
ASIAN

MIČ 49 194

AND

Slovak
Academy
of Sciences

AFRICAN

STUDIES

Volume 3/1994

Number 2

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

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

OBITUARY

Ján MÚČKA

*Habet mundus iste noctes suas
et non paucas.*

Bernard de Clairvaux

On 3 June 1994, PhDr. Ján Múčka, CSc., age 52, the first Slovak Vietnamist and research worker at the Institute of Oriental and African Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, suddenly passed away. His death was a shock to his family, friends and colleagues.

Múčka was born on 31 October 1941. Despite the death of his father in an accident when Múčka was only sixteen, his mother managed to provide means for a university education to all of the children – two sons and one daughter.

Múčka finished high school in Rimavská Sobota (1956–1959) and then went to Bratislava where he studied Slovak and Russian at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University (1959–1962). Because Arabic was the only Oriental language taught there, he left for Prague and became the first student of Vietnamese from Slovakia at Charles University. After eight semesters, he graduated there in Russian and Vietnamese studies after passing the state examination in 1966.

After his graduation, Múčka worked as an interpreter at the Commercial Section of the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Republic in Hanoi, Vietnam. A year later, he became a teacher at the Study Centre for Foreign Students, Senec, Slovakia.

From 1 January 1970 until his death, Múčka worked at the Institute of Oriental and African Studies. He was engaged in the study of modern Vietnamese literature. He was the research secretary of the Institute. Múčka also served as secretary for the Slovak Oriental Society.

In his early years at the Institute, Múčka wrote the studies *Kinship System and Terminology in Vietnam* (Asian and African Studies (AAS) 1971 (1973)), *Quelques remarques sur la prose réaliste vietnamienne* (AAS 1973 (1974)). He prepared a series of articles about Vietnamese literature from the 1930s until the end of World War II and on significant personalities and valuation of that movement: *Quelques remarques sur le conte vietnamien de la période de 1930–1945* (AAS 1974 (1975)), *Nguyen Cong Hoan et son roman "Le dernier pas"* (AAS 1975); *Une esquisse des problèmes idéologiques dans la vie littéraire*

vietnamienne pendant les années 1930–1935 (1^e Partie) (AAS 1976); *Une esquisse des problèmes idéologiques dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne pendant les années 1930–1940* (2^e Partie) (AAS 1977); *Nguyen Du – texte comme problème de fonctionnalisme de la méthode littéraire et de contenu idéologique* (AAS 1978).

In the next period, Múčka concentrated upon the modern Vietnamese novel. This was the climax of his research efforts which resulted in several articles: *Quelques remarques sur le roman vietnamien moderne* (AAS 1981); *Le conte de Nguyen Cong Hoan et le conte de A.P. Tchékov* (in: *Literaturen Asiens und Afrikas (Theoretische Probleme)*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1981); *Débuts de la nouvelle prose vietnamienne (1945–1950)* (AAS 1982); *Développement de la prose vietnamienne pendant la période 1951–1958* (AAS 1983); *Certains aspects du développement de la prose vietnamienne pendant les années 1951–1958* (AAS 1984); *Une esquisse du développement de la prose vietnamienne pendant les années 1965–1975* (AAS 1985); *Le processus interlittéraire et forme spécifique de la communauté historique de la littérature vietnamienne et chinoise* (AAS 1988 (1989)). Múčka also planned to write a book on this topic.

He returned to the study on the kinship system and extended it in *Traits fonciers de la famille classique au Vietnam* (AAS 1986) and *Le caractère du mariage dans la famille vietnamienne classique* (AAS 1987 (1988)).

Recently, Múčka, together with Dr D. Ďurišin and other specialists, turned his attention to the methodology of literature and linguistics. The following studies were published: *Estetické paralely jazyka a literatury* (Aesthetic Parallels of Language and Literature), *Metodologická inštruktivnosť terminológie* (Methodological Instructiveness of Terminology – 1988), *Jednotlivé a všeobecné vo vývine medziliterárnych spoločenstiev Juhovýchodnej Ázie* (The Particular and the General in the Development of the Interliterary Communities of the Southeast Asia – 1991).

Múčka's studies bring valuation of the Vietnamese men of letters: *La force créatrice de Nguyen Hong (1918–1982)* (AAS 1989 (1990)); *L'Aspect satirique des proses de Nguyen Cong Hoan* (AAS 1/1992, No 2); *Phan Boi Chau (1867–1940) dans le contexte de l'Extrême-Orient* (AAS 1/1994, No 1); a study from literary comparatistics – *Remarques sur la forme spécifique du développement historique de la communauté des littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est* (AAS 1990 (1991)) and linguistics – *The Viet-Muong Linguistic Group and its Lexical-Morphologic Characteristic* (AAS 2/1993, No 1).

Múčka took part in several international conferences where he delivered the papers *Introduction à la prose réaliste vietnamienne* in Warsaw (published in *Problemy literatur orientálnych*, Warsaw 1974); *Le roman vietnamien moderne* at the IXth International Congress of Comparative Literature in Innsbruck, Austria, August 1979; *Tvorchestvo Nguyen Chaya v kontekste vyetnamskoj literatury* (Writings of Nguyen Tray in the Context of the Vietnamese Literature) in Hanoi, Vietnam, October 1980 and *Aesthetic Parallels of Language and Literature*, a paper concerning theoretical problems of Oriental linguistics, read in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, November 1986.

Múčka was also active as a translator from Vietnamese literature and published the following works: Nguyen Hong: *Zlodejka* (Pick-pocket, a novel, Bratislava, Tatran 1973); Ho Chi Minh – To Huu – Song Hong: *Ranený bambus neumiera* (Wounded Bamboo Does Not Die, poems, Bratislava, Tatran 1973); Tô Hoài: *Západný kraj* (Western Country, a novel, Bratislava, Tatran 1981); *Sedem želaní* (Seven Wishes, Vietnamese folk-tales, Bratislava, Mladé letá 1985); and several short stories in anthologies: *Cestou slnka*, *Slniečny vejár*, *Slniečné hodiny* (Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1976, 1979, 1984) and journals. In addition, he wrote popular articles for various Slovak journals describing Vietnam, the way of life of the people, customs, literature, and prepared some broadcast and television programmes on Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Together with colleagues, he also wrote articles for several Slovak encyclopedias, for example, *Pyramída*, writers of the world, literary works, etc.

In his spare time, Múčka helped Vietnamese students in Slovakia by teaching them and by compiling a number of aids for them such as dictionaries and textbooks.

Ján Múčka was a man in a thousand, modest, ready to help, and hard-working; the man whose memory we will always honour.

Vojtech Kopčan

ARTICLES

GU CHENG AND XIE YE: CONTEMPORARY CHINESE POETS WHO DIED TOO EARLY

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This article analyses the ideas and opinions of the contemporary Chinese poet Gu Cheng and his attitude to the poetess Xie Ye, his wife, especially during their last years. This is traced through their philosophical convictions, life experiences and psychical observations. Their tragic deaths form the focus of the study.

“I had to die to keep me from dying.”
(Common schizophrenic remark)

On October 8, 1993 Gu Cheng [1] (born 1956) and Xie Ye [2] (born 1958) “met with a tragic death on Waiheke Island (near Auckland) in New Zealand”.¹ This news meant a shock for me as for many of his friends all over the world.

The death of a young poet (I shall speak in this commemorative essay mainly about him), especially of an unusually talented one, is always a loss for national or individual literature. Since only a part of his work has been published and a lot, if not much written by him, still remains in the archives carefully put in order and watched over by Xie Ye, or among his friends, we have and for some time shall have difficulties in appreciating and evaluating his con-

* My special thanks go to Dr. Goat Koei Lang-Tan (Heidelberg) and Kristine Kühne (Zurich) who helped me much with recent materials.

¹ Cf. Notice Regarding Samuel Muer Gu, Orphan of Xie Ye & Gu Cheng. Samuel Muer [3] Gu Trust Preparatory Committee, October 10, 1993.

tribution to contemporary Chinese literature. At least this is my opinion. He was quite productive even though there were limited publishing possibilities for him – the outcast – living outside the centres of Chinese literary life.

This essay does not have its aim the analysis of his life and work: for this purpose other scholars are better prepared. I shall concentrate my efforts on showing Gu Cheng's and Xie Ye's (but mostly his) ideas and opinions, on the basis of, firstly, the works, published and unpublished, and secondly the views expressed in our private conversations. The more personal tone of my deliberations has its roots in our friendly meetings between March and July 1992, and I will put stress upon some important aspects of their (mostly his) philosophy of life, and poetry. Death, for us Europeans, probably the most fatal moment of existential situation, will be its core.

1

I met Gu Cheng and his charming wife Xie Ye for the first time on March 22, 1992 in the Berlin flat of Professor Wolfgang Kubin, in a room filled with books belonging to his pupil Raoul David Findeisen. All Kubin's friends know that he likes to visit cemeteries. On that day he invited Gu Cheng, Xie Ye, me and my son Marián Jr. (who happened to visit me on that weekend), to go to the graves of important representatives of German literary and intellectual life of the last two centuries: Adalbert von Chamisso, Ludwig Tieck, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Theodor Mommsen and some others. Gu Cheng probably enjoyed this invitation, since, if not the places of eternal repose, then certainly death had in its poetic cosmos a very important place for him. For a half of his life (from his seventeenth year on) death was a steady companion of his thoughts.² The "existence" before birth, birth, earthly life, death, "existence" after death as *shengming* [9], complementing always *shenghuo* [10]. This is the life between the physical conception and death, while *shengming* is understood in a Taoist-Buddhist way. These all were the beloved themes of Gu Cheng's work and his thought.³ Gu Cheng was completely disinterested in all that he saw. We roamed between the graves of the great dead personalities in the two cemeteries in Kreuzberg, one of Berlin's districts; and even Kubin's comparison of Mommsen with Sima Qian [13] (145–86 B.C.) could not disturb Gu Cheng's musings.

² ZENG HUIYAN [4]: *Gu Cheng, Xie Ye zuihoude fangwenlu* [5] The Last Visit of and Interview With Gu Cheng and Xie Ye. In: Hong Ying [6], Zhao Yiheng [7] (eds.): *Muchuang* [8] Sepulchre. Peking 1993, p. 381.

³ Cf. GÁLIK, M.: *Berliner Begegnungen mit dem Dichter Gu Cheng* (Berlin's Meetings with Poet Gu Cheng). *Minima sinica*, 1, 1993, pp. 33–34. See also GU CHENG: *Shuohua nan, shuoshi geng nan* [11] To Speak Is Difficult, to Speak About Poetry Is Even More Difficult. In: Sepulchre, pp. 161–166 and *Qing ting wode shengyin* [12] Please, Hear My Voice, *ibid.*, pp. 171–172.

Gu Cheng's thoughts and words all revolved around the Taoist principle of *wuwei er wu buwei* [14], i.e. the Way never "acts yet nothing is left undone",⁴ without clearly indicating why just this idea interested him so much at those moments. This idea was, of course, one of the premises of Gu Cheng's attitude to the world, of his *Weltanschauung*,⁵ and I do not have any reasonable explanation why he repeatedly connected it with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai during the Cultural Revolution. Later during our long walk through the cemeteries, maybe the chilly and misty atmosphere of the early spring day, helped to change the topic. At first it was the question of melancholy, probably most suitable in the presence of the always melancholic Wolfgang Kubin and Gu Cheng's own sad face, reminiscent of, in his own words, the poem entitled *Jianli* [17] (A Short Biography):

I am a sad child
That has never grown up.⁶

Fuel was added to this part of the discussion by the poems attributed to Lin Daiyu, the most famous heroine from the novel *Honglouloumeng* [19] *Dream of the Red Chamber*, written by Cao Xueqin [20] (ca. 1724–1764). It was I who proposed it, since at that time I was involved in the study of the problem of melancholy in this great Chinese novel, namely in relations with Lin Daiyu [21], Xie Baochai [22] and Jia Baoyu [23].⁷

Another topic might have been suggested by Gu Cheng's probably most famous lines from the year 1979:

Night gave me black eyes.
Yet I use them to search for light.⁸

At least from the end of 1970s the concept of "light" and "searching for light" became one of his most weighty goals and endeavours.

His search for "light" and effort to find it and comprehend it between 1979 (or even earlier) and 1992 (or later) certainly had its history in Gu Cheng's development. At first it was motivated by the circumstances Gu Cheng lived through during the gloomy post-Mao world, with its shortage of books damaged

⁴ LAOZI: *Tao Te Ching*. [15] Transl. by D.C. Lau. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1982, pp. 54–55.

⁵ GU CHENG: *Guanyu "wu buwei"* [16] On "Nothing Is Left Undone". In: *Sepulchre*, pp. 168–170.

⁶ *Gu Cheng shiji* [18] Gu Cheng's Poems. Taipei 1988, p. 182.

⁷ GÁLIK, M.: *Über die Melancholie im Traum der Roten Kammer (und in einem anderen "Traum")* (On Melancholy in *Dream of the Red Chamber* (and in One Another "Dream")) (to be published later under editorship of Wolfgang Kubin).

⁸ GU CHENG: *Hei yanjing* [24] Black Eyes. Peking 1986, p. 8.

during the Cultural Revolution, mistrust of all works that did not have “proletarian” and “revolutionary” origin, and when these works, especially foreign ones, were similar to flying birds with the difference that when they left their nests, they never returned. Until the beginning of the 1980s the books in the PRC were distributed mostly among friends, to be read in a hurry, with extreme attentiveness, and therefore Gu Cheng attained an extremely refined memory. He mentioned a few European and American writers who enthralled him for some time in the second half of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s: among them Dante Alighieri, Rabindranath Tagore, Odysseas Elytis, Octavio Paz, Federico García Lorca, and most of all, Walt Whitman, a singer of American democracy.⁹ The impact of Walt Whitman is possible to see in his somewhat exalted hope in the liberated human genius after being freed from slavish shackles. In his *Shengming huanxiangqu* [26] *Life's Phantasy* we read:

I want to sing
a song of humankind
which will reverberate throughout the universe
for yet another millennium.¹⁰

Here life in the sense of *shengming* as explained above, is mainly a Buddh-Taoist vision of *vita aeterna*. It foreshadows his later search mainly in indigenous Chinese tradition, without while not ignoring the most living aspects of the foreign, e.g. European and Christian legacy, so far as it was known to him. As far as the Chinese part is concerned, the first milestone on this road was Laozi [27] (probably 4th–3rd cent. B.C.) and his *Daode jing* Sacred Book of the Dao and De.

2

Our second meeting was settled for April 5. Since it was a day very important for China's further development after Zhou Enlai's death in 1976, I supposed at first that Gu Cheng would prolong his monologue from the Kreuzberg cemeteries. I was surprised for the events of this day were not even mentioned.

We were sitting facing each other in a big room with white walls and furniture including a couch and bed, both covered with scarlet sheets, and with two easy chairs, one red and one green. White and scarlet colours allude usually to something decadent, which I admire in literature, and especially in art, most of all; and blackgreen was believed in Antiquity, and the Middle Ages (and maybe still now) to be the colour of human gall under the spell of melancholy. The sitting room was full of it: my analyses prepared for the Bonn symposium on

⁹ GU CHENG: *Shihua lu* [25] Poetic Records. In: *Black Eyes*, p. 202.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Honglouloumeng organized by Kubin, April 21–23, 1992, were set on the table. Findeisen's books on the shelves concerned Lou Andreas-Salomé, Paul Reé and Friedrich Nietzsche telling the grim story of this "trinity", and the sad face of Gu Cheng were responsible for the atmosphere of the situation.

