous process – already completed – in Europe. It gave rise to new literary languages and alongside European literature, also co-operated in the origin and development of new national literatures.

Manuscript recordings of folkloric expressions were precisely the factor helping to preserve the continuity of the linguistic development, appreciably disrupted in the official sphere by the hegemony of Arabic and Persian. In addition, an orientation to the middle urban strata led within the developed Turkish and Azerbaijani literatures, roughly from the 17th century, to efforts at a democratization of the literary language. The dilemma between literary and spoken languages, nevertheless, persisted until new national literary languages had been formed.

The first effort in the Ottoman Empire at a more extensive linguistic reform took place in the seventies of the last century. It was conditioned by journalism to which is also connected the first stage of development of the new Turkish literature.

The origin of journalism, as also an activation of social events in the Ottoman Empire was the result of four decades of reforms (*Tanzimat*) which opened the way to European capitals. The result was a transformation of the State, weakened in power and economy into a half colony, on the one hand, and the birth of a young nationally-minded bourgeoisie with a new way of thinking, on the other. Contacts with European culture became deeper,<sup>18</sup> the ideas of the French Enlightenment came to be the driving force of the society. Revival literature also took part in propagating them.

A similar course of development also went on in Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan, following the Russian colonization, completed in the sixties of the last century, conditions were created for the formation of a national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, which was the bearer of democratic ideas. Similarly as in the Ottoman Empire, an important role was here played by secularized secondary schools which disrupted the monopoly of the clergy on the interpretation of the world in the spirit of the Islamic religious doctrine. In 1804 a university was set up in Kazan and became the centre of communication of Russian culture with that of the Tatars and the other Turkic nationalities in Russia. The opportunity to study at this, but also further universities, led to contact with a democratically-oriented Russian intelligentsia which ani-

<sup>18</sup> The presence of ambassadors of the Ottoman empire at courts of European rulers from the beginning of the 18th century contributed to a knowledge of the different European culture and way of life. The so-called "Books of Ambassadors" (*Sefaretnâme*) mediated these notes to a wider reader public from the ranks of the intelligentsia.

mated the national consciousness of Turkic scholars and literati and their endeavours to achieve emancipation of their nations.

Precisely during this period, i.e. in the second half of the 19th century, thanks to a very strong impact of European nationalist ideas, the integrating function of Islam was weakened, the word *millet* ceased to designate a community which was defined more by its religious appurtenance than by an ethnic origin, language or state-forming principle, and acquired the meaning of *nation*. And although the pan-Islamic movement<sup>19</sup> exerted efforts to suppress ideas of a national and State integrity, the latter eventually persisted as dominant in the Ottoman Empire and the remaining territories inhabited by Muslims.

The serious socio-economic changes and the ideational fermentation provoked a whole series of analogous phenomena in Turkic literatures. This involved both a growing orientation to European literature and culture and a deepening interest in folk literature, a serious approach to its study as a starting point and a source of modern national literatures, which is a characteristic sign of the times of national revival.<sup>20</sup>

Efforts at introducing new ideas into the reviving national Turkic literatures or those that were just being formed on the basis of folklore, as also the struggle for an emancipation of the nation, laid enhanced claims on the literati of that period who stood at the head of the revival process. Alongside their literary work, they also intensively pursued publishing, translation, critical, philosophical, and political activity and helped to form national literary languages. Hence, it is quite natural that this revolutionary period gave birth to a number of universal, polyfunctional authors whose significance exceeded the frontiers of their own national literature.

Great credit for the origin of Kazakh revival goes to the ethnographer and folklorist Shokan Valihanov (1837–1885) who likewise left his marks on the history of Kirghiz literature. He was the first to publish various episodes from the epic of *Manas* and thus drew attention to this jewel of the people's creativity which had until then existed solely as oral tradition.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Efforts at adjusting Islam to the new social, political and international conditions culminated in the activity of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1831–1897) who tried to stem the tide of the growing nationalism through the idea of pan-Islamism. He underlined the urgency of unity and solidarity of the Islamic world. The Turkish Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1908) also welcomed certain ideas of pan-Islamism hoping to maintain and strengthen through their intermediary the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire in the Islamic world.

<sup>20</sup> This phenomenon within the Yugoslav context is dealt with by ČERNÁ, M.: *Interakční dynamismus meziliterárního společenství národů Jugoslávie. Epocha národního obrození* (The Dynamics of Interaction in the Interliterary Community of the Nations of Yugoslavia. The Age of National Revival). In: ĐURIŠIN et al.: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvá 1*, pp. 101–117.

<sup>21</sup> The manuscript fund of the Academy of Sciences of Kirghizia owns some thirty variants of the epos *Manas* and occasionally acquires new ones. In contrast to epics of other Turkic nations where the prosaic text alternates with passages in syllabic verses, all the variants of the Kirghiz epic have a similar versified form. The interpreter – *manaschi*, recites and simultaneously improvises on the text without the accompaniment of any musical instrument, making use of ges-



Of significance is also Valihanov's attempt at substituting the Russian alphabet for Arabic writing, which the writer Ibrai Altynsarin (1814–1889) carried on and applied in his Kirghiz reader (1873). That, too, is one of the signs of the disintegration within Islamic culture. The reformers endeavoured to work out a system that would fully correspond to the vowel structure of Turkic languages and replace the unsuitable Arabic consonant-based writing. Initiative along these lines was also manifested by two further universal personalities of this period: the Turk Ibrahim Şinasi (1827–1871) who has the priority in introducing Latinized writing, and the Azerbaijan Mirza Fatali Ahundzade (Akhundov, 1812–1878) who vainly tried to obtain support from the Turkish ruler for his project of a reformed writing system.

The revivalist thinker, materialist philosopher, playwright and writer Ahundzade is a polyfunctional author par excellence. His role of mediator between the Islamic and European culture, the impact of his multivarious activities on the development of thinking and literatures of Turkic nations, has not as yet been adequately evaluated. His outstanding command of Russian, his close contacts with numerous representatives of the then Russian cultural and political life<sup>22</sup> enabled him to become familiar with new trends in Russian and French literature and philosophy, to become a zealous adherent and propagator of European culture and civilization.

Ahundzade devoted seven years only to literary work and dedicated the rest of his fertile life to socio-political and philosophical issues. Nonetheless, his literary works meant a revolutionary moment in the history of Azerbaijani literature. His novel *Aldamysh kevakib* (Deluded Stars, 1857) foreshadowed the origin of a new Azerbaijani prose. He laid down the foundations of the dramatic genre which was an unknown concept in classical literatures of the Islamic world by his six comedies. Thanks to numerous translations, Ahundzade's comedies soon reached the consciousness of European cultural public.<sup>23</sup>

In the intentions of the Gogolian literary school, Ahundzade considered comedy to be the best means of portraying and criticizing the society and a form most accessible to the public at large. The first Turkish theatre piece also was a comedy. Ibrahim Şinasi's *Şair evlenmesi* (The Poet's Wedding, 1860), written in Istanbul's spoken language, presents a typical example of the com-

tures and mimics. The most extensive version of the *manaschi* Sarybai Orozbekov comprises over one hundred and eighty thousand verses. See SYDYKOV, A.: *Geroicheskie motivy v epose "Manas"* (Heroic Motifs in the Epic "Manas"): Frunze, Ilim 1982, pp. 3–7.

<sup>22</sup> Ahundzade was linked by friendship with the Dekabrist Bestuzhev-Martinsky who translated his poem on Pushkin's death into Russian (1834).

<sup>23</sup> A bibliography of all European editions of Ahundzade's comedies is to be found in S.M. MAMEDOV's publication: *Mirovozzrenie M.F. Akhundova* (M.F. Akhundov's World Outlook). Moscow, Izdat. Moskovskogo universiteta 1962, p. 40. Ahundzade's dramatic works are dealt with in H.W. BRANDS' monograph: *Aserbeidschanisches Volksteben und modernistische Tendenzen den Schauspielen Mirzā Feth-'Alī Ahundzades (1812–1878)*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1958.

plementary nature of two diametrically opposite literary systems. The author drew on traditions of Turkish folk theatre and simultaneously utilized means of expression of European dramatic art.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, the newly evolving prosaic genres,<sup>25</sup> and particularly the short stories, also succeeded in integrating inadequate components of folk epic with artistic principles of European short stories, thanks to which it attained noteworthy results within a relatively short time. It took unduly longer for the novel to get over the level of a mere experiment in this field; its artistic qualities strikingly lagged behind its ideological vigour.

What applies to the novel, also holds for dramatic works which, in the seventies and eighties of the last century, became the dominant genre in Turkish literature and insistently made itself heard in Azerbaijani literature,<sup>26</sup> and in the last quarter of the 19th century the first dramas and novels, permeated with revivalist ideas, appeared in Tatar. These also represent the ideological aim in the dramatic works of Namık Kemal (1840–1888), a polyfunctional author and a leading personality of the movement of the New Ottomans.<sup>27</sup> His dramas *Gülnehal* (1875) and *Celâleddin Harzemşah* (1885) comprise revivalist ideas of the 18th century expressed in the spirit of romanticism of the first half of the 19th century.<sup>28</sup>

Accelerated development was the concomitant phenomenon which resulted in the disintegration of Turkic literatures in relation to the traditions of Islamic culture and their integration into the European cultural context.<sup>29</sup> But of course, we may not forget the criterion of developmental differentiatedness. The two are closely related and development proceeded much faster in literatures that could make contact not only with the European pattern, but also

<sup>24</sup> PLASKOWICKA-RYMKIEWICZ, S. – BORZECKA, M. – ŁABECKA-KOECHEROWA, M.: *Historia literatury tureckiej* (History of Turkish Literature). Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1971, p. 177.

<sup>25</sup> Prosaic genres in the form evolved in European literatures did not exist in classical literatures of the Islamic interliterary community. Until the 19th century, nothing but historical treatises, travelogues and the Books of Ambassadors referred to above, had been written there.

<sup>26</sup> We have in mind the northern part of Azerbaijan, annexed by Russia in 1828. Literary development in southern Azerbaijan, incorporated into Iran, went on stagnating.

<sup>27</sup> In 1865, a secret Association of the New Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti*) was formed in the Ottoman Empire on the model of the Italian revolutionary organization Carbonari, which had for aim to establish a constitutional monarchy where all the citizens regardless of religious denomination would enjoy the same rights. Following the unsuccessful putsch in 1866, many of the leading representatives of the Association, including Namık Kemal, emigrated to Paris and London where they published journals and articles against the government policy of the Ottoman State.

<sup>28</sup> In the preface to the drama *Celâleddin Harezşah*, Namık Kemal openly sided with Victor Hugo's creative principles.

<sup>29</sup> The specific content and designative ability of this term is defined by ĐURIŠIN, D.: *Pokus o skúmanie zákonitosti medziliterárneho procesu* (An Attempt at an Investigation of the Laws of the Interliterary Process). In: ĐURIŠIN, D. et al.: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvo 1*, pp. 272–273.

with their own tradition of written literature which, following a certain stagnation, again became activated thanks to impulses from outside.

In less developed Turkmenian, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Kara-Kalpak literatures, poetry had retained for a relatively long time a leading position, in the Tatar, Azerbaijani and Turkish literatures this genre – dominant in the Middle Ages – soon relinquished this position at the start of the emancipation process in favour of prosaic and dramatic genres. Incontestably one of the reasons was the fact that poetry was represented far less than prose in the steadily growing volume of translations from French, Russian, English, German literatures.

Translations, as too in adaptations of works from European literatures (where the stress was laid on foregrounding of the artistic and ideational values of the original) fulfilled a double role: on the one hand, they stimulated the origin and development of new literary types and genres, topics and artistic procedures, on the other, they took a significant part in forming new literary languages based on democratic principles.

In this connection we again refer to Ibrahim Şinasi whose translating activities exerted a significant influence on the promotion of Turkish literature precisely from the above two aspects. Şinasi was the first to have made accessible to the Turkish reading public the works of Racine, Lamartine, Hugo, La Fontaine, Musset and simultaneously, through these translations to enhance the reform of the Turkish literary language which he advocated.

Another personality that by his translations of approximately fifty works from Russian literature as well as his own poetic work had a significant share in the formation of Kazakh language was Abai Kunanbayev (1845–1904).

The prospects and conditions of the moulding of literary languages differed in the various Turkic nations. The majority of them had no literary language of their own, some even lacked written literature. Ottoman Turkish and Chagatai had for centuries been the medium for a cultural exchange in the Turkic world. In the mid-19th century Turkic scholars and intelligentsia began through their intermediary to become acquainted in Turkish and Chagatai translations with European literature, particularly French and Russian.

A striking change took place following the formation of Turkic federated and autonomous republics within the Soviet Union. On the one hand, the languages of nations and nationalities were granted the status of official languages, which seemingly gave them the prospect of development, on the other hand, however, this chance was weakened by Russian being institutionalized as the universal means of communication. Russian thus not only relegated national languages into a secondary position, but simultaneously replaced Turkish and Chagatai as a means of cultural exchange among Turkic nations. Alongside a divergent political and social orientation, this fact, too, led towards a gradual disintegration of Turkic nations and nationalities within the framework of the Soviet Union and outside of it.

Compulsory knowledge of Russian created conditions in the former Soviet Union for bilingualism of both authors and readers of literary works. It permitted works of Russian classical and Soviet literature to be available to a

larger audience, as well as those of foreign authors acceptable to the Soviet régime and the production of numerous national literatures of the Soviet Union. However, the hegemony of Russian gradually ushered in a situation where a Russian translation became more accessible even to a non-Russian reader, than the original not only when there was question of literature of a related nation, but likewise when the language of the original was the reader's maternal tongue. Alongside bilingual authors, there are also numerous poets and writers in Turkic literatures of the former Soviet Union who write exclusively in Russian.

Literatures of the Turkic nations of Transcaucasia, Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Siberia became incorporated into the interliterary community of the Soviet Union, formed primarily on the basis of an administrative-political, and then also on an ideological-artistic principle. The so-called socialist realism became for whole decades the only officially recognized criterion for the work of writers, poets and playwrights in the former Soviet Union, but also in all the former socialist countries.

Despite the strong ideological pressures on the part of totalitarian régimes, valuable literary works were also written there that will stand the strictest evaluative criteria: This also applies to Turkic literatures in which not all poets and writers accepted the enforced patterns either, and several attempted a fertile synthesis of the gains of European literature with their own traditions. Such a synthesis occupies an important place in contemporary Turkish literature and the underlying method is especially characteristic of the work of the internationally acknowledged and much translated Yaşar Kemal (1922).

Turkish literature which both in the past and during the present century enjoyed more favourable conditions for its development than the other Turkic literatures, inevitably won better chances to penetrate by means of translations into the context not only of European, but also world literature. As a case in point, we may mention the work of poet Nazım Hikmet (1901–1963), of the humorist and satirist Aziz Nesin (born 1915), awarded several international prizes and of Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906–1954) whose contribution to 20th century world literature was recognized by the Mark Twain Society by making him an honorary member.

Translations of works from Turkish literature into Russian and languages of Turkic Soviet Republics, as also, although in a far lesser measure, Turkish editions of significant representatives of Turkic Soviet literature, fortunately helped to preserve, at least in outline, the continuity of a cultural exchange among the Turkic nations during the course of their disintegration due to their appurtenance to two different political groupings.

The break-up of the Soviet Union and formation of sovereign Turkic republics have created prospects not only of a new level of their mutual relationships, but also of contacts between these republics and the rest of the world. The principal motive power in efforts at setting up a community of Turkic nations and its integration with the countries of Europe is represented by Turkey.



The Commission for the literary language at the session in May 1992 set down priorities in the domain of language, culture, education and science, the aim being to speed up integration of the Turkic commonwealth and ensure its rightful place in the contemporary world. This involved, among other matters, mutual establishment of cultural centres, exchange of teachers and students, cooperation in preparing dictionaries and grammars, publication of anthologies from the various literatures of this commonwealth in all their languages, mutual exchange of radio and TV programmes, and the introduction of a uniform alphabet.<sup>30</sup>

The last of the tasks mentioned culminated in the decision by The Turkic World Fraternity, Friendship and Cooperation Convention, convened in Antalya (Turkey) between 21-24 March 1993 to introduce a uniform alphabet by all the Turkic languages.<sup>31</sup> This decision will facilitate the educational, scientific, cultural, economic and technological relationships among the Turkic republics. Despite efforts on the part of conservatives to enforce a return to the Arabic writing, the common alphabet is based on Latin, because it will be easier for Turkic republics to take their place in the modern world.

A discussion is going on regarding the question of a common language that would replace Russian in mutual contacts, particularly in official correspondence. A positive stand regarding the need to set up a common, supranational literary language was also expressed for the professional journal *Türk Dili* (Turkish Language) by the world-renowned Kirghiz writer Chingiz Aytmatov. He also justifies his view by the low standard of literary languages in the former Soviet republics.<sup>32</sup>

From the conservative circles the request is also heard to return to Islamic cultural traditions. In some measure, this demand may be accepted in view of the incontestable values present in these traditions. It was also thanks to them that literatures of Turkic nations have succeeded in preserving their specificities within the growing Eurocentrism of the past decades. In the midst of innovations, they did not lose sight of their own cultural substratum created by generations of ancestors.

The ongoing development implies that integration of Turkic literatures into a specific community is but a question of time. And although most of Turkic nations live outside the European continent, the convergent relationship of these nations to European literary traditions is so strong, that this specific interliterary community will doubtless form part of a broader all-Europe context.

<sup>30</sup> *Türk Dili*, 1992, No. 486, pp. 1034-36.

<sup>31</sup> The "Alphabet-Spelling Conference" had already earlier accepted a common Turkish alphabet for Turkey and the Turkic Republics at a meeting in Ankara on 8 March. Each Turkic Republic will prepare its own alphabet by using the Turkish one consisting of 34 letters. *Newspot*, 11 March 1993, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Cengiz Aytmatov ile dil ve edebiyat üzerine söyleşi* (Interview with Chingiz Aytmatov on language and literature). *Türk Dili*, 1992, No. 487, pp. 61-62.

## ANATOMICAL METAPHOR AND ITS ROLE IN VOCABULARY EXTENSION IN INDONESIAN AND MAORI\*

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Metaphor is examined here from the cognitive point of view and attention is paid chiefly to the role of anthropomorphic model in the metaphorical expansion of vocabulary in Indonesian and Maori. In both languages a preference for the metaphorization of the most salient body parts (eye, head, mouth) has been discovered. Terms for internal organs are as a rule applied only to psychic phenomena.

The widespread enthusiasm for metaphor sometimes tends to degenerate into a euphoria encouraged by belief in the discovery of some sort of panacea that could at last help us to cure language of all its ailments interfering with our cognition. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the tendency to stretch the meaning of metaphor so that everything would deserve this label is not new; we find it not only, e.g., with Lakoff but also with Nietzsche.

From the cognitive point of view, metaphor is no ultima Thule; rather it reflects the fact that human beings in their unrelenting effort to grasp the sense of their ambient, to penetrate into the nature of the surrounding existence, have found out (or rather assumed) that our environment is cohesive, repetitive and – despite its obvious superficial variety – essentially homogeneous. Cohesion means that various features observed around us may be linked or interrelated. The links may be either (1) obvious and usual (and sometimes insubstantial) or (2) deep, hidden from our sight so that their discovery requires some effort on the part of the observers.

Homogeneity presumes similarity and similarity may be found to hold (or be postulated) not only between adjacent domains but also between divergent areas of experience, which, of course, requires more creative intellectual exertion. The property of cohesion is utilized by metonymy that may be defined as a transfer between contiguous domains (English *egghead* used as referring to an intellectual, Maori *aahei* "collar-bone" used in the meaning of "holding the spear against the collar-bone as a guard"). Synecdoche, i.e., transferring part → whole, is hard to distinguish from metonymy for the simple reason that two phenomena linked by cohesion may often be observed to form a whole. Metaphor is to be viewed as an inventive postulation of a link between

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two conceptual domains, namely between such domains that are conventionally held to be detached, and it is their distance, their divergence that supplies metaphor with its emotional appeal and effectiveness. These properties, however, are perceived in a particular metaphor only while it is fresh. Once a metaphor is accepted by the language community and incorporated in the lexicon, its motivational basis recedes into the background and ceases to attract the attention of those who take an interest in its emotional effect. However, it is the linguist's task to pursue the study of such metaphors because they help us shed light upon the very path our cognition follows in investigating the world we live in.

I assume that we have the right to conceive of primeval (both individual and collective) human experience as inarticulate as well as fragmentary and it is during his interaction with the surrounding world that a human being gradually learns to discern what constitutes his person and what comprises his or her outer milieu. It is at the interface linking the human with the surrounding reality that the human mind picks up the first data to be processed later. And what is going on subsequently in our minds may be said to form some kind of human cognitive basis.

If the first cognitive articulation of diffuse experience has to do with the delimitation of ego from its surroundings, then it comes as no surprise that ego or (usually only) parts of it serve as a cognitive model for other conceptual domains. It sounds logical; the mass of perceptions would remain a flood of opaque experience if they were not evaluated against the background of preexistent heuristic hypotheses, the role of which consists in giving them some sense. The resulting interpretation may be adequate or wrong. An adequate interpretation is retained while a wrong interpretation is modified or replaced by a new one but one has to admit that an absence of interpretation is definitely much worse than a wrong interpretation. It is questionable where the first cognitive hypothesis comes from or how it comes about but it may safely be assumed that the process of cognition does not start from an abstract, geometrical centre of the human psychophysical being. Quite the contrary, it is to be sought at the interface, at the border that both separates and links the human being with the existence surrounding this interface from both sides, i.e., from outside and inside.

This may help us understand what L. Wittgenstein has to say on the subject: "Das philosophische ich ist nicht der Mensch, nicht der menschliche Körper oder die menschliche Seele mit den psychologischen Eigenschaften, sondern das metaphysische Subjekt, die Grenze (nicht ein Teil) der Welt" (Wittgenstein 1969: 175). The cognitive process is no mere outward march into the external world but also a vigorous and incessant attempt to penetrate the interior of human existence, and it is here that Wittgenstein's quotation ought to be completed: "Der menschliche Körper aber, mein Körper insbesondere, ist ein Teil der Welt unter anderen Teilen der Welt, unter Tieren, Pflanzen, Steinen, etc., etc." (ibid.).

The realm of primeval cognitive models includes elementary human anatomy, basic kin relations (child - parent), vital functions and activities (eat, drink, sleep, lie, stand, etc.), and sensual perceptions (hot, cold, rough, smooth, etc.). By the way, these realms are interrelated: anatomical terms reflect an elementary structuring of the human physical being in terms of relations of the parts and the whole; the vital functions, activities and sensual perceptions are inputs and outputs linking humans to their environment while kinship terms as a basis of social organization reflect elementary relations between people within their structured social milieu.

What has been said so far seems to harmonize with the assumption that anatomical terms play no negligible part in the extension of vocabulary in most languages of the world. The mechanism of vocabulary extension is to a considerable extent based upon metaphor and, to some extent, upon metonymy. Often, both devices are employed with the same term. The English word head may be quoted as an illustration. In the sentence "He is washing his head", head stands for hair while in "He has a good head for languages", its extension is reduced to intellect, mind; "ten heads of cattle" is metonymical (or rather synecdochical) just as head in the meaning of fan or in phraseologisms hang one's head, make a head.

The metaphorical uses of head are much more frequent (but not necessarily more diverse) and based upon its round shape, cf. the following examples: "head of a muscle", "head of a ram", "head of a violin", "head of a lathe", "head of a tape recorder", "head of lettuce", "head of a column", "head of a missile", "head of a cane", or upon its prominence within an (organic) body or upper, utmost position, cf. "head of a bed", "head of a grave", "head of the family" (or of a committee, etc.), "head in a book", "head waiter", "headmaster", "head of the table", "the head on a glass of beer", "head of a valley", "head of a staircase" (or of a mast), "head of a river", "head of a tree", "head of a ship", "head of a bridge", "headstream", "headstone", "head-word", etc.

Now an attempt will be made to investigate the metaphorical usage of anatomical terms in Indonesian and in Maori. Two methods will be employed here. First, the list of anatomical terms that are productive in metaphorization will be compiled for both languages and then compared for coincidences and divergences. Subsequently, the productivity of the individual terms (both in terms of frequency and diversity of usage) will be evaluated.

The productive anatomical terms may be classified into three main conceptual groups, i.e., head, body, and extremities. The following pattern has been attested for Indonesian:

Tab. 1. Vehicles of Indonesian anatomical metaphors

KEPALA "head":  
muka "face":  
mata "eye" telinga "ear"

*m u l u t* "mouth":  
*bibir* "lips" *gigi* "tooth"  
*lidah* "tongue"

*B A D A N* "body":  
*tulang* "bone" *darah* "blood"  
*jantung* "heart"  
*pinggang* "waist, loins"  
*belakang* "back"  
*perut* "belly": *hati* "liver"  
*burit* "behind" "extremities":  
*tangan* "hand, arm":  
*jari* "finger"  
*kaki* "foot"

The number of Maori anatomical terms is comparable although some minor deviations have been attested:

Tab. 2. Vehicles of Maori anatomical metaphors

*URU = UUPOKO = KAUPANE* "head":

*huru* "hair"  
*tumuaki* "crown of the head"  
*rae* "forehead"  
*pewa* "eyebrow"  
*mata = puukanohi* "eye"  
*ihu* "nose"  
*waha = ngutu* "mouth"  
*niho* "tooth" *arero* "tongue"  
*kauae* "jaw"

*T I N A N A* "body":  
*aahei* "collar-bone"  
*mauri* "thymus"  
*hope* "loins, waist"  
*tua* "back"

*manawa = koopuu = takapuu* "belly"  
*mahara = hinengaro* "spleen" *ngaakau* "vitals, viscera"  
*ate = whanewhane* "liver" *whatumanawa* "kidney"  
*ure = penis ewe* "placenta, womb"  
*kootore* "buttocks, anus" *ene* "anus"

"extremities":  
*ringa(ringa)* "hand, arm":  
*koromatua* "thumb" *koiti* "small finger":  
*waewae* "foot"

The similarities and differences between the two languages are easier to discover in the following table.