I do not know why I began our discussion mentioning the absence of Mu'er (Samuel) (born in March 1988). Maybe it was because I am a European, and usually our parents take their offspring with them for long-term journeys. Gu Cheng and Xie Ye had come to Berlin for a year following the invitation of German Academic Exchange Service (Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst). It probably would have been better not to have asked this question. Xie Ye began to cry and accused Gu Cheng of his disinterest in their child: "He is not fond of him. We had to leave him in New Zealand. My fate is very sad and I suffer much because he is so *taoyan* [28] detestable." A few minutes later she remarked that sometimes she wished he would die soon. That was comparable to Daiyu from the *Honglouloumeng*, whom "detestable" Baoyu found to sing her own song when burying dying flowers. During these not very pleasant moments Gu Cheng sat on the scarlet couch with his head bent and I could not see his eyes. I excused myself to Xie Ye for this impertinent question. After Gu Cheng's acts of homicide and suicide, when poor Mu'er was left alone without parents, this question had its *raison d'être*. Xie Ye's assertion proved to be right.

During our meeting the next day, April 6, when we walked along the Tempelhof Shore on our way to State Library, I found out, on the basis of information given to me, that there was not much love between Gu Cheng and his father Gu Gong [29] (born 1928), poet, writer and dramatist. "He was a little bit better to me than Jia Zheng [30] to Baoyu," remarked Gu Cheng in allusion to the *Dream of the Red Chamber* and especially to *Daguanyuan* [31] Grand View-Garden which was present in nearly all our dialogues or conversations. Gu Gong participated in the Civil War after 1945 on the side of the Chinese communists, he entered the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party in 1951, and usually lived and worked far away from little Pang [32] Thicky (a nickname for both Gu Cheng and Mu'er). The same holds for Gu Cheng's mother of the beautiful name Hu Huiling [33]. She studied agriculture at University but according to the Party division of labour she had to devote herself to film criticism. Love and attention to him were the weak points of her character. It was not better even during his exile, at least in the first years. Gu Cheng told me that once he called her up and their two hour dialogue was only *chaojia* [34] a quarrel. He asserted that when she was young she was pretty but very stubborn. When Xie Ye compared Gu Cheng's mother to Jia Baoyu's favourite maid Qingwen [35], Gu Cheng nodded in approval. He inherited his stubbornness from her:

I am a child
Spoiled by his imaginary mother.
I am obstinate.¹¹

Gu Cheng felt alienated from both parents. Probably insufficiency or scantiness (and often complete lack) of parental love made him indifferent to the fate of his progeny.

We know little about the emotional relations between Gu Cheng and Xie Ye during their marriage and before. Both Gu Cheng and Gu Gong told me that they met on the train between Shanghai and Peking for the first time. Gu Cheng was sketching slowly his dreamy drawings, she was curious, he showed her his poems (not yet published), she was enthralled by his talent and mysterious personality. After the train reached its destination, Gu Cheng disappeared leaving only his (and parents) address and telephone number. Xie Ye came later to visit Hu Huiling asking her whether that talented stranger was really her son.¹² Gu Cheng was an attractive boy before his hair began rapidly thinning. Being a bit shy and not a little narcissistic he protected himself against curious looks with a range of peculiar caps (altogether five, self-made mostly out of jeans) wearing them everyday, and possibly also at night.

Although they probably fell in love at first sight, their love was not slight. "The two most difficult periods in my life," Gu Cheng betrayed to me in a heart-to-heart manner, "were the five years before my marriage and the five years after it. For five years I tried to persuade my mother-in-law in Shanghai, to give me, a boy from Peking, her daughter as my wife. She could not understand how I dared to ask for something like that. I could search for a wife in Peking, or not? Apart from that, what was I worth? A youngster comparable to an ordinary criminal?"¹³

This is suggestive of the Biblical patriarch Jacob, who had to work seven years for Laban, his father-in-law, for Lea who "was tender eyed". Gu Cheng was happier. He tried to win the favour of mother-in-law for a shorter period without serving her and succeeded getting a Chinese Rachel who "was beautiful and well favoured."¹⁴ He should in reality have congratulated himself.

The Chinese like to symbolize weddings with the sign of *shuangxi* [36] which means "double-joy". For Gu Cheng his and Xie Ye's wedding was rather a "double-pain". The first came during the wedding-reception. Gu Cheng's moods were always unpredictable and since he felt miserable, he presented five or six guests with one piece of chocolate each and nothing. They were hurt to the quick. This chap does not know how to fulfil his duty to parents and friends!

"Once I heard," I have remarked during my conversation with Gu Cheng and Xie Ye on April 12 in Lustgarten, near to the entrance of the Museum's Isle where we went together to see *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition, that

¹¹ Ibid., p. 51.

¹² Informations by Gu Gong and Hu Huiling during my visit of their flat in Peking on November 22, 1992.

¹³ It was because Gu Cheng's salary, 16 RMB pro month, was just the same as for a criminal who left jail.

¹⁴ *Genesis*, 29, 17.

“once I heard from Barbara Spielmann, I think, that you are an ideal couple; you cannot live without each other”.

Gu Cheng smiled only and remarked that he would not say anything like that. Xie Ye nodded her approval. I suppose that they had in mind the first part of my statement. It was obvious that Gu Cheng could not live without Xie Ye although it was not love which bound him to his spouse. Xie Ye loved or was at least fond of Gu Cheng up to the end of her life,¹⁵ because she knew that without her there would not be a Gu Cheng, and in spite of her suffering she would endure his presence and the absence of Mu'er.

“Love is something,” Gu Cheng began deliberating, “that is possible to characterize at first as *lixiang* [37] ideal and it ends as *wangxiang* [38] unfounded hope, hopelessness. It does not only hold true for love. Just look at the Chinese history of the last few decades. Socialism began as an ideal and where did it end? And just here,” he remarked in front of the building of the former State Committee of GDR, Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Germany, not far away from Brandenburg Gate and the Berlin Wall, “Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Hitler, rulers of GDR. It is only in Berlin that I have learned that the Soviet Union does not exist anymore and Leningrad is called St. Petersburg now...”

Gu Cheng was completely disinterested in all that did not concern him directly. Xie Ye told me not only once that Gu Cheng steadily kept to his *lixiang yuanze* [39] ideal principle and she could do little, save not forget her *xianshi yuanze* [40] reality principle. “He lives in his heaven and I should stick to this earth. Otherwise we would starve to death.” “Grand View-Garden,” contemplated Gu Cheng aloud, completely forgetting about the presence of me and his wife, “is the heaven of *Honglouneng*. But it is heaven only while its hero and heroines are young and single. When Baoyu marries, both come to an end: heaven and Grand View-Garden. The day of Baoyu's wedding is the day of his death.” Did Gu Cheng think about his own wedding and marriage at that very moment? I suppose that he pondered this manner during his and Xie Ye's wedding party and after that. I know only that it was on this occasion that he betrayed to me that both marriage and wedding meant a great disappointment for him: “I thought that after marriage I will ascend to heaven, but it was not heaven I began to feel.” For Xie Ye the common life meant bitter disillusion. Only her high ethical standards, sense of duty to her husband and outstanding poet, and later her obligations towards Mu'er, made her strong enough to survive under these unenviable conditions.

3

Death played an enormous role in Gu Cheng's poetic philosophy. “Baoyu died when he was nineteen years old. I have already died, too,” he intimated to

¹⁵ Sepulchre, p. 382.

me in a seemingly mystic way. Only after his and Xie Ye's death did I discover that he was quite sure about his, for us Europeans, quite strange message. "With death Non-Being begins, the part of which Being we are, before and after us." Non-Being is then *ben* [41] essential and Being is *mo* [42] incidental, secondary. Beginning to understand Gu Cheng's judgement as an important statement about the place of death in human life, I got out of the green easy chair that had alluded to hope in life and an optimistic *laissez-faire* attitude during my stay in Berlin between February and April 1992. I took the first volume of *Sämtliche Werke, Werkausgabe* (Complete Works) by Rainer Maria Rilke, and I read and tried to translate into Chinese the last poem of the book:

Der Tod ist groß.
Wir sind die Seinen
lachenden Munds.
Wenn wir uns mitten im Leben meinen
wagt er zu weinen
mitten in uns.¹⁶
(Death is great.
We are his
With laughing mouth.
When we think ourselves in midst of life,
He dares to weep
In the midst of us.)¹⁷

"I believe that I read this poem in Chinese translation," said Gu Cheng and quoted a poem about death written by the modern Chinese symbolist poet Li Jinfu [43] (1900–1976). He did not remember the Chinese title but it is called *Yugan* [44] Sensations and begins as follows:

As blood poured out,
Faded leaves lie at our feet.
Life is only a smile
Upon the lips of death.¹⁸

There is a slight similarity between these two poems. In our European Judeo-Christian tradition death seems to be a much more important moment in life than in the Buddho-Taoist environment of Chinese or Far Eastern people. In

¹⁶ RILKE, R.M.: *Werke in drei Bänden* (Works in Three Volumes). Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main 1966, p.233.

¹⁷ *Translations From the Poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke*. By M.D. Herter Norton. New York 1993, p. 147.

¹⁸ SUN YUSHI [45]: *Zhongguo xiandai shi daodu* [46], 1917–1938, Introduction to Reading of Modern Chinese Poetry, 1917–1938. Peking 1990, p. 111.

Li Chinfa's poem impressionist moods and symbolist devices dominate. Death and life can be multicoloured as the withered leaves in late autumn and the manifold expression of the four seasons in the flux of time. In Rilke's poem death is a *caveat*, it is a part of our life in a different sense than in Li Jinfa's poem. According to Rilke: "Whoever rightly understands and celebrates death, at the same time magnifies life."¹⁹ Death is a great Judge, it is an unrepeatable fact in the history of every living being, it is an extreme limit or turning point of Great No-Return. According to his most philosophical poem from the *Duino Elegies*, although our Being in this world is something that he characterizes as *Schwindende*, i.e. vanishing, disappearing, even becoming extinct, our earthly life will never be repeated again. Human beings are *die Schwindendsten*, i.e. the most elusive thing among all creatures, since they are fully aware of their existence, of their moral duties (whatever they are) and of their epistemologico-ontological status.²⁰

Rilke's famous poem made no deep impression on Gu Cheng since he did not believe in the greatness of death. Death was solely a boundary line between Being and Non-Being, the second of which was for him more important. From his seventeenth year when he had tried to commit suicide for the first time, repeating it often during the next eighteen years, his life was full of this craving after death which did not seem to follow his inner demands.

At least three philosophical works had a most decisive impact on Gu Cheng's poetic and personal development, and also on his *Weltanschauung* including his views on life and death. There were *Daode jing* mentioned above, some passages or chapters from *Zhuangzi* [47] (3rd cent. B.C.) and one thin but very influential booklet in the history of *Chan/Zen* [48] teaching entitled *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* [49] *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, traditionally attributed to Hui Neng [50] (638–713). From our conversations I know that he extolled the second chapter of *Zhuangzi* entitled *Qiwu lun* [51] *Discussion on Making of All Things Equal* as the most important in the whole work. Here we find the words with which Gu Cheng more or less completely identified himself:

"How do I know that loving life is not a delusion? How do I know that in hating death I am not like a man who, having left home in his youth, has forgotten the way back?... How do I know that the dead do not wonder why they ever longed for life?"²¹

¹⁹ Quoted according to Loy, D.: *The Nonduality of Life and Death: A Buddhist View of Repression*. *Philosophy of East & West*, 40, April 1990, 2, p. 161.

²⁰ RILKE, R.M.: *Duineser Elegien. Die Sonette an Orpheus (Duino Elegies. Sonnets to Orpheus)*. Zürich, Manesse Verlag 1951, pp. 46–47. English translation is in *Duino Elegies*, tr. by David Young, New York, W.W. Norton & Comp. 1992, pp. 77–78. See also the interesting analysis by Katharina Kippenberg, *ibid.*, pp. 132–134.

²¹ *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. Transl. by Burton Watson. New York, Columbia University Press 1968, p. 47.

In the seventh chapter entitled *Da zun shi* [52] *The Great and Venerable Teacher* we read:

“Life and death are fated – constant as the succession of dark and dawn, a matter of Heaven,”²² and: “That which kills life does not die; that which gives life does not live,”²³ which is rather difficult to understand but it is possible to agree with the explanation by Professor Burton Watson, according to whom “that which transcends the categories of life and death can never be said to have lived or died, only that which recognizes the existence of such categories is subject to them”.²⁴ In the same chapter as the last of the so-called *Nei pian* [53] Inner Chapters, generally recognized as the original work by Zhuangzi himself, it is said that the *Zhenren* [54] True Men, genuine followers of the Way, “look upon life as a swelling tumour, a protruding wen, and upon death as the draining of a sore or the bursting of a bowl. To such men as these, how could there be any question of putting life first or death last?”²⁵

Although these words influenced Gu Cheng’s attitude to death and life, he was likewise a follower of the Southern School of Chan. There is not much to discover about birth and death in Hui Neng’s famous treatise. It is possible that Gu Cheng read more from Chanism than he betrayed to me and I never put this special question to him. I did not imagine at the time we met that this was so important to him. Those experts in Chanism and in Western teachings who were concerned with the question of life and death have something to say which is really worthy of attention. John Steffney in his study entitled *Symbolism and Death in Jung and Zen Buddhism* after quoting two followers of Chan, Huai Hai (720–814) and Huang Bo (died 850) wrote the following sentence: “From the Zen point of view, nothing can separate one from death, for death is not ‘anywhere’ other than oneself. There is no space to travel, nor is there time. One *is* one’s death, just as one *is* one’s life. Even ‘rebirth’ has no meaning for Zen. He who can say that he is already dead as he is already alive undergoes not a ‘re-birth’, but a ‘break-through’ – a ‘break-through’ beyond the dichotomous matrix of ego-consciousness and the life-death polarities that are inclusive in that matrix. In this ‘break-through’ there is no need to worry about death, for death is not something that will come, but what one has been all along, that is, dead only in the sense that one has always been alive.”²⁶

This difficult philosophical reflection has been explained in a more graphic and literary way by Gu Cheng in his dialogue with Suizi Zhang [55]-Kubin on December 19, 1992 in Bonn:

²² Ibid., p. 80.

²³ Ibid., p. 83.

²⁴ Loc. cit.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 87.

²⁶ STEFFNEY, J.: *Symbolism and Death in Jung and Zen Buddhism*. Philosophy East & West, 25, 1975. 2, p. 182.

“I am similar to a drop of water which fell from the clouds. I am a solitary individual. At the moment of leaving the clouds, I completely forgot my origin and the destination I had to go. There are many water drops like this in the world. Every drop is an individual. When there is a mutual attraction or appeal between them, then the memory begins to work in my life. It is similar to the faculty of knowing each other. Then we feel to be mutually acquainted. Or it is possible to say that they are me. It seems that we have the same origin, we all come from the clouds and the clouds originate in oceans, oceans come from rivers and rivers from the drops of rain. We have lived in this world thousand times and gone through various metamorphoses. Me and the universe are made of the same *benti* [56] substance. I think that this is the principle of love as well as of poetry.”²⁷

Although Gu Cheng did not acknowledge the impact of Buddhism upon his ideas concerning life and death, asserting that the Buddhist teaching is something for the “people who do not know”,²⁸ we need not take this and some of his other statements seriously. I personally think that in his conversations with me in March and April 1992 Gu Cheng was more sincere than in the dialogue with Suizi. It was probably because her questions were much better prepared and they tried to provoke him to speak about himself and those “secrets” he tried to take with him to his grave. For one should belong really among the “people who do not know”, if he, after reading, e.g. Gu Cheng’s article *Gei pianjide xin* [59] A Letter to Editor,²⁹ did not see how much had been taken from Huineng’s *sutra* or from *Dream of the Red Chamber*.

In his last months or years Gu Cheng was a master at hiding himself behind masks or in giving to his readers or critics the material for his future myth. In musings over “aimless Ego” he tried to persuade others that during his previous life in this world he had not committed suicide just because of Xie Ye. Allegedly he always had “great luck” and it was his wife who *qi si hui sheng* [60] rescued him from death and brought him to life.³⁰ It was not she who used “absurd methods” to prevent him from meeting death or committing suicide. In reality it was he alone who never succeeded for various reasons.

4

Smile on the lips of death is more or less the same as a kiss on the lips of Thanatos which we find so wonderfully expressed in the fairy tale *The Happy*

²⁷ Original interview see in *Wumudide wo. Gu Cheng fangtanlu* [57] (Aimless Ego. Interview With Gu Cheng). Jintian [58] (Today), 4, 1993, p. 22 and its German translation in: *Das ziellose Ich. Ein Gespräch mit Gu Cheng* (Aimless Ego. Conversation With Gu Cheng). Minima sinica (Bonn), 1, 1993, pp. 21–22.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22 in both texts. Gu Cheng had probably popular religious Buddhism in mind, not its philosophical forms.

²⁹ Today, 3, 1992, pp. 250–251.

³⁰ SUIZI ZHANG-KUBIN (tr.): *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Prince by Oscar Wilde. According to Greek mythology as delineated in *Theogonia* by Hesiod (fl. 8th cent.? B.C.), Thanatos, god of death, had a younger brother called Hypnos, god of sleep and dreams, and both were sons of Night (Nyx or Nox), goddess of night. The ancient Greeks already understood well the relation between death and dreams. The kinship between Thanatos and Hypnos is proof of this. The attitude of Chinese Taoists towards these two phenomena seems to be even more sophisticated, although it did not reach Greek imaginary level. Zhuangzi's musing in the second chapter began with the relation between life and death (as quoted above) and subsequently lead us to the relation between life and dream, where probably death was also implicitly involved or at least could be speculatively incorporated:

"He who dreams of drinking wine may weep when morning comes; he who dreams of weeping may in the morning goes off to hunt. While he is dreaming he does not know it is a dream, and in his dream he may even try to interpret a dream. On someday there will be a great awakening when we know that this is all a great dream. Yet the stupid believe they are awake, busily and brightly assuming they understand things, calling this man ruler, that one herdsman – how dense. Confucius and you are both dreaming! And when I say you are dreaming, I am dreaming, too."³¹

One of the most well-known dreams in world literature is at the end of this chapter:

"Once Chuang Chou (i.e. Zhuangzi, M.G.) dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He didn't know he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou. But he did know if he was Chuang Chou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Chou. Between Chuang Chou and a butterfly there must be *some* distinction! This is called *wu hua* [61] the Transformation of Things."³²

This Transformation of Things holds true for Gu Cheng, too, and it is applicable in all spheres of epistemological and ontological reality including life here and anywhere and at any time. If he would be sincere and if he would like to follow Descartes and basic premise: "Cogito, ergo sum", he should express himself like follows: "*Somnio, ergo sum*", i.e. "I dream, therefore I am."

From a short essay entitled *Ta. Ji Gu Cheng* [62] He. About Gu Cheng, written by Xie Ye, we know one of the basic characteristics of Gu's personality. "He has many hobbies. He likes to collect rare and interesting trifles, he draws pictures and often becomes immersed in his own mind and in the things that are pleasant to his absent spirit."³³ Allegedly Gu Cheng was very fond of sleeping and he slept "constantly"; it was enough that nobody spoke to him for five minutes and he was immediately drawn into *meng xiang* [63]

³¹ *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, pp. 47–48.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³³ *Mingbao Monthly*, 1, 1992, p. 126.

the world of dreams. Under *demios oneiron* world of dreams, ancient Greeks understood that realm of universe through which the dead souls wandered on their journey to the underworld.³⁴ Once when Gu Gong and Hu Huiling were on an official trip and left him alone, the little Thicky slept up to the evening of the third day. When he woke up, he had the feeling that the sun was rising on the Western horizon. Xie Ye asserted that the life according to her husband was “nothing else than a walk on the sandy strand of Sea of Dreams”.³⁵

Demios oneiron, should be an experience that Gu Cheng should have had already in his life on earth, not after death. At least for some time in his development, in my view up to 1985, this kind of *demios oneiron* was the milieu where his works were conceived and created. Myths, dreams and *tonghua* [64] fairy tales have much in common, and the last two especially had a great impact on him. His enthrallment with *Honglouloumeng* or with the works of Hans Christian Andersen, are based, whether consciously or unconsciously, just upon this inner spiritual disposition.

It is not so easy to explain why in Gu Cheng’s personality and in his poetic work, there is so much concerned with childhood, like his love of fairy tales, his child-like behaviour in some respects in adult age, or his attitude to *nuerxing* [65] maidenhood.³⁶ At the end of a poem dedicated to H.Ch. Andersen we read these lines:

Among the flowers and dew
I would like to find once again
Feelings lost during my childhood.³⁷

Maybe he lost them, maybe he never felt them. In one of the greatest mythic tragedies of world literature, in Sophocles’ *Oedipus Rex*, the Sphinx gives a riddle to young Oedipus: “What creature goes on four feet in the morning, on two at noonday, on three in the evening?” “Man,” answered Oedipus. “In childhood he creeps on hands and feet; in manhood he walks erect; in old age he helps himself with a staff.”³⁸ The Sphinx ceased devouring wayfarers along the roads

³⁴ HOMER: *Ilias. Odyssee*. Berlin – Weimar 1965, p. 747.

³⁵ Mingbao Monthly, 1, 1992, p. 126.

³⁶ Cf. especially ZHUANG ROUYU [66]: *Gu Cheng shigede chaoyu jingshen* [67] Transcendental Spirit of Gu Cheng’s Poetry. In: *Zhongguo dangdai menglongshi yanjiu* [68] Studies in Modern Chinese Contemporary Poetry. Taipei 1993, pp. 233–262 and Gu Cheng’s dialogue with me entitled: “*Fushide*”, “*Honglouloumeng*”, *nuerxing* [69] “Faust”, “Dream of the Red Chamber” and Maidenhood, Shanghai wenxue Shanghai Literature, 1, 1993, pp. 65–68 and reprinted in *Sepulchre*, pp. 151–160.

³⁷ GU CHENG: *Gei wode zunshi Antusheng* [70] For my Esteemed Teacher Hans Christian Andersen. In: *Black Eyes*, p. 15.

³⁸ Quoted according to HAMILTON, E.: *Mythology. Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes*. New York, Mentor Book n.y., p.257.

to the city of Thebes and committed suicide. Gu Cheng in some sense was not able to develop himself into his adult age. "He is unable to live without me. He is completely dependent upon me," said once Xie Ye to me. Psychologically speaking, Xie Ye was not only Gu Cheng's wife, but she was also a substitute of his mother. Gu Cheng had never the life experience of normal family life; his parents had to obediently follow Party instructions and neglected their family duties. Gu Cheng was able to attend primary school for three years only (1963–1966), and he hated even doing this. The longest part of his childhood was spent as a shepherd; in reality he mostly fed swine. Of his relatives, only his great-grandmother on his maternal side devoted more attention to him. Her name was Sun Shuzhen [71]. When she died, Gu Cheng dedicated two of his poems to her.³⁹ He never did that for his mother.

The insufficiency of maternal and paternal love, lacunae in the educational process, were responsible for his inadequate and unsound psychological development. Nature with its diversity of forms, sounds and colours, and his own psyche with its dreams, became his *lapis refugii* and later entered his poetic world.

5

Among the works devoted to Gu Cheng and his poetry and written by the critics, the most numerous part is concerned with his first creative period up to the end of 1985.⁴⁰ Sometime before his marriage a new period in his poetry began to be quite visible, where his very sincere attitude to life around himself, his belief in the dreams and in nature, were no longer in the foreground. He left the beaten tracks and began to search for a new method in writing poetry and later also works of fiction.

The second period has not been studied enough as yet and it presents a hard nut for researchers. We do not know exactly why this poet of intriguing charm, with his very human legacy, childlike naivety and dreamy inventiveness, changed himself into a poet who, similar to a cicada, puts aside the exuviae and tries to test out the new, and for the researcher and the reader, quite stony paths of poetical development.

I told him quite sincerely on Easter Monday, April 19, 1992: "I have to say that much out of your new collection *Shuiyin* [76] Quicksilver (written between the years 1985–1988, M.G.) is not comprehensible to me. My original convic-

³⁹ One of them was published in English version, see GOLDEN, S. and CHU CHIYU (eds.): *Selected Works of Gu Cheng*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, pp. 50–51 and second one is known to me on the basis of Chinese text in Black Eyes, pp. 86–89.

⁴⁰ See the critical articles mentioned in Zhuang Rouyu: op. cit., and BI GUANGMING [72], FAN LUOPING [73]: *Gu Cheng: Yizhong weilingde langmanzhuyi* [74] Gu Cheng: A Follower of Spiritual Romanticism. Hubei shifan xueyuan xuebao [75] Bulletin of the Pedagogical Institute of Hupei Province, 2, 1988, pp. 48–54.

tion concerning the dreamy character of your poems and almost the child-like habitus of your psyche is beginning to show cracks. Is this collection a step forward in your development or one of your experiments to find your own path which, as you know, for many of your colleagues, is not acceptable.”

“I try to express something,” answered Gu Cheng “but to express it in a good sense of word (Gu Cheng hated the word expression if it meant a show, a cheap device trying to persuade the audience or readership about the importance of the involved personality, M.G.). Description or narration is for me irrelevant. I follow my own vision or voices. A dream of a night or of a day, and most probably both, have the same meaning for me, but that is not all. For instance, I hear tones, I see images, I read their meanings and write them down. It is a kind of extasy caused by environment. The meaning of it lies in my own perception. I am not preoccupied with the significance of the words as they are defined in the dictionaries but above all with their place in the sentence, in the poem, in time and space.”

At that time, on the sunny day, in a park near to the Am Karlsbad Street, I did not fully understand the message of this statement, and just like in the case of Gu Cheng’s already dead ego with that of Baoyu, I supposed that Gu Cheng was using common symbolist device: the visions or voices he saw or heard could be apprehended as his inner spiritual sights or sounds. After Gu Cheng brutally murdered his wife and immediately afterwards hanged himself, and after discussions with medical doctors and looking into scientific treatment for psychiatric diseases, I have the courage to come up with a hypothesis that Gu Cheng was suffering from schizophrenia. There are two big difficulties involved: firstly, of all major psychiatric syndromes “schizophrenia is much the most difficult to describe”,⁴¹ and secondly, Gu Cheng never underwent any psychiatric treatment. Since there is no medical evidence and Xie Ye took her observations to grave, only sister who lived in their neighbourhood in New Zealand – Gu Xiang [77] (1954–) – probably could give an account of her experience along with her younger brother. Yet it is very questionable whether her testimony would be truthful or not. According to Gu Xiang’s opinion, spoken on the phone to a reporter on October 10, 1993, Gu Cheng “went mad”⁴² just before committing suicide in the garden near her lodging: 110 Wharf Road, Ostand, Waiheke Island, Auckland.⁴³ For her he was probably psychologically normal. She always stood by him and admired him very much. According to *Oxford Textbook of Psychiatry*, auditory hallucinations, mentioned of above, “are among the most frequent symptoms (of schizophrenia, M.G.). They may

⁴¹ GELDER, M. *et alii*: *Oxford Textbook of Psychiatry*. Oxford, Oxford University Press 1983, p. 228.

⁴² LIU HONGBIN [78]: *Gu Cheng he Xie Ye zuihoude rizi* [79] *The Last Days of Gu Cheng and Xie Ye*, *Mingbao Monthly*, 11, 1993, p. 84.

⁴³ I know it on the basis of a letter by Gu Cheng and Xie Ye written to me on March 31, 1993.

take the form of noises, music, single words, brief phrases, or whole conversations. They may be unobtrusive or so severe as to cause distress."⁴⁴

For Gu Cheng, who was probably the most prolific among young Chinese poets from the PRC of the 1980s, these voices might have seemed to be a source that he could follow or at least take them as a source of his inspiration. When returning to Kubin's flat and seeing Findeisen's library (after a walk on Easter Monday), I opened Sino-German edition of the Quicksilver and I put before his eyes one of his strangest poem entitled simply : : and beginning with these two lines:

Xuange [80] Mysterious songs *yuge* [81] fishermen's songs
weige [82] (?)

When asking Gu Cheng: "What does this last binome mean?", Gu Cheng simply answered: "I do not know. I heard it."

At that time he probably also heard:

Sheng sheng sheng sheng [83] Life life life life
Muxiang wu li [84] Pockmarked face (?) is meaningless
rede yuncaï dou feile [85] and it causes clouds to fly.⁴⁵

It is a pity that I did not ask Gu Cheng for more comment. The degree of comprehensibility of post 1985 Gu Cheng's poetry is much less than that of his *menglong* [86] misty poetry before. In a manuscript he gave to me on Easter Monday and entitled *Da suowen* [87] Answers to Questions we may read the following statement regarding the poems of post 1986 period: "... I have discovered a wonderful phenomenon that the characters may move, that they may dilate like quicksilver, that they may travel in different directions and change their *kongqi* [88] distinctive features. Many characters no longer represent the ordinary fixed meanings nor their relations to parts of speech but they are similar to human beings who have left their professions and renewed their original state and predilections. These are now liberated and these magic characters begin to clash against other characters and during these collisions springs a new story..."⁴⁶

These ideas might remind the researcher and even the reader of the strategies of the Russian Futurists, Westeuropean Dadaists, Surrealists and the adherents of contemporary "language poetry". Probably (or maybe even certainly) there is no direct genetic-contactual contact. In the same manuscript written during my stay in Berlin (April 1992), Gu Cheng wrote something which is certainly very

⁴⁴ GELDER, M. *et alii*: op. cit. p. 230.

⁴⁵ Sepulchre, p. 27 and *Selected Poems by Gu Cheng*, p. 147.

⁴⁶ GU CHENG: Answers to Questions (manuscript), p. 7.

disparate from the *poeticae* of Russian Futurists up to the American followers of “language poetry”:

“I think that poetry uses natural language. It belongs to nature, and it is not by using the literary means one expresses the world of nature, but by using its natural state and by coming out freely of its condition every character may be so beautiful as water. If it remains without restraint, then it surely becomes similar to you and will reflect your *guangcai* [89] splendour.”⁴⁷

Gu Cheng was very sincere in the two following passages appended to the above quoted sentence:

“Because the language barrier, my feelings for poetry (for foreign poetry, M.G.) and my opinion about it are *huanjue* [90] illusionary. I am able to be moved by the Western poetry on the basis of translations but I cannot strive for my own individual, special and justified judgement. In this respect I am a blind man.

I am grateful to and have admiration for the work of translators but at the same time I know that the language of poetry practically always had its own nature.”⁴⁸

Let me add (at least) that Gu Cheng was not aware of, and since he did not understand foreign languages (including English), could not have read the above mentioned poets including “language poetry” like Charles Bernstein, Charles Olson, William Carlos Williams, and those published in the journal *The L=A=N=G=U=A=G=E Book*, and even a few decades before that, the poetry of Gertrude Stein. I think that he would not have been able to trace their paths and similarly to stress the subjectivity and at the same time diminish the referentiality of the poetry, neglect the coherent sense, and use semi-opaque words impairing the communication and that jarring otherness.⁴⁹ But similarly to Bernstein’s “hymn to possibility”⁵⁰ of the understanding of poetry, Gu Cheng proposed his own poetics of “natural” language. The methods were, of course, different.

For both the adherents of “language poetry” and Gu Cheng’s post 1985 poems, the following very unsophisticated demand is relevant: if you want to find out its “meaning”, then please search for it yourself. In Gu Cheng’s probably most important poem from the Quicksilver entitled *Didelidi* [91] *Deedledeedee* there are more intelligible spots than in the poem : : but as Gu Cheng warned me, there are also some words that have different meanings than in any dictionaries. For instance, *panzi* [92] usually means a plate, a dish or a tray. According to Gu Cheng’s explanations, in this special poem it represents the vehement

⁴⁷ Loc. cit.