Tab. 3. Maori and Indonesian. A comparison of anatomical metaphors

MAORI	INDONESIAN
<i>URU = UUPOKO = KAUPANE</i> "head"	KEPALA "head":
-	muka "face"
<i>huru</i> "hair"	rambut "hair"
<i>tumuaki</i> "crown of the head"	-
<i>rae</i> "forehead"	-
-	telinga "ear"
<i>pewa</i> "eyebrow"	-
<i>mata = puukanohi</i> "eye"	mata "eye"
<i>ihu</i> "nose"	-
<i>waha</i> "mouth":	mulut "mouth":
<i>ngutu</i> "lips"	bibir "lips"
<i>niho</i> "tooth"	-
<i>arero</i> "tongue"	lidah "tongue"
<i>kauae</i> "jaw"	-
<i>T I N A N A</i> "body":	B A D A N "body":
<i>aahei</i> "collar-bone"	-
-	tulang "bone"
-	darah "blood"
<i>mauri</i> "thymus"	-
-	jantung "heart"
<i>hope</i> "loins, waist"	pinggang "waist, loins"
<i>tua</i> "back"	belakang "back"
<i>manawa = koopuu = takapuu</i> "belly"	perut "belly":
<i>mahara = hinengaro</i> "spleen"	-
<i>ngaakau</i> "vitals, viscera"	hati "liver"
<i>ate = whanewhane</i> "liver"	-
<i>whatumanawa</i> "kidney"	-
<i>ure</i> "penis"	-
<i>ewe</i> "placenta, womb"	-
<i>kootore</i> "buttocks, anus"	burit "behind"
<i>ene</i> "anus"	-
-	"extremities":
<i>ringa(ringa)</i> "hand, arm":	tangan "hand, arm":
-	jari "finger"
<i>koromatua</i> "thumb"	-
<i>koiti</i> "little finger":	-
<i>waewae</i> "foot"	kaki "foot"

The frequency of occurrence of the anatomical metaphors in Indonesian and in Maori are not directly comparable, for several reasons. One of them is the underlying corpora of data. Dictionaries of Indonesian comprise many more lexemes; e.g., Korigodski - Kondrashkin - Zinoviev's *Indonesian-Russian dictionary* contains some 45,000 words (Korigodski 1961 and Echols - Shadily's *Indonesian-English dictionary* some 25,000 - 30,000 entries (Echols - Shadily 1963) while the number of entries in Williams' *Maori-English dictionary* may be estimated at about 15,000 entries (Williams 1957).

Therefore an evaluation of frequency will be restricted here to an intuitive assessment of the productivity within each of the two sets.

In Maori vocabulary it is *mata* = *puukanohi* "eye, eyes" that takes the top position, followed by *uru* = *uupoko* = *kaupane* "head", *mauri* "thymus", and *kauiae* "jaw", by *waha* "mouth", *niho* "teeth", and *kootore* "buttocks, anus"; *mahara* "spleen", *ate* = *whanewhane* "liver", and *pewa* "eyebrow" taking the next positions in terms of frequency.

Indonesian anatomical metaphors display an analogous utilization pattern, with *mata* "eye" being at the top of the scale, followed by *kepala* "head", *mulut* "mouth", then by *muka* "face, and *lidah* "tongue". Cf. the following table:

Tab. 4. Metaphorical productivity of anatomical terms

MAORI	INDONESIAN
1. eye	1. eye
2. head = thymus = jaw	2. head
3. mouth = teeth = buttocks	3. mouth
4. spleen = liver = eyebrow	4. face
5. belly = viscera	5. tongue

A comparison of the two sequences betrays that within the domain of anatomy both languages display a tendency to prefer the metaphorization of the most salient body parts - eye, head, mouth. This tendency seems to be more conspicuous in the case of Indonesian than in the case of Maori. Such a coincidence is certainly not due to chance and can be explained psychologically; it is a well known fact that drawings of people by children tend to emphasize or even exaggerate facial features and the head in general, drastically reducing the rest of the body. Another minor difference between the two languages consists in the fact that Maori utilizes more anatomical terms in lexical metaphors than Indonesian does, despite the fact that the vocabulary of Indonesian no doubt comprises more lexemes than that of Maori.

The most productive metaphorical vehicles are applied to more than one target domain. In Maori, the term for "head" (*uru*, *uupoko*, *kaupane*) is metaphorized because of its functional importance (cf. *uru* "chief"), or its top position (*uru* "top", *kaupane* "upper end"), very much as in Indonesian, cf. *kepala desa* "village headman", *kepala sarong* "upper edge of a sarong", *kepala*

*tahun* "the beginning of the year". On the other hand, metaphorizations of the terms for "eye" are usually confined to the saliency of this organ within the human face, cf. Maori *puukanohi* "knot in timber", "bud", "eye of a potato", *mata* "mesh of a net", *puukanohi* "isolated waterhole", Indonesian *mata jala* "mesh of a net", *mata panah* "arrowhead", *mata air* "well, spring".

Parallelisms between Maori and Indonesian are obviously due to the existence of cognitive universals centering around human anatomy. They extend to terms for "mouth" (Maori *waha*, Indonesian *mulut*) or "lips" (Maori *ngutu*, Indonesian *bibir*), cf. Maori *waha* "mouth of a river", "doorway", "opening" and Indonesian *mulut sungai* "estuary", *mulut kulit* "pore of the skin", *mulut gunung* "crater".

Interestingly enough, terms for internal organs (situated in the abdomen) are as a rule applied only to the psychic sphere, cf. Maori *puku* "seat of passion, memory", *takapiu* "affection, appetite, desire", *mahara* "thought, memory, think", *ate* "seat of thought, emotions". In this respect, Maori is richer and more elaborate than Indonesian where only *hati* "liver" is applied metaphorically to the psychic sphere (with the meaning "heart", "mind", "interest", "attention"). This application of terms for internal organs to mental and emotional states is in a way metonymical; both domains are obviously presumed to be located at least side by side, if not at the identical spot.

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## A THEORY OF EVOLUTION OF THE MANDARIN FOCUS CONSTRUCTION 'SHÌ...DE'

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Japanese and Mandarin focus constructions are compared and a unified theory of their origin and function proposed. According to this theory, focus constructions came about to indicate that a constituent marked as only part of the rheme (in the Prague School sense, vs. theme) in the non-focus construction was in fact the sole element of the rheme.

The 'shì...de' construction, together with the phenomenon of verb-copying, is seen as an eventual response to a pre-classical standardization of the positions of the different types of adverbials *vis-à-vis* the verb.

Although there is no evidence that the focus construction existed in the classical language, there is reason to think the homophonous "situational" (in Chao's description) construction did. It was to the form of this latter construction, which in its classical form has been mistakenly regarded as the "pronoun *zhi*" construction, that the eventual focus construction was assimilated.

### 1. Introduction

Modini (1989a) postulates that there were four original-protolanguage types, viz., the ergative type, the pragmatic constituent order type (represented by Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Afro-Asiatic and Proto-Sino-Tibetan), the objective-conjugation/definite object suffix type (Proto-Uralic-Altaic<sup>1</sup>) and the object-prefix type (Proto-Niger-Congo). These came about, I suggest, each as the result of one of four interactions of the three factors of standardized constituent order, nominal case inflection and verbal agreement, which had come to carry out the two functions of case marking and theme-rheme marking at the prehistorical stage in all the original protolanguages. The pos-

<sup>1</sup> Modini (1993) shows that the object particle *o* had a theme-marking role in Old Japanese, in keeping with the hypothesis of the Uralic-Altaic origin of the grammatical component of Japanese. Concerning the pragmatic constituent order type, I have shown (Modini 1992c) that there are grounds for thinking that, far from being three tokens of the same type, PIE, PAA and PST in fact go back to a more distant single protolanguage (on this idea cf. Pulleyblank (1966: 35; 1981:134-135).) Please note the following important errata in Modini (1992c): On p. 93, to "imperative mood" in the 4th line from the top of the page add: "for being treated as thematic (PEC, p. 151)"; on the same page, after "imperative contexts" in the first sentence of the paragraph beginning "As first suggested" add: "to past-perfective contexts and imperative contexts" before "as a whole"; finally, on p. 96, in the paragraph beginning "The fourth", between "patient" and "disappeared" in the second sentence insert the word "marker".

tulation of the four types accounts for the mutual exclusiveness in the world's languages, owing to functional equivalence, of ergativity, the agentive passive voice (developed in certain languages derived from protolanguages with pragmatic constituent order), the objective conjugation/definite object suffix system and the object-prefix system.

The constructions characterizing the four original-protolanguage types each had the function of indicating that the object NP in a transitive clause was theme, as opposed to the related, unmarked<sup>2</sup> construction, which indicated the more normal situation, that the agent NP was theme, with the verb and the object NP being elements of the rheme. The widespread present-day *non-theme/rheme-marking* function of ergative/antipassive, passive/active etc. seems to have been effected by a general process whereby these constructions came to correlate obligatorily with grammatical features (e.g., tense, aspect or mood) which, as markers of theme-rheme distribution, they had had a high frequency of association with. Whereupon the hitherto secondary device of sentence stress<sup>3</sup> became the essential means of expression of theme and rheme.

### 2. Japanese focusing

I say "essential" in describing the function of sentence stress in such languages because it is necessary to acknowledge that another means exists which was apparently inherited from the stage of the language at which ergative/antipassive, passive/active etc. did have a theme and rheme marking function.<sup>4</sup> The other, inessential and non-basic means had, I contend, the specific function of indicating that a constituent marked as only part of the rheme in the unmarked member of the pair of related constructions, or in an unmarked intransitive construction, which has the same theme-rheme distribution as regards subject and verb (Modini 1987:151), was in fact the sole element of the rheme. Consider the following from Japanese, which I have shown (Modi-

<sup>2</sup> I.e. less formally complex or more frequently occurring (cf. Comrie 1988:19). According to the second of these criteria, the Japanese 'S-wa O-o V' and Mandarin 'S V O' constructions are the unmarked ones in these languages (Shibatani 1988:111, on Japanese; Li and Thompson 1975:185, Sun and Givón 1985, on Mandarin).

<sup>3</sup> Dezső (1982) has shown that most commonly cross-linguistically it is the object, rather than the verb, that receives sentence stress, i.e. that is the major constituent of the rheme. Modini (1989a:354) rather takes the view that neither verb nor object is inherently more likely to be the major or minor constituent and thus to have occurred in a particular position *vis-à-vis* the other in the prehistorical period when constituents' positions were determined by their theme or rheme role. Thus I saw SVO and SOV basic verb orders as resulting from alternative prehistorical standardizations of the two equally frequently occurring distributions of grammatical roles. In the light of Dezső, I now consider SOV to have resulted rather from the standardization of the most frequently occurring distribution of lexical roles, i.e. NPs before V.

<sup>4</sup> I did not acknowledge this other, non-basic means in Modini (1989b), my study of the segmental and suprasegmental means of marking theme and rheme.

ni 1984:3) marks theme and rheme basically by the type of construction employed:<sup>5</sup>

- (1) (a) *Kare ga katta no wa hon deshita*  
 he RH buy(PAST) PMM TH book be(PAST)  
 'It was a book that he bought.'  
 (b) *Kare wa hon o kaimashita*  
 he TH book OBJ buy(PAST)  
 'He bought a book.'

In (b), *hon* and *kaimashita* are two parts of the rheme; in (a), *hon* without the verb makes up the rheme.<sup>6</sup>

The process of focusing *hon* - i.e., marking it as the sole part of the rheme - involves the nominalizing of the other constituents (*kare ga katta no*) to enable the creation of an equational construction marking *hon* as rheme by virtue of its being outside the theme-marked part.

Let us now turn our attention to intransitive constructions. When we look at these, we observe the same manner of putting an adverbial into focus as we observed above with the focusing of an object in transitive constructions. Following are an example of a construction focusing an adverbial, and the corresponding non-focusing construction:

- (2) (a) *Kare ga kita no wa kinoo deshita*  
 he RH come(PAST) PMM<sup>7</sup> TH yesterday be(PAST)  
 'It was yesterday that he came.'  
 (b) *Kare wa kinoo kimashita*  
 he TH yesterday come(PAST)  
 'He came yesterday.'

In (b), *kinoo* and *kimashita* are two parts of the rheme; in (a), *kinoo* without the verb makes up the rheme.

<sup>5</sup> These abbreviations are used: in glosses in examples: FIN (final particle), OBJ (object marker), PERF (perfectiveness marker), PMM (prenominal modification marker), RH (rheme marker), TH (theme marker). Thanks to informants Misaki Gallagher, an English and Japanese native speaker, and Michael Hui, a native speaker of English and Mandarin. The elicitation process went like this. For (2) and (3) below in the text, I said to each: 'The situation is he came yesterday', and then asked her/him to reply in one Japanese/Mandarin sentence to each of my questions: 'When was it that he came?' (eliciting (a)) and 'What did he do and when did he do it?' (which elicited (b)).

<sup>6</sup> The following is the marked construction corresponding to (1b):

(i) *Kare ga hon o kaimashita*  
 'He bought a book.'

<sup>7</sup> This *no* has been analysed variously as a nominalizer, a pronoun and a prenominal modification marker with a following non-lexical head (see Kitagawa and Ross 1982:36). Whichever interpretation is made, the *no*-ending word-group is still a nominalization.

There is Russian evidence for the view of focusing presented here. Thus in Russian, on the one hand, there is, unlike in Japanese, no fixed order of object or adverbial *vis-à-vis* the verb, so that either may appear in clause-final position as sole rheme; on the other hand, as we would expect, there is no special focus construction (Borrás and Christian 1971:289-290).

The fact that other constituents than object or adverbial are focused in various languages may be accounted for on the assumption that focusing, having begun, as I contend, with object and adverbials, was extended to other constituents - subjects and, much less commonly (cf. Givón 1990:731), verbs.

### 3. Mandarin focusing

The Japanese focusing process can be shown to be identical in essentials to that of Mandarin, another language marking theme and rheme basically segmentally, viz. by constituent position (cf. Li and Thompson 1975:167), rather than suprasegmentally. The equivalents of (2a) and (2b) are, in Mandarin:

- (3) (a) *Tā shì zuótiān lái de*  
 he/she be yesterday come PMM<sup>8</sup>  
 'It was yesterday that he came.'  
 (b) *Tā zuótiān lái le*  
 he/she yesterday come PERF  
 'He came yesterday.'

The focusing process in Mandarin, as in Japanese, can be viewed as involving the nominalization of the non-focused elements and the creation of an equational construction. If we disregard *lái de* in (3a) for the moment, the position of the focused word, *zuótiān*, conforms to the 'rheme last' order, just as in (2a) *kinoo* is marked as the sole element of the rheme. The position of *lái de* can be explained by regarding the nominalization *tā lái de* as discontinuous, with part of it, *lái de*, extraposed.<sup>9</sup>

With the Mandarin extraposition may be compared the English cleft sentence, which I used above to translate the Japanese and Mandarin focus constructions.<sup>10</sup> This construction may be viewed as having *all* the nominal-

<sup>8</sup> This *de* is termed a past tense marker in Lu (1983). Zhao (1979) and elsewhere, other interpretations being relativizer, nominalizer and prenominal modification marker with a following non-lexical head (see Chu (1981:63-65) on all these). I adopt the last-mentioned interpretation, but delay further discussions till section 3.3.

<sup>9</sup> Rather than indicating an 'inverse order of 'rheme-theme'', as Chu (1981:71) would have it, the construction may be more accurately described as having only part of the theme in normal, initial position.

<sup>10</sup> The cleft sentence construction is also used by Chao (1968:297) and Martin (1988:864) in their discussions to translate the Mandarin and Japanese focus constructions. As Chao's examples show, the '*shì...de*' construction is used to focus coverb phrases, as well as adverbials; the focusing of the former, however, can be regarded as an extension of adverb focusing. It is also

ized elements extraposed and, as well, an anticipatory *it* as the subject (Harries-Delisle 1978:437).

### 3.1. Word order change

Modini (1989a) claims Mandarin goes back to a language marking theme and rheme by the order of constituents without any particular positional restrictions. The hypothesis I have advanced above in section 2 concerning the origin of focus constructions therefore predicts that the construction illustrated in (3a) arose after the time in the history of the language when the construction with the adverbial in rhematic, final position had become no longer possible owing to standardization of its pre-verbal position. In other words, (3a) came to express the idea formerly expressed by a construction like:

(3) (c) \**Tā lái le zuótiān.*

Certainly time adverbs equivalent to present-day *zuótiān* etc. preceded the verb in the classical language (Dobson 1968:132), and so the pre-condition for development of a focus construction existed by then. However there is no evidence that a classical counterpart of the '*shì...de*' construction existed, I have found. Proceeding on the reasonable assumption that *de* goes back, at least in part (Lü 1943), to the particle *zhì*, I examined all the instances of *zhì* occurring clause-finally in Mullie (1942). I was looking for clauses which might be candidates for analysis as structures of the type: '*shì*/zero ADVERBIAL VERB *zhì*', where the adverbial had some emphatic flavour.<sup>11</sup> My examination found no such candidates.

Jepson (1991:29), following Huang (1984), notes that "Chinese has exhibited certain types of word-order change. In particular, there appears to have been a long-term tendency to reduce the amount of postverbal material by moving constituents to the left of the verb". Indeed, what may be superficially described as a historical process of reduction of material in post-verbal position may, I believe, be responsible not only for the creation of the necessary condition for the development of the '*shì...de*' construction but also ultimately for the rise of the phenomenon of verb-copying, which is illustrated in the following from Li and Thompson (1981:443):

(4) *Wǒ pāi shǒu pāi le liǎng cì*  
I clap hand clap PERF two time  
'I clapped my hands twice.'

necessary to note two special variations on the construction: the *shì* may be omitted, and the *de* may either follow any postverbal object or precede it; when it precedes, it is felt to combine *le* and *de* (Hashimoto 1969:101).

<sup>11</sup> The copula *shì* which alternated with zero in the classical language, along with adjectival *shì* and pronominal *shì*, can be shown to go back to a locative verb 'be at' (Modini 1992b).

The following, with the object *shǒu* and the quantity adverbial phrase *liǎng cì* together after the un-repeated verb, is ungrammatical:

(5) \**Wǒ pāi le shǒu liǎng cì.*<sup>12</sup>

The construction represented by (5) was until at least the mid-17th century (Huang 1984:69) the means of expression of the idea of (4), just as, I claim, (3c) once expressed (3a). Reduction in postverbal material does seem to have been effected in the disappearance of (3c), just as in the rise of (4): in the former case a time adverb has been lost from postverbal position; in the latter case both object and quantity adverbial no longer appear together after the verb.

However the historical process resulting ultimately in both the '*shì...de*' and verb-copying constructions may, I believe, better be described as a process of (a) *standardization of the positions* of the two different types of adverbial expressions *vis-à-vis* the verb, together with (b) development of *alternative means of expressions* of theme and rheme distribution. Part (a) of this process involved the standardization of the most frequently occurring orders of verb and adverbial. Thus, adverbs of time like modern *zuótiān*, which would most frequently have occurred *before* the verb since they would in most contexts have the minor rheme role and the verb the major rheme role, came to occur obligatory preverbally. Similarly, quantity and other adverbials would most frequently have occurred *after* the verb since they would in most contexts have the major rheme role, so that the postverbal position became obligatory for them. This first part of the long-term process occurred substantially prior to the classical period. However, as far as verb-copying is concerned, the grammaticality of the construction represented by (5) till 300-odd years ago suggests that verb-copying resulted from a further, rather recent development eliminating the object from the position between the verb and the post-verbal quantity (etc.) adverbial.

The verb-copying construction can be seen, furthermore, as an alternative means of expression of the theme-rheme configuration expressed by the non-copying construction. Thus the adverbial in both constructions clearly occupies sentence-final position as the sole element of the rheme. And in the verb-copying construction, the verb and object together make up the minor element

<sup>12</sup> Although sentences like (5) do not occur, the following type does:

(i) *Wǒ tīng le Zhāngsān liǎng cì*  
I hear PERF Zhangsan two time  
'I heard Zhangsan twice.'

As Li and Thompson (1981:445) point out, non-copying of the verb occurs, as in (i), when the object is referential, animate and definite. It seems to me that the reason for this may be that such NPs are not typical objects; referentiality, animateness and definiteness are features associated rather with subjects. Verb-copying, at its present stage of evolution, may only affect "normal" objects, along with (as Hsieh's (1992:80-83) examples seem to show) only canonical transitive verbs.



of the theme, as Tsao (1987a:20-29) has to my mind convincingly show. (The minor theme is termed there the "secondary topic".) This is no doubt the function also of verb and object together in the non-copying construction.

This conception of the theme-rheme distribution expressed by the verb-copying construction offers some explanation for the fact that, as Hsieh (1992:78) puts it "the function of the verb copying construction and the function of the *ba* construction are in complementary distribution". Hsieh points to the ambiguity in the following:

- (6) *Tā qí lèi le mǎ*  
 he/she ride tired PERF horse  
 'He rode a horse, and (as a result) he was tired.'  
 'He rode a horse, and (as a result) the horse was tired.'

If (6) is expressed instead as a verb-copying construction, *lei* refers only to the state of the subject; if a *bǎ*-construction is instead used, *lei* can only refer to the state of the object. We can account for this in terms of functional sentence perspective by saying that in a verb-copying structure, the idea expressed by the postverbal adverbial element has to do with the action expressed by the verb and its object combined; in a *bǎ*-construction, the idea expressed by the verb and adverbial combined has to do with the preverbal object, which, as Tsao (1987b) has shown, makes up the minor part of the theme. In other words, something is said about the verbal action (performed by the major theme NP) in a verb-copying construction, whereas something is said about the object in a *bǎ*-construction.

### 3.2. The classical pseudo-cleft construction

The '*shì...de*' construction under discussion here is to be distinguished from three other '*shì...de*' constructions, viz. the construction with "emphatic" *shì* and "final particle" *de*, the restrictive relative clause construction with ellipted head, and the "situational" construction. These are illustrated with examples from Paris (1978):

- (7) *Wǒ shì bù qù de*  
 I SHI not go DE  
 'No, I'm not going.'
- (8) *Tā shì zuótiān mǎi shū de*  
 he/she SHI yesterday buy book DE  
 'He is the one who bought books yesterday.'
- (9) *Tā shì zuótiān mǎi shū de*  
 he/she SHI yesterday buy book DE  
 'What he did was buy books yesterday.'

The function of the (9)-type construction is to divide the information distribution into two clear parts, marking everything before *shì* as the theme and then the material before *de* as the rheme. This function is brought out well by the Chao style of translation (1968:296): 'He bought books yesterday that-was-what-he-did.' To distinguish this '*shì...de*' structure from the adverb-focusing '*shì...de*', I will adopt normal practice and refer to the former as the pseudo-cleft construction and to the latter as the cleft construction in the discussion below.

Although, as mentioned in the previous subsection, I could find no evidence of the cleft construction in the classical language, examples of the pseudo-cleft are, to my mind, to be found where there is supposed to be the "pronoun *zhī*". Rather than itself being the pronoun, the construction of which it is a part, or which it is a sign of, is used when an anaphoric pronoun in zero form occurs; in other words, when the theme of the sentence, introduced into the context in a previous sentence, is deleted as recoverable. The construction characteristically has the form 'zero VERB *zhī*', where zero is the copula and *zhī* is nothing but the classical counterpart of *de*. An example is the following, from Dobson (1959:96; 1974:458):

- (10) *Shòu xiāng shí. Qiě rén wù zhī*  
 animal each:other eat also person despise ZHI  
 'Animals eat their own kind; furthermore, men despise them.'

The Dobson translation above might be recast, to reflect the suggested pseudo-cleft nature of the construction, as: '... furthermore, what they are is despised by people'.

The identical structures in (9) and (10) can be seen in the following suggested literal translations:

- (9) (a) He is the buying of books yesterday.  
 (10) (a) (They) (are) people's despising.<sup>13</sup>

The words shown in brackets represent parts of the classical structures which are not actually expressed. Comparing the modern Mandarin pseudo-cleft with its classical counterpart, we see the clear equational nature of both. As distinct from the modern Mandarin construction, the classical construction, however, has no expression of either copula or anaphoric pronoun. It is this unexpressed pronoun that, I believe, holds the key to understanding why the pseudo-cleft construction came about in the first place. The creation of a nominalization signalled by *zhī* would have helped in decoding a deleted theme because it implied an equational sentence of which the nominalization is

<sup>13</sup> What these suggested structures imply is that the copula has/had a more general function than expression of mere equivalence. Such a role is well attested in other contexts in both the classical language (Modini 1992b) and the modern language (Chao 1968:718-719).

the rheme constituent and some deleted, recoverable NP the theme constituent.

When the "pronoun *zhi*" occurs before the "object", once again to my mind we have an equational sentence, but the "object" is the rheme. An example is the following, from Dobson (1959:96; 1974:458):

- (11) *Wú yǒu dà shù. Rén wèi zhī shū*  
I have large tree person call ZHI shu  
'I have a large tree, men call it the "Shu tree".'

Reflecting the equational nature of the construction, with part of the theme deleted, we might recast the Dobson translation as: 'What people call (it) (is) the Shu', or as the literal: 'People's calling (it) (is) the Shu'.

One further position the "pronoun *zhi*" occupies is the pre-"verbal" position. Consider the following, from Dobson (1968:121):

- (12) *Zēng-sūn zhī sè*  
great-grandchild ZHI harvest  
'The great-grandchildren harvest them.'

Here to my mind we have an equational sentence translatable literally as: '(They) (are) the great-grandchildren's harvest', where the "verb" should rather be considered a noun (cf. Dobson 1974:457) and, as well, the *zhi* has its more usual prenominal modification marker function.

In the following, pre-"verbal" "pronoun *zhi*" is traditionally taken to be "repeating" the preceding object, with the subject unexpressed; rather, there is an equational sentence, to my mind, which assists in recovering a deleted thematic agent:

- (13) *Wéi xīn zhī wèi yú*  
only heart ZHI speak:of FIN  
'It is the mind of which this is said!' (Legge 1960:409)

The true equational nature of the construction is brought out in the following literal translation: '(He, viz. Confucius) (is) the speaking of the mind only'.

Finally, the following is also traditionally viewed as an example of a "repeated object" *zhi*, but the subject is not unexpressed:

- (14) *Wú wéi zǐ zhī jiàn*  
I only you ZHI see  
'Vous êtes le seul que j'ai vu.' (Mullie 1942:18)

Here *zhi* for Mullie repeats *zǐ*. What I rather take to be the true equational nature of the construction is brought out in the following suggested literal

translation: 'I (am) the seeing of you only'. The difference between (14) and the previous examples is that there is no thematic element deleted. This fact seems to suggest another role being performed by the equational construction here – viz., that of demarcation of the two preverbal agent and patient NPs.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3. Mechanism of development of '*shì...de*'

Let us now return to the pseudo-cleft construction illustrated by (9) and compare it with the corresponding, formally-identical cleft construction. Both take the form:

- (15) *Tā shì zuótiān mǎi shū de*  
he/she SHI yesterday buy book DE.

The different theme-rheme distributions can be brought out in the following translations:

- (15) (a) What he did was buy books yesterday (PSEUDO-CLEFT)  
(b) It was yesterday that he bought books (CLEFT).

A more literal translation, reflecting the equational nature of the Mandarin construction, was earlier given as (9a), repeated here as (15c):

- (15) (c) He is the buying of books yesterday.