⁴⁸ Loc. cit.

⁴⁹ SCHULTE, R.J.: *Reading Meaning: Language Poetry and the “Other Tradition”*. Fu-jen Studies. Literature & Linguistics, 26, 1993, pp. 127–148.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

gust of wind, the noise of falling rain during a thunderstorm, or anything similar in social or political life. In his flat: Storkwinkel 12, near Rathenau Platz, Berlin, on July 18, 1992 Gu Cheng betrayed me that his Chinese friends enjoyed his poetry and possibly understood it during his recitals, as for instance, during the International Conference on Modern Chinese Literature, London, at the beginning of June 1992.

Gu Cheng's ideas about the naturalness of the language of his own post 1985 poetry are a bit illusionary. Whether the voices he heard and the dreams he had, were manifestations of the world of nature or of his gradually sickening mind, is really a question.

6

Three months (minus two days) before his acts of murder and suicide, Gu Cheng read a lecture entitled *Meiyou mudide "wo"* [93] Aimless Ego (the title was nearly the same as that of the interview with Mrs. Kubin) and with the subtitle *Ziran zhexue gangyao* [94] Outline of Philosophy of Nature.⁵¹ Laozi seems to be a *Kronzeuge* of this philosophy with most of the quotations from the *Daode jing*, but Zhuangzi and Chanist authors are often mentioned, too. Huineng does not seem to be the centre of his attention, although at least his postulate of *jing xin* [95] pure mind,⁵² Gu Cheng stressed not only in front of me in our Easter Monday dialogue, but also in a small quarrel between him and Peter Hoffmann in his flat on July 19, 1992. Hoffmann, the foremost German translator of Gu Cheng's poems and the author of a thick volume on Gu Cheng's life and work, did not fully agree with his host on this point. I did not follow their discussion.

Buddho-Taoist and partly also Neo-Confucianist theory of *ziran* [96] Nature, was for Gu Cheng a good opportunity to show his apprehension of this concept within his searching of *ziwo* [97] his own ego, and the so-called *fangqi ziwo* [98] putting ego aside. Although allegedly more a follower of Huineng than of Shen Xiu [99] (606?–706), he preferred a line from the second one and not from Huineng when he wanted to ponder over the mind and its characteristics in the relation to ego:

Xin ru mingjingtai [100] The mind is like clear mirror⁵³

⁵¹ Sepulchre, pp. 200–218.

⁵² Cf. GÁLIK, M.: op. cit., pp. 59–60 and Wu, John C.H.: *Hui Neng's Fundamental Insights*. In: Wu, John C.H. et alii: *Chinese Philosophy. Vol. II. Buddhism*. Taipei. Chinese Academy, Hwa Kang, Yang Ming Shan 1974, p. 5.

⁵³ Sepulchre, p. 201 and *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. Transl. by Philip B. Yampolsky. New York, Columbia University Press 1967, pp. 3 and 130.

According to Gu Cheng's understanding of this premise, those who would like "to find (their) egos, are similar to the mirror defiled by colours".⁵⁴ It is better to renounce their egos and be similar to the image in the mirror, i.e. to be no more than the pure reflection outside the object. In his lecture Gu Cheng highlighted the Buddho-Taoist concept of Nature. Nature, i.e. *ziran* is a "summa of Chinese philosophical universe, is an Alpha of its totality. Nature transcends the concepts of Being and of Non-Being but also contains them. It has nothing to do with the problem of mankind, although mankind was unconsciously *yunhan* [101] merged with it."⁵⁵ Nature transcends God, too, because "God created world, universe, but he is not everything he created".⁵⁶

There is not enough space here to analyse all the aspects of this essay, the most philosophical of all Gu Cheng's published writings. It is a kind of philosophical and literary *credo*, if something like that has a place in the vocabulary of Chinese intellectuals. They usually do not believe, they try to understand and to know. I have to put aside the questions with the philosophical reduction of Nature, the problems of Nature, philosophical speculation or methodology concerning its study, and devote myself to Gu Cheng's musings, sticking to the issues important to my reflections, like the so-called *chun zhexue* [102] "pure philosophy" and the place of Nature, life and death in it. Gu Cheng does not try to define "pure philosophy", e.g. like a pendant to "pure poetry", but he understands it as a part of our consciousness, unadulterated by social and other considerations. Following the ideas of ancient Taoists, Gu Cheng spoke of his reservations against some ethical implications, like the status of life and death in philosophical considerations, or expressed his doubt, I dare to say, concerning the assertion that God is higher in the ethical axiology than *mogui* [103] the Devil.⁵⁷ Starting from Zhuangzi's Second Chapter, he went further, I feel I can say, than his "great and venerable teacher". For Zhuangzi's understanding of "making all things equal" or of "equality of things and opinions", and of his last conviction that "there must be *some* distinction" (let us say between the butterfly and the dreamer), transformed into *annihilatio oppositorum*, as in his "pure philosophy", where life and destruction are equivalent.⁵⁸

"Nature transcends the life and its destruction", and philosophy or better to say "pure philosophy", "transcends the gains and losses of human beings".⁵⁹ Maybe by destruction he meant a violent death including his future acts of murder and suicide. Already on April 24, 1992, he told me in our conversation concerning *nuerxing* "eternal" maidenhood, that it was a mistake that he had been

⁵⁴ Sepulchre, p. 201.

⁵⁵ Loc. cit.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 201–202.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 211.

⁵⁸ Loc. cit.

⁵⁹ Loc. cit.

born a boy.⁶⁰ His later lecture at London University on June 5, 1992, is called simply *Wo zai dengdai siwangde shengyin* [104] I Am Waiting for the Voice of Death. Here he did not compare himself anymore to dead Baoyu but he asserted that he passed away three years ago during the time of the Tiananmen Massacre on June 4, 1989, and became *youling* [105] departed spirit looking at life after his own death, and being able to remember his life before death. Death is *kong-xu* [106] *sunya* empty, just like all phenomena of Being and Non-Being, it is a withdrawal, retirement.⁶¹

In his concept of relation between life and death, we are forced to reject his admiration for Sun Wukong [107] The Monkey from the novel *Xiyouji* [108] *Journey to the West* by Wu Chengen [109] (ca. 1506–1582) who was able “to ascend to heaven and to descend to earth, to go through life as through death and *da nao Tiangong* [110] to cause great havoc in Heaven”.⁶² Monkey’s killings, his good and bad deeds, Gu Cheng regarded as an implementation of the Chinese traditional, at first Taoist and later Buddhist postulate of *wu buwei* [111] “nothing is left undone”.⁶³

Only after reading the lecture delivered in Frankfurt am Main, was I able to understand why Gu Cheng focused so much on Mao Zedong (and partly also Zhou Enlai) during our first meeting in the Kreuzberg cemeteries. Nearly 15 months later Sun Wukong became in his eyes a prefiguration of Great Helmsman and the “great havoc in Heaven” of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao’s line from his poem addressed to Guo Moruo [112] (1892–1978): *Jin hou fenqi qian jun feng* [113] “The golden monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel”, quoted by Gu Cheng, ended in “sweeping out *niugui sheshen* [114] monsters and demons”, the enemies, whether real or supposed, of the ill-famed “Cultural Revolution”.⁶⁴ I understand Gu Cheng’s enchantment with Monkey, as an imaginative character of the well-known novel, but this neither justifies Mao’s “theatrical attitude” to life and death of millions of Chinese, nor are his unreasonable moods worthy of positive attention.

7

When in his interview with Suizi Zhang-Kubin, Gu Cheng characterized himself in anticartesian way: “If I think about me, I do not exist”,⁶⁵ he was mocking the readers and deluding himself. All his musings over *wuwo* [115]

⁶⁰ GU CHENG and GÁLIK, M.: op. cit., pp. 66 respective 154.

⁶¹ Sepulchre, p. 229.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 214–215.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 215.

⁶⁴ Loc. cit. and WAKEMAN, FR. JR.: *History and Will. Philosophical Perspectives of Mao Tse-tung's Thought*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1973, p. 16.

⁶⁵ Cf. the interview mentioned in No. 27, pp. 21 respective 20.

anatman in relation to his ego were meaningless; they were intelligent fabrication and nothing else. I knew Gu Cheng as a self-confident and purposeful man of letters, whose actions always had their aim and his personality stood in the centre of his strong-minded intentions. He was unusually narcissistic and always reminded me of the well-known painting *Narcissus* attributed to Caravaggio (in Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome). I asked him (it was also on Easter Monday), if he knew the mythologeme of Narcissus. The immediate reply was positive, but in his written statement there was only an evasive message: "In Greece there is a legend about a young boy who fell in love with his own mirror's reflection and in the end he became a flower – narcissus. Towards the grandiose space of Chinese poetic world my attitude is like follows: I don't pay attention either to the time, commentaries, notes, reviews or to the dim or abundant life, I just look at the light that gives me satisfaction."⁶⁶

His narcissistic tendency was most clearly manifested in his unfinished cycle of poems *Cheng* [116] City with Janus-like meanings of which the first one refers to the City of Peking and the second one to Gu Cheng himself. In the unnamed preface to this cycle, Gu Cheng after a short mention of a poem *Houhai* [117] Houhai Lake acknowledges: "... I have no power, while I am the one who died and I live in the moment I should already be dead."⁶⁷ I do not think that Gu Cheng prolonged the writing of this cycle after April 10, 1992.

Later in 1992, certainly before December 19, 1992, Gu Cheng wrote another cycle of poems *Gui jincheng* [119] Devils Enter City which could be regarded as a "cycle within the cycle", i.e. within City. Devils Enter City may be translated also as Devils Enter Gu Cheng, if we follow the interpretation in the *New Testament of The Bible* concerning "two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way".⁶⁸ The devils in Gu Cheng's cycle are different, they behave themselves quite correctly, they are "good people",⁶⁹ sleeping, waking up, swimming, reading the announcements on the streets... Wolfgang Kubin tried to translate these poems into German with the help of Gu Cheng. He succeeded well but I do not agree with the translation of *gui* [120] as *Geister* spirits, because here the ethically undifferentiated German term meant in reality a more negative aspect of the supranatural beings especially in the poem *Xingqiri* [121] Sunday. The first line of the first stanza reads as follows:

"Silede ren shi meiren" *gui shuowan* [122]
"Dead human beings are beautiful women", said the devils.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ GU CHENG: Answers to Questions (manuscript), pp. 5–6.

⁶⁷ GU CHENG: *Xin – Guanyu "Cheng"* [118] A Letter – On "City". In: Sepulchre, p. 196.

⁶⁸ *St. Matthew*, 8, 28.

⁶⁹ Devils Enter City. Today, 4, 1993, p. 13.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18. Kubin's translation see in *Minima sinica*, 1, 1993, pp. 27–32.

The sixth and seventh lines are very similar, only with a new message which is difficult to analyse without taking into account Sonnet No. 13 from the *Sonnets to Orpheus, Second Part*, by R.M. Rilke:

“*Silade ren dou piaoliang*” *xiang*
wuying boli [123]
“Dead human beings are all beautiful” as
the glass without reflection.⁷¹

I suppose that much written in the whole cycle, especially the verses just quoted, were also the imitation of schizophrenic sounds he heard, or the voices attributed to the devils. In the first line *meiren* [124] really evokes women since in traditional Chinese poetry it was always a *pars pro toto* of the representatives of the *feminini generis*. Was Xie Ye at the time of writing this “diabolical” cycle included among the victims of “beautiful” Death?

The *enjambement* in the sixth and seventh lines “as/ the glass without reflection”, allude (at least to me) the second stanza from the Rilke’s poem:

Sei immer tot in Eurydike – singender steige,
preisender steige in den reinen Bezug.
Hier unter Schwindenden, sei, im Reiche der Neige,
sei ein klingendes Glas, das sich im Klang schon zerschlug.⁷²
(Be dead in Eurydice, always -, climb with more song,
Climb with more praise, back up into pure relation.
Here in the kingdom of decay, among what’s wasting,
Be a tingling glass that shatters itself with sound.)⁷³

Here Gu Cheng was probably searching for the excuse for his urge to kill or desire to die, and the great bard from Prague in wonderful way expressed the praises of the mythological Orpheus to dead Eurydice, or if you want, of living Rainer Maria Rilke to the dead young dancer Wera Ouckama Knoop. There is another similarity between the two poets that seems to be much more important. According to Eudo C. Mason, the Angel (or Angels) presides (or preside) over Rilke’s *Duino Elegies*. The Angel “had been the apotheosis of self-sufficient Narcissism”.⁷⁴ In Gu Cheng’s late work the speakers for his Narcissism including his innermost desires, even of his murdering drives, were devils.

⁷¹ Loc. cit.

⁷² RILKE, R.M.: *Duineser Elegien, Die Sonette an Orpheus*. Zürich, Manesse Verlag 1951, p. 224.

⁷³ *Sonnets to Orpheus*. Transl. With an Introduction by David Young. New Hampshire, Wesleyan University Press 1988, p. 80.

⁷⁴ MASON, E.C.: *Rilke*. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd 1963, p. 104.

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Xin jiekou [125] is the name of one of Peking's crossroads and streets and of the short three lines' poem by Gu Cheng:

Murder is a lotus flower.
You kill and hold it in your hands.
Hands are not possible to exchange.⁷⁵

These verses were written sometime between 1991 and the first months of 1992. With this and other poems contained in *City*, Gu Cheng according to his own opinion "returned into the early *mengmei* [126] dreamy visions".⁷⁶

I personally think that the repeated mention of murder and of knives (as the means to kill) in Gu Cheng's poems⁷⁷ are a part of obsessional and compulsive symptoms typical of mental disorders.⁷⁸ At least in his mind, Gu Cheng was a violent "patient". Murders preside over *City*. According to the *Oxford Textbook of Psychiatry*: "Overactivity and disturbances are common in schizophrenia... Homicide is rare. Self-mutilation is more frequent, and about one schizophrenic patient in ten dies by suicide."⁷⁹ Gu Cheng was that rare mixture of a "patient" who committed homicide and then hanged himself. He died to keep himself from dying.⁸⁰ He did not kill his wife and mother of his child with a knife but with an axe. The murdering axe was really similar to a red lotus flower, red with Xie Ye's blood coming out of the wounds on her skull and shoulders.⁸¹ He did not hold "lotus flower" in his hands but allegedly after washing them, he decided to finish his Being and together with Xie Ye to enter into Non-Being.

Oh, God, forgive him.
He was already mad, forgive him.
For the misty Beauty he has created,
For his clinging to life's desires and its fervours.
Forgive him, a sheep which is gone astray...
And forgive us our wrong-doings.⁸²

⁷⁵ Sepulchre, p. 83.

⁷⁶ GU CHENG: Answer to Questions (manuscript), p. 7.

⁷⁷ E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 3, 103–105 and 119.

⁷⁸ GELDER, M. *et alii*: *op. cit.*, pp. 19–22.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁸⁰ The motto to this study is taken over from LOY, D.: *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁸¹ Cf. LIU HONGBIN: *op. cit.* p. 83 and KUBIN, W.: *Splitter. Erinnerungen an Gu Cheng and Xie Ye* (Fragments. Memories of Gu Cheng and Xie Ye). *Minima sinica*, 1, 1994, p. 142.

⁸² FU ZHENGMING [127]: *Ni yong nianqingde shenming foudingle shijiede huangdan. Shiren Gu Cheng si* [128] With Your Young Life You Have Negated the Absurdity of Life. *Death of the Poet Gu Cheng. Jiushi niandai* [129] Nineties, 11, 1993, p. 87.