Although the structure reflected in (15 c) is appropriate to a "situational" utterance marking the pronoun as theme and everything else as the rheme, it is not at all appropriate to an utterance marking the time expression as rheme alone and the rest as the theme. A more appropriate order of constituents, reflecting the normal 'theme then rheme' order, would be:

- (15)(d) \**Tā mǎi shū de shì zuótiān*  
he/she buy book DE SHI yesterday  
lit.: 'His buying books was yesterday.'

As Kitagawa and Ross (1982:37) note, comparing such Mandarin constructions with the Japanese, the "nonlexical head" after the "prenominal modification marker" *de*, unlike that following Japanese *no*, may not refer to an

<sup>14</sup> My interpreting "pronoun *zhi*" as a prenominal modification marker does not end with the "pronoun": the "adjectival *zhi*" (Dobson 1974:458) is, I believe, nothing but the only sign of a relative clause whose constituents are ellipted, so that the clause is literally translatable as: '(which) (is at) (it)', where I use the bracketing device introduced above in the text. Here the copula has a locative sense (see fns. 11 and 13 above), and both it and the two NPs are unexpressed, the latter by virtue of being recoverable thematic elements. The only phonologically realized part of the clause is the *zhi*, traditionally translated as a demonstrative.

adverbial. This is regarded as one of the differences between the two languages with regard to *de* and *no*. Unfortunately the authors do not consider the Mandarin cleft sentence at all, except in a footnote (p. 33, fn. 10) where they dismiss the *de* as a "marker of past time reference". Had they taken the cleft sentence into the picture, there would have been no difference between *de* and *no* at all, for while (15d) does not occur, in (15), with the cleft interpretation, the nonlexical head after the prenominal modification marker can be taken as referring to an adverbial, viz. *zuótiān*.

In a later paper, Ross (1983) declares herself firmly in support of the view that the cleft sentence *de* is a prenominal modification marker. The convincing evidence she brings forward is the following (p. 235), which demonstrates the pattern of grammaticality of the final particle *le* – which expresses a "currently relevant state" – in various clause types:

- (16) \**Wǒ shì zuótiān chī fàn le de*  
I SHI yesterday eat rice FIN de  
'It was yesterday that I ate (rice).'

- (17) *Wǒ zuótiān chī fàn le*  
I yesterday eat rice FIN  
'I ate (rice) yesterday.'

- (18) *Zuótiān chī fàn (\*le) de rén dōu bìng le*  
yesterday eat rice FIN DE person all sick FIN  
'The people who ate yesterday all got sick.'

Examination of the above reveals that the final particle can occur in independent clauses but that it can occur neither in clefts nor in relative clauses. From this evidence the conclusion can be drawn that clefts entail a modifying clause subordinated to a non-lexical head by a prenominal modification marker *de*.

The interesting question which now suggests itself is, Why is the cleft construction *not* expressed as (15d), but rather as (15)? The answer seems to be that by the time that adverb-focusing developed, the "situational" (i.e. pseudo-cleft) construction was well evolved and that an adverb-focus construction of the (15d) type was simply assimilated to the form of the pseudo-cleft. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that there were neither structures of the type '*zhī shì/zero ADVERB*', i.e. counterparts of (15d), nor constructions of the type '*shì/zero ADVERB VERB zhī*', in other words counterparts of the modern cleft construction, in the classical language, as far as my research has been able to determine, on the one hand, whereas, on the other hand, one can analyse certain instances of the "pronoun *zhī*" as signalling a classical pseudo-cleft, as I have shown.

The fact that a classical counterpart of (3c) – with postverbal adverb – was already ungrammatical and yet no adverb-focus structure occurred at that

period is the reason for my description of focusing constructions in section two as "inessential". That the classical counterpart of (3b) – with preverbal adverb – must have been able to do the job also of a focus construction, in the sense that it must also have been able to be interpreted as expressing the adverb as sole element of the rheme,<sup>15</sup> is not as odd cross-linguistically as one might imagine. As noted in Modini (1989b:59), there are other instances where languages marking theme and rheme basically segmentally allow for a constructional type to be used for a particular context if the theme/rheme marking of only two of the three major constituents would be appropriate to the context. In Maori object relative clauses, for example, the ergative construction occurs, which marks the patient, appropriately, as theme and the agent, appropriately in most relative clauses, as rheme, but the verb (by means of the suffix *-ia*), inappropriately in most relative clauses, as theme also. Where the construction itself does not adequately express the actual theme-rheme distribution, the device of sentence stress – i.e. the prominent stress placed on the major element, or sole element, of the rheme – seems to be the universal recourse of languages.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper I have concentrated on one variety of contrastiveness, viz. that entailed by focus constructions. In this variety the connotation of unexpectedness derives from the marking as sole element of the rheme, either by virtue of the use of a special construction or by virtue of sentence stress being assigned to it, an element which would not be so marked in the non-focus construction or in a construction with sentence stress assigned normally.

This variety of contrastiveness is to be distinguished from that entailed by disjunctively coordinated constructions such as the following, from Makino (1982:136):<sup>16</sup>

- (19) *Kare no hoo wa Nagano ni sukii ni itte kanojo no*  
he PMM side TH Nagano to ski for go:and she PMM  
*hoo wa Izu no onsen ni itta n datte*  
side TH Izu PMM hot:spring to go (PAST) PMM I:heard  
'Apparently he went to Nagano to ski but she went to the hot springs at Izu.'

<sup>15</sup> This fact suggests the reason for the assimilation of an embryonic (15d)-type construction to the form of the pseudo-cleft. Thus, the pseudo-cleft indicates the same theme-rheme distribution among constituents as in the corresponding non-pseudo-cleft construction (which may explain why some languages which have clefts do not have pseudo-clefts (see Kamio (1991), comparing English and Japanese); and so, because of this functional equivalence, the pseudo-cleft may, like the classical counterpart of (3b), also have been able to do the job of a cleft, so that another special structure, (15d), was felt unnecessary.

<sup>16</sup> In this variety of contrastiveness the connotation of unexpectedness apparently derives from the fact that the theme of the second of two coordinated clauses is *not*, unlike the normal situation (Modini 1992a:114), deleted under identity with the theme of the first.



Here the theme marker *wa* is significant in this Japanese data. Contrary to the *uniform* view of contrastiveness put forward by Chafe (1976) in the Contrastiveness part of his article, the *wa* is an indication that in this construction the contrasted NP does not perform the rhematic function of the focused item in a focus construction. As Makino puts it, in his discussion of the distinction some linguists make between the thematic *wa* (the first *wa* in the example above) and the contrastive *wa* (the second *wa*): "Underlyingly, both thematic and contrastive *wa* indicate old information. I cannot think of any context where *wa* indicates important new information" (p. 137).

Taking the position that focusing originated as the marking as sole element of the rheme of an element marked as only part of it in the non-focus construction, I have in this paper speculated about the history of Mandarin 'shì...de'. I conclude that a pre-classical standardization of the position of time adverbs before the verb did not require but made for the eventual development of focusing as a means of specifying the adverbial as the sole element of the rheme.

In this paper, I have assumed, after Bolinger (1961) and others, and *contra* the approaches of Chafe and Givón, that focusing is not apart from but one aspect of rheme marking. I hope here to have contributed to our understanding of the precise nature of the connection between the two, and, in so doing, to have clarified our knowledge of the nature of theme and rheme.

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## DER OSMANISCHE KRIEG GEGEN DIE HABSBURGER 1663-64 (IM HINBLICK AUF DIE SLOWAKEI)\*

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Die Belagerung von Nové Zámky (ung. Érsekújvár, deutsch Neuhäusel) war nicht von langer Dauer, doch im Hinblick auf die fortgeschrittene Jahreszeit und den Mangel an Nahrungs- und Futtermittel war es nötig, daß die leichte Reiterei, vor allem die Krimtataren, dies sicherstellten. Im Verlauf von nicht ganz zwei Monaten, haben sie die West- und Mittelslowakei sowie Ostmähren geplündert. Am 25. September 1663 kapitulierte die Besatzung, unter der Bedingung des freien Abzuges. Die kaiserlichen und ungarischen Heere befreiten im Jahre 1664 Neutra, Lewenz und siegten in den Kämpfen bei Žarnovica und Lewenz sowie auch in dem entscheidenden Kampfe am 1. August 1664 bei St. Gotthard-Mogersdorf.

Der Feldzug der osmanischen Armee nach Ungarn im Jahre 1663 und die Eroberung von Nové Zámky (Neuhäusel, ung. Érsekújvár), Nitra (Neutra, ung. Nyitra), Levice (Léva, ung. Lewenz) und Nógrád (Novohrad, deutsch Neograd) war das größte militärische Unternehmen auf dem slowakischen Gebiet während der ganzen beinahe hundertfünfzigjährigen Nachbarschaft mit dem Osmanischen Reich. Diese Ereignisse waren keine lokale Angelegenheit des restlichen Königums Ungarn, sondern es waren Ereignisse, die ganz Europa verfolgte, wovon gelegentliche Drucke, Flugblätter und verschiedene Traktate zeugen.<sup>1</sup> Ähnlich gibt es auch auf der osmanischen Seite umfangreiche oder kürzere Chroniken, ganz zu schweigen von Dokumenten über diese Ereignisse, die bisher wenig genutzt wurden.<sup>2</sup> Steuerlisten aus den Jah-

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<sup>1</sup> APPONYI, S.: *Hungarica. Ungarn betreffende im Ausland gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften I-IV*. München 1903-1927, Nos.: 861-991. HUBAY, I.: *Magyar és magyar vonatkozású röplapok, újságlapok, röpiratok az Országos Széchényi könyvtárban 1480-1718*. Budapest 1948, Nos.: 603-695. JÜGELT, K.-H.: *Hungarica Auswahl Katalog der Universitätsbibliothek Jena*. Weimar 1961.

<sup>2</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih* (Edelsteine der Geschichte) von HASAN AGA, ins Deutsche übersetzt von E. PROKOSCH: *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn*. Graz-Wien-Köln 1976. Ausgiebig schöpfte aus dieser Chronik FINDIKLI MEHMET AGA in seinem Werk *Silahdar Tarihi I*. Istanbul 1928. Die Jahre 1663-65 sind auf S. 235-300. Offizieller Geschichtsschreiber des Zeitraums von 1660-1721 war MEHMET RAŞID. Ausschnitte aus seinem Werk die Jahre 1663-64 betreffend wurden ins Ungarische und Slowakische übersetzt *Rabovali Turci...* (Die Türken plünderten), Bratislava 1972, S. 135-149. *Tarih-i Gilmanu* (Geschichte eines Palastzöglings) von MEHMET HALIFE herausgegeben in 1921. Die Chroniken von MEHMET NECATI: *Tarih-i feth-i Yanık* oder *Uyvar*

ren 1664–65 und 1673–74, vom unlängst verstorbenen J. Blaškovič bearbeitet, bieten eine große Menge von Daten über Ökonomie, Besiedlung und Demographie.<sup>3</sup>

Obwohl dieses wichtige Ereignis mehrmals nicht nur die slowakische sondern auch die ungarische und österreichische Historiographie beschäftigte, zum letzten Mal beim Jubiläum des Jahres 1664, war seine Aufarbeitung nie vollständig.<sup>4</sup> Man hatte vorwiegend Interesse an einzelnen Geschehnissen oder politischen Hintergründen. Die meisten Arbeiten stützten sich nur auf heimische Unterlagen oder einzelne osmanische Quellen. Zu diesen gehört auch die Studie von M. Matunák, die gegen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts veröffentlicht und jetzt neu herausgegeben wurde, sowie Studien anderer Historiker.<sup>5</sup> Inzwischen ist eine Menge von neuen Unterlagen entdeckt worden und

*seferi* (Der Neuhäuseler Feldzug) und von MUSTAFA ZÜHDI: *Tarih-i Uyvar* (Geschichte von Neuhäusel) liegen in Manuskripten vor. Als einzelstehendes Werk *Seyahatname* (Reisebuch) von EVLIYA ÇELEBI. Türkische Dokumente zum Feldzug 1663–64 siehe *Prámene k dejinám Slovenska v tureckých archívoch* (Quellen zur Geschichte der Slowakei in türkischen Archiven) SIArch 23, 1988, S. 187–196; *Prámene k dejinám Slovenska v Archíve Predsedníctva vlády v Istanbuli* (Quellen zur Geschichte der Slowakei im Archiv des Präsidium der Regierung in Istanbul). SIArch 26, 1991, S. 156–166.

<sup>3</sup> BLASKOVICS, J.: *Érsekújvár és vidéke a török hódoltság korában*. Budapest 1989 und in Zeitschriften wie *Archív orientálný*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* und in Jahrbüchern wie *Historická štúdie*, *Agrikultúra*, *Tarih Dergisi*, *Byzantine Studies*, *Új Menedes Gyűjtemény*, *Asian and African Studies* u.a.

<sup>4</sup> Es handelt sich um Studien des genannten J. BLÁŠKOVIČ, P. HORVÁTH, J. KABRDA, V. KOPČAN und K. KRAJČOVIČOVÁ u.a. Siehe *Bibliografia slovenskej turkológie a osmanskej expanzie na Slovensku* (Bibliographie slowakischer Turkologie und osmanischer Expansion in der Slowakei). Bratislava 1977. Aber weder die ungarische noch die österreichische Historiographie schenkte diesen Ereignissen in jüngster Vergangenheit große Aufmerksamkeit. Die ungarische Geschichtsschreibung hebt von den Ereignissen der Jahre 1663–64 vor allem den Herzog und Schriftsteller M. Zrínyi hervor, z.B. KLANICZAY, T.: *Zrínyi Miklós*. Budapest 1964; PERJES, G.: *A „metodizmus“ és Zrínyi-Montecuccoli-vita*. Századok 95, 1961, S. 507–35 und 96, 1962, S. 25–45 und MAROSI, E.: *Megjegyzések az 1664. évi hadjárat és a vasvári béke érdekében*. Hadtört. Közlemények 1971, S. 107–128. Über militärische Handlungen in der Slowakei schrieb RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: *A felsőmagyarországi hadjárat 1664-ben*. Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1894, S. 185–321 und Nachträge: *További adatok az 1664-ik évi Felsőmagyarországi hadjáratához*, S. 573–88. Die österreichische Historiographie über den Krieg von 1663–64 repräsentiert vor allem das umfangreiche Werk von G. WAGNER: *Das Türkenjahr 1664. Eine europäische Bewährung. R. Montecuccoli, die Schlacht von St. Gotthard-Mogersdorf und der Friede von Eisenburg*. Eisenstadt 1964. PEBALL, K.: *Die Schlacht bei St. Gotthard-Mogersdorf 1664*. Wien 1964. Militärhistorische Schriftenreihe, Heft 1. Beim internationalen kulturhistorischen Symposium Mogersdorf 1969 lautete das Thema *Österreich und die Türken*. Eisenstadt 1972, wo österreichische, ungarische und slowenische Forscher teilnahmen. TEPLY, K.: *Das österreichische Türkenkriegszeit. Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung*. Wien 1983, S. 33–35.

<sup>5</sup> *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom* (Neuhäusel unter türkischer Herrschaft) (1663–64). Slovan. pohľady 18, 1898, S. 129–32, 231–36, 486–96, 554–61, 568–78, 668–76 und in Auswahl aus seinem Werk *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Leben und Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava 1983, S. 215–98. HOLUBY, J.E.: *Stopy tureckého hospodárstva v Trenčiansku v XVI. a XVII. stor.* (Spuren der türkischen Wirtschaft in der Umgebung von Trenčín im XVI. und XVII. Jh.). Slovan. pohľady 14, 1894, S. 697–711.

deshalb schien eine Überprüfung dieses Ereignisses, seiner Hintergründe und Folgen auf einer breiteren Quellenbasis, osmanische Quellen inbegriffen, notwendig.

Während im größten Konflikt des 17. Jahrhunderts – im dreißigjährigen Krieg – die angehäuften Antagonismen in West Europa dominierten, traten in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts die mittel- und osteuropäischen Länder hervor, in welchen es zu einer neuen Gruppierung der Kräfte und zu grundsätzlichen territorialen Veränderungen kam, welche die Entwicklung Europas auch in den kommenden Jahrhunderten kennzeichneten.<sup>6</sup>

Wie schon oft zuvor wurde Siebenbürgen zum Stoßstein zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und dem Kaiserreich Österreich. Mangels an Interesse um dieses Randgebiet, der Osmanen wie auch der Habsburger, bemühten sich die siebenbürgischen Fürsten um eine eigenständige Politik. Das führte unausweichlich zum Zusammenstoß mit den osmanischen Interessen und zur militärischen Interventionen in Siebenbürgen. Die Interessen der Habsburger, die Befürchtungen vor der totalen Unterwerfung von Siebenbürgen durch die Osmanen, boten Grund zum Eingriff des kaiserlichen Heeres im Lande, was der Hauptgrund des späteren osmanisch-habsburgischen Konflikts war.<sup>7</sup>

Ein weiterer Grund des osmanisch-habsburgischen Streites war eine Festung, gebaut im Jahre 1661 vom kroatischen Ban Nikolaus Zrinski.<sup>8</sup> Diese neue Burg, Zrínyi-Ujvár, sollte den Übergang über die Mura zu Zrinskis Gut schützen, was ein Dorn im Auge des Pascha von Kanizsa war und eine Causa bei der Erneuerung des Friedensvertrages. Zur Steigerung der Spannung zwischen der Porta und Wien trugen verheerende Einfälle auf osmanische Gebiete in Ungarn bei. In der gespannten Situation waren solche Unternehmen ein Grund zur Friedensbruch. Es waren im Juni 1661 Zusammenstöße bei Gran (Esztergom). Im August desselben Jahres drangen ungarische Magnaten und das kaiserliche Heer bis über Ofen (Buda) vor, brannten vier befestigte Orte (türk. Palanka) nieder und verschleppten Gefangene.<sup>9</sup>

Der Bericht von Reniger über die osmanischen Friedensbedingungen kam noch während der Sitzung des ungarischen Landtages und wurde dem ungarischen geheimen Rat zur Stellungnahme vorgelegt. Dieser stellte fest, daß der Frieden mit den Türken höchst notwendig ist, aber daß die vorgeschlagenen

<sup>6</sup> EICKHOFF, E.: *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645–1700*. München 1970, S. 179–208. REDLICH, O.: *Weltmacht des Barock. Österreich in der Zeit Leopolds I.* Wien 1961. BARKER, Th.M.: *Double Eagle and Crescent. Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and its Historical Setting*. New York 1967 (Deutsche Übersetzung, Wien 1983).

<sup>7</sup> EICKHOFF, E.: op. cit., S. 270–80; *Magyarország története III./2.* Budapest 1985, S. 1068–1083. UZUNÇARŞILI, I.H.: *Osmanlı Tarihi III. 1.* Ankara 1973, S. 382–83. KUNT, M.I.: *The Köprülü years: 1656–1661*. Princeton 1971, S. 87–92.

<sup>8</sup> *Die Hauptreligion des kaiserlichen Residenten in Costantinopel Simon Reniger von Renigen 1649–1666*. Hrsg. von V.A. Veltzé. MKA. Neue Folge XII. Wien 1900, S. 120–21. Weiter nur Reniger.

<sup>9</sup> *Orelus redivivus et continuatus...* von dem 1607. bis an das Jahr 1665... II. Frankfurt 1665, S. 198.



Bedingungen schwer sind und „der grausame Feind des Christentums“ dadurch Siebenbürgen gewinnt, was ihm als Aufmarschgebiet gegen die östlichen Teile Ungarns dienen könnte. Dem osmanischen Vorschlag wurden Anmerkungen beigelegt und nach Istanbul geschickt. Im August 1662 legte der Resident den Vorschlag dem Großwesir vor. Grundsätzliche Vorbehalte hatte die Porta gegen die kaiserliche Forderung, daß auch die Osmanen die neuen Befestigungen demolieren, falls Zrinyi-Ujvár niedergerissen werden sollte und zu der Frage, ob die freien Heiducken unter kaiserlicher oder osmanischer Oberhoheit stehen. Nach diesen Besprechungen legte der Reis Efendi eine neue Version des Vertrages vor, die keine übertriebenen Forderungen der osmanischen Seite mehr enthielt und diese wurde dann zur Basis des Friedensvertrages in Eisenburg (Vasvár) [10. August 1664] unter viel schlimmeren Bedingungen.<sup>10</sup>

Aus zugänglichen osmanischen Quellen geht nicht hervor, wann die Entscheidung über den Feldzug nach Ungarn gefallen ist. Wahrscheinlich war es gegen Ende des Sommers oder im Herbst 1662.<sup>11</sup> Ob die ursprüngliche Entscheidung einen Feldzug nach Dalmatien zu unternehmen noch vor dem Abmarsch aus Istanbul nach Edirne in einen Feldzug gegen Ungarn umgeändert wurde, ist aus den osmanischen Quellen nicht ersichtlich.<sup>12</sup> Es war scheinbar die allgemeine Ansicht, daß die Kriegsvorbereitungen gegen die Venezianer gerichtet sind. Reniger informiert Wien, daß der Sultan dem tatarischen Chan einen Brief und Anordnung geschickt hatte, aber er wisse nichts über deren Inhalt und fügte logisch hinzu „da man in Dalmatien mit einem größeren Kampfheer nicht lagern kann, wären keine Tataren notwendig“.<sup>13</sup> Ähnlich wie früher gelagte man zu keiner Übereinkunft in grundlegenden Fragen. Gegen Ende Februar 1663 kam eine Nachricht vom Residenten, daß der Großwesir nach Differenzen bei den Friedensgesprächen ein Ultimatum stellte.

<sup>10</sup> HUBER, A.: *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen zur Pforte 1658-1664*. Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 85, 1898, S. 566-67.

<sup>11</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, Manuskript, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Suppl. turc 506 (P) 6a; ÖNB Wien, H.O. 84a (W), 7b und *Silahdar Tarihi I*. Istanbul 1928, S. 236 schreiben über die Herrichtung der Wege nach Bosnien und Cattaro, womit Beyko Ali Pascha beauftragt wurde. Der Preßburger Bürger Johann F. Auer, der am 6. August 1663 in der Schlacht bei Parkan gefangen genommen wurde, behauptet, daß in den bulgarischen Bergen und Engpässen die Wege breit genug waren und ohne Hindernisse.

<sup>12</sup> Seine Absicht einen Feldzug gegen Ungarn zu unternehmen erwähnte der Großwesir in seinem Brief vom 23. November 1662 an M. Apaffy, *Török-magyar történelmi emlékek*. Okmánytár VI., S. 78-79.

<sup>13</sup> RENIGER, S.: op. cit., S. 128. Feldmarschall R. Montecuccoli in seinen Erinnerungen hat den Feldzug nach Dalmatien für ein Tarnmanöver gehalten. *Memoires de Montecuccoli generalissime des troupes de l'Empereur*. Strasbourg 1735, S. 197.

Nach Beendigung der Vorbereitungen setzte sich am 19. März 1663 das Heer von Istanbul nach Edirne in Bewegung mit dem Sultan und dem Großwesir an der Spitze. Über den Verlauf der Reise informieren uns zwei Itinerare.<sup>14</sup> Auf dem Weg aus der Hauptstadt nach Ofen (Buda) machte die Armee 64 Halte und weitere 7 nach Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky), also 71 Halte insgesamt. Für die Reise brauchte das Heer 378 Marschstunden und 82 Tage Rast, die längsten davon in Sofia (16 Tage), in Belgrad (10) und in Ofen (13). Die Reise von Istanbul nach Neuhäusel dauerte beinahe ein halbes Jahr (19. März - 16. August 1663), was teilweise auch durch Naturverhältnisse verursacht war.

In Edirne sammelten sich die Einheiten aus den asiatischen Provinzen sowie Ausrüstung für den Feldzug wie Kanonen, und zwar alte sowie im Istanbuler Waffenarsenal neu abgegossene Kanonen, die man über das Schwarze Meer und die Donau nach Ungarn schickte. Vor dem Aufbruch aus Edirne wurde eine Einladung zum Feldzug, Geld und Geschenke an den tatarischen Chan geschickt.<sup>15</sup> Eine Audienz beim Sultan wurde abgehalten, bei der dieser den Großwesir zum Serdar ernannte. Am 13. April 1663 bewegte sich das Heer von etwa 15 000 - 20 000 Mann aus Edirne.<sup>16</sup> Unterwegs wurde das Heer noch ergänzt.

In Osijek wurde eine Antwort von Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowitz erwartet. Am 4. Juni wurde wieder verhandelt. Außer den schon bekannten Forderungen verlagte der Großwesir im Falle eines Friedensabschlusses von der kaiserlichen Seite eine Zahlung von 30 000 Dukaten jährlich, wie in den Jahren 1547-1592.<sup>17</sup> Das lehnten die kaiserlichen Gesandten ab. Obzwar eine Forderung finanzieller Kompensationen der bisherigen Ausgaben für den Feldzug zu erwarten war, wollte Fazil Ahmed Pascha durch Steigerung der Forderungen während des Marsches für den Feldzug Zeit gewinnen (nicht alle Truppen waren unterwegs) und gleichzeitig wollte er bei dem unvorbereiteten Gegner Hoffnung auf Frieden erwecken.<sup>18</sup>

Der ungarische Feldzug war der erste Feldzug des jungen Großwesir. Aus Furcht vor einem Verfall der Disziplin des Heeres noch auf osmanischen Gebiet und seiner Umwandlung in eine raubende und plündernde Herde be-

<sup>14</sup> Das erste Exemplar befindet sich im Werk von Mehmed Necati vor dem Text der Chronik und stammt von Autor des *Uyvar seferi*. Das zweite ist mit dem Werk *Tarih-i Ali Osman* zusammengebunden und sein Ursprung ist unbekannt. ÖNB, H.O. 46a. Siehe KOPČAN, V.: *Zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663*. AAS 14, 1978, S. 59-88.

<sup>15</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 10a-b, W 12b-13a; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 240.

<sup>16</sup> *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 241; *Rašid Tarihi I*, S. 27; NECATI, 5b; DAMAD MEHMED PAŞA, W 4a.

<sup>17</sup> Den Text der Antwort hat *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 11a-b, W 13b-14b; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 245-46; *Rašid Tarihi I*, S. 31-32.

<sup>18</sup> RENIGER, S.: op. cit., S. 131 erfuhr davon schon während seiner Reise in Sofia von Reis Samizade Mehmed Efendi.

strafte er streng alle Verstöße gegen die untergeordnete Bevölkerung. In Osijek ließ er wegen Bestehlen der Bevölkerung den Befehlshaber der Verpflegung hinrichten. Er verbot Gewalt gegen die Untertanen und bestrafte streng das Trinken von Wein.<sup>19</sup>

Am 15. Juni kam die Hauptmacht mit dem Großwesir nach Ofen (Buda). Zurück blieben nur kleinere Einheiten, die den Transport von Ausrüstung und Vorräten sicherstellten. In Ofen (Buda) rief der Großwesir eine Beratung der am Feldzug teilnehmenden führenden Würdenträger zusammen, in welcher über das Ziel des Feldzugs entschieden werden sollte.<sup>20</sup> Noch während des Marsches meldeten Simon Reniger und Johann von Goess nach Wien, daß „die Türken die Donau bei Gran (Esztergom) überqueren und dann gegen Neuhäusel, Fil'akovo und andere Städte ziehen werden...“<sup>21</sup> Unterwegs sammelte der Großwesir von Gefangenen Angaben über die Stärke der einzelnen Befestigungen und forderte die Versammlung auf sich über das Ziel des Feldzugs zu äußern. Entscheidende Bedeutung für die Verteidigung von Nordwestungarn hatten die Burgen Raab (Győr), Komorn (Komárno) und Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky). Nach Ansicht des Großwesirs war es am vorteilhaftesten gegen Neuhäusel vorzurücken, denn diese Festung hatte ein ausgedehntes Hinterland, das genügend Beute bieten konnte und außerdem gab es in der Umgebung Gold- und Silberminen.<sup>22</sup> Die Entscheidung konnte durch die Tatsache beeinflusst worden sein, daß die Hauptkräfte der kaiserlichen Armee vor allem den Hauptzugang zu Wien schützten, sodaß die osmanische Armee sonst sicher auf stärkeren Widerstand gestoßen wäre.

Die Vorbereitungen auf den Krieg mit den Türken wurden von kaiserlicher Seite mit waghalsiger Gleichgültigkeit betrieben. Obwohl seit Herbst 1662 Nachrichten nach Wien kamen, daß die Osmanen einen großen Feldzug vorbereiten und dieser direkt gegen kaiserliches Gebiet gerichtet sein wird, ließ der Kriegsrat des Hofes ein 5000 Mann starkes Korps der besten Truppen in Mailand den Spaniern zu Hilfe.<sup>23</sup> Die Hoffnung auf einen Friedensabschluß war auf dem Wiener Hof so stark und auch die Osmanen halfen taktisch sie zu erhalten, daß erst als die osmanische Armee nach Belgrad kam, man in Wien

<sup>19</sup> *Theatrum Europaeum* IX, S. 924.

<sup>20</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 15a, W 18b gibt als Datum der Beratung den 23. Juli an; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 249 den 17. Juli; *Rasid Tarihi I*, S. 33 den 16. Juli, den Verlauf der Beratung beschrieben sie ziemlich über einstimmend. NECATI, 7a schreibt, daß die Alten und Veteranen aus dem Grenzgebiet gegen Raab waren. Eine andere Version vermittelt MEHMET HALIFE: *Tarih-i Gilman*, S. 79–80.

<sup>21</sup> HHStA, Wien, Turcica 134, Reniger an den Kriegsrat des Hofes am 27. Juli 1663.

<sup>22</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 16a, W 19; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 250; NECATI, 7a; MEHMET HALIFE: *Tarih-i Gilman*, S. 80. Walter Graf Leslie, kaiserlicher Botschafter nach Istanbul, schrieb 1666 einen langen Bericht an den Kaiser Leopold I, in dem er das türkische Interesse an den Bergstädten erwähnt: „solche Mittel an die Hand zu geben, daß die Türken sich der Bergstätte in dem Hamor und vielleicht gar im Frühling bemächtigen könnten“. HHStA, Wien, Turcica 139, Mai 1666.

<sup>23</sup> *Theatrum Europaeum* IX, S. 927; HUBER, A.: op. cit., S. 572.

erste Maßnahmen ergriff. Einige Einheiten waren in Siebenbürgen und ein Teil lagerte auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei zwischen Kaschau (Košice) und Komorn. Den Rest bildeten Garnisonen der Burgen längs der ganzen habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenze. Erst Ende Juni kamen die kaiserlichen Befehlshaber Johann Rothal, Raimund Montecuccoli, Karl Strozzi und Hohenfeld nach Preßburg um mit dem Palatin Ferencz Wesselényi und den ungarischen Magnaten die militärische Lage zu beraten. Die Armee, die in Siebenbürgen ein Gegenstand des Streits war, schlug Graf Strozzi vor zurückzuziehen und sorgte selbst dafür.<sup>24</sup> Der Palatin sollte Einheiten in der Ostslowakei mobilisieren. Am 7. Juni 1663 erklärte Kaiser Leopold I. laut der Anordnung des letzten Landtages eine Insurrektion zum Tag des heiligen Ladislaus (27. Juni). Nominell hatte der Palatin 26 000 Mann, reell konnte er aber nur mit einer kleineren Zahl rechnen. Die protestantischen Komitate und der Adel lehnten den Befehl in Hinsicht auf unerfüllte Forderungen des Landtages im 1662 ab. Außerdem lehnten die Insurgenten ab sich an Sammelstellen außerhalb ihres eigenen Komitats einzufinden und sie warteten, bis sich die Einheiten des Palatins sammelten.<sup>25</sup>

Der Kriegsrat des Hofes bestimmte bei der Beratung in Komorn (14. Juli) die Sammelstellen: für die Komitate Orava, Turiec, Trenčín und Nitra (Neutra) bei Tvrdosovce, für die Komitate Liptov (Liptau), Zvolen (Altsohl), Tekov, Hont und Novohrad (Neugrad) zwischen Levice (Lewenz) und Krupina (Karpfen), für die Komitate Preßburg und Komorn auf der Großen Schütt-Insel. Der Verlauf der Insurrektion im Komitat Preßburg war schnell. Schon am 9. Juli waren die Insurgenten zur Lustration in Sered' bereit, wo sie auch ihre Kommandanten wählten. Die Insurgenten des Komitats Trenčín erschienen nicht an der Sammelstelle.<sup>26</sup>

Der Oberbefehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee Feldmarschall Raimund Montecuccoli disponierte mit etwa 6000 Mann, die sich bei Ungarisch Altenburg (Magyaróvár) sammelten. Zu dieser Zeit disponierte der Kriegsrat des Hofes mit 10 500 Reiter und 22 800 Mann Infanterie in verschiedenen Teilen der Monarchie. Dabei wurde die Armee vom Hofkriegsrat taktisch unvorteilhaft in vier Korps geteilt, keines davon und auch nicht einmal das ganze Heer konnte sich mit der osmanischen Armee messen. Zu dieser Zeit war es schon klar, daß die osmanische Armee zur Donau-Linie zieht. Diese sollte Montecuccoli mit einem relativ kleinen Korps verteidigen. Außerdem wollte er aber

<sup>24</sup> FESSLER, I.A. – KLEIN, E.: *Geschichte Ungarns IV*. Leipzig 1883, S. 308; *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis in anno 1663*. Ed.: E. Marečková-Štolcová. Graecolatina et Orientalia I, 1969, S. 128.

<sup>25</sup> *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 128–29. Diese Insurrektionen in Komitaten waren schon ein Anachronismus, nicht brauchbar im modernen Kampf. Nicht nur, daß sie es ablehnten außerhalb des Komitats zu kämpfen, aber viele be liebten nicht einmal sich zeitgerecht an den Sammelstellen einzufinden. Z.B. in Orava fehlte schon auf der Liste 15% der Insurgenten. Zvolenská župa (Komitat Altsohl) A.I. fasc. 4, No. 10.

<sup>26</sup> *Auer János Ferdinánd pozsonyi nemes polgárnak hétoronyi fogságában írt naplója 1664*. Ed.: I. Lukinich. Budapest 1923, S. 53–54 und *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 129.



hauptsächlich den Zutritt nach Wien sichern. Die Verteidigung von Neuhäusel und des Übergangs über die Donau wurde den Insurgenten und dem kaiserlichen Heer, das aus Siebenbürgen ankommen sollte, überlassen. Diese schlecht gewählte Taktik erlaubte den Osmanen Neuhäusel und andere Burgen zu erobern. Erst nach Verlusten ließ der Kriegsrat des Hofes Montecuccoli in der West-Slowakei und Petar Zrinski auf der Großen Schütt-Insel operieren. Im Winter verschob sich auch Louis de Souchès auf die Linie Trenčín – Kremnitz.

Als die osmanischen Einheiten nach Gran (Esztergom) kamen, entstand am anderen Ufer große Panik. Die Bewohner verließen massenhaft ihre Dörfer und suchten Schutz in Festungen oder im Hinterland. Die Garnison von Svodín brannte den befestigten Ort nieder und zog nach Lewenz und Nógrád.<sup>27</sup> Obwohl der Großwesir Korps vorausschickte, die eine Brücke über die Donau bauen sollten, mußte seine Armee auf die Fertigstellung der Brücke und auf Schiffe mit Nahrungsmitteln und Ausrüstung warten. Etwa drei oder vier Tausend Soldaten gingen zum Schutz der Brücke und Schiffe auf die andere Seite der Donau über. Weitere Streitkräfte wurden von der nicht fertigen Brücke aufgehalten.<sup>28</sup>

Der Befehlshaber von Neuhäusel Adam Forgách erfuhr, daß ein Teil der osmanischen Armee auf das linke Donauufer übergegangen war. Das bestätigten auch zwei Flüchtlinge aus dem türkischen Lager, und auch daß die Brücke noch nicht fertig sei. Andere behaupten, daß Forgách von einem Untertanen informiert wurde. Es ist auch zu erwägen, ob diese Nachricht nicht absichtlich verbreitet wurde. Der Übergang über einen großen Fluß war zu jenen Zeiten ein bedeutendes Hindernis und eine strategisch ungünstige Stelle auch bei zahlenmäßiger Übermacht. In ähnlicher Situation hat ein Jahr später das osmanische Heer beim Übergang über den Fluß Raab bei St. Gotthard eine Niederlage erlitten. Durch einen Angriff auf die Vorhut der Armee die Hauptmacht zu vernichten oder aufzuhalten war für A. Forgách Grund genug für eine voreilige Entscheidung in der Annahme „etwas gutes und nützliches für das Vaterland und das ganze Christentum zu tun“.<sup>29</sup> Der ganze Verlauf dieser Aktion zeigte ein großes Maß an Improvisation und Überstürzung. Im gesammelten Heer von Forgách befanden sich die Garnison Neuhäusel, Truppen des kaiserlichen Heeres und Verbände der Komitate Preßburg und Neutra, zusammen etwa 6000 Mann.<sup>30</sup> Man machte Forgách aufmerksam, daß die

<sup>27</sup> *Theatrum Europaeum* IX, S. 928–29; ZEILER, M.: *Neue Beschreibung des Königsreichs Ungarn*. Leipzig 1664, S. 479. Auch der wenig informierte osmanische Historiker MEHMET NECATI, 7a kennt dieses Ereignis. Über die Flucht der Bewohner von Tvrdosovec schreibt AUER, J.F.: *Tagebuch*, S. 67.

<sup>28</sup> *Silahdar* I, S. 282–83; *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 18a, W 21b; *Ortelius redivivus* II, S. 262, *Theatrum Europaeum* IX, S. 929, *Hungarisch-Türkische Chronik*, S. 567 brachte die Nachricht ein untertäniger Bauer zu Forgách.

<sup>29</sup> Der Brief an Palatin Wesselényi in Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1893, S. 719–20 vom 7. August 1663, in welchem er seine Entscheidung begründet.

<sup>30</sup> *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 129; *Tagebuch* von Auer, S. 68.

Brücke über die Donau schon fertig ist und die osmanischen Einheiten auf die andere Seite übergegangen sind. Nach osmanischen Quellen wurde die Brücke mit 81 Pontons von den Türken am Vormittag des 6. August 1663 fertiggestellt.<sup>31</sup>

Auf Befehl des Großwesirs gingen bis zum Abend die erfahrensten Befehlshaber der osmanischen Armee mit dem Heer und einigen Abteilungen Janitscharen auf das andere Ufer. Osmanische Soldaten besetzten die umliegenden Wälder und Hügel längs der Donau und warteten in Kampfstellung im Lager. Das Heer von Forgách rückte undiszipliniert vor. Die osmanischen Chroniken schreiben von einem plötzlichen Überfall, den das osmanische Heer nicht erwartet hatte. Die Truppen von Forgách stießen auf Einheiten von Kadizade Ibrahim Pascha, die Wachdienst vor den Hauptverbänden hielten. Der Angriff auf die osmanischen Positionen gelang vorerst, ein Teil der osmanischen Streitkräfte fiel, die anderen flüchteten hinter die Schanzen. Andere Verbände stießen auf Kamele deren Lärm den Rest des schlafenden Heeres weckte und so wurde das Vorrücken von Forgách aufgehalten. Vor den Schanzen war die Infanterie und ein Teil der deutschen Kavallerie umstellt. Die Befehlshaber mit A. Forgách an der Spitze und die Kavallerie verließen das Schlachtfeld, wo die Türken die Infanterie liquidierten. Die Reste kehrten nach Neuhäusel zurück, wo nur 1272 Soldaten aller Heeresgattungen ankamen. Schon aus dieser Zahl sieht man, daß die Schlacht große Verluste brachte. Mehr als die Hälfte des Heeres war gefallen oder wurde gefangen genommen einschließlich J. Eszterházy und beinahe alle Insurgenten des Komitats Preßburg.<sup>32</sup>

Schon während der Schlacht brachten die Soldaten nach orientalischer Sitte die Köpfe getöteter Feinde mit der Absicht eine Belohnung zu gewinnen. Dann spielte sich eine Begebenheit würdig des Timur Leng ab. Der Großwesir ließ einen Teil der Gefangenen köpfen und die Köpfe auf einem Haufen vor seinem Zelt schichten. Den Rest von etwa 300 Gefangenen, unter ihnen auch Johann F. Auer, schickte der Großwesir nach Gran (Esztergom) und von dort nach Ofen (Buda) und einen Teil auch nach Yedi Kule, dem Gefängnis von Istanbul.<sup>33</sup>

Aus dem Lager bei Parkan schickte der Großwesir als Vorhut den Statthalter von Ofen (Buda) Sarı Hüseyin Pascha und andere um an den Flüssen Žitava und Nitra Brücken zu bauen und das sumpfige Gelände für den Übergang herzurichten. Am 16. August 1663 gingen die osmanischen Truppen

<sup>31</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 18a, W 21b; *Silahdar* I, S. 257 behaupten „anfangs muharrem am Montag“ – 6. August.

<sup>32</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih* und ähnlich RAŞİD schreiben von 5000 Toten und 1000 Gefangenen. NECATI von 5400 Toten, 600 Geköpften vor dem Großwesir und 500 Gefangenen, bis zu den erdachten Angaben von EVLIYA ÇELEBI.

<sup>33</sup> Dieses Massaker beschreibt in seinem Tagebuch der Augenzeuge Johann F. AUER (S. 82–84), weiter *Ortelius redivivus* II, S. 263; *Hungarisch-Türkische Chronik*, S. 573 und von osmanischer Seite *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 19a, W 23b; *Silahdar* I, S. 262–63 und MEHMET HALIFE, S. 82.



über die Brücken an der Nitra unweit der Festung. Sie umgingen Neuhäusel von Norden und Westen gegenüber dem Wiener Tor und errichteten ein Lager. Vor Beginn der Belagerung wurde die Garnison mit Truppen aus Siebenbürgen, Komorn und Raab verstärkt. Wahrscheinlich auf eine Aufforderung hin ergaben sich Šurany, wo der Bey von Ohrid Arslanpaschazade Bebir Pascha zum Befehlshaber wurde.<sup>34</sup>

### *Die Belagerung und Eroberung von Neuhäusel*

Wir wollen uns nicht mit den technischen Angelegenheiten der Festungsbelagerung befassen. Vor die Neuhäusler Festung kam eine über fünfzigtausend Mann starke osmanische Armee, sie bezog Stellung in einem Bogen vom Fluß Nitra im Norden bis nach Südwest.<sup>35</sup> Die einzelnen Sektoren (türk. Kol)<sup>36</sup> waren: der mittlere mit Großwesir Fazıl Ahmed Pascha, Statthalter von Rumelie Beyko Ali Pascha und dem Aga der Janitscharen Salih an der Spitze, rechts befand sich der Statthalter von Bosnien Wesir Köse Ali Pascha und Zağarcıbaşı (hoher Befehlshaber der Janitscharen) und links der Statthalter von Anatolien Wesir Çerkes Yusuf Pascha und Samsuncubaşı (ein anderer hoher Befehlshaber).

Die Festung von Neuhäusel stellte ein großes Hindernis auch für die starke osmanische Armee dar im Hinblick auf die Stärke ihrer Befestigungen. Die Festung wurde in den Jahren 1573–81 nach einem Projekt des Hofbaumeisters Giulio Baldigari gebaut und stellte den Höhepunkt des Befestigungsbauwesens zur Zeit der Renaissance in der Slowakei dar. In der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde der Aufbau der Festung fortgesetzt, aber vor der Belagerung waren drei Bastionen noch nicht fertiggestellt.

Das osmanische Belagerungssystem bestand aus zwei Arten von Belagerungsgräben. Zuerst hatte das Heer außerhalb der Schußweite von Musketen Gräben aufgebaut, parallel mit der Befestigungslinie, gewöhnlich nur in der Hauptrichtung des Angriffs. Diese tiefen parallelen Gräben (türk. Meteris) wurden nach Sektoren (türk. Kol) ausgebaut. Dann wurde mit dem Ausbau von Annäherungsgräben (Approchen, türk. Siğan Yolu – Mauseweg) fortgefahren, die direkt zu den Festungsmauern gerichtet waren. In gewissen Abständen wurden diese noch durch parallele Verbindungsgräben ergänzt, damit im Falle eines Vorstoßes der Belagerten schnell größere Kräfte der Belagerer

<sup>34</sup> NECATİ, 11a schreibt, daß dieser befestigte Ort (Palanka) sich nach der Aufforderung ergeben hat und daß Beyko Ali Pascha auszog ihn zu besetzen und Kanonen und Vorräte zu beschlagnahmen. *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 307 behauptet, daß Beyko Ali Pascha Šurany belagerte und die Garnison sich ihm ergab.

<sup>35</sup> *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 266 und *Theatrum Europaeum IX*, S. 931 aus gemeinsamer Quelle. HHStA, Wien, Turcica 135, vom 8. Juli 1663 No. 11 (Autor Tullio Miglio) gibt 62 000 Mann, 123 kleine und 12 große Kanonen an.

<sup>36</sup> Kol kann Armee, Flügel, Kolonne, Sektor und auch Einheit bedeuten. Siehe KREUTEL, R.F. – TEPLY, K.: *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683 aus der Sicht türkischer Quellen*. Wien 1982, S. 203, Fußnote 18.

zusammengezogen werden könnten. In der Nähe des Festung wurden die Gräben mit Holz und Erde zugedeckt um die Sappeure vor der Beschießung durch die Verteidiger zu schützen. Die Türken nennen die gedeckten Gräben (türk. Kubur).

Der Hauptangriff war gegen die niedergerissene Vorstadt beim Wiener Tor und gegen die Forgách Bastei gerichtet. Erst am fünften Tag der Belagerung sind einige Verbände bis an die Palisaden vor dem Burggraben vorgedrungen. Während der Nachtdunkelheit wurden Kanonen in vorbereitete Stellungen näher zur Festung vorgeschoben. Der erste größere Zusammenstoß ereignete sich am 21. August im Kampf um den Ravelin vor dem Wiener Tor. Auf einen Ausfall der Besatzung aus dem Ravelin um die sich nähernde türkische Sappe zu zerstören, griffen offen starke Einheiten, überwiegend Janitscharen, an und eroberten nach wiederholten Stürmen den Ravelin. Die Verluste waren beiderseits sehr hoch, da die Quellen dies ausdrücklich erwähnen.<sup>37</sup>

In den nächsten Tagen der Belagerung (22.–26. August) folgte ein beiderseitiges Artilleriefeuer mit kleineren Schäden. Am 26. August kamen in das osmanische Lager etwa 10 000 tatarische Reiter mit Ahmed Gerey, dem Sohn des Chans.<sup>38</sup> Zusammen mit ihnen kamen auch Kosaken (sog. brüderliche Kosaken) mit Mehmed, dem jüngeren Sohn des Chans, und Hauptleuten.<sup>39</sup> Am nächsten Tag kamen auch Korps des walachischen und moldauischen Fürsten.<sup>40</sup> Mit der Ankunft der Tataren und anderer Hilfskorps, die nur mit Hieb- und Stichwaffen ausgerüstet und deshalb bei der Belagerung nicht anwendbar waren, begann eine ausgedehnte Verwüstung der West- und Mittelslowakei und später auch von Mähren und Schlesien. Infanterieabteilungen der Hilfskorps hielten zum Teil Wachdienst oder halfen bei den Belagerungsarbeiten.<sup>41</sup>

Die ersten Streifzüge der Tataren nach der Verwüstung der Umgebung von Neuhäusel und der Großen Schütt-Insel konnte man bei Šaľa, Sintava und Freistadt (Hlohovec) aufhalten. Es scheint, daß es die Aufgabe dieser Gruppen war vor allem das Gelände und die Furten über den Waag auszukundschaften. Bei weiteren Streifzügen, verstärkt durch osmanische Einheiten mit dem Statthalter von Damaskus Kibleli Mustafa Pascha an der Spitze, begab

<sup>37</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 25b–26a, W 31a–b; *Silahdar I*, S. 269–70; *Rašid I*, S. 42; MEHMET HALIFE, S. 86; NECATİ, 13b; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 314–15 es ist die von ihm erwähnte Yasi tabiye.

<sup>38</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 27a, W 32b und ähnlich *Silahdar I*, S. 272 und *Rašid I*, S. 44 geben 150 000 Tataren an; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 319 – 40 000 und MEHMET HALIFE, S. 41 – 80 000. Die europäischen Quellen wie *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 268 und *Theatrum IX*, S. 933 sind realistisch.

<sup>39</sup> Osmanische Quellen schätzen die Zahl der Kosaken zwischen 10 und 20 000, während diese Gruppe von Kosaken nur einige Hundert Kämpfer zählte. Nach *Theatrum Europaeum XI*, S. 933 waren es nur 250, was objektiv ist.

<sup>40</sup> Wieder sind die Zahlen der Walachen und Moldauer zu 20 000 Mann angegeben. JORGA, N.: *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches IV*. Gotha 1911, S. 112 gibt zusammen 10 000 Mann an.

<sup>41</sup> JORGA, N.: op. cit., S. 113.

sich ein zahlreiches Heer auf Pferden und Wagen „geleitet von ungarischen Verrätern“ über den Waag, den sie am 2. September bei Freistadt überquerten und in zwei Strömen nach Süden zu Tyrnau (Trnava) und nach Norden zu Čachtice vordrangen.<sup>42</sup> Der südliche Strom der Tataren kam angeblich bis zu Modern (Modra) und Bösing (Pezinok), verwüstete alle Siedlungen, die ihm im Wege standen, und brannte sie nieder. Die tatarische Verwüstung traf in der ersten Phase die jenseits der Berge liegenden Teile der Komitate Preßburg und Neutra, von da ging ein Teil der Tataren nach Mähren und bis nach Schlesien, den Weg zeigten ihnen die ungarischen Grenzhülsen.<sup>43</sup> Im Mähren plünderten sie die Umgebung von Nikolsburg und Brünn bis nach Olmütz. Am 15. September nahm die Garnison der Stadt Olmütz den tatarischen Spion Paul Cosak (Kosak) aus Jarogtow (?) in Litauen gefangen. Dieser geriet in Gefangenschaft der Tataren und begleitete sie, da er die polnische, deutsche und tatarische Sprache beherrschte.<sup>44</sup>

Die offene Landschaft ohne Garnisonen, die sich aus der Gegend um den Waag zur Verteidigung der Großen Schütt-Insel zurückgezogen hatten, leistete den Tataren keinen Widerstand und so waren die Schäden durch Verwüstung viel schrecklicher als der spätere Verlust militärischer Stellungen. Die Landbewohner suchten Zuflucht in befestigten Städten und Burgen, aber diese konnten nur einen Teil der Bevölkerung retten. Anderswo hatten sich die Bauern, bewaffnet mit Schusswaffen, erfolgreich verteidigt und die zahlenmäßige Übermacht vertrieben, besonders wenn die Tataren, wie üblich, nur Säbel hatten.<sup>45</sup> Die Stimmung der Ereignisse erfassen vielleicht am besten die Worte eines damaligen Flugblattes: „Allen Kummer und Not, die hier geschah, kann man eher beweinen als beschreiben. Viele flüchteten aus dem Lande in Städte und befestigte Orte und auch in den Städten herrschte große Angst vor dem vordringenden Feind.“<sup>46</sup> In der zweiten Septemberhälfte 1663 unternahmen die Tataren verwüstende Streifzüge, unter welchen am meisten die an der mittleren Waag liegende Gegend litt. Anfang Oktober haben sie die Vorstadt von Trenčín (Trentschin) angegriffen, den Senator D. Lipský und Mitglieder des Stadtrates und angeblich auch den evangelischen Prediger S. Chalupka gefangen genommen. Während dieses Einfalls haben die Tataren Dörfer an beiden Ufern der Waag zwischen Beckov und Trenčín und darüber niedergebrannt. In den ersten Oktobertagen ist das tatarische Heer wahrscheinlich entlang des Waag bis Beluša vorgedrungen, hat den Fluß überquert und Púchov niedergebrannt. Dann gingen sie nach Mähren, wo sie einige Tage die Landschaft plünderten und niederbrannten. Auf dem Rückweg haben sie von Herrschaftsgut in Eisgrub und weiter dann aus Lysá pod Makytou 304

und aus Lysá pod Makytou 100 Menschen weggeschleppt.<sup>47</sup> Die Folgen dieser Verwüstung, die meistens von den Landbewohnern getragen wurden, waren eine der traurigsten Seiten des osmanischen Feldzugs im Jahre 1663. Über ungeheuere materielle Schäden und persönliche Tragödien von Tausenden Menschen sagen vielen zeitgenössische Dokumente aus.<sup>48</sup>

Bis Ende August ist es den Belagerern gelungen den Burggraben abzulassen und sie versuchten die Pfahlpalisaden zu beseitigen. Den Graben, der etwa 40 Meter breit war, zu überwinden war eine gefährliche Aufgabe, denn das osmanische Heer war im unmittelbaren Schußbereich der Verteidiger. Deshalb hat man außerhalb des mit Balken zugedeckten Stollen über den nicht ganz ausgetrockneten Burggraben begonnen gegenüber der Bastei Žerotín Erde in den Burggraben aufzuschütten und einen Damm errichten. Dieser sollte die Höhe der Festungsmauern erreichen, so daß man nach Annäherung des Dammes direkt angreifen konnte. Der Großwesir hatte befohlen, daß alle nicht kämpfenden Soldaten, vor allem die Verwaltung, Diener und Hilfsabteilungen sich an dieser Arbeiten beteiligen sollen. Diese Arbeit dauerte bis Mitte September, als es den Türken gelang größere Erfolge zu erzielen.<sup>49</sup> Die Situation im osmanischen Lager, wo Mängel in der Versorgung offenbar wurden, war nicht die beste. Deshalb versuchte der Großwesir möglichst rasch die Festung zu erobern ohne Rücksicht auf Opfer, die, es scheint, viel höher waren als die der Verteidiger. Bei Neuhäusel sind hohe Würdenträger wie Yusuf Pascha von Ankara, Sanullah, Aga der Sipahi und Beyko Ali Pascha von Rumelie gefallen.<sup>50</sup>

Als es den Belagerern gelang durch die Stollen über den abgelassenen Burggraben sich den Festungsmauern zu nähern, begann der Angriff. Am 17. September wurde gegen die zwei nicht fertiggestellten Basteien, die Forgách-Bastei und die Friedrich-Bastei gestürmt. Die letztere hatte man bald verteidigt. Stürme gegen die Forgách-Bastei dauerten über zwei Stunden und beide Seiten hatten große Verluste. Mit Rücksicht auf Mißerfolge bei direkten

<sup>47</sup> Kočíš, J.: *Od Čachtice po Strečno* (Von Čachtice bis Strečno). Martin 1989, S. 93.