1. 顧城 2. 謝燁 3. 木耳 4. 曾慧燕 5. 顧城, 謝燁最侯的訪問錄 6. 虹影 7. C趙毅衡
 8. 暮床為而無不為 10. 生活 11. 道經 12. 說詩不為"無工" 13. 請聽我的聲音 14. 橫夢 20. 曹雪芹 21. 林黛玉 22. 辭賦 29. 理想 30. 賈政 31. 大觀園 32. 賈寶玉 33. 胡
 26. 惠玲 34. 幻想曲 35. 吵架 36. 末 43. 晴雯 44. 發 45. 有感 46. 妄 47. 黑眼晴 25. 詩話錄
 41. 本 42. 禪 49. 子 56. 六祖 57. 體 58. 齋物論 59. 大尊師 53. 內篇 54. 真人
 48. 張起 50. 的的 51. 的的 52. 今天 59. 給編輯的信 60. 起死回生 61. 物化 62. 他 63. 夢鄉 64. 童話 65. 女兒性 66. 莊柔玉性
 67. 顧給 75. 師歌 76. 湖安 77. 生光 78. 劉洪 79. 顧城: 一種 80. 玄歌 81. 漁歌 82. 為 83. 生光 89. 幻覺 90. 自然 91. 滴的里滴 92. 盤子
 70. 浪漫 80. 目的 87. "我" 94. 自然 95. 淨心 96. 魔鬼 104. 我在 98. 放棄自我 99. 神秀 100. 幽靈 106. 郭沫若 113. 金猴奮起千鈞 114. 牛鬼蛇神 115. 無我 116. 城
 93. 飛了 86. 朦朧 87. "我" 94. 自然 95. 淨心 96. 魔鬼 104. 我在 98. 放棄自我 99. 神秀 100. 幽靈 106. 郭沫若 113. 金猴奮起千鈞 114. 牛鬼蛇神 115. 無我 116. 城
 111. 無不為 112. 信 118. 信 119. 鬼近 120. 鬼 121. 星期 122. "死了的人 117. 是美人 123. "鬼說完 128. 你用年輕的生命否定了世界的荒誕. 詩人顧城死 129. 九十年代
 127.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF JUDAH HALEVI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT AS CONTAINED IN THE "KUZARI"

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The paper is an attempt to throw light on the political aspect of Judah Halevi's main philosophical work – "The Kuzari". A short section is on the life and work of that great Jewish poet and philosopher, followed by a discussion of the basic concepts in his book. Then, relevant passages containing a political message are analysed. Finally, the author tries to systematize and summarize Judah Halevi's political doctrine.

Introduction

Judah Halevi was one of the greatest Hebrew poets of all time, and also one of Israel's most important religious thinkers, but as a political thinker he has attracted less attention.

This article then is an attempt to throw light on this aspect of Judah Halevi's main philosophical work: the "Kuzari".

A few words concerning the structure of the article: Part one deals with the basic concepts of the book, such as God, the Divine influence, the chosen people, the law, and so on. These are not political concepts in the strict sense, but they provide the necessary basis for properly understanding the political views expressed in the book. Part two is an analysis of the relevant passages of the "Kuzari" that contain a political message; the key sentences will be quoted, and then explained in the light of what has been said in part one. Part three will be an attempt to summarize and bring into a system all the political passages analysed in part two, or in other words: it will be attempted to outline Judah Halevi's political doctrine by describing the basic concepts of his political thought. Before proceeding to part one it is necessary to say something about Judah Halevi and his life, his main work, the "Kuzari", and its history.

Judah Halevi Ben Samuel Abulhassan was born ca. 1080 in Toledo, under Muslim rule. By birth and tradition he belonged to the upper stratum of Spanish

Jewry.¹ He was given a full education in southern Spain, not only in Jewish knowledge, but also in the best science and philosophy the Muslim culture of his time had to offer.² When he returned to Toledo, now under Christian rule, he took up the profession of a physician, but it seems that this occupation did not fulfil him.³ We also know that he had a daughter, and a grandson named Judah. That he was a relative (father-in-law or cousin) of Abraham Ibn Ezra, is often asserted, but cannot be proved. At the age of about fifty he decided to leave Spain and to settle in the Holy Land. He sailed from Granada, but the rough sea forced the ship to anchor at Alexandria (Egypt), where he stayed more than three months. He then continued to Yemen and finally reached Damascus (Syria), and Tyre (Lebanon). From this point onwards we have no further information about Judah Halevi's life, and we do not know when or whether at all he reached Palestine, when he died, or where he is buried.⁴ It seems that the fact that the Holy Land was then in Christian hands, prevented him from reaching the desired destination.

Judah Halevi lived in a time when his people were caught in the struggle between Muslims and Christians, "Arav" and "Edom". This was not only true for his native Spain, but also for the Holy Land. It was the time of the Reconquista and the Crusades. "The enemies battle like wild beasts, the princes of Eliphaz with the rams of Nevayoth, but between the two the young sheep are undone," he says in one of his poems, and "Zion is in the chains of Edom, and I am in the chains of Arav." As often during difficult times in Jewish history, many were in a Messianic or apocalyptic mood. Judah Halevi reacted in his own way to the stresses exercised on his people: in a time when the faith of Israel came under attack from both Islam and Christianity, and when in addition many Jews accepted the teachings of the Philosophers, or heresy, he wrote an argument for the orthodox, rabbinic faith of Israel, the "Kuzari".

The two great themes that dominate the book are the difference between the religion of reason and the religion of revelation,⁵ and the difference between the derivative and imitative religion (Islam and Christianity), and the true and divine faith of Israel. In other words: Judah Halevi defends revealed religion against the various philosophic creeds, but also defends Judaism against the other two main "revealed" religions that are, according to his opinion, but imitations of Israel's divine faith. Israel has a unique place in the world and in history, because it is the only nation that possesses the religious faculty of establishing direct communion with God by means of prophecy ("ha-inyan ha-elohi").

¹ JUDAH HALEVI: *The Kuzari*, N.Y., 1964, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴ CASSEL, D. (ed.): *Das Buch Kusari*, Leipzig, 1869, pp. 2-3.

⁵ JUDAH HALEVI: *The Kuzari*, N.Y., 1964, p. 25.

The historical background of the “Kuzari” is the conversion of the pagan king of Khazar and many of his people to Judaism, by a Jewish scholar. The Khazars, a Turkish tribe, founded an empire between the Black and the Caspian seas in the early Middle Ages. However, the exact historical circumstances, and also the extent of the conversions are unknown.

The book is written in the form of a dialogue, but not a Socratic one; rather serve the questions of the king as a trigger for the detailed discussions and discourses of the Jewish sage.

The original Arabic version of the Kuzari (“Kitab al-Khazari”) was for the first time translated into Hebrew by Judah ben Saul Ibn Tibbon of Granada in 1167. A second translation followed in 1200 by Judah ben Isaak ben Kardinal. The first printed edition appeared in 1506 in Fano (Italy), the second in 1547 in Venice.⁶

For the purpose of this paper Ibn Tibbon’s Hebrew translation was used with its German translation and commentary by David Cassel (1853). Hartwig Hirschfeld’s English translation has also been consulted, especially when the German version was less helpful in translating certain Hebrew terms.

PART ONE: Basic Concepts in the “Kuzari”

God

Abraham’s (or Judah Halevi’s) God is not Socrates’ or Aristotle’s God. The difference is twofold. First, the God of Israel’s faith cannot be approached by means of human intellectual efforts, or apprehended in such a manner, but only in the way He determines. Second, the philosopher’s God is a “first cause”, from which everything results as a consequence. In the existence of the universe there is no intention or will as far as this first cause is concerned; actually there is not even a coming-into-existence of that universe, it is (therefore) eternal and not created, but emanating from the first cause. Israel, on the other hand, believes in a personal God, the creator of the world, and – what is even more important – this God interferes with history and reveals himself to men, something the philosopher’s “first cause” does not, because it is believed to be too exalted.

Israel’s God is also distinct from the God of Christianity and Islam. First, of course, because of the Christian trinity. Second, in the way this God is approached. Israel does it in the way He commended his people to worship him. Christians and Muslims (and other religions) can worship him only in a self-determined fashion, or in imitation of Israel’s way. On the other hand, Judah Halevi (just as Christian or Muslim thinkers, too) avoids any kind of anthropomor-

⁶ CASSEL, D. (ed.): op. cit., pp. 15–17.

phism concerning his God, and passages in the scriptures pointing in that direction are *not* to be understood literally.

The next task is to examine the relationship between god and men, especially between God and his chosen people, and the form this relation assumes.

The Divine Influence (ha-inyan ha-elohi)

This refers to a special religious faculty that Israel possesses, the power to perceive God's revelation. This faculty is not found with other nations, because they are only the shell or peel whereas Israel is the treasure of mankind.

In addition "Divine Influence" refers also to the revelation itself. Judah Halevi uses the term without differentiating between its two distinct meanings, because they can be interpreted as two sides of the same thing, which is the relationship between God and his people. Since communication with God is a divine gift "Divine Influence", in the sense of revelation, refers to the active aspect of the God/man relationship, and "Divine Influence", in the sense of power to understand revelation, refers to its passive aspect. The revelation itself is the objective fact, the religious faculty, the subjective power to comprehend it. Judah Halevi maintains that Divine influence is something higher than anything that can be achieved by the intellectual efforts of the human mind; to him religious experience is superior to understanding by means of reason. The Divine influence, therefore, is to Judah Halevi what the intellect is to the philosopher. But religious experience is not distinguished for its own sake, but rather in order to justify and explain Israel's supernatural task and place among the nations of the world.

The Chosen People

Judah Halevi explains Israel's special position by referring to the genealogy of mankind in the book of Genesis. Adam, the first man, was given divine wisdom and knowledge, and free communion with his creator, in other words: divine influence. From Adam this gift descended upon Shet, from Shet upon Enosh, and so on, until Noah. Noah's son Shem passed it on to his son Arphaxad, and thus the divine influence passed from father to son in a direct line of descendants from Adam to Yaaqov. In the generation after Yaaqov divine influence was for the first time inherited by more than one son. All of his twelve sons (and by implication also his daughter) were worthy to perceive the divine influence. Israel, being the people of their descendants, is therefore as a whole (at least potentially) gifted with it. But other nations are not, because until the days of Yaaqov, the divine influence rested on only one son in each generation. The descendants of Kain, Cham and Yaphet, Yishmael and Esav, have no part in it. In the days of Moshe, Israel, bearing this divine destination, received the law of God (Torah). It is clear from Judah Halevi's words, that without the people of Israel there could be no Torah, and eventually Israel itself finds its *raison d'être* in the Torah. According to Judah Halevi's belief, there was no, and will be no other revelation than that of

the Torah and of Israel's later prophets, and everything that is of some truth in other religions or philosophies is already contained in the Torah.

The Law

There are two sets of law: natural and divine law. Natural law consists of the law of society, and of reason. Natural law is something that exists among many nations. The topics it deals with are demanded by human reason. Examples would be the prohibition of intercourse with certain blood-relations, or that humbleness is a duty to man. Although those laws are usually known to man without revelation, the exact form they should assume, and their details are often not.

Divine law is unknown to the gentiles, which only know the seven commandments of Noah. But Israel has received the one and true divine law, and its questions, such as circumcision, are neither demanded nor prohibited by human reason. The Torah contains both, divine law and "natural law", circumcision as well as the prohibition of incest, and deals with every sphere of human and social life: economics, morale, ritual, politics, etc.

This Torah was given to Moshe on Mount Sinai. What it does not contain explicitly was and is developed from it by authorized men such as the priests, the judges, and the men of the Synhedrion. What is of special interest here is the political aspect, in the strict and in the wider sense. Concerning the latter the Land of Israel must be mentioned as the last basic concept of the Kuzari.

The Land

The land of Israel is a chosen and promised land. The difference between it and other countries corresponds to that between Israel and the gentiles, or between the Hebrew language and other languages.

The importance of the promised land lies basically in the fact that the divine influence is active there more than anywhere else. The gift of prophecy occurred in the promised land, and if, in a few cases, it occurred somewhere else (such as Abraham in Ur, or Daniel's prophecy in Babylon), the prophecy there noted dealt with the land of Israel or with the return to it.

Jerusalem was the dwelling place of the shekhinah (the divine presence) during the period of the first temple. In the time of the second temple its substitute, the Bat Qol (heavenly voice) was heard.

Even in his own time, according to Judah Halevi, without Shekhinah, prophecy of Bat Qol, the land of Israel has a special position, just because of the fact that it once was distinguished by the divine presence.

As a consequence, living in Israel is a greater merit than living elsewhere. Every commandment kept in the land is worth more than one kept in the Diaspora. Even the air and the atmosphere of the holy land have a purifying effect on man.

In this emphasis on the holiness of the land one can sense Judah Halevi's own personal decision to travel to the promised land.

PART TWO: Analysis of relevant passages in the “Kuzari”

Book I, 43: “He (God) described where men sought their habitations; how arts arose, how they founded states, and the chronology from Adam up to this day.” We are told here that the foundation of states occurred from the time of Kain on (according to the Torah), and that the foundation of states by men was contained in God’s providence.

Book I, 83: “God sent Moshe and Ahron before Pharaoh ...” “They (the Israelites) were guided by pillars of cloud and fire, and led by Moshe and Ahron, the venerated inspired chiefs ...” God installed a “theocratic” régime in Israel in the true sense of the word; their leadership was based on the communication with God.

Book I, 95: “The seed (of Abraham) further produced Moshe, Ahron and Miriam, Bezalel, Ohaliab, and the chiefs of the tribes, the seventy elders, who were all endowed with the spirit of prophecy.” The people was represented by the seventy elders, on which the divine influence rested, and Moshe mediated between the people and God.

Book I, 97: “The pious kings destroyed them (that is the forbidden places of worship, called heights), lest they be venerated beside the house chosen by God in which He was to be worshipped according to His own ordinances.” In the time of the first temple the form of political leadership had changed, because kings now ruled the people. The principle, however, had not changed: the pious kings fulfilled God’s will just as Ahron and Moshe, the priest and the prophet had done (for example the king Yoshiyahu).

Book II, 2: “We see the same in human judges to whom questions are put. They decide according to the Torah, making some people happy others miserable.” This passage actually deals with the divine attributes, and is important to our subject insofar as it states explicitly that legal decisions in Israel are to be made on the basis of divine law (Torah).

Book II, 12: “Priority belongs, in the first instance, to the people which, as stated before is the essence of the nations. In the second instance, it would belong to the country... No other place would share the distinction of the divine influence...” When the people are exiled and do not inhabit the land, there can not be, as a rule, divine influence and prophecy with the people. Consequently God-inspired leadership is also impossible outside the promised land; and if it leadership is also impossible outside the promised land; and if it occurs (such as Moshe’s leadership in Egypt) its objective is either taking possession of, or return to the land.

Book II, 28: “From there (the ark of the covenant) went forth a twofold knowledge, firstly the scriptural knowledge, whose bearers were the priests; secondly the prophetic knowledge which was in the hands of the prophets. Both classes were, so to speak, the people’s watchful advisers, who compiled the chronicles. They, therefore, represent the head of the people.” These two aspects of supernaturally influenced leadership were represented by Moshe and Ahron,

and thereafter by the other prophets and the kohanim. In the time of Shemuel a third aspect, royalty, was added.

Book II, 48: "(There are) the national laws, being the basis and preamble of the divine law, preceding it in character and time, and being indispensable in the administration of every human society." Rational (and social) law is a necessary precondition for the existence of a human society. Israel, in addition to this, was given the divine law. Without the social and rational laws being observed, even Israel cannot last on divine laws alone.