<sup>48</sup> HOLUBÝ, J. L.: op. cit., S. 661 ff. Barock weitläufig beschreibt er die Verwüstung der westlichen Slowakei. KÉRY, J.: *Martis Turcici ferocia anno a Christi ortu supra 1663 et 1664 in Hungaria*. Pösonium s.a. Zeitgenössische Briefe über die Verwüstung veröffentlichte P. HORVÁTH: *Rabovali Turci...* (Die Türken plünderten...), S. 191 ff.)

<sup>49</sup> *Diarium obsidionis*, 6. September.

<sup>50</sup> Die Angaben über den Tod von Würdenträgern außer Su'ullah Aga sind in den osmanischen Quellen uneinheitlich. Z.B. der Tod von Beyko Ali Pascha ist in den osmanischen Chroniken *Silahdar I*, S. 275 und MEHMET HALIFE, S. 87 am 3. September 1663 verzeichnet. Eine Aufzeichnung im *Diarium obsidionis* vom 21. September lautet: „Heute sind mehrere Feinde gefallen. Unter ihnen auch irgendein Pascha, bei dem ein Brief des ungarischen Palatins an Herrn Montecuccoli vom 16. September gefunden wurde“. Den Namen dieses Würdenträgers identifiziert ein Brief des Palatin Wesselényi an A. Forgách, der veröffentlicht wurde (Hadtört. Közlemények 5, 1893, S. 723): „In meinem Brief, geschrieben an Herrn Montecuccoli, den Sie in der Tasche von Becco Pascha gefunden haben, konnten Sie wie im Spiegel sehen, daß wir bemüht waren Neuhäusel mit Hilfe heizustehen“.

<sup>42</sup> *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 130.

<sup>43</sup> *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 272.

<sup>44</sup> HHSIA, Wien, Hungaria 176 (1660–1666), S. 49–52.

<sup>45</sup> *Geschichts-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder*. Ed.: R. Wolkan. Wien 1923.

<sup>46</sup> *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 272.



Angriffen hat der Großwesir entschieden die Festungsmauern zu untergraben und durch den Durchbruch anzugreifen. Am 18. September haben die Türken begonnen die Festungsmauer an mehreren Stellen zu untergraben, besonders bei der Friedrich-Bastei und Forgách-Bastei. Zwei Tage später unternahmen die osmanischen Einheiten einen direkten Angriff auf die Kurtine zwischen den obengenannten Basteien. Dieser wurde, ähnlich wie der gegen die Forgách-Bastei, abgeschlagen. Nach der Zurückziehung der Truppen aus dem unmittelbar bedrohten Gebiet begann die osmanische Artillerie am 22. September die untergrabenen Festungsmauern, die vorher angezündet wurden, aus schweren Kanonen zu beschießen. Unmittelbar nach dem Artilleriefeuer folgte ein starker Angriff gegen die Friedrich-Bastei, der aber abgeschlagen wurde. Durch die Fahrlässigkeit eines Soldaten hatte Schießpulver Feuer gefangen und die Explosion hat viele Soldaten getötet. In den letzten Tagen der Belagerung war die Besatzung einem starken Druck ausgesetzt, besonders als die Türken am 24. September einen Generalangriff unternehmen wollten. Es kamen kapitulantenhafte Stimmungen auf, besonders bei den ungarischen Soldaten. Sie haben Vertrauensmänner zu Pio und Forgách gesandt und zur Kapitulation gedrängt und es ist ihnen gelungen, daß Parlamentarier zum Großwesir gesandt wurden. Am 24. September hat die Festung kapituliert. Die Nachricht über die Kapitulation begrüßte auch Fazıl Ahmed Pascha mit großer Freude – „nicht wegen seiner Großzügigkeit und angeborener Erhabenheit“ – aber wegen der Unzufriedenheit der Mannschaft und dem Hunger. Ohne größere Schwierigkeiten hatte er den Bedingungen der Besatzung zugestimmt, nur wollte er nicht erlauben, daß sie eine größere Menge Kanonen mitnehmen. Die einzelnen Punkte der Kapitulation enthielten im wesentlichen die Modalitäten des Abzugs und seiner Gewährleistung. Als der Großwesir die Kapitulationspunkte angenommen hatte, ist ein dreitätiger Waffenstillstand eingetreten. Während diesem sollte die Garnison nach Komorn abziehen und beide Seiten haben Geiseln ausgetauscht. Schon am 25. September haben die osmanischen Verbände die beschädigten Festungsmauern besetzt. Da der Zutritt zum Gran-Tor versperrt war und man da nicht hinausgehen konnte, hat sich die Garnison am Stadtplatz versammelt, wo sie bis Mittag verblieb. Am Mittag des 26. September sind aus der Festung 2422 bewaffnete Soldaten und etwa dreitausend Bewohner der Stadt hinausgegangen. Dem Heer wurde bewilligt vier Kanonen mitzunehmen.<sup>51</sup> Am Morgen des 27. September ist der Zug in Komorn eingetroffen, wo die Befehlshaber des kaiserlichen Heers unverzüglich in Haft genommen wurden.

Osmanische Quellen sprechen über „Ungläubige“, die in Neuhäusel blieben und sich unterwarfen.<sup>52</sup> Der Bericht von M. Zeiler behauptet, daß ein Teil der ungarischen Garnison, die eine strenge Bestrafung befürchtete, in der

<sup>51</sup> *Geschichts-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder*. In: Die Türken plünderten..., S. 133. *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 344.

<sup>52</sup> MEHMET HALİFE, S. 90.

Festung blieb. Es soll sich um 300 Husaren und 200 Heiducken gehandelt haben, die sich freiwillig ergaben und als Belohnung drei Dukaten erhielten.<sup>53</sup>

Am nächsten Tag, den 27. September ist der Großwesir feierlich in die Festung eingezogen und hat die Wiederherstellung der vernichteten Stellen, die Beseitigung der Schanzen und die Durchführung weiterer Maßnahmen für die Verteidigungsfähigkeit von Neuhäusel befohlen. Da es ein Freitag war, hat man in den Moscheen, zu welchen die Kirchen umgewandelt wurden, ein feierliches Gebet verrichtet und es wurde gefeiert.<sup>54</sup> Zum Befehlshaber ernannte der Großwesir den Kurden Mehmed Pascha mit 4000 Mann Besatzung aus verschiedenen Truppengattungen mit einem Tagesbezug von 38 732 Akçe.<sup>55</sup> Den Schutz von Neuhäusel hat der Großwesir dem Statthalter von Ofen (Buda) Sarı Hüseyin Pascha anvertraut. Nach dem Tode des Kurden Mehmed Pascha (Ende Oktober oder Anfang November 1663) wurde dieser auch zum Statthalter der neuerobernten Provinz.<sup>56</sup> Außer Reparaturen war es nötig die Festung sowie das Hinterland zu sichern. Nach einem Aufruf wurden an die nahe Umgebung aber auch an entfernter liegende Städte wie Preßburg, Tyrnau (Trnava), St. Georgen (Sv. Jur), Freistadt (Hlohovec – ein solcher Brief ist nur in diesem Städtchen erhalten), Trenčín, aber auch an Bergstädte Briefe gesandt.<sup>57</sup> Gegen Neutra und Nógrád hat der Großwesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha mit Truppen aus Ofen und Gardeabteilungen und einer weiteren Abteilung in der Stärke von 6000 Mann unter der Führung von Kaplan Mustafa Pascha und Kasım Pascha aus Erlau mit Truppen aus Anatolien sowie Janitscharen schon am 3. Oktober bestimmt.<sup>58</sup> Der Wesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha hat die Garnison von Neutra zur freiwilligen Aufgabe aufgefordert, was auch am 10. Oktober 1663 geschah.<sup>59</sup> Ähnlich hat sich auch die Garnison von Freistadt noch vor dem Ankommen der osmanischen Besatzung (am 12. Oktober) ergeben. Aber auch diese ist nicht lange geblieben und Ende Oktober nach Neutra zurückgekehrt. Osmanische Quelle beschreiben, wie in das Lager bei Neuhäusel Scharen von Untertanen kamen, Gehorsam versprachen und sich um den Schutz des Großwesirs bewarben. Es ist nicht daran zu zweifeln, daß das Entsetzen, erweckt durch die plündernden Einheiten von Türken und Tataren, die Entscheidung der Dörfer und Städtchen beschleunigte sich dem Groß-

<sup>53</sup> ZEILER, M.: op. cit., S. 453; *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 283–84; *Rabovali Turci...* (Die Türken plünderten...), S. 134.

<sup>54</sup> *Silahdar I*, S. 282; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 349.

<sup>55</sup> *Silahdar I*, S. 282.

<sup>56</sup> SÜREYYA, Mehmed: *Sicill-i Osmanî IV*. Istanbul 1315 H., S. 64. Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden. Mühimme Defteri, Eb. 387. Einen kurzen Inhalt Ungarn betreffender Dokumente veröffentlichte FEKETE, L.: *A berlîni és drezdai gyűjtemények török levéltári anyaga*. *Levéltári Közlemények* 6, 1928, S. 302.

<sup>57</sup> *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 284–85; MATUNÁK, M.: *Z dejín* (Aus der Geschichte), S. 410–11.

<sup>58</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 37b, W 43a; *Silahdar I*, S. 284; *Raşid I*, S. 48; NECATİ, 17b; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 352; *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 285.

<sup>59</sup> FOLLAJTÁR, J.: *Galgóc eleste 1663-ban*. *Hadtört. Közlemények* 40, 1928, S. 148.



wesir oder Sarı Hüseyin Pascha zu unterwerfen und sich Schutzbriefe zu sichern.

Am 18. Oktober kam zu Neuhäusel der Fürst von Siebenbürgen Michael Apaffy und wurde freundlich aufgenommen, da man in der ungarischen Politik mit ihm rechnete. Er sollte vor allem den Adel und die Städte der Slowakei auffordern sich den Türken zu unterwerfen und mit ihrer Hilfe die Deutschen aus dem Lande zu vertreiben.<sup>60</sup>

Der Großwesir hat sich entschieden, daß er zu den Winterlagern über Lewenz und Nógrád zurückkehrt, die es bis dahin nicht gelungen ist durch Aufforderungen zu zwingen sich zu ergeben. Am 27. Oktober verließ der Großwesir das Lager bei Neuhäusel über gebaute Brücken nach Udvard (Dvory nad Žitavou). Entlang der Žitava setzte er seinen Weg fort nach Vráble und von dort zog er nach Lewenz (Levice). Der Marsch wurde durch regnerisches Wetter und aufgeweichte Wege erschwert – „wir marschierten mit solchen Schwierigkeiten, daß zweitägige Märsche zehn Tage dauerten“ – beschwerte sich ein Teilnehmer des Feldzugs. Auch die Gran konnten sie nicht durchwaten, sondern mußten drei Brücken bauen.

Lewenz wurde von Sarı Hüseyin Pascha durch einen Brief aus Neutra am 12. Oktober 1663 aufgefordert sich seinen Truppen zu ergeben. Diese Aufforderung ist wahrscheinlich ohne Antwort geblieben, da Kapıcıbaşı Selim Aga am 22. und 28. Oktober aus Tekovské Lužany (Nagy Salló) den Lewenzer Hauptmann Gašpar Bartakovič erneut aufforderten die Schlüssel zu schicken.<sup>61</sup> Nach Ankunft der osmanischen Armee bei Lewenz hat Bartakovič nach osmanischen Quellen eine schriftliche Aufforderung sich zu ergeben abgelehnt. Als die Truppen aber die Burg umzingelten, entschloß er sich zu verhandeln. Gegen freien Abzug mit Gut und Mobilien ist die Garnison am 2. November 1663 nach Szendrő und Blauenstein (Modrý Kameň) abgezogen.<sup>62</sup>

Die letzte große Kriegshandlung im Herbst war die Eroberung von Nógrád. In den Quellen, in den osmanischen wie in den einheimischen, gibt es Widersprüche. Wahrscheinlich hat die Garnison am 5. November 1663 kapituliert, einen oder zwei Tage vor der Ankunft des Großwesirs.<sup>63</sup>

Die Ergebnisse des ersten Jahres des osmanischen Feldzugs nach Ungarn zeigten sich bedrohlicher, als der Kriegsrat des Hofes erwarten konnte. Nicht nur daß die stärkste und bedeutendste Festung gegen die Türken in der Slowakei – Neuhäusel und andere Stellungen wie Neutra, Lewenz, Nógrád und eine

<sup>60</sup> Einzelne Quellen geben die Ankunft von M. Apaffy verschieden an, die europäischen am 15. und die osmanischen am 23. Oktober 1663.

<sup>61</sup> ILLÉSY, J.: *Adatok Léva 1663-évi ostromához*. Történelmi Társulat, 1903, S. 373–86.

<sup>62</sup> *Cevahir'üt-tevahir*, P. 46a, W. 52a; *Silahdar I*, S. 296; *Rasid I*, S. 53; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 389 gibt an, daß Lewenz schon am 22. Oktober 1663 kapitulierte. ILLÉSY, J.: op. cit., S. 379. Der Großwesir nahm die Kapitulationsbedingungen am 1. November 1663 an.

<sup>63</sup> ILLÉSY, J.: *Tanulmányok Nógrád meghódolása felől 1663*. Hadtört. Közlemények 5, 1892, S. 95–112.

Reihe kleinerer Befestigung gefallen war, sondern es wurden auch weiträumige, strategisch wichtige Landgebiete verloren und Tausende Bewohner verschleppt oder getötet. Die zugespitzte Lage zwischen dem ungarischen Adel und der Armee und den kaiserlichen Garnisonen hat sich im Moment der Bedrohung durch Uneinigkeit, Feigheit und oft auch durch Verrat bemerkbar gemacht. Viele Einzelheiten über die Stimmung des Herbstes 1663 sind auch in den Quellen nicht erhalten, aber Entsetzen und ein Gefühl der Unsicherheit durchdringen jede Eintragung. Das kaiserliche Heer, mit großem Aufwand erhalten, hat weder einen wesentlichen Schritt zur Rettung von belagerten Festungen gemacht noch die Verwüstung der Landschaft verhindert. Ähnlich sind auch Versuche gescheitert in den Kampf gegen die Türken die Insurrektionen der einzelnen Komitate, außer des von Preßburg, einzuschalten. Beim Adel überwogen vollständig egoistische Interessen. Die Mehrzahl hat es abgelehnt mit der Waffe in der Hand anzutreten und sich auf Armut oder Verwüstung des eigenen Guts ausgedet. In dieser gespannten Atmosphäre steigerten sich die konfessionellen Reibereien und der Verdacht, daß der protestantische Adel – unzufrieden nach dem Preßburg Landtag 1662 – in Verbindung mit den Türken ist.

Die zugespitzte religiöse Lage und die Unzufriedenheit des ungarischen Adels mit der Politik des Hofes wurden schon seit des sechziger Jahren zum Bestandteil der türkischen Politik. Der Großwesir hat von dem National- oder Provinzpatritismus gewußt, dies ist auch aus osmanischen Quellen ersichtlich. Und natürlich hat er das für die eigene Politik genutzt. Es ist paradox, daß die Unzufriedenheit des ungarischen Adels unter anderem gerade aus dem allzu vorsichtigen Vorgehen des Hofes gegen die osmanischen Eingriffe in siebenbürgische Angelegenheiten entstand. Nach venezianischen Nachrichten war im Herbst 1663 die Lage in Ungarn so, daß die ungarischen Calvinisten im Großwesir einen Erneuerer der ungarischen Freiheit gesehen und den Anschluß an das osmanische Gebiet gefordert haben. Diese Nachricht ist möglicherweise tendenziös, man kann jedoch nicht ausschließen, daß sie mindestens einen Teil der Wahrheit widerspiegelt.<sup>64</sup>

#### *Militärische Handlungen im Jahre 1664 und Friedensschluß*

Die Erfolge der osmanischen Armee und das Entsetzen über die tatarische Plünderungen, über welche zahlreiche Flugblätter ganz Europa informiert hatten und die in wirksamen Stil an die Gefahr auch für deutsche Länder erinnerten, haben dem Kaiser große militärische und materielle Hilfe gebracht.<sup>65</sup> Sogar der Rheinbund – ein Produkt der französischen Politik – stellte ein eigenes Korps von 7000 Mann, zu welchem nominell auch eine französische Hilfsabteilung von 6000 Mann gehörte. Der Wiener Hof hat dann auch andere

<sup>64</sup> *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis*, S. 134.

<sup>65</sup> VALIERA, A.: *Historia della guerra di Canda di...* (1664–1666). Venezia 1679, S. 218–19, zitiert nach JORGA, N.: op. cit., IV, S. 113.

Länder um Hilfe gebeten. Windischgrätz ging nach Schweden, Ditrichstein nach England und Sinzendorf nach Dänemark. Militärische Hilfe aus Polen sollte Graf Kinsky gewinnen.<sup>66</sup> Es war sehr schwierig aus diesen Ländern zu bekommen, besonders aus Polen, wegen des lange andauernden Krieges mit Rußland und den Kosaken.<sup>67</sup>

Für den 25. Januar 1664 rief Palatin F. Wesselényi Vertreter der Komitate und Städte aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei nach Trenčín zusammen, um zehn Punkte betreffend die Verteidigung, die Widerstandsleistung gegen feindliche Handlungen, die Insurrektion, die Heeresversorgung, die Disziplin und andere Fragen in Zusammenhang mit dem militärischen Stand zu besprechen. An der Sitzung in Trenčín von 26.–28. Januar 1664 nahmen die Vertreter der Komitate und Städte eine Entscheidung an, daß sie eine personelle Insurrektion ausrufen werden, daß aber finanzielle Fragen der Landtag überprüfen soll. Der Kriegsrat des Hofes blickte vorsichtig auf die militärische Macht der ungarischen Insurrektion. Auf Grund von Erfahrungen aus den letzten Jahren hat der Rat ganz nüchtern abgeschätzt, daß diese Streitkräfte nicht nur schwierig zu sammeln sind, sondern auch unfähig einen regulären Dienst auszuüben. Deshalb hat sich der Rat mit den ungarischen Magnaten geeinigt, daß sie unter ihre Fahnen werben und der Sold von der kaiserlichen Kasse bezahlt wird.<sup>68</sup>

Während im Süden die militärischen Handlungen schon im Februar 1664 begannen, kam Louise de Souchès Ende März mit sächsischen und brandenburgischen Truppen und kaiserlichen Einheiten aus der Gegend entlang der Waag nach Bojnice und zog weiter bis Neutra, die er mit anderen verlorenen Burgen, Lewenz und Nógrád erobern wollte. Das ungarische Heer – vorwiegend Insurgenten aus slowakischen Komitaten – unter dem Kommando von Stephan Koháry und M. Bercsényi kam früher vor Neutra und versperrte den Weg nach Neuhäusel.<sup>69</sup> Am 13. April kamen die Truppen von L. de Souchès. Sie hatten auch Kanonen, 14 leichte (Falkonette) und 2 schwere und 2 Mörser. Nach erfolglosen Versuchen die Burg ohne Kampf zu gewinnen, begannen sie am 17. April Neutra zu belagern. Es ist ihnen gelungen durch Artilleriefeuer die Burgmauer zu durchbrechen. Am 3. Mai vor dem Generalangriff hat sich die osmanische Garnison ergeben, nachdem zuvor die kaiserliche Armee die Einheiten aus Neuhäusel, die zu Hilfe kamen, abgeschlagen hatte.<sup>70</sup> Unter dem Einfluß von Nachrichten, daß sich starke osmanische Einheiten nähern, stimmten sie zu und leiteten die Garnison nach Neuhäusel. L. de

<sup>66</sup> HHStA, Wien, Acten und Korrespondenzen, Fasc. 147–48, 1663–64; WAGNER, G.: *Das Türkenjahr 1664. Eine europäische Bewährung*. Eisenstadt 1964, S. 9–14.

<sup>67</sup> HHStA, Wien, Turcica 135 (XI–XII 1663; II–III 1664).

<sup>68</sup> EICKHOFF, E.: *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645–1700*. München 1970, S. 213.

<sup>69</sup> REDLICH, O.: *Weltmacht des Barock. Österreich in der Zeit Kaiser Leopolds I.* Wien 1961, S. 182.

<sup>70</sup> *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 139; RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: *Felső-magyarországi hadjárat 1664-ben*. Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1894, S. 288–290.

Souchès ließ in Neutra als Garnison 800 Mann und einige Hundert ungarische Soldaten.

Aus Neutra zogen die Truppen nach Vráble, von dort nach Tekov, wo eine Brücke über die Gran gebaut wurde und schon am 8. Mai standen sie vor Lewenz. Obwohl die osmanische Garnison der lewenzer Burg nicht stark war (250 Janitscharen und 400 Sipahi) und L. de Souchès 5000 Infanteristen und 3000 Reiter hatte, ging er nicht gleich zu Belagerung über.<sup>71</sup> Die Umgebung der Burg war sumpfig, was einen direkten Angriff hinderte. Auch hatte er Nachricht bekommen, daß ein starkes osmanisches Heer heranrückt. Gleich danach, als der Großwesir die Nachricht über die Belagerung von Neutra durch kaiserliche Truppen erhalten hatte, sandte er den Statthalter von Großwardein Küçük Mehmed Pascha, Cerrah Kasım Pascha aus Ineu, und den Statthalter von Erlau Arnavud Halil Pascha mit Truppen aus den Provinzen, Gardeabteilungen, Truppen aus Ofen und Gran, sowie Tataren mit Ahmed Aga dem Sarı Hüseyin Pascha in Neuhäusel zu Hilfe.<sup>72</sup> Auch Michael Apaffy und die Fürsten von Moldau und Walachei erhielten Befehl sich den militärischen Handlungen anzuschließen. Genannte Einheiten in der Stärke von etwa 15 000 Mann sind aus Gran zu Hilfe nach Lewenz gezogen. L. de Souchès hat Lewenz verlassen, sich nach Pukanec (Pukkanz) zurück gezogen und den Kriegsrat des Hofes um Hilfe gebeten. Dieser bestimmte Feldmarschall S. Heister, der die Infanterie verließ und mit der Kavallerie über Sv. Beňadík in das Gran-Tal L. de Souchès zu Hilfe eilte.

Ursprünglich wollte L. de Souchès Nógrád oder Waitzen angreifen, aber nach der Nachricht über entlang der Gran heranrückende Türken hat er seinen Plan geändert. Über Hodruša ist er am 16. Mai ins Gran-Tal bei Žarnovica gekommen, wo er sich mit Heister vereinte und mit den osmanischen Truppen unter Küçük Mehmed Pascha zusammenstieß. In der Schlacht sind etwa 1000 bis 1500 Türken gefallen, die Verluste der kaiserlichen Truppen waren geringfügig. Das besiegte Heer verwüstet auf dem Rückweg durch das Gran-Tal alle Dörfer und Königsberg (Nová Baňa).<sup>73</sup>

Noch Ende Mai 1664 war L. de Souchès im Becken von Heiligenkreuz (Sv. Kríž n/Hr) gewesen, wo er auf die ungarischen Truppen in der Stärke von etwa 6000 Mann und über 2000 Reiter aus dem Korps von Heister wartete. Erst am 9. Juni hat L. de Souchès mit einem etwa 15 000 Mann starkem Heer Lewenz belagert. Die türkische Garnison hat sich nach fünftägiger Beschießung ergeben gegen freien Abzug nach Gran.<sup>74</sup> Weitere militärische

<sup>71</sup> *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 309–310. *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 71b-72a, W 73a; *Silahdar I*, S. 323–324.

<sup>72</sup> RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: op. cit., S. 294. WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 121.

<sup>73</sup> WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 127–130; *Silahdar I*, S. 366; *Rašid I*, S. 82.

<sup>74</sup> *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 326; 17. Mai 1664 haben die Türken etwa 400 Menschen aus Nová Baňa (Königsberg), die sich in unterirdischen Gängen versteckt hatten, erstickt, andere haben sie verschleppt oder geköft. HINDICKY, J.: *Nová Baňa*. Vlast. časopis 12, 1963, S. 180. WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 120–122.

Operationen in der Slowakei waren von der militärischen Lage, wie sich im Laufe von Mai und Juni in Ungarn entwickelte, abhängig.

Nach der Eroberung von Lewenz beabsichtigte L. de Souchès Nógrád anzugreifen, wo die schwache Garnison kaum der Übermacht der kaiserlichen Truppen hätte standhalten können. Nach der Entscheidung des Hofkriegsrates, der befürchtete, daß die osmanische Armee in die österreichischen Länder eindringen könnte, mußte L. de Souchès die Linie an der Waag einnehmen, um das Eindringen der Türken nach Mähren oder noch weiter zu verhindern. Mitte Juli 1664 sammelten sich die kaiserlichen Truppen bei Freistadt. Von dort zogen sie nach Neutra, da Nachrichten über Truppenbewegungen des verstärkten osmanischen Heeres zwischen Gran und Neuhäusel verbreitet wurden. Souchès befürchtete einen starken Feind und bat den Palatin und die Komitate um weitere Verstärkungen.

Das osmanische Heer in der Stärke von etwa 20 000 Mann mit Sarı Hüseyin Pascha an der Spitze, mit dem Statthalter von Erlau (Eger) zusammen mit Walachen, Moldauern und Tataren zog zum unlängst eroberten Lewenz und belagerte es. Als die Verteidiger es ablehnten über einen freiwilligen Abzug zu diskutieren, griffen sie zweimal an, aber die Garnison unter Kapitän Neumuth wehrte sich tapfer und hielt bis zur Ankunft der kaiserlichen Truppen durch. Von Neutra zogen die kaiserlichen Einheiten über Zlaté Moravce nach Sv. Beňadik und unterhalb Kozárovce durchwateten sie die Gran. Am 19. Juli morgens begann die Schlacht. Die stärksten Angriffe haben die kaiserlichen Truppen aus der südlichen und mittleren Position gegen die moldauischen und walachischen Truppen unternommen. Diese hielten den wiederholten Angriffen nicht stand und ergriffen die Flucht. Nach der Flucht des linken Flügels der osmanischen Armee haben sich auch andere Einheiten zurückgezogen, aus Furcht vor Umzingelung hat sich die Schlacht zu einem Massaker der nach Lewenz flüchtenden Türken umgewandelt. In der Schlacht sind ungefähr 6000 osmanische Soldaten gefallen und das kaiserliche Heer bemächtigte sich aller Kanonen, Gepäck und Vorräte. Von dem siegreichen Heer sind der Kapitän der ungarischen Einheiten Stephan Koháry, V. Balassa und die kaiserlichen Offiziere Baron Joanelli und Oberst Zeiss gefallen.<sup>75</sup>

Als der Wesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha mit den Rasten der osmanischen Heer nach Neuhäusel abzog, ist L. de Souchès mit seinen Einheiten nach Parkan gekommen, das er am 1. August 1664 niederbrannte und die Pontonbrücke über die Donau vernichtete. Dann hat er sich nach Komorn zurückgezogen und an der Großen Schütt-Insel sein Lager aufgeschlagen. Der Feldzug des kaiserlichen Heeres im Frühling und Sommer 1664 in der Slowakei gehört zu

<sup>75</sup> RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: op. cit., S. 302; Ibid.: *További adatok az 1664-ik évi Felsőmagyarországi hadjáratához*. Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1894, S. 579–80. MUSTAFA ZÜHDİ, in *Tarih-i Uyyar*, 44a schreibt über die achtzehntägige Belagerung von Lewenz. WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 125–131 gibt auch Nachricht über die Schlacht bei Lewenz und scheint kritisch zu sein gegen einige Nachrichten von L. de Souchès; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Kriegsarchiv. *Türkenkrieg 1661–1664*, S. 531–548 bringt die Nachricht von de Souchès und andere Dokumente.

den erfolgreicheren Handlungen des zweiten Kriegsjahres. Außer der Neuerobung von Neutra und Lewenz, was den Umfang des von Türken kontrollierten Gebietes bedeutsam einschränkte, haben die Handlungen von L. de Souchès einen bedeutenden Teil des osmanischen Heeres gebunden, welches sonst die Einheiten in Südungarn verstärkt hätte. Die Anwesenheit starker Einheiten erlaubte dem osmanischen Heer nicht straflos die Landschaft zu verwüsten, wie im Herbst des Vorjahres.

Die Schlacht am 1. August 1664 bei St. Gotthard war ein großer Sieg der Koalition. Durch den schnellen Friedensabschluß am 10. August in Eisenburg (Vasvár) und seine baldige Ratifikation ging der schrecklichste türkische Krieg in der Slowakei zu Ende.



## THE FALL OF COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE: SOUTH AFRICAN PERCEPTIONS AND REACTIONS\*

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The aim of this paper is to sketch and analyse a broad picture and some dynamics of South African reactions to the 1989 blitz revolutions in Eastern Europe, which have often been described as an event of epochal significance, marking the fatal decline of power of world communism. Having been based and carried on the wave of an other progressing revolution, that of technology and communications, the East European upheavals could not but immediately acquire a global dimension and pervade and affect in one way or other developments in different parts of the world.

Research into this topic has been based on the study of a relatively wide range of South African sources such as parliamentary debates, conference papers, articles in various newspapers and professional journals, both English and Afrikaans, as well as on interviews with representatives of some of the main South African political parties and movements.<sup>1</sup>

The impact of development in Eastern Europe on the outside world can be perceived in at least four main spheres – one global and three 'sectoral'. From the global point of view it has been generally recognized that the sudden autumn 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and the rigid East European communist gerontocracies, was the first truly manifest illustration of the decline of communism which practically meant the breakdown of the framework of the post World War Two international relations, based on the existence of two super-powers. Most countries of the world had their own 'stake' in this system as it developed over the past 40-50 years. There was the first group which based its whole foreign policy on an unconditional support of one of the super-powers. There was the second group which found shelter and stability under the protective umbrella of the other. And there was the third group, which concentrated on profiting from manoeuvring between them. Within a couple of weeks, in autumn 1989, each of these three blocs of countries suddenly

faced a new world, as its bipolar framework, conserved by decades of cold war, collapsed in front of their eyes. From this point of view very few countries can be considered as not having been affected.

From the point of view of individual countries or regions the fallout from the explosion of antitotalitarian revolutions in Eastern Europe has been perceived in three main spheres – economic, political and ideological. In economics the breakdown of centrally planned economics and the vigorous advance of the capitalist free market into Eastern Europe brought with it an imminent danger of a major rechannelling of international capital flows, namely the withdrawal of Western investment and aid from the Third World in favour of the more promising East European alternative. As B.A. Kiplagat, permanent secretary in the Kenyan foreign ministry put it, after the revolutions in Eastern Europe for many in the West "Eastern Europe is a pretty girl and Africa a shabby woman".<sup>2</sup>

In political perspective 1989 was in the first place generally seen as an unprecedented triumph of people's power, human rights, peace and democracy and the dawn of the new era of justice. It gave hope and encouragement to freedom fighters and their supporters across the world and at the same time it issued a staggering warning to many dictator. Especially in Africa, the continent of authoritarian regimes of all kinds, many political leaders responded by introducing and promising democratic measures in the first months of 1990.<sup>3</sup>

The impact in the sphere of ideology is closely related to that in the political field, however, here the emphasis would be on theoretical background and the ideological roots of practical politics. This point, no doubt, deserves a separate treatment since it was mainly the plain failure of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism which brought down the whole edifice of the artificial monolith of the Eastern Bloc. The message was global and powerful since it was coming from the unprecedented majority of those whose four decades of own everyday experience definitely gave them a mandate to tell the ordeal. There is no doubt that in this sphere the most affected were those countries whose governments or influential political movements had been, in one way or other, tied in the past to the now disintegrating communist bloc.

South Africa, this paper will argue, has turned out to be one of the countries of the world most affected by the changes in Eastern Europe. The reasons have been numerous. Here I would like to point in brief only to the most obvious ones, in accordance with the above division into the four spheres of impact (i.e. global, economic, political, ideological):

\* The author wishes to acknowledge gratitude to the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria which supported his research into this topic.

<sup>1</sup> These were conducted during the author's 1990 and 1991 visits to South Africa. Among the interviewees were representatives of the National Party, Conservative Party, African National Congress-South African Communist Party, Democratic Party, Pan African Congress, Herstigte Nasionale Party and a number of top South African academics.

<sup>2</sup> ANGLIN, D.G.: "Southern African Responses to Eastern European Developments", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Cambridge, vol. 28, No. 3, 1990, p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> For the countries of Southern Africa see ANGLIN: "Southern African Responses", pp. 431-456. Political changes towards democratization in other African countries which could be clearly related to the changes in Eastern Europe, have been documented and discussed in *passim* in *Africa Research Bulletin: Political Series*, Exeter, vol. 27, 1990.

- South Africa has traditionally been a favourite object of cold war confrontations of the bipolar world

- partly due to its geographical position the country has been extremely sensitive to any major changes in capital and trade flows

- South Africa has just gone through a four decades period of history, very similar in characters, even if not the scope, to that, experienced by Eastern Europe (authoritarianism, isolation); as a result of historical coincidence both regions were practically simultaneously embarking on an all-embracing political transition; such resemblances created an environment in which 'taking lessons' seemed natural

- the struggle for new South Africa has always been under strong influence of and tied to the communist and radical leftist ideology.

If one ponders about the impact on South Africa of the global power shifts caused by the decline of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, one has to bear in mind that from such broad point of view everything inevitably seems to be too complex, and at this point of time any assessment cannot avoid being but speculative to a great extent. Nevertheless, a hypothesis concerning this global aspect of changes will be formulated at the end of the paper.

In the sphere of economics the impact could neither be immediate and direct yet, even the first reactions by businessmen, politicians and journalists were quick to grasp the economic dimension and potential of the East Europe political upheaval.<sup>4</sup> It has been argued, in the first place, that the opening of Eastern Europe inevitably meant that even with the withdrawal of international sanctions on the horizon the Western capital could no longer be expected to flow to South Africa in any significant quantity because of the new and more attractive investment possibilities in countries like Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and, quite possibly, further east in the near future. However, what looked like quite bleak perspectives for South Africa, immediately led to searching for ways out. The economic strategies for future South Africa began to stress more the inescapability of the country's geographical reality and called for more active building on and further developing of its regional power position within Southern Africa and the African continent. As C. Eglin, the Democratic Party parliamentary spokesman on foreign affairs put it: "Our route to becoming a full member of the world community will not be through America, Europe or Asia, but through Africa to which we belong."<sup>5</sup>

Eastern Europe did not open as a new market only to the West. A stream of South African fact-finders, door openers and contact markers began to visit that part of the world to test its business potential and a variety of opportunities was found. One year after the East European upheavals of late 1989 the

ominous economic consequences for South Africa were much less realistic. Moreover, what seemed to the thrill Western investors at the turn of 1989 and 1990, cooled down when the extent of infrastructural, legislative and managerial staleness, caused by the four decades of communist rule, began to be more clearly seen. In spring 1991, fifteen months after the fall of the 'Iron Skirt', Eastern Europe was no longer considered to be so sexy by Western capital.<sup>6</sup>

As has been, hopefully, indicated above, South Africa reacted quite sensitively to the new economic situation created by revolutions in Eastern Europe. The impact of East European developments on South Africa in the spheres of politics and ideology, as observed in the reactions of the country's main political groups, will be dealt with in more detail below.

For the purpose of this paper I have concentrated on reactions of the three at the time most active, visible and probably strongest South African political parties and groupings: the governing National Party (NP), the opposition Conservative Party (CP) and the extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid alliance of the African National Congress and the South Communist Party (ANC-SACP). This analysis does not take into specific consideration the ultra left and the far right groups, neither, unfortunately, Inkatha Freedom Party, the reactions of which to changes in Eastern Europe have not been sufficiently visible in available sources.

#### a) National Party

It is natural that the National party, being the party responsible for the running of the government, was among the first to react to the new signals coming from Eastern Europe.

To try to set apart the usually intermingling domestic and foreign influences on a major initiative by a government is always a precarious task. This would also be confirmed by an attempt to establish the particular relevance of internal and external factors behind the 2 February 1990 decision of the South African government to unban all leftist anti-apartheid political organizations (including the ANC and the SACP), to free political prisoners and to embark on a principal political transformation by committing the government to the new course of profound non-racial democratization. However, notwithstanding all the complexities, inherent to an analysis of this kind, at least one general observation can no doubt be made - alongside the ever more intense internal pressures which forced the South African government to adopt active steps aimed at a fundamental solution of the protracted internal conflict, external influences, the political upheavals in Eastern Europe in particular, were

<sup>4</sup> *Die Burger*, 25 November 1989; *Citizen*, 30 December 1989, 26 April 1990; *Beeld*, 22 February 1990; *Insig*, April 1990.

<sup>5</sup> *Citizen*, 26 April 1990.

<sup>6</sup> As remarked complacently (and with an apparent allusion to the one year old lament by the Kenyan diplomat quoted above - see note 2) at a gathering of South African businessmen on 11 April 1991 in Cape Town by the South Africa Foundation's Washington director Michael Christie. See also *Citizen*, 8 November 1990.



also of major importance.<sup>7</sup> This has been confirmed by the majority of our sources, from parliamentary speeches to opinions expressed by politicians and commentators in massmedia and during interviews.

Reading the debates of the South African parliament between 2 February (the opening session) and June 1990 (the closing of the autumn session), one is struck by the frequency with which Eastern Europe has been mentioned as a factor influencing South African politics. Having announced in his opening speech the radical steps away from apartheid and towards the full democratization of political life, F.W. de Klerk gave a list of causes which brought the government to this decision. The first among them was "the events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which...weaken the capability of organizations which were previously supported from those quarters".<sup>8</sup> Similarly, in the ensuing controversy between supporters of the new political programme and its firm opponents from the conservative opposition, the chief argument did

<sup>7</sup> Even if the starting point of our analysis is the late 1989 democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe which began with the exodus of East Germans to the West and culminated in the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, the execution of the Rumanian communist dictator N. Ceausescu and the peaceful coming to power of the two Czechoslovak famous dissidents Havel and Dubček, we realize that the whole process of the erosion of the power of totalitarian communism had already been going on for some years – quite visibly since the 1985 coming to power of M. Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. What is significant from the point of view of this paper: simultaneously with the softening of the hard line communism within the Eastern bloc a similar 'warming-up' was going on for some years behind the scenes between the Soviet Union and South Africa. Occasions worth mentioning in this regard were the refusal of the Soviet delegation in the International Atomic Energy Agency to vote for the expulsion of South Africa from this international organization (despite calls for this on the part of the ANC and some developing countries), the October 1988 Leverkusen conference on current trends in Soviet-South African relations, attended by top Soviet and Afrikaner academics as well as high ranking representatives of the ANC; a similar March 1989 conference organized in London; the visit of an official Soviet delegation (the first in 33 years) to Cape Town in April 1989 and the high level contacts between South African and Soviet diplomats during the 1988-89 negotiations leading to the Namibian settlement, which culminated in the meeting between Soviet deputy foreign minister A. Adamishin and South African foreign minister R.F. Botha in Brazzaville. See P. NEL: *A Soviet Embassy in Pretoria?* (Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1990), pp. 23-38; V.I. TIKHOMIROV: "Contemporary Politics in South Africa and the Soviet Policy Towards Southern Africa", in A. GROMYKO – J. KANE-BERMAN (eds.): *The Moscow Papers – the USSR and South Africa, similarities, problems and opportunities* (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1991), pp. 7-16; H. GILJOMEE: "The ANC, the Soviet Union and South Africa", *South Africa Foundation Review (SAFR)*, vol. 14, No. 12, December 1988, p. 4; W. GUTTERIDGE: "Changing Soviet Attitudes to South Africa: some first-hand impressions", *SAFR*, vol. 15, No. 6, June 1989, p. 3; I.V. BELIKOV – A.V. BELYAEV: "Framing Soviet Policy towards South Africa: conflicting strategies", *South Africa International*, vol. 22, No. 2, October 1991, pp. 86-96. Therefore the sudden opening of Eastern Europe and the completely changed international situation did not necessarily have to take the South African government by surprise (even if the pace of changes probably did); over the past 3-5 years it had had enough time to think and prepare for the new alternative.

<sup>8</sup> *Debates of Parliament* (Hansard), Feb.-June 1990, col. no. 14. The Government Printer, Republic of South Africa, 1990.

not point to the internal situation but rather revolved around the question whether the changes in the Eastern bloc could, indeed, be considered as having been significant enough for the government to move along the new line.

As could have been expected, other top government representatives expressed views similar to those of the State President. When asked about the importance of changes in the Eastern bloc for South Africa, the Foreign Minister R.F. Botha stated: "Never before in the history of this country did anything happening so far away from here have such crucial significance to us."<sup>9</sup> The Minister of Constitutional Development G. Viljoen, reacting in parliament to the accusations by A.P. Treurnicht, that the National Party did not have the mandate for such a radical change of political course, said:

"...historically far-reaching events in Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the world have made it possible to adopt measures which go much further than we could have thought possible or practicable a year ago... Developments in the world, especially in Eastern Europe, have shown to the ANC that they can no longer rely on help from these countries and count on victory over the South African state by the use of force."<sup>10</sup>

Minister of Education, Training and Development Aid C.J. van der Merwe unfolded this argument in a way which some of his colleagues may have found embarrassingly sincere. He said:

"The world has changed drastically. Years ago it was necessary to ban the Communist Party by law because communism was an upcoming, blossoming ideology, which drove one to despair...In the meantime that ideology blossomed and faded, demonstrating that it was not a matter of any concern. It is proving to the world that it cannot work, and that is why it is no longer necessary to ban it by way of legislation."<sup>11</sup>

Explanations, such as offered by G. Viljoen, when analysed critically, in the context of the ongoing political struggle between the government and its conservative opposition, may create a suspicion, whether Eastern Europe was not just made use of as an excuse against the accusations from the right. Some of these accusations could not just be ignored. It should be borne in mind that in February 1990 the last white election was just five months away and the programme of the victorious National Party only had spoken of reform plans in the usual vague terms, hardly distinguishable from what the government used to promise on such occasions in the past. In this regard doubts about the NP's mandate to adopt the radical measures had their relevance. Had the NP campaigned with legalizing of the ANC, SACP and PAC (Pan African Congress), the results of the election could have been significantly different. However, most of the sources available to the author, and these included two

<sup>9</sup> *Novoe vremya* (New Times), Moscow, No. 29, 1990, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.-June 1990, cols. 64-67.

<sup>11</sup> *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.-June 1990, col. 81.



discussions with G. Viljoen<sup>12</sup> dispelled doubts about the true relevance of changes in Eastern Europe for South Africa.

Yet, uncertainties concerning this issue will probably remain obscured behind some controversial statements. Some representatives of the government, including F.W. de Klerk in his 2 February speech, created an impression that Eastern Europe was one of the most decisive influences behind the new political programme. Others, and this surprisingly includes R.F. Botha in parliament, stressed that the NP had in any case been prepared to implement all the radical measures and Eastern Europe was just a factor which reassured the government that it was moving along the right path.<sup>13</sup> The truth may lie somewhere in between. There is little doubt that in autumn 1989 the unconditional release of N. Mandela was but a question of time, yet measures like the legalization of the most radical leftist groupings, the decision to scrap all apartheid legislation and agree on general non-racial elections on the basis of one man-one vote, would be hardly thinkable had not world communism just received what looked like the fatal blow at that time.

Developments in Eastern Europe did not have a one-dimensional cause-effect impact on South African government perspectives. One can rather speak of a multiple influence which had its clear and its obscured aspects. An important distinction to be realized is that the changed international situation on one hand *enabled* the government to introduce fresh policies but on the other hand it simultaneously *forced* it (through pressures from both domestic and international spheres) to adopt new measures.

On one hand the decline of the Soviet Union as superpower and the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe meant that the South African government no longer had to fear what it had traditionally considered to be its foreign enemy number one. The total onslaught threat suddenly disappeared and the government could start thinking in more relaxed terms.

On the international front the government could even observe a "developing empathy towards South Africa"<sup>14</sup> and the "dramatic breaking of the grip of isolation"<sup>15</sup> represented by the historic visit of the Foreign Minister R.F. Botha to Budapest in January 1990, by the more relaxed approach of the new East European leaders to sanctions, their preparedness to respond positively to radical democratic reforms introduced in South Africa (in contrast to the prevailing rigidly pro-sanction West) and by their willingness to open diplomatic relations.

Internally the breakdown of the Eastern bloc meant that anti-apartheid organizations such as the ANC and the SACP lost their chief bases of foreign support, which weakened their capability to challenge the government in a revolutionary way. The South African government's nightmare of the ever

growing black majority persistently supported and instigated from the world's communist and liberal capitals, lost some of its gruesomeness.

However, as has been pointed out above, the new situation not only allowed the government to implement radically new policies, it simultaneously created an environment in which a new approach became a necessity. Revolutions in Eastern Europe and the ensuing changes towards democratization in many other countries of the world began to be increasingly perceived as a part of the end-of-millennium global move to democracy. Accordingly, reform steps adopted by governments in different parts of the world have now been measured against the depth and the pace of changes in Eastern Europe. "The events in Eastern Europe show symptoms of a real world revolution,"<sup>16</sup> wrote a South African correspondent from East Germany in November 1989. "The collapse of the Berlin Wall has set new international standards by which the world now understands the meaning of political reform,"<sup>17</sup> *Sunday Times* pointed out in January 1990 and one South African social analyst spoke of "the tide of expectations increased by East European short-term changes."<sup>18</sup> At the same time the show of power by mass protest against totalitarian regimes quite naturally made authoritarian leaders throughout the world think once again about the vulnerability of their own positions and it brought several to the decision to use what might easily be the last chance to bring change peacefully.<sup>19</sup> The 1989 Christmas martial execution of the Rumanian dictator was a shocking reminder of what can happen if the suppression of human rights and values is allowed to continue too long and go too far. Thus developments in Eastern Europe altered the political climate in South Africa, the National Party was put under an increased internal pressure to get the country out of the deadlock of the protracted conflict and those groups in the NC which were supporters of a more radical reform obviously felt strengthened.<sup>20</sup>

Besides stimuli from within, there were the external ones, some of which also forced the National Party government to adopt the radically new political line. At least one of these pressures was closely related to the fall of totalitarian communism in Europe. With the decline of the Soviet Union South Africa increasingly found itself in the position to become one of the few remaining

<sup>16</sup> L. SCHOLZ in *Rapport*, 26 November 1989.

<sup>17</sup> *Sunday Times*, 28 January 1990.

<sup>18</sup> N. RHODIE in *Die Burger*, 6 March 1990.

<sup>19</sup> For South African government a beacon in this regard, which issued both warning and brought hope, was the massive and relatively peaceful demonstration organized in December 1989 in Cape Town. This has been pointed out by G. Viljoen during a discussion with the author in Prague on 10 October 1991.

<sup>20</sup> More light on this issues could perhaps be shed by a serious attempt to compare the backgrounds, tasks and actions of the two leaders of the largest and most precarious contemporary transitions to democracy - M. Gorbachev and F.W. de Klerk. It is quite possible that the boldness with which Gorbachev set out on rebuilding his 'empire of evil' was one of the factors which encouraged De Klerk to attempt to do the same.

<sup>12</sup> Pretoria, 2 August 1990; Prague, 10 October 1991.

<sup>13</sup> *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.-June 1990, cols. 7216-7220.

<sup>14</sup> *Beeld*, 4 January 1990.

<sup>15</sup> *Beeld*, 16 November 1990.

targets of the world democratic lobby.<sup>21</sup> From this point of view radical reform steps and the unconditional acceptance of democratic principles on the part of the National Party proved to be a strategically very important and effective step undertaken under the influence of international factors among which the developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were of crucial importance.

Besides 'learning their lessons' NP representatives found it appropriate to use the East European example to 'teach others their own'. In his 2 February 1990 speech in parliament F.W. de Klerk made the following allusion to the leftist groupings such as the ANC-SACP: "Those who seek to force this failed system on South Africa should engage on a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that this is not the answer here either."<sup>22</sup> In the words of R.F. Botha "certain elements in South Africa must throw out of the window their obsolete and worn-out theories and systems,"<sup>23</sup> and according to G. Viljoen there was no doubt that "the events in Eastern Europe and in Africa have totally discredited communism both as political and economic system".<sup>24</sup> The obviously intentional, although one should admit, not quite unfounded interpretation of developments in Eastern Europe, was offered by N. van Heerden, the Director General of the Foreign Ministry. In an obvious attempt to underrate the relevance of demands for unconditional democracy he reasoned:

"Developments in the far-away Eastern bloc prove that the 'one-man-one-vote' does not form the essence of democracy (this used to be, as a matter of fact, the rule in all those countries); it should be seen as only one aspect of democracy, which also requires the guaranties of other important civil rights."<sup>25</sup>

In these and similar statements the representatives of the National Party expressed opinions which were quite close to some views of the conservatives.

#### b) Conservative Party

The revolutions in Eastern Europe have proven to be of great relevance also to the Conservative Party. The party could feel influenced by the developments in both a positive and a negative sense.

On one hand the failure of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe could be perceived by the CP and its electorate as the victory of anti-communism which has formed an important part of the CP's ideology. All the theses of the economic irrationality and political oppressiveness of the communist system,

<sup>21</sup> Specifically pointed to by the Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism G. Marais during an interview in Cape Town on 19 April 1991.

<sup>22</sup> *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.-June 1990, col. 11.

<sup>23</sup> *The Star*, 26 January 1990.

<sup>24</sup> *Insig*, March 1990, p. 54.

<sup>25</sup> *Insig*, February 1990, p. 14.

of its general inhumaneness and unworkability, which the CP kept stressing over the past decade, seemed suddenly to be confirmed by a single-stroke unveiling of the reality of conditions behind the Iron Curtain. Above all, the CP's chief internal enemy – the South African communist oriented left wing – has been given a shattering blow.

On the other hand, the CP could feel also seriously endangered by the changes in the Soviet bloc. The party used to justify its policies, and to a considerable degree its very existence, by the need to build fences against the ever growing expansionism of the communist world whose aims had always been global. The sudden unexpected marginalization of international communism, the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from regional spheres of interest and its rapid decline as world superpower confronted the CP with a completely new situation. With the total onslaught threat no longer there one of the important pillars on which the Conservative Party stood, cracked.

The immediate reaction of the Conservative Party to changes in Eastern Europe and to the ensuing radical democratizing measures adopted by the NP government, seems to have been to a larger extent guided rather by the instinct of the self-preservation than by rational evaluation of the true scope of the change. The CP's response has clearly shown how strongly the party's ideology has been based on the existence of an enemy.

In his reaction to the State President's 2 February 1990 speech in parliament the CP's leader A.P. Treurnicht concentrated on deflating the significance of changes in the Eastern bloc, to which President De Klerk attached prime importance. In an attempt to prove that the Soviet Union remained still as communist as ever, Treurnicht addressed the following words to De Klerk:

"If the hon. State President states... that Stalinist Communism has expired, that the economic system of Eastern Europe or Russia has collapsed, that Russia has turned its back on Southern Africa militarily and ideologically and that it is concerning itself only with its own internal problems, if he asserts that the ANC, PAC, SACP and other front organizations have been cut off from Russian communist influence and aid and that they cannot continue to exist on their own; if he thinks that, then I am honestly of the opinion that he is truly naïve!"<sup>26</sup>

Treurnicht further warned the government that the Soviet leader's communism was still very much alive. He expressed his belief that all Gorbachev's efforts had only been aimed at making the communist system more effective. He said that the Soviet Union was just looking for a temporary peace in order to gather new strength so that it could achieve its aim of victory without war.<sup>27</sup>

As far as the relation of the Soviet Union to the South African anti-apartheid organizations was concerned, Treurnicht used a relatively recent quota-

<sup>26</sup> *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.-June 1990, col. 46.