Book II, 56: "It never could come to such a pass that a tribe or family would be reduced to poverty, because He (God) ordained the return of the whole property in the year of jubilee in the same status as it was in the first year of the distribution of the land." This law is interpreted by Judah Halevi as having a redistributive effect concerning property and preventing accumulation of too much property in a few hands over a long period. In addition to legal justice the divine law therefore is also concerned with social justice.

Book II, 58: "It was one of the wonderful traits of God that his displeasure for minor transgressions was shown on the walls of houses and in clothes, whilst for more grievous sins the bodies were more or less severely stricken. The priests were appointed to study this profound science and to discover to what extent these trials were God's punishment." This passage mentions another very important function of the leaders (or one class of leaders, the priests): to study and interpret the signs and miracles God uses to pronounce his will. Their decision in this respect, were a source of law.

Book II, 64: "The members of the Synhedrion were bound not to let any science, real and fictitious escape their knowledge, magic and foreign languages included." If one elder died another of the same stamp succeeded him. This could not be otherwise, as all branches of science were required for the practice of the law." The members of the highest ruling body in the time of the second temple were to be universally educated men in order to be able to understand, interpret and apply the law correctly.

Book III, 3: "A pious man is, so to speak, the guardian of his country, who gives to its inhabitants provisions and all they need. He is so just that he wrongs no one, nor does he grant anyone more than his due."

Book III, 5: "The pious man is nothing but a prince who is obeyed by his senses, and by his mental as well as his physical faculties, which he governs corporeally as it is written: He that ruleth his spirit (is better) than he that taketh a city." "He is fit to rule, because if he were the prince of a country he would be as just as he is to his body and soul." This comparison works two ways: the pious must be like a ruler, and the ruler must be pious; in other words: only the pious (he who rules his spirit) is entitled to rule his people.

Book III, 5: "He (the pious ruler) arranges his community in the same manner as Moshe arranged his people round Mount Sinai". Here can be found the very important concept of the ideal community or state which also exists in Islamic political thought (the communities of Muhammad in Medina, and of Ali in Kufa). In the Jewish context it is the people of Israel under Moshe's leader-

ship at Mount Sinai. We understand that in Judah Halevi's opinion every ideal and God-inspired Jewish state should assume that form and spirit.

Book III, 11: "Thus the most prominent of the sages, during the time of the second temple, saw a certain apparition and heard a kind of voice (Bat Qol): This is the degree of the pious, which is next to that of prophets." Those leading the people after the first exile were also under divine influence, not prophets, so they heard the heavenly voice, its substitute.

Book III, 17: "A prayer, in order to be heard, must be recited *for* a multitude, or *in* a multitude or, an individual who could take the place of a multitude. None such, however, is to be found in our age." Judah Halevi stresses the importance of the community vis-à-vis the individual, here in purely religious matters, but as will be seen later, also in more political concerns.

Book III, 19: "For the relations of the individual (to the community) is as the relations of the single limb to the body." The well-being of the community depends on the correct of the individual; but the individual that acts against the interests of the community, acts also against his/her own interest.

Book III, 26: "The majority (of copies of the scripture) cannot be faulty. The minority can, then, be neglected. The same process applies to traditions. If the minority differs, we turn to the majority." This is the principle of the majority which is of interest here because it is also applied in the legal process: decisions are made according to the opinion of the majority, be it concerning the wording of the scriptures, the understanding of traditions or the laws, or a death sentence.

Book III, 31: "Without doubt the book (of law) was preserved in memory with all its vowels, divisions of syllables and accents; by the priests, because they required it ... in order to teach the people; by the kings, because they were commanded: and it shall be with him and he shall read therein all the days of his life. The judges had to know it in order to give the judgement; the members of the Synhedrion, because they were warned: keep therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom and understanding." Put differently this passage states that religious and political leadership in Israel is possible and permissible only on the basis, and with the knowledge of the Torah.

Book III, 38: "The view of the rabbies is based on the tradition of the prophets." By criticizing the Karaites for their speculative way of studying and interpreting the Torah, Judah Halevi emphasizes the importance of orthodox tradition for the understanding and application of the law.

Book III, 39: "Our law is linked to the ordination given to Moshe on Sinai, or sprung from the place which the Lord shall choose... Its mediators were the judges, overseers, priests, and the members of the Synhedrion. Disobedience to the priest or judge is placed on a par with the gravest transgressions..." Those who rule the people, priests as well as judges and sanhedrim, have the authority to mediate the law, and (by implication) also the authority to interpret and apply it according to their best judgement and in accordance with orthodox tradition.

Book III, 41: "The words: 'You shall not add to the words that I command you...' refer to 'that which I commanded you through Moshe and any prophet

from among thy brethren...' They further refer to regulations laid down in common by priests and judges... For they have divine assistance, and would never, on account on their large number, concur in anything contradicting the law." Here is stated explicitly what was only implied in paragraph 39: those who rule are authorized to develop and extend the law of Moshe.

Book III, 65: "... there flourished undisturbed... the seventy learned members of the Synhedrion on whose authority officials were appointed or deposed. ...These seventy had a hundred followers, the latter thousands; for, seventy such accomplished men can best be selected from hundreds standing beneath them and so on by degrees." This passage mentions two interesting details of the political system in Israel during the time of the second temple: the Synhedrion's gradual election, and its authority to appoint and depose officials.

Book IV, 3: "To the chosen among his creatures he has given an inner eye which sees things as they really are... He to whom this eye has been given is clearsighted indeed. Other people who appear to him as blind, he guides on their way." This is another quality of those who are entitled to rule: the inner eye, the ability to see things as they really are, intelligence and wisdom. This must be understood as an additional quality of the ruler, whose first requirement is piety.

PART THREE: Basic concepts of political thought in the "Kuzari"

The Kuzari is not a work in which a detailed political doctrine can be found. In this aspect it differs for example from Plato's writings. But what can be found in the "Kuzari" are certain basic principles of political thought from which a more elaborate doctrine could be derived. These basic principles, however, are not always formulated explicitly anywhere in the Kuzari but must sometimes be reconstructed from hints, or the context or by implication; in addition the relevant passages are scattered throughout the book, as has been seen in part two.

There may be different ways of interpreting and understanding the political thought contained in the Kuzari, but it is suggested here that its political message can be reduced to seven fundamental concepts:

- 1) The Torah, and the kinds of laws it contains, and the orthodox tradition derived from it;
- 2) The promised land;
- 3) The Ruler and his qualities, as well as the different types of rulers, – in the past and in our time;
- 4) Rule (and judgement) as related to the law;
- 5) Justice;
- 6) The Community, majority and individual;
- 7) The ideal community in the past;

In the following pages every one of these concepts will be explained in more detail.

The Torah

The Torah, according to the classification of Judah Halevi, contains three kinds of law: divine laws, social laws and the laws of reason; the latter two can be summarized under the category of natural law. The meaning of those concepts has been explained in part one. Israel is the only nation to have received divine law – the Torah. From the Torah is derived orthodox tradition (as opposed, for example, to the tradition of the Karaites). According to Judah Halevi, the divine law and the true tradition (that is the Rabbinic tradition) must be the sole basis of religious and political leadership in Israel. This idea can be found in a number of passages, but is especially emphasized in Book III, 31 and 38.

The Promised Land

The promised land was distinguished by the presence of the divine influence. Even in the present time (and in this matter there is no difference between Judah Halevi's century and the twentieth century) the land of Israel has a special importance for that reason. Once, when the divine influence was present, God-inspired leadership was of course only possible within the boundaries of the promised land (with the one exception of Moshe in Egypt); but also in Judah Halevi's days, in the absence of the divine influence, the land of Israel retains its special importance, for the Jewish people in general, and consequently also as the location of the awaited future religious, national and political revival of Israel. This idea must not be taken as the same as modern Zionism, but certainly it inspired and influenced Zionism.

The Ruler

The types of leaders, or authorities distinguished by Judah Halevi are: the Priest, the Prophet, and the King. The first two are explained in II, 28. But the classical "three crowns" belong to the past; in Judah Halevi's days the temple had already been destroyed, prophecy had ceased and the monarchy had vanished, too. Therefore in the Kuzari another type of leader is advocated: the just ruler who is pious and possesses the "inner eye" – he is entitled to rule. The qualities of the pious are explained at length in book III, 5, the inner eye in IV, 3.

The institutional form of leadership has changed in Jewish history, and so have the historical circumstances; but the idea has not changed: rule according to God's law and will.

Rule and Judgement

The pious and wise rule according to the divine law, and the judges judge according to it. If the provisions of the Torah (or its Rabbinic tradition) do not suffice, those who rule, be they priests, kings or sanhedrim, have the authority

to extend and develop further the existing law, according to their best understanding (as long as this does not contradict the tradition). This idea is found in book III, 41, where the biblical words “you shall not add ... etc.” are explained as being directed only to the mass of the common people, in order not to endanger their belief.

Justice

It is probably not an exaggeration to say that justice is the central value of Judaism. Justice therefore, plays also a central role in Judah Halevi's conception of society as it once was, and as it ought to be. By justice not only legal justice is meant (which is so to say a matter-of-course), but also what today we would call social justice. This is exemplified in book II, 86 by citing the biblical commandment concerning the year of jubilee, the purpose of which has been mentioned above.

The Community, the Majority and the Individual

The community has priority over the individual in most of the cases; this is exemplified by the special case of prayer (book III, 17), but holds true also in general: in book III, 19 it is said that the relationship between individual and community is like that between the single limb and the whole body.

Connected to this is the notion that the opinion or decision of a majority is superior to that of the minority. This idea is expressed concerning the differing versions of the scriptures, and concerning the choice between different traditions in book III, 26. We also know from historical sources that the principle of majority was applied and accepted already in the time of the second temple in the political sphere, and it can be presumed that Judah Halevi approves of that principle without stating it explicitly, in the light of what is said in book III, 26.

The Ideal Community

The ideal community is that of Moshe at Mount Sinai, because every pious ruler will arrange his people according to this model (book III, 5). Of course this is an ideal which never can be reached, especially not in our times, but the pious ruler should strive for it according to his best ability. It is interesting to note that the ideal community is the one and basic exception to the principle of superiority of the promised land stated above (p. 15), which says that God-inspired rule (that is rule under divine influence) is a distinction shared only by the land of Israel. It should also be noted that the exact qualities of the ideal community are described nowhere in the Kuzari in much detail.

Conclusion

The political thought of Judah Halevi that I have tried to outline in this article remains only a start and a hint, at least as far as the “Kuzari” is concerned. But it was also not his intention to produce a detailed political doctrine when he wrote the work, rather he aimed at a more philosophical and religious purpose. Due to the historical circumstances – the absence of Jewish national independence and sovereignty – the beginnings of a political doctrine contained in the Kuzari was not developed much further, nor was it applied in reality. Only modern Zionism brought a change concerning this fact; but to what extent Judah Halevi’s political thought has influenced modern Zionism in its religious form, remains to be examined.

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DESHABHAKTA: THE LEADERS OF THE ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN THE EYES OF MARATHI NATIONALISTS

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The impact of the Italian independence movement of the 19th century, the 'Risorgimento', on the Marathi nationalism at the beginning of the 20th century shows the continuity of the process of the inclusion of the Indian society into the mainstream of changes that had occurred earlier in Europe. The impact is, of course, at the intellectual level but, together with the renewal of certain practices at the popular level, gives a "European" legitimacy of the Indian nationalist movement to the British administration and public opinion. On the other hand, the interconnection between ideas and practices is, traditionally speaking, normal within Dharma, the law of the Universe, even at the international level. This is not a voluntary acceptance, as it is carried on by European nationalism, but is based on birth.

The idea of a common culture, will and a fixed territory with 'natural' boundaries are also a product of the 'European' mind. Italy and its leaders, previously praised by the British 'liberals', seemed to be closer to it than other 'European' nationalist movements due to their sense of devotion and duty and the political fragmentation of the country.

Risorgimento, the 19th century movement for the national unification of Italy

The word Risorgimento is never mentioned, but the thoughts and examples of the leaders of the Italian nationalist movement made an important impact on the Marathi-speaking intelligentsia from roughly the end of the 19th century to the First World War.¹ At that time many Marathi and English publications, including periodicals, dealt with this topic, some of them bearing the brunt of censorship and, occasionally, prosecution. The idea that they could escape this by using foreign examples implied that what was permissible in Britain could have also been permitted in her colonies, but this was not so. The topic was popular for many reasons: many Marathi-speaking intellectuals followed the lead of Bengalis who had known of the lives of Italian leaders for a longer time, having travelled more extensively in Europe. The sympathy towards the Risorgi-

¹ For the research work I am indebted to V.S. Anand, V.S. Godbolc, V.G. Kale and M. Sonpatki.

mento began among the intelligentsia of Bengal as part of the *Bhadralok*² and it was mainly moderate in its appeal.

It was Surendranath Banerjea (1848–1925) who fascinated young audiences with his *Lectures* (1876–1880).³ The message was not for Bengal alone, but for India as a whole. Banerjea came to know Mazzini's work while studying in London to pass the ICS examinations. From Banerjea the message went to Lala Lajpat Rai,⁴ who considered himself to be one of his disciples, and wrote the first Urdu biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Shivaji (in 1892, 1893 and 1896). The books were also translated into English and other Indian languages.

It is interesting to note in this case, as in many others, the foreign examples of NST heroes came first in time, and were then followed by their Indian counterparts, who at that time were probably not considered national enough. Other Bengalis joined in this hymn of praise and spread the message, for example Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848–1909) who had visited Italy in 1871 and at the end of his career became Revenue Minister of Baroda state which was ruled by a Maratha, the Gaekwar,⁵ Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950) who joined him in Baroda as the Principal of a National School, the *Sri Ganganath Bharatiya Sarva Vidyalaya*.⁶

The sources

Much of the Marathi prose of the period, composed of translations of English works, included biographies of foreign heroes. The impact of this literature (*charitra*) had always been strong in Marathi-speaking areas, but it was mainly hagiographic. Such were the *Bhaktavijaya* or the *Bhaktalilamrita* of the poet-saints of Maharashtra. This literature received a new impetus dwelling on historical heroes of the past, utilizing the old *bakhars* (narratives of famous heroic exploits), letters, *akhbars* and *rojnisis* (diaries); it maintained, on the whole, the poetic flair of the Bhakti hymns and stories, of the heroic ballads (*povadas*) and of the love poems (*lavni*).

As the British government favoured English literature, Marathi acted as a means of circulation of Western literature to the local population. During the

² BROOMFIELD, J.H. 1968. *Elite conflicts in a plural society; twentieth century Bengal*. Berkeley.

³ The first being at the Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha of 2/4/1876, reproduced in *Speeches and writings of the Hon. S. Banerjea, selected by himself*. Madras, 1918, pp. 391–416.

⁴ Lala Lajpat Rai (1865–1928), Panjabi *vakil*, one of the principal Indian nationalists, an influential member of Congress and a great supporter of the Arya Samaj.

⁵ Dutt's *Baroda Administration Report of 1902–3 and 1903–4* (Bombay 1905) remain classic examples of an economic-administrative analysis of an Indian state.

⁶ Founded by Aurobindo, Kesavrao Deshpande and others near Baroda, its name taken from a temple on the banks of the Narmada. The British Resident intervened, however, and both the school and the association promoter of the school (*Bhavanamandir*) were forced to close down.

whole of the 19th century this material was first translated into standard Marathi and then adapted to a form closer to spoken Marathi, the *Nagari* script replacing the *Modi* script. Certain forms of traditional literature received the same modifications, for example with the passage from the *Chronicles* to *Historical Essays*, from the wondrous biographies of saints to those of a Western stamp. They were still called *Atmasharitra* (vicissitudes of the soul), but the term no longer carried its original meaning; it was not a question of personal liberation but, on the contrary, of the glorification or even mundane successes.⁷ The process, of course, was slow and complex.