<sup>27</sup> *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.-June 1990, col. 46.



tion from Gorbachev: "Our country has always supported the freedom struggle of African nations, including South Africa. When Oliver Tambo and I met, I said to him – we are on your side in the struggle against the apartheid regime..."<sup>28</sup>

Gorbachev, like most other communist reformers, could not avoid making controversial statements and the true meaning of many of his declarations can only be properly evaluated when put into the context of the complex process of changes developing in the Soviet Union. A careful reading of Gorbachev proves that in order to pacify the still very powerful supporters of the old communist order in the Soviet Union, when introducing important reform steps, he typically resorted to stressing his enduring loyalty to the principles of socialism as defined by the great founders of the ideology.<sup>29</sup> In the same tune, steps leading to the minimization of involvement in different traditional Soviet foreign spheres of influence, has often been accompanied by verbal assurances of the continuing support.<sup>30</sup>

The Conservative Party and its leader A.P. Treurnicht in particular, based its criticism of the South African government's new policy, on depreciation of the relevance of the changes in the Eastern bloc by resorting to incontextual quotations. It is quite remarkable that a very similar method of misinterpretation, as will be shown below, has been used by the SACP which, in its reactions to developments in Eastern Europe, used practically the same quotations to prove the same point – the persistence of the Soviet Union as a communist power.

Another reaction of the Conservative Party to developments in Eastern Europe was also based on presenting a slightly distorted picture. Various spokesmen for the Conservative Party looked at and interpreted events in Eastern Europe and the changes in the Soviet Union through a rather one-dimensional ethnic prism.<sup>31</sup> They have seen in them a proof of the thesis that the prime moving factor in world politics, even at the end of the twentieth

century, was still nationalism.<sup>32</sup> The obvious implication for South Africa then was that the different ethnic and racial groups should be allowed to develop separately, according to their different cultural and historical traditions. Artificial conglomerates of different nationalities, held together by the power of the authoritarian state, proved unworkable and they could not avoid serious conflicts and ultimate disintegration. In order not to make the same mistake, South Africa, with regard to its extreme heterogeneity, should not opt for a unitary state but for the separation of its First World and Third World peoples which could be best realized by the creation of different *volkstates*.<sup>33</sup>

This interpretation of events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, in our opinion, is a one-sided one. The upheavals there were mainly based on a desire for more human rights and for better standards of living, such as the neighbouring western countries had achieved and the ethnic factors came to the fore only later, as a result of what could be called shock democratization which, among other things, meant taking the lid off the pot of ethnic tensions and contradictions suppressed and frozen by the forty years of totalitarian rule. Even in the Soviet Union, what has been perceived by many as mainly ethnic revolutions on the periphery of the empire, was in reality often directed equally against Moscow as well as against the native communist party representatives.

Ethnicity has often served as the best passable outlet for venting otherwise very complex tensions and simple ethnic interpretations have always been tempting. The South African Conservative Party's evaluation of the end-of-1980s developments in Eastern Europe may have been partly influenced by this more or less general inclination, but it also seems to have represented a deliberate attempt on the part of the CP to lay stress on a view which served its purposes. On the other hand, two years after the momentous changes in Eastern Europe, due to the ensuing developments there, the CP's pointing to the relevance of ethnic and national factors in politics and history can no longer be so easily disregarded. Yet, to argue that separation is the inevitable solution, which was the CP's chief conclusion, still sounds as an oversimplification.

#### c) African National Congress–South African Communist Party

Out of all major South African political parties those which were expected to be most seriously affected by developments in Eastern Europe were the organizations belonging to the left side of the country's political spectrum.

<sup>32</sup> "Surely it is nationalism that has turned Eastern Europe up-side down, and surely it is nationalism that is giving rise to tensions within Soviet Russia...That is nationalism against which the Government is going to smash its head in South Africa", prophesied A.P. Treurnicht in parliament (*Debates of Parliament*, Feb.–June 1990, col. 42). Practically the same views were expressed by T. Langley, the CP's parliamentary spokesman on foreign relations, during an interview with the author in Cape Town, 22 April 1991.

<sup>33</sup> *Patriot*, 19 January 1990, 26 January 1990.

<sup>28</sup> *Patriot*, 9 February 1990.

<sup>29</sup> This has been, perhaps, best exemplified by Gorbachev's explanation of his resolve to quit one of the sacred principles of communist ideology, that of the primacy of class struggle in history and politics. Gorbachev offered his astonished readers this explanation: "... We draw inspiration from Lenin. Turning to him and reading his work *each time in a new way* (italics – the author), one is struck by his ability to see the most intricate dialectics of world processes... Lenin could see further, he could go beyond the class imposed limits. More than once he spoke about the priority of interests common to all humanity over class interests. It is only now that we have come to comprehend the entire depth and significance of these ideas." (*African Communist*, No. 113, 1988, p. 103.)

<sup>30</sup> The changing attitudes of the Soviet Union towards ANC since the coming of Gorbachev to power have been analysed in NEL: *A Soviet Embassy in Pretoria?*

<sup>31</sup> *Rapport*, 14 January 1990.



The decline of communism in Europe did not only make them face a completely new international situation with secondary internal implications, it also led to an immediate and direct draining of some of their principal sources of economic and military support. Likewise, in the sphere of ideology, the flagrant evidence of unfunctionality of the system of socialism of the Soviet type put in serious doubt all the principles from which organizations like the SACP and the ANC have always to a great extent derived their policies.

On the other hand, revolutions in Eastern Europe could also reassure them at least in one important way in their convictions. The ousting of unpopular governments from power by peaceful demonstration could strengthen them in their belief in people's power and the inevitability of victory of the masses over an oppressive regime. However, surprisingly enough, in the wide range of sources available to the author there was little attempt by leftist spokesmen to exploit this comparative potential.

Especially in the first period of fundamental changes in the Eastern bloc, which began with the grandiose attempt by M. Gorbachev to modernize socialism, to free it from outdate dogmas and to admit some of its principal flaws, one could observe an anxious effort on the part of the South African left to disregard and even misinterpret the significance of the changes being introduced in the Soviet bloc.

The ANC monthly *Sechaba*, the journal with very good access to first-hand information on developments in Eastern Europe, practically completely overlooked the issue. In the 1989 volume of the journal, the few materials concerning relations between the ANC and the Soviet Union were all written in the spirit of the May 1989 interview with ANC's secretary general A. Nzo, who spoke of the continuing unconditional backing of the ANC by the Soviet Union.<sup>34</sup> Even more strikingly, during the whole of 1990 *Sechaba* made no single informative mention of what happened and went on happening in Eastern Europe, if one excludes the brief uncommented official protest note of the ANC Executive Committee against the visit of R.F. Botha to Budapest.<sup>35</sup>

In a slight contrast to *Sechaba*, the *African Communist*, the London based quarterly mouthpiece of the SACP, cannot be said to have paid little attention to the changes in the Eastern bloc, represented by Gorbachev's *perestroika*

<sup>34</sup> *Sechaba*, vol. 23, No. 5, 1989, pp. 2-5. It should be, however, noted that A. Nzo's belief cannot be said to have been completely unfounded. The ambiguous approach of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s to its freedom-fighting protégés in different parts of the Third World opened possibilities for different, often opposing interpretations of the Soviet policy. The true position of the Soviet Union on South Africa was quite difficult to discern. A step such as the opening of the ANC mission in Moscow at the time when other indications increasingly began to point to the already changing former Soviet attitude of unconditional support of anti-apartheid organizations along the usual radical lines, provided grounds for speculations (see NEL: *A Soviet Embassy*, pp. 59-95). It seems that besides the deliberate ambiguousness of the Soviet statements, two different attitudes to movements like the ANC have already been developing relatively independently among the Soviet foreign policy makers at that time.

<sup>35</sup> *Sechaba*, vol. 24, No. 2, 1990, p. 2.

and the democratic revolutions in the countries of Eastern Europe. The journal published and discussed some important speeches by Gorbachev, it reviewed extensively his book on *perestroika* and it tackled also the issue of Eastern Europe. However, the presentation and interpretation of these developments and events, especially before the year 1990, was very strongly influenced by the SACP's manifest inability to part with old ideological dogmas and its refusal to give the proper hearing to the ever more perspicuous signals coming from the Soviet bloc.

Even if the focus this article is on the post-1989 period, we believe that one can more clearly see the tendency of the journal to present a distorted picture if some of its pre-1989 reactions to Gorbachev's attempt at grand reform of communism are also mentioned. Whenever the real talk by Gorbachev was about admitting the serious crisis of the system and the urgent need to abandon its principal dogmas, the *African Communist* kept on stressing achievements and continuity.<sup>36</sup> This could be easily done, for example, by contextual quoting of passages where Gorbachev, in an attempt to calm the stirred waters, declares and confirms his determination to reinforce socialism and relates all the efforts to implement fundamental change to his new reading of Lenin (see also above - note 29).

This attitude of the *African Communist* has not changed very much even after the total breakdown of communist ideology and power in the countries of Eastern Europe. The editorial from No. 2, 1990 of the journal states:

"No matter what happens to the existing socialist countries, capitalism has failed and will continue to fail and the fight for socialism will continue... The constitution of the SACP declares that its aim is to establish a socialist republic in South Africa based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to promote the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the unity of workers of South Africa and the world, and to participate in and strengthen the world communist movement. Nothing that happens in Eastern Europe or elsewhere makes us believe that this perspective needs to be altered."<sup>37</sup>

Such views were no exception on the pages of the journal. Other numbers of that year also brought articles whose authors called, for example, for higher appreciation of Stalin's achievements, for the appraisal of the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat and against the abandonment of Brezhnev's doctrine of limited sovereignty.<sup>38</sup>

Although it would be very interesting to concentrate on the criticism of these old-style dogmatic positions, we will rather give here special attention to one serious attempt at analysis of East European developments and their implications for the SACP, made by the general secretary of the party J. Slovo. This, we believe, will mean on one hand giving the journal a more just and

<sup>36</sup> *African Communist*, No. 113, 1988.

<sup>37</sup> *African Communist*, No. 121, 1990, pp. 18-19.

<sup>38</sup> *African Communist*, No. 120, 1990, pp. 60-69; No. 123, 1990.

balanced treatment and on the other, presenting opinion and views more representative of the SACP's leadership.

The article *Has Socialism Failed?* by J. Slovo, published as a discussion paper approved by the leadership of the SACP in the second quarter of 1990,<sup>39</sup> has already been extensively commented upon, referred to and discussed by several authors.<sup>40</sup> I will therefore only shortly summarize the main points and add brief comments.

Slovo's principal argument runs as follows: The serious errors that emerged in the practice of existing socialism are not rooted in the basic tenets of Marxist revolutionary science. They are the results of misapplications. Similarly the economic stagnation of socialism and its poor technological performance as compared to the advanced capitalist countries, should not be attributed to the ineffectiveness of socialist relations of production but rather to their distortions. Likewise, the obvious great divide, which developed between socialism and political democracy, must not be treated as flowing naturally from key aspects of socialist doctrine which projects a system anchored in deep seated political democracy and the rights of the individual.<sup>41</sup>

Although Slovo draws one important conclusion from developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by publicly recognizing the impossibility of promoting true democracy under a one-party system and by unequivocally refuting it as option for a future South Africa,<sup>42</sup> it should be realized, at the same time, that doing otherwise in the situation in which world communism was just finding itself, could have been self-destructive. It would actually mean acting against the old communist strategy of pursuing revolution by opportune steps.

When explaining the emergence of Stalinism, Slovo does not see its seeds in the revolutionary theory of Marx and Lenin. Rather his explanation stresses the human error of one leader under special circumstances. He maintains that everything could have been easily different if only the communist party of the Soviet Union had committed itself more firmly to democratic principles. As M. Frost from the University of Natal has observed, with this sort of argument we are more or less told by Slovo that the Bolsheviks failed because they did not behave like liberal democrats.<sup>43</sup>

Having based his principal argument on the distinction between theory and application, Slovo employs the method of the two socialisms which have been used quite intentionally throughout the history of communist rule in Eastern

Europe. Whenever signs of crisis of the system emerged, there was always one socialism to put all the blame on and another one which was there to ensure the survival of the doctrine and its official bearers. Without going into much detail it can be said that by justifying and relating one's policies to a theory which has never been successfully implemented over a longer period and the political applications of which have resulted in gross failures, one is building on very loose ground.

To relate Slovo's defence of the theory of Marxist-Leninist socialism to developments in Eastern Europe it should be made clear that the revolutions of the end of the 1980s were not aimed only against the unpopular authoritarian rulers and bureaucrats, as has been repeatedly argued by some South African leftist spokesmen. The uprisings were equally against the communist system and its ideology and the new East European political leadership derived its mass support mainly from its unequivocal rejection of the socialist doctrine.

Generally speaking, in spite of the above rather straightforward criticism of Slovo, some of the arguments he put forward in his article *Has Socialism Failed?* are not of the sort one can easily decry and overlook.<sup>44</sup> Much of what he has to say (but had never said before) should be tackled seriously. As a matter of fact, it is sometimes quite difficult to refute it by an explicit counter-argument. However, when his views are compared to the reality, instead of the victory of Slovo we rather see but a proof of the inherent ambiguity of the ideology he worships.

In spite of the general refusal of the South African radical left to accept the discrediting of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to embark on a "unilateral ideological disarmament"<sup>45</sup> in reality the crisis of communism in Eastern Europe came to be perceived by many of them as a painful disappointment. Besides the controversial J. Slovo,<sup>46</sup> other important representatives of the ANC-SACP leadership such as T. Mboweni<sup>47</sup> and T. Mbeki<sup>48</sup> have expressed their willingness to learn from the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe and, as a result, change their minds on issues like one-partyism or nationalization. Even a figure such as C. Hani, generally considered to be the leader of the more militant group within the ANC, in his answer to the author's question at a public meeting in Stellenbosch, spoke of the "painful

<sup>44</sup> Although his rather cheap pointing to the statistics of steel production and the number of doctors produced every year by the Soviet Union (*African Communist*, No. 121, 1990, p. 50) makes a surprising exception. Everybody acquainted with the realities of everyday life in the Soviet Union knows well that such data and figures do not offer anything close to an accurate picture of the level of development of the Soviet industry or medical care.

<sup>45</sup> J. Slovo in *African Communist*, No. 121, 1990, p. 31.

<sup>46</sup> Apart from the two sources quoted above (see note 39 and 41) other important Slovo's comments on this issue appeared in *Leadership*, vol. 9, February 1990 and *The Star*, 28 March 1990.

<sup>47</sup> *The Star*, 17 October 1990.

<sup>48</sup> *Die Burger*, 14 November 1990.

<sup>39</sup> *African Communist*, No. 121, 1990, pp. 25-51.

<sup>40</sup> ADAM, H.: "Eastern Europe and South African Socialism - Engaging Joe Slovo", *South Africa International*, vol. 21, No. 1, July 1990, pp. 27-35; FROST, M.: "Joe Slovo and the Fate of Communism", *SAFR*, vol. 16, No. 5, May 1990, pp. 1-2.

<sup>41</sup> The main points of his article "Has Socialism Failed?" have been further discussed and developed by Slovo in an interview with the *New Nation*, 16-23 March 1990.

<sup>42</sup> *New Nation*, 16-23 March 1990.

<sup>43</sup> FROST: "Joe Slovo and the Fate of Communism", p. 2.



trauma" which the disintegration of socialism in Eastern Europe brought upon the ANC adherents who "had grown up in a climate in which it was generally believed that socialism would solve all problems" and suddenly "felt threatened".<sup>49</sup>

However, there were many other different-minded, 'hardcore' communists in both the ANC leadership and membership. If one can speak of a certain crisis of unity which the ANC (thrown suddenly into politics where it was faced with the task to formulate official statements and adopt everyday practical measures on behalf of the organization) went through after February 1990, then Eastern Europe seems to have been one of the factors which started the process of the unbanned movement's ideological and political crystallization.

Even if developments in Eastern Europe seriously complicated the situation for the South African left wing organizations, these developments seem to have awoken, at the same time, too much hope and optimism among their chief political opponents. Both the CP and the NP representatives and commentators have, perhaps too often and self-assuredly, expressed their contention that the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe delivered the fatal and final blow to the whole ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Some academics have even gone as far as affirming that the breaking down of the Iron Curtain brought with the end of the era of ideology and history in general.<sup>50</sup> If we relate this to the South African situation we cannot but see such convictions as undue exaggerations.

A decline in the significance of ideologies can, perhaps, quite easily be observed in some of the economically developed and politically stable Western societies. In a consumer oriented, welfarist and affluent environment ideologies indeed tend to suffer from undernourishment. But in situations characterized by principal social and economic dislocations occurring during periods of fundamental transitions, such as Eastern Europe is now experiencing, or in conditions of deep poverty and gross inequality, typical for the majority of Third World countries, a permanent threat exists that the discontent of the masses will be used by prophets of easy solutions. Such societies will always provide fertile ground for the spread of collectivist ideologies of different types, whether they be nationalism, communist or other, with all the dangers which their rigid implementation to political life brings.

Although the focus of this article is on points of contact and lines of influence we realize that there are serious limits to learning from the experience of others which should not be overlooked. If we look from this point of view for example at the ANC-SACP's pointing out that the impact of developments in Eastern Europe on South Africa should not be overemphasized because, among other things, in Eastern Europe the communist system and ideology were implanted forcefully from outside and into conditions unfavourable for

their natural development, while South Africa should consistently draw from its own historical background and its present specific situation, we must admit that it is an argument which any analyst should be prepared to face rather than scorn.

There is no doubt that among the ANC-SACP leaders there are quite a few 'Africanists' who see no logical reason to revise or reject their socialist orientation simply because of the collapse of distant communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Neither can there be doubts about the lukewarm perceptions of the East European events and their implications for the solutions of political problems of South Africa among a great number of their followers. As W. Esterhuyse from the University of Stellenbosch put in:

"Certain myths began to be spread in South Africa after the occurrence of recent events in Eastern Europe. One of them is that the events in Eastern Europe are decisive in the argument against the poor in South Africa who demand a redistribution of wealth... One might agree that the argument against the redistribution of wealth can theoretically be won by pointing to the East European example, but it does not give a dent in the black man's perceptions of capitalism. As far as blacks in South Africa are concerned, the events in Eastern Europe will make no difference to their field of experience... To the average poor black it is not a question of ideology but rather of pragmatism."<sup>51</sup>

With the SACP being probably the only communist party in the world that has been actively gaining support in recent months and years,<sup>52</sup> one can deduce that the group of South Africans who have been thinking along these lines was not negligible.

Another aspect of developments in Eastern Europe, which has come to the fore only recently and which has the potential to diminish the expected adverse impact of the failure of communism in Eastern Europe on pro-communist forces throughout the world, is the magnitude of problems which the dumping of the old Marxist-Leninist order in these countries and the attempts to build a new one cause. Even if, surprisingly enough, the ANC-SACP has not yet begun to exploit this argument against their critics in any significant way, two years after the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe it can with some reason claim that although socialism may have failed in Eastern Europe, the outcome has not yet been much of a victory for capitalism either.

Post-1989 revolution developments in Eastern Europe seem to be providing fresh ammunition for representatives of the other two corners of the South African political triangle presented in this paper too. A.P. Treurnicht of the Conservative Party can now even more convincingly argue with the extent and depth of damage and disruption caused by the four decades of communist rule, which brought the countries of Eastern Europe close to paralysis and which resulted in their inability to compete in practically all spheres with

<sup>49</sup> See also *Die Burger*, 3 April 1991.

<sup>50</sup> F. FUKUYAMA, cit. in ADAM, "Eastern Europe and South African Socialism", p. 27.

<sup>51</sup> *Rapport*, 6 May 1990.

<sup>52</sup> *Leadership*, vol. 9, February 1990, p. 34.



societies unaffected by the yoke of communism. And F.W. de Klerk and his government team can point with much concern and warning to what to many must seem like an unstoppable falling of Eastern Europe into political chaos caused by hasty democratization.

#### d) Conclusion

This paper has, hopefully, shown that South Africa, in spite of the geographical distance, was one of the countries which reacted very perceptively to the revolutionary changes which took place in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s. These developments served as significant stimulus for reconsiderations of strategies and policies of the main South African political parties. Among them the National Party's reactions were most pronounced and balanced; the responses of the opposition parties, both from the right and the left, were more selective and biased. Without the intention to put into doubt the predominant role of domestic factors behind the radical democratization embarked on by the South African government few months after the sudden breakdown of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe, our aim was to stress that external influences, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe in particular, have also been of great importance in this process as well as in South African politics of that period in general. If we look, for example, at one of the crucial political problems South Africa had to face at the beginning of the year 1990 – i.e. the opening of points of contact and the finding of a functional *modus vivendi* between the government and the anti-apartheid movement – we can see that the developments in Eastern Europe led to the softening of some of the seemingly irreconcilable political positions on both sides and eventually helped to pave the way to negotiations between the NP and the ANC.

From a broader perspective (both in space and time) the process of political change going on in South Africa at the beginning of the 1990s can also be related to developments in Eastern Europe in one other, indirect but very consequential way. With the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the rapid decline of the Soviet Union as superpower, the former East-West polarity suddenly disappeared and the North-South antithesis started coming to the fore. Its economic, social, cultural, racial, religious, political and other dimensions can in no other spot on the earth be found in as concentrated a form as in South Africa. The notorious slogan "South Africa – the World in One" can, as a matter of fact, have much broader meaning than one realizes seeing it at travel agent's – besides tourist attractions it also applies to some serious political problems of the present and the future age. From this point of view, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union may one day go into history books as the milestone where the world's attention began to be increasingly turned to the new chief global contradiction and the first prece-dential attempt at its solution in the laboratory of South Africa.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

### FORTY YEARS OF SINOLOGY IN SLOVAKIA

Marina ČARNOGURSKÁ, Bratislava

Among the positive traditions of advanced European nations is that of establishing excellent professional institutions which provide a source of information and cultural knowledge about the Chinese civilization, which has been developing for at last four thousand years into a special autochthonic civilization in exceedingly original manners. Today, we are becoming increasingly aware that such an intensive spread of ideas about the cultural and intellectual heritage of the Chinese civilization not only helps to expand the horizons of European experiences, but is in fact also vitally important for the further development of mankind. On the ever more shrinking and integrating Eurasian continent, the European and the Chinese civilizations have constituted, since times immemorial, two of the most antithetical self-standing cultural and civilizing wholes, which were simultaneously also complementing each other in their results. And in the developments of these entities, they in the future might constitute the basis for a downright *historically* spiritual, intellectual and socio-cultural synthesis from which a new, even more mature civilization on our planet may arise.

This laudable tradition among advanced European nations – to entertain truly serious interest in the cultural gains and social values of the Chinese civilization – was also taken up by the former Czechoslovakia right from the very first years of its existence, continuing from the outstanding tradition of mainly Czech sinology, founded in the last century by the world-renowned sinologist, Prof. Rudolf Dvořák. Thanks to this tradition and subsequently thanks mainly to the enormous enthusiasm of another great personality of Czech and world sinology, Academician Jaroslav Průšek, a solid Central-European sinological centre of top world standard was relatively quickly set up in Prague. It had several well-developed, efficient organic components of a complex sinological scientific-research unit: – a *scientific* component, represented by the Sinological Department of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, supported by its very valuable Lu Hsün Chinese Library; – a *pedagogical* component, represented by the outstanding sinological standard of Průšek's students at the Department of Oriental and African Studies at the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles University; – a *cultural-artistic* component, represented by artifacts of Chinese material culture at the Náprstek Museum and in the National Gallery in Prague.

Since Slovakia, until quite recently an integral part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, was from the cultural and educational aspects always within direct reach of Czech socio-cultural orientations and intellectual interests, Czech sinological notions and all the interesting Czech sinological publications were very popular and also read with enthusiasm over here. Maybe, it was only an indirect stimulus that the first two Slovak students – Marián Gálik and Anna Doležalová (née Vlčková) – decided in 1953 to study sinology at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University in Prague. Their entry to the university, their graduation and their subsequent activity, by then marked the beginning of the history of an independent *Slovak sinology*, yet within the framework of Czechoslovakia.

From the time of the enrolment of these first two Slovak representatives at the Philosophical Faculty, the Slovak sinology, in its subsequent 40-years development, initially went through a moderate, then an accelerated specifically outlined scientific growth, in which right from the very beginning it contended for its rightful place not only within the overall content of Czecho-slovak, but also to reach the foremost ranks of world sinology. Its founders were given the basic conditions primarily through establishing, in 1960, an independent research institution for Oriental studies within the Slovak Academy of Sciences, where their sinological work and scholarly growth found the necessary material provisions and publishing and popularizing facilities. And ultimately, setting up of the Department of Sinology at the Philosophical Faculty of Comenius University in Bratislava, in 1988, ensured its further existence and persistence of its research.

After more than forty years of development and achievements, we can today divide the existence of Slovak sinology into three generational stages of its representatives:

#### *The First Generation – (that of the Founders)*

Ph.D. *Marián GÁLIK*, DrSc.

*Date and place of birth:* February 21, 1933, Igram, Slovakia;

*Current addresses:* Institute of Oriental and African Studies,  
Slovak Academy of Sciences, Klemensova 19,  
813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia, Europe,  
Phone No.: 07 32 63 26, Fax: 0042 7 32 63 26  
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Phone No.: 07 31 61 14

#### *Educational background:*

M.A.: Charles University, Prague (1958) – The Short Stories of Mao Tun;

Ph.D.: Oriental Institute Prague (1966) – Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism;

DrSc.: Slovak Academy of Sciences (1985) – The Genesis of Modern Chinese Criticism (1917–1930);

#### *Teaching and lecturing:*

Teaching of Chinese literature, philosophy and history at the Comenius University, Bratislava (1988–),  
Lectures at various universities in Europe, America, Australia and China since 1966 (Naples, Rome, Venice, Oslo, Göteborg, Hamburg, Bochum, Trier, Bonn, Berlin, Zurich, Basel, Chicago, Boulder, San Diego, Davis, Berkeley, Stanford, Sacramento, New York (Columbia), Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne (La Trobe), Hong Kong and Nanking.