The Appeal to the Nation by "Moderates" and "Extremists"

Two streams of thought were mingled from the start: some underlined the ethical sense of duty of Mazzini, Garibaldi and other Italian leaders towards their country on a highly personal basis, the other stressed Mazzini's concept of a "Nation". In the first instance the examples could be adopted without engendering a chain of political consequences, while in the second the stress would have been ideological. There were differences about the concept of a "Nation", and thus about the order to be given to a future India. Leaving aside the peculiarities of Gandhian thought, the so-called Moderates aimed at a *Nation in Making*, reflected in the title of Banerjea's famous autobiography.⁸ They emphasized the institutional and administrative aspects, favouring the rights of individuals over those of the State. The "Extremists" talked about the Nation as a given historical, social, political and religious fact since time immemorial, and emphasized the duties of individuals towards the community, decrying the presence of foreigners as an obstacle of national unity.

The more the political means were constitutional and representative, the more necessary social reforms seemed for the formation of the Nation. Unity and Independence would follow automatically, with the British model, including its educational institutions, being the favoured one. By contrast, the more the existence of Indian National Unity was stressed, the more the British presence was resented. Models of personal and national behaviour were then sought elsewhere, both within India and without.⁹ Likewise, interpretations of *mantras*

⁷ SONTHEIMER, G.D. *Biography and autobiography in Marathi literature: an introduction*, pp. 54–57; TULPUL, S.G., *Spiritual autobiography in Marathi: a tradition lost and renewed*, pp. 57–68, ROTHERMUND, I. *Biographical writings in Marathi*, pp. 69–80 – all in "Biography and Autobiography in Modern South Asian Literatures", Volume 5 (1976) of "South Asian Digest of Regional Writing", Heidelberg, 1979.

⁸ *A Nation in Making, being the reminiscences of fifty years of public life*, Bombay 1925.

⁹ The spectrum ranges from the Carbonari of Italy to the Prussia of Bismarck, from the Piedmont of Cavour to Mazzini's bands, from Sinn Fein to the Russian nihilists. Interest focussed on people, however, as *exempla vitae*, on their personal life and sense of duty rather than their political activities or writings. Often vision (*darshan*), even without the articulation of thinking, was sufficient.

adopted as national slogans, such as *Svaraj* and *Svatantra*, varied considerably. However, these positions formed not a contrast but a continuum. The concept in making already implied a project of a social reality, and social and educational associations helped make one aware of such a reality. Nor was it necessarily true that the so-called extremists were social conservatives; they simply did not want changes to be instituted by a foreign ruling power, a feeling also true of Gandhi.

The situation in Bombay Province

The time dedicated to the ideas and examples of European (continental) nationalism is limited to a period of 15 years, up to the outbreak of World War I, which also spans the clashes of the Moderates and Extremists in Bombay Province.¹⁰

It is important to stress that, in Maharashtra, the social reformers seemed to neglect the Italian Independence Movement in their speeches and in the papers controlled by them. The example of S. Banerjea taught a lesson, however, after the first emotional reaction he could not accept the revolutionary and violent approach of Mazzini's thought and action.

In Bombay, where the utilitarian approach was stronger than in Bengal, and magnified as the symbol of everything new, the intelligentsia stood by the Indian National Congress as an association willing to work inside the political and administrative framework provided by British rule. The so-called Moderates were extremely diversified in Bombay because, on the one hand, the reformist ideas had a relevance within individual communities (chiefly among the Parsis) and, on the other, particular interests were aroused by disparate alliances. The whole was united by a common Western education, which aimed to reform society and create a political class destined to replace the British in power.

Among the social reformers, interest in the past was severely limited; they did not talk about independence and did not need the examples of other countries apart from England, whose constitutional development remained their main point of reference. However, among the social reformers of Poona, there were contrasts in the management of the Education Societies in the curricula of Fergusson and Deccan Colleges, in the opening of the printing presses, in the publication and circulation of books and periodicals. The political, social and cultural atmospheres of these two cities were, in fact, strongly contrasting; Bombay had an economic *raison d'être* and a British inspiration while Poona remained aware of its Peshwai historical tradition, its leaders, particularly Bal

¹⁰ For the history of Marathi literature then see BHATE, G.C. 1939. *History of modern Marathi literature, 1800-1938*, Mahad; DESHPANDE, A.N. 1954. *Adhunika Marathi vanmayacha itihasa* (2 volumes), Poona. RAJADYAKSA, M.V. "Marathi literature from 1800 to 1920" and PARVATE, T.V. "Marathi literature during 1920-1970" in the "Language and Literature" sections of the Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Bombay 1971.

Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920),¹¹ feeling that they could better guide the nationalist movement given their close ties with local society and tradition.¹²

We know that it is difficult to have a clear-cut identification of nationalist leaders, because different streaks overlap in areas, groups and even persons. Furthermore, while the Poona leadership consisted mainly of Chitpavan Brahmans, we cannot be certain that nationalists dominated among them.¹³ Chitpavans dominated many political and social movements,¹⁴ but rather as individuals than as an organized group. In fact, individualism among Brahmans has been more evident than among other communities.¹⁵

One should differentiate between the sociological and ideological aspects of the problem. Sociologically, there is a tendency among Brahmans to accept certain ideas, but this does not mean that there is a definite “plot”. Certainly, Brahmans on the whole seem to have been more concerned with the *ancien régime*, especially in the Poona area. The images and examples of the past were still vivid in local minds, and probably represented a more clear-cut “Hindu” way of thought.

Meanwhile, the strong connection, without actual identification, between religion and politics in this area gave the chance of a religious-political recruitment. At the the end of the 19th century Tilak recruited the God Ganapati’s cult

¹¹ For biographies refer to CASHMAN, R.J. 1975. *The myth of the Lokamanya: Tilak and mass politics in Maharashtra*. Berkeley; KEER, D. 1959. *Lokamanya Tilak, father of the Indian Freedom Struggle*. Bombay; KARANDIKAR, S.L. 1957. *Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Hercules and Prometheus of Modern India*. Poona; SHAY, T.L. 1956. *The legacy of the Lokamanya; the political philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak*. London.

¹² “Poona is rich in its political tradition . . . Bombay, we speak of native Bombay, is richer than Poona but the attention as well as the time of our Bombay commercial men is entirely taken by their pursuits and in consequence the work of formulating a scheme of commercial revival must be done by other hands”. Tilak in *The Mahratta*, Sep. 6, 1891 and Sep. 22, 1895, quoted in CASHMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹³ For analysing the success of many Chitpavans, their family histories (*kula vrittanta*) must be consulted. See PATTERSON, M. 1968. Chitpavan Brahman family-histories: sources for the study of social structure and social change in Maharashtra. In: SINGER, M. and COHN, B. (eds). *Structure and change in Indian society*. Chicago.

¹⁴ It was thanks to Chitpavans migrating to the Peshwa court in the 18th century that the memory and often the nostalgia of the time of Maratha Independence, which was destroyed by the British in 1818, remained alive. See JOHNSON, G. 1970. Chitpavan Brahmans and politics in Western India in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries. In: LEACH, E.R. and MUKHERJEE, S.N. (eds), *Elites in South Asia*. Cambridge, University Press, pp. 95–118; also TUCKER, R. 1970. From Dharmashastra to politics: aspects of social authority in Nineteenth century Maharashtra. *Indian Economic and Social History Review* VII.3, pp. 325–346.

¹⁵ See DIVEKAR, V.D. 1981. *Survey of material in Marathi on the economic and social history of India*. Poona, BISM, esp. pp. 26–30 and 54–76. There was no Chitpavan caste journal until 1940.

and also revived Shivaji's example.¹⁶ There were also political assassinations by the Chaphekar brothers. The partition of Bengal, the threat of communal divisions, the foundation of the Muslim League, the defeat of Russia by Japan in the same year¹⁷ and the Morley-Minto reforms of political representation all furthered the desire for a local response which had not as yet an ideological frame.

The Italian examples

It is impressive to see how people from a distant country like Italy were adopted as representatives of local grievances and as examples of a sense of duty. Notwithstanding the modernizing factor of these movements, the idea of using examples from abroad only occurred to some nationalists at a later stage. The title given to foreign nationalists was sometimes *vibhuti* (somebody endowed with creative powers, of divine origin). No wonder that Mazzini could be born again in India as the notion of reincarnation (*samsara*) had always been a factor of local integrations.¹⁸ He was, indeed, a *kavi*, a national bard, just as many Indian nationalists considered themselves to be *kaviraj*, the bards of the nascent Nation-state. The *kavya* were contrasted with the ritualists, the Brahmans or *Dharmalok*. No longer the legitimizers of royal power, the new *gurus* took into their hands their own destiny.

But why Italy? Evidently there were numerous things in common¹⁹ such as the presence of religion, regional diversity yet with an overriding sense of cultural unity among states (*sansthan* in the Maratha tradition), and the possibility of having Italian authors read in translation. This last, of course, shows again the percolation of influence through a British filter present in educated Indians. Mazzini spent a large part of his life in London and Garibaldi had received a royal welcome there. England had helped the expeditions against the Bourbons of Naples and, furthermore, all the Risorgimento leaders were staunchly anti-clerical and liberal without being revolutionary.

¹⁶ CASHMAN, R. 1970. The political recruitment of God Ganapati. *Indian Economic and Social History Review*. VII.3, pp. 347-373. The Ganesa *utsav* remains even today the most impressive mass manifestation of religious feelings in Maharashtra.

¹⁷ No European state, however, supported Russia, which was considered an Oriental state by many. The Pan-Asian feelings are effectively described by SARKAR, B.K. 1922. *The futurism of Young Asia and other essays in the relations between East and West*. Berlin.

¹⁸ It may be mentioned that Muslims, unlike Hindus, found it difficult to seek inspiration outside their culture.

¹⁹ See e.g. ANAND, V.S. 1969. L'Italia di Mazzini nel Risorgimento Indiano. *Il Pensiero Mazziniano* XXIV.6, pp. 47-51 and SRIVASTAVA, G. 1982. *Mazzini and his impact on the Indian National Movement*. Allahabad. Anand, whom I met in London is a convinced follower of Mazzini and, as a member of the Greater London Council, he helped to preserve the house in which Mazzini lived in London, as well as install a commemorative plaque. Srivastava has been a student of Emilia Morelli, Professor of the History of the Risorgimento in Rome.

The Centenaries and their varying impact

The centenaries of the heroes of the Risorgimento, of Mazzini in 1905, of Garibaldi in 1907 and of Cavour in 1910 gave the opportunity to the Maharashtra press to cite them as examples that Indians could also follow. The lead came from the weeklies, *Kesari* ("The Lion") and *The Mahratta*, published in Marathi and English, and edited by Tilak and his lieutenant N.C. Kelkar (1872–1947), respectively. Both weeklies were founded by the Deccan education society in 1881, itself founded by Tilak and G.G. Agarkar, the social reformer who left it in 1887 to start his own periodical, *Sudharak* ("The Reformer"). The *Kesari* was the largest of all weeklies in Maharashtra (at 20,000), though *The Mahratta* had a much smaller circulation (1,000).

Kelkar was the first to write a biography of Garibaldi, and it had five editions by 1944, becoming a standard text for High School examinations, and was the most widespread text on the Risorgimento which was allowed by the censors.²⁰ It has a vast and meticulous list of dates, though it ignores the earlier biography of Lala Lajpat Rai, and is neither very personal, nor attempts any comparisons with India with the exception of the Appendix, there the oath (*sapath*) of the members of Young Italy (*Tarun Italy*) is an evident reference to the possible tasks of Indian nationalists. It also quotes the controversy between the three major leaders, in which Cavour emerges with the most credit, being called *mutsaddi* (the statesman) by the author. Overall the book reflects the trend of Tilakists in favouring practical results over abstract ideas.

Tilak's editorials and trials

Tilak's editorials on Garibaldi and Mazzini²¹ were translated – among other publications – into English as part of the legal proceedings he instituted against Sir Valentine Chirol. Chapter IV of the latter's *The Indian unrest*, published while Tilak was in Mandalay Jail,²² had portrayed him as one who wished to restore "the Brahmin dominion", as a "fanatic racialist" and a major source of inspiration for terrorism.²³ It is interesting to analyse the titles of these articles – Tilak styles Garibaldi *vibhuti*, the same term that he used for Shivaji and which

²⁰ KELKAR, N.C. 1902. *Ghyaribaldi*. Poona.

²¹ *Eka vibhutichi satsanvatsarik jayanti* (Centenary of the birth of a hero), *Kesari* 9/7/1907, and *Italian desabhakta Mazini* (The Italian patriot), *ibid.*, 23/7/1907.

²² By Macmillan in London in 1910.

²³ *In the High Court of Justice: Tilak plaintiff, Chirol and McMillan & Co. defendant*. 2 volumes Bombay, 1917. The articles on Garibaldi and Mazzini are found on pp. 911–917 and 926–930 of Volume 2. It does not seem that the translation of B.R. Kudalkar, Chief Translator for H.M. High Court of Bombay emphasizes Tilak's anti-British sentiments more than necessary.

also appears in the Gita, as “somebody endowed with creative powers”.²⁴ The same can be said for *deshabhakta*, used for Mazzini, which is a modernization of *devabhakta* (“devoted to God”), signalling the transfer of allegiance from God to Country.

In the first editorial, Tilak compares the centenary festivities (*utsav*) of Garibaldi and Shivaji. The former was attended by the king of Italy, Victor Emmanuel, and his subjects (*praja*), in spite of Garibaldi’s death sentence for high treason (*rajadroh*), while the latter were ignored by the British authorities (*angrezi adhikari*) even though Shivaji had been their friend. The parallels are drawn between Italy and India, geographically and climatically. Also, Italians – like Indians – are by nature affectionate (*premal*), lovers of pleasure (*haosi*), happy (*ulhasi*); the greatness of Rome is compared to that of Ujjain and Delhi; England herself was under Roman dominion, while in later times a divided Italy was subject to the Austrian Empire. These references were not purely casual, but were suggested by Kelkar, since Tilak otherwise had little interest in Italy.

Tilak also dedicated a series of editorials and comments to the Irish Question and the activities of Sinn Fein, the party of armed rebellion. Indeed he took the idea of Home Rule from them, called *Svaraj* (self-government), which entailed both a boycott of British products and the more positive concept of *svadesi*, the defence and patronage of locally manufactured goods. Tilak was more interested in *Svaraj* than in *Svatantra* (independence), a constructive programme as opposed to the negative concept of the Bengali Bhadrakal and the Punjabi Arya Samaj.

Finally, Tilak tried to turn Shivaji – founder of the Maratha *Svaraj* – into a pan-Indian hero, in cooperation with Lala Lajpat Rai, who had written a biography of him in 1897. He was successful at least in Bengal, thanks to the ideal alliance between Bhavani and Shivaji. Bhavani was the family deity of Shivaji’s clan, the Bhonsla, and at the same time is another name for Kali, the most revered goddess of Bengal.

Tilak: Garibaldi and Mazzini as parallels to Shivaji and Ramdas

Tilak cannot separate the personality of Garibaldi from that of his *guru* Mazzini; the *guru*-disciple relationship is indeed characteristic of India and Shivaji and Ramdas may be offered as a parallel to the Italian case. Mazzini acts against the institutions and the favourable situation of the time, something which Ramdas failed to do. His republican ideas (*prajasatti rajya*), however, are an obstacle for India: in Italy Piedmont is like a Native State, *Sansthan*, whose economic support in India for Tilak’s causes was well known. On the one hand a new *Chatrapan* (king of the *dharma*) may appear, but, on the other, the

²⁴ Again, in 1927, V.B. KALE calls Mazzini *vibhuti*, along with 11 other Indian and European heroes, in his book, *Bara vibhuti*, published in Aundh *samsthan*. The rendering of *vibhuti* in this paper follows V.P. VARMA’s *Modern Indian political thought* (Agra, 1980, p. 227).