#### *Fields of interest:*

Modern and classical Chinese literary criticism,  
Modern and classical Chinese literature,  
Chinese-Western literary relations,  
Modern Chinese intellectual history

#### *Professional associations and positions:*

Slovak Oriental Society, member (1960–), Vice-president (1971–1987), President (1987–1991);  
Czechoslovak Oriental Society, Vice-president (1988–1991);  
Euro-Sinica, member of the Council Board (1988–);  
International Association for Nan-she Studies, member of the Council Board (1989–);  
Chinese Association for the Study of Mao Dun (1991–);  
Advisory Professor of East China Normal University, Shanghai (1989–);

#### *Active participation at the congresses, conferences and symposia:*

Conference of Junior Sinologists (1964, '65, '66, '69, '71 and 1972);  
Congress of the International Association of Comparative Literature (1970, '76, '79, 1985, '88, 1991);  
International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (1986, 1990);  
International Conferences on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures (1976, 1980, 1984 and 1989);  
Nobel Symposium 32 (1975);  
Symposia Euro-Sinica (1988, 1993);  
International Sinological Symposia at the Smolenice Castle (1989, 1993);  
International Workshop to Lu Xun at the Occasion of 50th Anniversary of His Death (1986) (Bonn);  
“My Image in Your Eye” – International Symposium on Exoticism (1990) (Bonn);  
Two Hundred Years of *Honglouneng* (1992) (Bonn);  
Contemporary Chinese Fiction and Its Literary Antecedents (1990) (Cambridge, Mass.);  
Chinese Women in the Imperial and Republican China (1978) (Venice);  
Second Biennial Conference of the Chinese Studies Association of Australia (1991) (Sydney);

VIIIth International Conference of Chinese Philosophy (1991) (Munich)  
 2nd Congress of the Chinese Comparative Literature Association (1987) (Xian);  
 3rd Conference of the New Land Literary Foundation (Hsin-chu) (1990);  
 1st International Conference on the Translation of Chinese Literature (1990) (Taipei);  
 6th Quadrennial International Comparative Literature Conference in the Republic of China (1991) (Taipei);  
 28th International Congress of Art History (1992) (Berlin);  
 German Orientalists' Conference (1988, 1991);

#### *List of monographs and scholarly studies:*

##### *1. Monographs and edited books:*

- Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, Wiesbaden, F. Steiner Verlag, 185 pp.;  
*Preliminary Research-guide. German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*, München, Seminar für Ostasiatische Kultur und Sprachwissenschaft, 1971, 120 pp.;  
*The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917-1930)*, Bratislava, Veda - London, Curzon Press 1980, 349 pp.;  
*Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898-1979)*, Bratislava, Veda - Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1986, 286 pp.;  
*Zhongxi wenxue guanxi de lichengbei*, Peking, Peking University Publishing House, 1990, 346 pp. (Chinese translation of No. 4);  
 (ed.) *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures*, Bratislava, Literary Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1983, 446 pp.;  
 (ed.) *Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of the May Fourth Movement 1919 in China*, Bratislava, Veda, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences 1990, 283 pp.;

##### *2. Scholarly studies:*

1. *On the Chinese Literature in the Last Decade*, Slovenské pohľady, 2, 1961, pp. 91-97 (in Slovak);
2. *Epilogue to Mao Tun's Short Stories*, Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1961, pp. 251-262 (in Slovak);
3. *Czech and Slovak Literature in China in the Years 1919-1959*, Slovenská literatúra, 3, 1962, pp. 367-374 (in Slovak);
4. *The Names and Pseudonyms Used by Mao Tun*, Archiv orientální, 31, 1963, pp. 80-108;
5. *On the History of the Introduction of Marxism to China (1919-1923)*, Otázky marxistickéj filozofie, 4, 1963, pp. 344-351 (in Slovak);
6. *A Comment on Two Collections of Mao Tun Works*, Archiv orientální, 4, 1965, pp. 614-638;
7. *A Comment on two Studies Written on the Works of Mao Tun*, Asian and African Studies (henceforth only AAS), Bratislava, 1965, pp. 81-104;
8. *On the Influence of Foreign Ideas on Chinese Literary Criticism (1898-1904)*, AAS II, 1966, pp. 38-48;
9. *Naturalism: A Changing Concept. East and West*, New series, Rome, 16, 1966, 3-4, pp. 310-328;

10. *The Expressionistic Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo*, Bulletin of the Tokyo Sinological Society, 13, 1967, pp. 231-243;
11. *From Chuang-tzu to Lenin. Mao Tun's Intellectual Development*, AAS III, 1967, pp. 98-110;
12. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: I. Mao Tun in 1920*, AAS III, 1967, pp. 111-140;
13. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: II. Mao Tun on Men of Letters, Character and Functions of Literature (1921-1922)*, AAS IV, 1968, pp. 30-43;
14. *Über die kritische Auseinandersetzung Chinas mit dem deutschen Expressionismus*, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (Hamburg), 103, 1968, pp. 39-59;
15. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: III. Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un and the Theory of Proletarian Realism*, AAS V, 1969, pp. 49-70;
16. *Nietzsche in China (1918-1925)*, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 110, 1971, pp. 5-47;
17. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: IV. The Proletarian Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo*, AAS VI, 1970, pp. 145-160;
18. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: V. The Socio-Aesthetic Criticism of Ch'eng Fang-wu*, AAS VII, 1971, pp. 41-78;
19. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: VI. Chiang Kuang-tz'u's Concept of Revolutionary Literature*, AAS VIII, 1972, pp. 43-69;
20. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: VII. Liang Shih-ch'iu and New Humanism*, AAS IX, 1973, pp. 29-51;
21. *La discussione sulle "Forme nazionali" nella letteratura cinese*, Cina (Rome), 10, 1973, pp. 3-16;
22. *The Aesthetico-impressionistic Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo*, Oriens Extremus (Hamburg), 21, 1974, 1, pp. 53-66;
23. *The Red Gauze Lantern of Feng Nai-ch'ao*, AAS X, 1974, 1, pp. 69-95;
24. *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: I. The World and China: Cultural Impact and Response in the 20th Century*, AAS XI, 1975, pp. 11-56;
25. *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: II. Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1915-1922)*, AAS XII, 1976, pp. 85-121;
26. *Chao - The King of Hell and Emperor Jones: Two Plays By Hung Shen and O'Neill*, AAS XII, 1976, pp. 123-133;
27. *Yü Ta-fu's anarchistische Vorstellungen im gesellschaftlichen Leben und in der Literatur*, Asiatische Studien (Zürich), XXIX, 1975, pp. 121-130;
28. *Two Modern Chinese Philosophers on Spinoza*, Oriens Extremus, 22, 1975, 1, pp. 29-43;
29. *On the Study of Modern Chinese Literature of 1920s and 1930s*, AAS XIII, 1977, pp. 99-129;
30. *On the Social and Literary Context of Modern Chinese Literature of the 1920s and 1930s*. In: Malmqvist, G. (ed.): Nobel Symposium 32, Stockholm 1977, pp. 7-45;
31. *Goethe in China (1932)*, AAS XIV, 1978, pp. 11-25;
32. *Mayakovsky in China*, AAS XIV, 1978, pp. 159-174;
33. *Early Poems and Essays of Ho Ch'i-fang*, AAS XV, 1979, pp. 31-64;
34. *On the Literature Written by Chinese Women Prior to 1917*, AAS XV, 1979, pp. 65-99;
35. *Modern Asian Literature: Towards a Potential Comparative Approach to their Study*, AAS XVI, 1980, pp. 145-151;



36. *The Concept of "Positive Hero" in Chinese Literature of the 1960s and 1970s*, AAS XVII, 1981, pp. 27-53;
37. *The Concept of Creative Personality in Traditional Chinese Literary Criticism*. Oriens Extremus, 27, 1980, pp. 183-202;
38. *Some Remarks on "Literature of the Scars" in the People's Republic of China (1977-1979)*, AAS XVIII, 1982, pp. 53-76;
39. *Controversies about Confucius and Confucianism in China (1898-1978)*, AAS XVIII, 1982, pp. 171-186;
40. *Interliterary Aspects of the First Lu Xun's Short Stories (1918-1919)*, Slavica Slovaca, 17, 1982, 4, pp. 283-295;
41. *Comparative Aspects of Mao Dun's Novel Midnight*, AAS XIX, 1983, pp. 97-127;
42. *Comparative Aspects of Pa Chin's Novel Cold Night*, Oriens Extremus, 28, 1981, 2, pp. 135-153;
43. *Brecht and the Far East*, Slovenské divadlo, 32, 1984, 2, pp. 220-235 (in Slovak);
44. *Some Remarks on the Contemporary Asian Philosophy*, Filozofia, 39, 1984, 2, pp. 250-259 (in Slovak);
45. *The Concept of Feeling in Chinese, English and German Literary Criticism*, Neohelicon, 1983, 1, pp. 123-130;
46. *In the Footsteps of The Inspector-General: Two Contemporary Chinese Plays*, AAS XX, 1984, pp. 49-80;
47. *Feng Zhi e il suo sonetto veneziano*, Catai (Venice), II/III 1982-1983, pp. 23-31;
48. *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: III. Young Lu Xun (1902-1909)*, AAS XXI, 1985, pp. 37-63;
49. *Comparative Aspects of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, In: Chou, Ying-hsiung (ed.): *The Chinese Text. Studies in Comparative Literature*, Hong Kong 1986, pp. 177-190;
50. *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: IV. Young Guo Moruo (1914-1924)*, AAS XXII, 1986, pp. 43-72;
51. *Between Translation and Creation: V. Hugo's Entry into Chinese Literature*, In: Claudon, F. (ed.): *Le rayonnement de Victor Hugo*, New York, 1989, pp. 245-251;
52. *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: V. Young Wang Guowei*, AAS XXIV, 1989, pp. 37-65;
53. *Interliterarische Aspekte. Lu Xun's Die ewige Lampe (Changming deng) und W.M. Garshins Die rote Blume (Krasnyj Cvetok)*. In: Kubin, W. (ed.): *Aus dem Garten der Wildnis*, Bonn, Bouvier Verlag 1989, pp. 125-137;
54. *The Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of Post-1918 Chinese Literature*, In: Goldblatt, H. (ed.): *Worlds Apart: Recent Chinese Writing and Its Audience*, New York, M.E. Sharpe, 1990, pp. 231-245;
55. *At the Beginning Was Shijing: On the Reception of Chinese Literature in Bohemia and Slovakia (1897-1988)*, AAS XXV, 1990, pp. 39-56;
56. *Wo he Mao Dun (Mao Dun and Me)*. Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan (Studies in Modern Chinese Literature), 1, 1990, pp. 231-249 (in Chinese);
57. *Social and Patriotic Stimuli in Su Manshu's Translations of V. Hugo and Lord Byron*, Guoji Nanshe xuehui congkan (Bulletin of the International Southern Society), 1, 1990, pp. 15-24;
58. *Dongfang zhi guang (Ex Oriente lux)*. Dushu (Readings), 2, 1991, pp. 12-24;
59. *Wang Meng's Mythopoetic Vision of Golgotha and Apocalypse*. Annali d'Istituto Universitario Orientale, Vol. 52, Napoli 1992;

60. *Reception and Survival of Goethe's Faust in Guo Moruo's Works and Translations (1919-1922)*, AAS XXVI, 1991, pp. 49-70;
  61. *Reception of Confucius and Confucianism in Bohemia and Slovakia*, AAS XXVI, 1991, pp. 71-86;
  62. *Intercultural Process in East-West Interplay: A Theoretical Sketch and a Historical Overview*, Human Affairs, 1, 1991, 1, pp. 49-58;
  63. *Marginalia to the Contemporary Situation in Chinese Comparative Literature Studies*, Chinese/International Comparative Literature Bulletin, 4/5, 1992, pp. 2-5;
  64. *Metamorphosis in Modern Chinese Intellectual (and Philosophical) Consciousness: Musings Over Its "Coming to Be"*. AAS, 1, 1992, 2, pp. 132-145.
  65. *Chinese Literature in European Context: Musings over Its Importance in Comparative Literature*. Human Affairs, 2, 1992, 2, pp. 150-160.
  66. *Yaluosilafu Pushike: xuesheng yanlide shenhua yu xianshi* (Jaroslav Průšek: Myth and Reality as Seen by His Pupil). Ershiyi shiji, No. 52, 1993, pp. 120-127;
  67. *Zhongguo xianzai zhishifenzide fandian - nianqingde Bing Xin, nianlaode Tagore yu shangliangde muzhe* (A Model for Chinese Intellectuals - Young Bing Xin, Old Tagore and Good Shepherd). Aixin (Loving Heart) (Fuzhou), 1, 1993, 2, pp. 29-32.
  68. *Berliner Begegnungen mit dem Dichter Gu Cheng*. Minima sinica, 1, 1993, pp. 33-65.
- (This List of scholarly studies is only a selection from a larger collection of 100 items!)

Ph.D. Anna Doležalová

*Date of birth and death:* April 28, 1935 – October 23, 1992;

From 1959 till her death Mrs. Doležalová was a member of

Institute of Oriental and African Studies,  
Slovak Academy of Sciences,  
Klemensova 19, Bratislava, Slovakia

*Educational background:*

M.A.: Charles University, Prague (1958) – A Test of Appraising the Literary Production of Yü Ta-fu;

Ph.D.: Oriental Institute Prague (1968) – Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of His Literary Creation;

*Teaching and lecturing:*

Teaching of modern Chinese literature at the Comenius University, Bratislava (1989-90);

Lectures at some universities in Italy and China (Rome, Naples, Venice, Peking);

A project supervisor for Ph.D. Dissertation of one doctoral candidate at Charles University, Prague (1989-1990);

*Fields of interest:*

Modern Chinese literature,  
Modern Chinese literary criticism,  
Classical Chinese history

*Professional associations and positions:*

Slovak Oriental Society, member (1960–1992) and a member of the Council Board,  
European Association of Chinese Studies, member of the Council Board and a member of the Board for Direction of Publishers Activities (about 1978),  
Czechoslovak Oriental Society, member of the Council Board (about 1981),  
Chinese-Czechoslovak Association, member of the Council Board (1989–1991);

*Active participation at the congresses, conferences and symposia:*

International Congress of Chinese Studies (1963 in Italy, 1964 in France, 1966 in Denmark, 1972 in the Netherlands),  
1st Promoting Conference of European Association of Chinese Studies (1975 in France);  
International Sinological Symposium at the Smolenice Castle (1989),  
A Council Board's Meeting of European Association of Chinese Studies (1977 in Italy),  
Conference of the Chinese Association of Workers in Art and Literature (1982 in Peking),  
24th International Congress of the Association of the Chinese Studies (1972 in the Netherlands),  
1st International Conference about Contemporary Chinese Literature in the years 1977–1986 (1986 in China);

*List of monographs and scholarly studies:*

*1. Monographs and translations:*

*Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of his Literary Creation*, London and New York, C. Hurst and Paragon Books, 1971, 237 pp.;  
*Yü Ta-fu: Evening Drunk with Spring Wind* (translation into Slovak), Bratislava, 1960, 172 pp.;  
A big illustrated book *China* (in Slovak and Polish), Bratislava, Slovart, 1991, 126 pp.;  
author of Chinese entries in the Slovak encyclopedias: *Pyramid* and *Short Encyclopedia of the World's Writers*;  
a co-authorship in the world literary encyclopedia *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949* by her literary entries about the writer Yü Ta-fu, E.J. Brill, 1990;

*2. Scholarly studies:*

1. *Roots and Problems of Modern Chinese Literature*, Kultúrny život, 1959, p. 2 (in Slovak);
2. *The Great Success of the Chinese Novel*, Kultúrny život, 1959, p. 2 (in Slovak);
3. *Remarks on the Life and the Work of Yü Ta-fu up to 1930*. Asian and African Studies (henceforth only AAS), Bratislava 1965, pp. 53–81;
4. *La particolarità della produzione letteraria di Yü Ta-fu*. Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Annali Vol. XVII, fas. 2, pp. 137–145;
5. *A Survey of the Views of Yü Ta-fu on Society and Literature*. Universitas Comeniana, Philologica, Vol. XVII, pp. 27–81;

6. *Two Novels of Yü Ta-fu – Two Approaches to Literary Creations*, AAS IV, 1968, pp. 17–29;
7. *Subject-Matters of Short Stories in the Initial Period of the Creation Society's Activities*, AAS VI, 1972, pp. 131–144;
8. *Chiang Kuang-tz'u*, Dictionary of Oriental Literature, Vol. 1, London, G. Allen and Unwin, 1974, p. 12;
9. *Chuang-tsao she*, ibid., p. 28;
10. *Yang Mo*, ibid., p. 207;
11. *Yü Ta-fu*, ibid., p. 214;
12. Entries about Chinese writers *Kuo Mo-jo*, *Yü Ta-fu* and *Chiang Kuang-tz'u* in *China Handbuch*, Bertelsmann Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1974, pp. 1332–1339;
13. *Movimento 4 maggio, I protagonisti della rivoluzione*. Asia 4, La Cina, Milano, 1975, pp. 85–112;
14. *Modern Chinese Literature*, Orientalists' Society, Bratislava 1970, pp. 24–38 (in Slovak);
15. *Periodization of Modern Chinese Literature*, AAS XIV, 1978, pp. 27–32;
16. *Suggestions Regarding Periodization of Literature in the People's Republic of China*, AAS XVI, 1980, pp. 153–159;
17. *The Role of Culture in Contemporary China*, in the publication *Contemporary China*, Prague 1979, pp. 91–112;
18. *Traits of Nationalism in the People's Republic of China's Cultural Policy*, in the publication *Problems of Nationalities*, Ulanbatar 1980, pp. 332–358;
19. *Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures*, AAS XVIII, 1982, pp. 193–196;
20. *A New Image of Wang Zhaojun in Contemporary Chinese Drama*, in a publication *Continuity and Changes*, (R.P. Kramers ed.) Papers of the 27th Congress of Chinese Studies, Zurich 1982, pp. 265–272;
21. *Two Waves of Criticism of the Film Script Bitter Love and of the Writer Bai Hua in 1981*, AAS XIX, 1983, pp. 27–54;
22. *Nationalism and Literature of National Minorities of the People's Republic of China*, in: *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures*, Bratislava, 1983, pp. 83–90;
23. *Liu Binyan's Come-Back to the Contemporary Chinese Literary Scene*, AAS XX, 1984, pp. 81–100;
24. *Chrestomathie der chinesischen Literatur der 50er Jahre*, AAS XXI, 1985, pp. 247–248;
25. *Recent Chinese Literature*, Revue svetovej literatúry, Bratislava, 1986, No. 6, pp. 74–86 (in Slovak);
26. *New Qualities in Contemporary Chinese Stories in the 1979–1980 years*, AAS XXIII, 1988, pp. 45–67;
27. *P'ing-fan ti "you-p'ai" tsai Chung-kuo tang-tai hsiao-shuo ti hsing-hsiang* (Image of Intellectuals in Chinese Stories of the 1980s), Wen-hsüé yen-chiu ts'an-k'ao No. 7, Peking 1987, pp. 16–18;
28. *A művészetek napjaink Kínájában*, Természet és Társadalom, Budapest, 1988, No. 1, pp. 48–53 (in Hungarian);
29. *La literatura xinesa contemporania*, Revista de Catalunya, No. 49, Barcelona 1990, pp. 141–152; (reprint in Moscow 1990) (in Catalan and Russian);

This list of Scholarly Studies is only a selection from a larger collection of sinological articles of Mrs. Doležalová. Her further professional sinological development was interrupted, unfortunately, by her death after a long and serious illness on 23 October 1992.

### *The Second Generation:*

Early in the 60s, independently of the founding generation of Slovak sinology, two other Slovak students enrolled in the study of sinology at the Charles University in Prague. The first one, Ján Horák, successfully graduated, alongside Sinology also in Economics from the relevant faculty of Charles University, and had all the prospects to become an outstanding expert in research of development of contemporary Chinese economy. (All the more so as, upon completing his sinologic and economic studies in Prague, he was given the opportunity of a long-term work at the Czecho-Slovak commercial attaché in Beijing!) The other one, Marina Čarnogurská (the author of this study), alongside Sinology also graduated in European Philosophy from the relevant faculty of Charles University. In addition, during my studies at the University, I have focused, under the direction of the Czech sinologist Ph.D. Timoteus Pokora, on a textological in-depth research of ancient philosophical, particularly Confucian texts.

Hence, both of us, Horák and myself, met the basic conditions for becoming specialists in certain sinological domains which, from the aspect of the needs of modern scholarship, are steadily becoming the evident areas of sinological interest. Unfortunately, in the following 20 years our sinological destinies were tragically determined by the political events in Czecho-Slovakia. After the occupation of our country by Soviet armies on August 21, 1968, the opportunities for many professionals to further advance in their discipline had come to a definitive, or an almost definitive end. During those twenty years we were forced for existential reasons to earn our living through entirely different kinds of work: and often we had to sacrifice our sinological ambitions to this one. Ján Horák was recalled in 1969 from the commercial mission in China, then fired from the services of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and during the subsequent twenty years, has earned his living as a technical worker in the documentation centre of the Research Institute of Welding in Bratislava. Today, following the changes of political conditions and the fall of communism in Czecho-Slovakia, he finds it too late to start from where he was forced to stop against his will. Hence, for pragmatic reasons, he utilizes his professional sinologic and economic knowledge as a very successful co-owner of a Chinese business venture in a private sector. The Slovak sinology has thus forever lost its potential economic researcher.

The conditions of my own sinological fate during those twenty years were determined somewhat differently. During 1969–1972 I have still managed to complete my supervised postgraduate studies. During that time I wrote my dissertation thesis on the subject: *Development and Uniqueness of Confucian Philosophy during the Period of Warring States*, but on the intervention of communist authorities, I was not allowed to defend it, and was thereby excluded from any further sinological activity for twenty years. Nevertheless, I had no intention of giving up the sinological research and thus pursued it in total isolation, all only in private and for myself. During those years, by daily

(or better “nightly”!) translation work and experimenting with a special sinological method of linguistic analysis of classical Chinese philosophical and literary texts, I became a self-made translator from classical Chinese and have translated a great many texts, only a part of which was published in the course of time. Only since my rehabilitation in 1990, I am finally again professionally active in the sinological domain, as a senior research worker at the Institute of Oriental and African Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava.

Ph.D. Marina Čarnogurská

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*Current addresses:* Institute of Oriental and African Studies,  
Slovak Academy of Sciences, Klemensova 19,  
813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia, Europe  
Phone No.: 07 32 63 26, Fax 0042 7 32 63 26  
or: Nad lúčkami 55, 841 04 Bratislava, Slovakia;

### *Educational background:*

M.A.: Charles University, Prague (1969) – A Prolegomenon to the Study of Classical Confucian Ethical Philosophy;

Ph.D.: Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University, Bratislava (1991) – The Development and Uniqueness of Confucian Philosophy during the Period of Warring States;

### *Teaching and lecturing:*

Teaching of Chinese philosophy and peculiarities of the historical development of classical Chinese civilization at the Comenius University, Bratislava (1991–1993);

### *Fields of interest:*

Classical Chinese philosophy,  
Classical Chinese literature,  
textual research of classical Chinese philosophical and literary texts,  
theory of the Chinese classical poetry,  
Chinese mythology;

### *Active participation at congresses, conferences, symposia and international grant projects:*

International Sinological World Congress (1967 in Bochum, Germany),  
16th World Congress of Czecho-Slovak Scientists (1992 in Prague),  
Symposium on Problems and Perspectives of Czecho-Slovak Sinology (1992 in Prague);  
French-Czechoslovak Sinological Seminar (1992 in Prague),  
Chinese Literature and European Context, the 2nd International Sinological Symposium at the Smolenice Castle, 1993;



A Research Grant of the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, Taiwan, for a two years research project: A detailed philosophical analysis and research of the philosophical work of Hsün Tzu [as a third phase of a larger monograph: *The Development and Uniqueness of Confucian Philosophy in the Period of Warring States*, (1993–1995)];

#### *List of sinological translations and monographs:*

1. *And the Master Said...* (A selection from the classical Confucian texts: Lun-yü, Meng Tzu, Hsün Tzu, with comments, annotations and epilogue, in Slovak), Bratislava, Tatran Publishers, 1990, 214 pp;
2. *Lao Tzu: About the Way Tao and Its Creative Energy Te*, (A new translation of Tao Te ching, in Slovak, translated in cooperation with Czech philosopher Egon Bondy), Bratislava, Hevi Publishers, 1993, 104 pp;
3. (ed.) *Stories of Dragon Emperors* (A selection from classical Chinese mythology) – a sinological revision of the whole text + comments, annotations and epilogue, in Slovak and Czech, Orbis Pictus Publishers, Prague and Bratislava, 1993, 143 pp;
4. A co-authorship in the *World-literary Encyclopedia* by 54 entries (in Slovak), Obzor Publishers, Bratislava 1989;
5. A new sinological translation of Cao Xueqin *Hung-lou-meng* (*A Dream about the Red Tower-house*), in Slovak, prepared for publishing by Tatran Publishers, Bratislava, with comments, annotations and epilogue, about 3000 pages;
6. *Cchaj Wen-ti* (in Slovak), a book about the great classical Chinese poet Cai Wenji. A complete translation of her poetry (epilogue in this book is written by Slovak orientalist Eva Juríková), prepared for publishing (about 50 pages);

#### *Scholarly studies:*

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#### *The Third Generation – (Postgraduate research students and undergraduates)*

Slovak Sinology has most recently acquired a dimension and guarantee of its future existence. Credit for this primarily goes to Ph.D. Marián Gálik, DrSc., its founder, who in 1988 undertook to set up a Department of Sinology at the Philosophical Faculty of the Comenius University in Bratislava, with the professional help of another Czech-Slovak sinologists, particularly Ph.D. Oldřich Švarný, Ph.D. Martin Hála and Ph.D. Anna Doležalová and likewise with the effective aid of Chinese lecturers, sent out by the Chinese Ministry of Education. Eight Slovak students are now enrolled. Today all eight are in the second year of a scholarship programme in China, at the University of Beijing. At the same time they are collecting and preparing material for their diploma theses which they will defend in 1994, thereby completing their sinological study at the Comenius University in Bratislava. Their achievements thus far allow us to assume that at least some of them, upon completing their university studies, will follow the sinological research on a professional basis, and through their work and results will expand the very good reputation of the Slovak Sinology, ensuring its further existence.

In 1991, M.A. Henrietta Hatalová took up a post with the Institute of Oriental and African Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava as a specialist and simultaneously, a postgraduate research student. In 1984 she has completed her sinological studies at the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles University in Prague, where she successfully defended her diploma thesis: *Characteristics of Economic Thinking in the People's Republic of China after the year 1978*. At the present time, she is engaged in collecting material for her doctoral dissertation thesis: *The Ideological and Organizational Structure of Kuomintang in China in the years 1927–1937*. She has already succeeded in proving her sinological qualities as a capable specialist in modern Chinese history, by lecturing on this topic in a postgraduate course for preparing Slovak diplomatic workers at the Faculty of Law, Comenius University in Bratislava; by elaborating the entries and keywords from classical and modern Chinese history for a Concise Slovak Lexicon – now in print; and by her study, written for the Slovak Historical Journal: *Chiangkai-shek, his Life and Times*.

Withing the complex of European sinological traditions Slovak Sinology, with its 40-years of existence, is one of the youngest with such traditions. Nevertheless, by its scientific results and its specific range of areas of sinological research, it has, in my opinion, already sufficiently justified standing on its own right, and also justified that its place and tangible presence among the ranks of the European Sinological Association is warranted and productive.

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