Maratha nobility may hinder Brahman – non-Brahman unity, as was the case with the Maharaja of Kolhapur.²⁵

Tilak also includes in his pantheon of heroes Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, whose practical spirit he appreciates. The king and Garibaldi are portrayed as brothers, while the clash between the latter and Cavour is seen as exclusively motivated by the transfer of Nice (Garibaldi's native land) to Austria (*sic*). Both Mazzini and Garibaldi are appreciated for their principled behaviour and sense of sacrifice; for example Mazzini remained a bachelor and made a vow of chastity (*brahmacari*) for the good of his country. While Mazzini was seen as a poet (*kavi*) with the power of vision, Cavour was the *muttsaddi* (diplomat).

Garibaldi as a soldier and farmer was not interested in the material aspects of life; he is *rashtrabhakta vira* (national hero) who prepares the sacrifice in the *Homakunda* (the pit where the ritual fire is lit). Victor Emmanuel is *rashtrabhakta sansthanik* (the national ruler) who prepares himself for the initiation (*diksa*) of war for the emancipation of his country, and behaves in general like Yuddhisthira, the personification of Duty in the Mahabharata. Indeed, the whole Italian experience is assimilated to Vedic sacrifice and the holy war described in the epic. The anticlerical aspect of Garibaldi is almost ignored: Hindu institutions are different and the only negative hint is addressed to the Pope whose authority is likened to that enjoyed by the four Shankaracharyas of India, the representatives of Brahmanical orthodoxy that was vigorously opposed by the likes of Tilak and Ranade.

As one can see by these examples, the protagonists of the Risorgimento were successfully adopted to meet Indian requirements; yet Tilak's interpretation differs greatly from Gandhi's, expressed in *Hind Svaraj*, written in 1909. The latter felt that no attempt was made to change Italians either before or after Independence, and that Mazzini's ideals were sacrificed to political results.²⁶ But what mattered most to Tilak was the recovery of the Indian tradition. The six years spent in Mandalay Prison (1908–1914) enabled him to complete the research which he started with his *The Orion: researches into the antiquities of the Vedas* (1893) and *The Arctic home of the Aryans* (1903). From the Vedas he moved on to Bhakti, from the scripts of revelation to those of tradition, with his articulated interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita.²⁷

²⁵ COUPLAND, J.F.S. 1973. The Maharaja of Kolhapur and the non-Brahman movement. *Modern Asian Studies* VII.2, pp. 209–225. OMVEDT, G. 1976. *Cultural revolt in a colonial society: the non-Brahman movement in Western India 1873 to 1930*. Poona.

²⁶ *Hind Svaraj*, Chapter XV; *Italy and India* (Ahmedabad 1938), pp. 97–102.

²⁷ In *Srimad Bhagavadgita rahasya* (The secret of the Gita), Poona, 1915. For an interpretation of Tilak's works, see VARMA, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–281, for a comparison of Gandhi and Tilak on the same topic see FASANA, E. 1988. *Gandhi, Mahatma e uomo politico*. Trieste, pp. 58–62, and GOSAVI, D.K. 1983. *Tilak, Gandhi and Gita*. Bombay.

N.C. Kelkar's editorials on Italy and his political praxis

Kelkar also wrote on the occasion of the centenaries of Garibaldi and Cavour,²⁸ besides his interest in Ireland.²⁹ He was known as *Sahitya samrat* (Emperor of literature) and was a Chitpavan like Tilak who moved from the *sansthan* of Miraj to Poona. As chief editor of *The Mahratta* from the start, he twice tendered his resignation due to disagreements with Tilak (1897 and 1907), but withdrew it on both occasions. He frequently acted as bridge between the Moderates and the Extremists, and was even accused by some of the latter (e.g. S.M. Paranjpe) of being a Moderate himself. He certainly preferred to work through established channels like the press, the associations of caste and interests, and the Indian National Congress. As he preferred to harmonize the various strains of nationalism, his approach was much more flexible than Tilak's, though he followed in his footsteps during the final stage's of the Lokamanya's life,³⁰ and succeeded him as leader of the Svarajist Party in 1924, supporting electoral participation in the Local Assemblies. Opposition to the non-cooperation movement later led him to join the Hindu Mahasabha.

The contradictions between Garibaldi and Mazzini are not highlighted in Kelkar's works, nor are there many references to the Indian scene. It is the Italian celebrations that make good news and Kelkar is a good journalist. Both heroes feel the charm of Rome,³¹ Mazzini as the capital of the world, Garibaldi in the Italian context. They go back to the ancient past of their country to find their identity, a clear allusion to Indian trends. Cavour is the politician and statesman, the brain behind Italian unity and the one who succeeds in blending the heterogeneous, discordant elements of Italian patriotism. Kelkar likens him to Bismarck, though he prefers Cavour for his maintenance of constitutional liberties ("Italy was created with liberty, Germany with authority"). Prussia is likened to Piedmont, and the hint that Maharashtra could play a similar role in India is clear.

Kelkar was not specifically interested in Mazzini, though he wrote an introduction to one of his Marathi biographies.³² The same biography refers to English sources on the Risorgimento: Trevelyan for Garibaldi, W.R. Thayer for Cavour, Bolton King's *Life of Mazzini*, Marriott's *The makers of Modern Italy*; all standard works and full of praise for the Risorgimento. Kelkar's Introduction

²⁸ In *The Mahratta* 7 July 1907 and 9 February 1910. Reproduced in his *Pleasures and privileges of the pen*. Poona 1929 (Volume 1: pp. 28–34 and 34–45), along with other editorials on Tolstoy, Ramdas, Spencer, Max Müller and Mark Twain.

²⁹ See his *History of Ireland*, Poona 1910.

³⁰ CASHMAN, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 191.

³¹ Kelkar himself was a lover of Dante and of the Italian artistic heritage in general.

³² JOGLEKAR, S.A. 1923. *Joseph Mazzini, Italicha janak* (progenitor). Poona 1923. Joglekar (1879–1963) was a close associate of Tilak and translated Mazzini's *Duties of man* into Marathi.

clearly sets Mazzini against Cavour, the man of practice (*pratyaksa*) against the man of *kalpana* (imagination, fantasy) and the statesman (a term he also used for Garibaldi) against the saint. The reference to Gandhiji in 1923 was not purely casual. The desire for political results, be it independence or self-government, led many of Tilak's followers to join the "Hindu Revolutionaries".

Krantikari, the Revolutionaries

It is significant that on the basis of Mazzini's thinking it was the revolutionary idea that became the most popular in Maharashtra, especially in Poona. Neither *jahal* nor *nemast* (Moderate or Extremist) but *krantikari* (Revolutionary) was the favoured term describing the Italian nationalists.³³ For those who wanted to reject the British example from the beginning, the Italian Nationalist Movement was the most closely akin to the feelings of Bhakti and Sakti (Inner and vital force), though more in personal behaviour than in belonging to any established social or religious organization. Mazzini's best assets were his sense of duty, that he was a *deshabhakta*, an organizer of *ganimi yuddh* (guerilla bands) and of *gupta mandalis* (secret associations like Young Italy and so on). In an environment like India, where there is no established church but where spirituality as a way of liberation had a particularly personal character, Mazzini became the standard bearer of all "religious" nationalisms, which were not religious in any identifiable way but possessed a very general spiritual feeling.

The Savarkar brothers

Among the Revolutionaries, the one who spread the name and example of Mazzini most was Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966)³⁴ along with his brothers Ganesa Damodar (Babarao – 1879–1945) and Narayan Damodar (1886–1949). They were Chitpavans from Bhagur, not far from Nasik, and were initially spurred on by the killing of Dr Rand, an ICS officer in charge of anti-plague measures in Poona, by the Chaphekar brothers,³⁵ who were hanged for their crime. The British reprisals and the counterreprisals against police informers were among the dramatic consequences of this case, and various secret soci-

³³ For much of the so-called seditious activities and banned literature I have relied on the *Sources for a history of the freedom movement in India*. Volume 2: 1885–1925 (Bombay 1958), henceforth called *Source material*, and on KER, J.C. 1917. *Political trouble in India 1907–1917*. Simla.

³⁴ His first English biographer was Chitra Gupta (*Life of Barrister Savarkar*, Madras, 1926), who was in fact C. Rajagopalachari, the first Indian Governor General. See also KEER, D. 1950. *Savarkar and his times*. Bombay and ANAND, V.S. 1967. *Savarkar, a study in the evolution of Indian nationalism*. London.

³⁵ For the Chaphekar's see *Source Material*, pp. 955–1015 for D.H. Chaphekar's autobiography, as well as KEDOURIE, E. 1970. *Nationalism in India and Africa*, for their impact on future nationalist movements.

eties were formed on the Carbonari model³⁶ by the Savarkars and their friends, first the Rashttra Bhakta Sarnutha (The body of devotees of the nation – 1899), then the Mitra Mela (1900). Vinayak was a student at the time in Fergusson College, where in 1902 he made speeches on the revolutions of Holland, Italy and America, and held a seminar on the history of Italy. In 1905 he founded Abhinav Bharat (Modern India) with his friends, probably inspired by Mazzini's Young Italy. In 1906, on Tilak's recommendation, he went to London with a scholarship from Syamji Krishnavarma, who had founded the India House, a hostel for Indian students.³⁷

Savarkar's biography of Mazzini

Asaf Ali (1888–1953), a Muslim nationalist, student at Lincoln's Inn writes: "Savarkar's mind was totally saturated with Mazzini's teachings. Well before he proceeded to England and the free atmosphere of the British Isles, his Sunday speeches served to nourish and ripen the lessons which he had imbibed... The meetings were liberally leavened with the revolutionary ethic of the Indian patriot".³⁸ Savarkar himself writes in *Satruchya Sibirat* (In the country of the enemy)³⁹ that as soon as he arrived in London he had the unexpected fortune of finding the entire set of Mazzini's works⁴⁰ in the library of India House. He goes on: "I am convinced that the history of the Italian revolution will be able to guide the Indian revolution in many ways." In a few months Savarkar translated the passages interesting to him, particularly the autobiographical ones and sent a selection of them to his brother Babarao, who published it in Nasik in 1907 in the name of Vinayak.⁴¹

The text appeared in 2,000 copies which were sold out in two months, before the book was banned. From the letter of a prisoner, Patankar, which was shown as evidence in the subsequent trial of Savarkar, dated 30-12-1908, and addressed to Ganesa (Babarao), it seems that the latter planned a new edition of

³⁶ ANAND, V.S., *op. cit.* (note 19), and SRIVASTAVA, *op. cit.*

³⁷ SONPATKI, M. 1980. *Daryapar* (On the sea). Poona; SRIVASTAVA, H. 1983. *Five stormy years, Savarkar in London*. New Delhi.

³⁸ KARANDIKAR, S.L. 1947. *Savarkar Charitr*. Poona.

³⁹ His autobiographical writings started at that time, and he mentions his knowledge of Mazzini from the writings of Banerjea and Lala Lajpat Rai, and from the first Marathi biography by L.G. GHANEKAR, Collector of Baroda State (*Prasiddh Italian desabhakta Mazini yanche charitr* (The famous Italian devoted to the country, and his life), Baroda 1899).

⁴⁰ *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini*. London, Smith, Elder & Co, 1864–70, reprinted in 1890–91. The text of *The Duties of man* is found in volume 4, pp. 209–378. He never hints at any other source in English, except Trevelyan.

⁴¹ *Joseph Mazini yanche atmacharitr va rajkaran* (Autobiography and politics of Mazzini), with an Introduction of 26 pages by Savarkar himself.

3,000 copies,⁴² which did not materialize until 1946 in Poona, a third edition appearing in Bombay only in 1979.⁴³ The book, wrapped in silk, was in places like Nasik and Poona placed in a palanquin and taken in procession to show its importance and spread its message, being thus treated almost like a deity in a *pradakshina*. Its contents, moreover, were learnt by heart by members of Abhinav Bharat.

The actual spread of the printed word and its impact has to be evaluated with the local conditions in mind: a person who reads it often becomes the spokesman for a much larger group, and single copies may be reproduced by many newspapers, themselves going through a multitude of hands. The prestige of an informer can further enhance the circulation of any news.

Savarkar's book was dedicated to Tilak, who had advised against its publication,⁴⁴ and to Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe (1864–1927), editor of the periodical *Kal*, the most influential weekly after *Kesari*, considered to be much more extremist than the latter, for which Savarkar was the London correspondent.⁴⁵ Disowned by Tilak during the Chirol trial, the second edition was dedicated to "The revolutionaries of the entire India in 1857–1946". Most of the nationalist papers published reviews of the book.

The Introduction (Prastavna)

Here Savarkar underlines the parallels between Mazzini and Ramdas, the bard of national (*rastravye*) and political unity of *Desabhumi* (the native land), and the close connection expressed by Mazzini between religion and politics (*Dharma* and *Rajkaran*). The concept of duty of Mazzini is emphasized and compared to the rights inculcated by the French Revolution.⁴⁶ Duties unite while rights are individual and competitive. There is a great difference as regards the ideas previously formulated by the nationalist *milieu*, and the *Duties of man* are seen as more adaptable to Indian tradition than the *Rights of man and of the citizen*. Life is not a pleasure but a duty (*kartavya*); the idea of sacrifice prevails

⁴² SRIVASTAVA, H., *op.cit.*, pp. 272–273.

⁴³ In this text, Savarkar states in his Introduction that it was written in a series called "Laghu Abhinav Bharat Mala", in which he had already published two *povadas* on Maratha heroes.

⁴⁴ During his legal proceedings against Chirol Tilak denied recommending Savarkar to his friends in London, but accepted that he had probably countersigned the latter's request for a scholarship, which was already endorsed by the Principal of Fergusson College, of which Savarkar had been a good student. See SRIVASTAVA, H., *op.cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Apart from writing articles for the *Gaelic American* of New York on the Irish Question.

⁴⁶ Mazzini had, in fact, expressed reservations on the French Revolution, even if he considered it an indispensable step towards progress. In the Indian context one must not forget the impact of BURKE's *Reflections*, and the favouring of continuity and reform rather than fracture and revolution.

just as in Tilak's case. Kartavya is no longer the religion of birth or Dharma, the action must be done by man, destiny is in his hands.

The first duty of man is to fight for national independence (*Svatantra-rashtra*); the form of future government is postponed until this goal is attained, as suggested by Aurobindo and Lajpat Rai, though not by the latest writings of Tilak. Savarkar agrees with Mazzini on the republican ideal, and opposes monarchy to democracy, *rajasatta* to *loksatta*, something which Tilak was careful to set aside. He also insists on the concept of Nation (*rashtra*); Nations do not die, and liberation must not stop within one country, but carry on until all slaves are liberated. Furthermore, liberty cannot be obtained through charity as a result of begging, a stance which Moderates and Extremists were both felt to have taken.

The choice of Mazzini's writings: an interpretation.

In order to gain national freedom, the formation of secret societies was needed. Mazzini had founded Young Italy (*Tarun Italy*).⁴⁷ Through these it is necessary to penetrate the army and attack the enemy through "war of the bands", with precise rules, *ganim kavyacheniyam*. The writings on the "war of the bands" and on the insurrectional attempt by the Bandiera brothers are indeed the most emphasized parts of Mazzini's work apart from the autobiographical notes. One should note that these were precisely the aspects of Mazzini's legacy that both Moderates and Hindu Revivalists of the Arya Samaj, not to mention Gandhi, rejected.⁴⁸ Mazzini was called *Bhagwan*, *Mahatma*, and he behaves like a far-sighted eagle. By contrast Savarkar says little about the "valiant soldier" Garibaldi and ignores Cavour and Victor Emmanuel altogether; instead everything is centred on Mazzini, although revised to suit India.

The selection of other texts is also consistent with the editor's comments. The appeal to the religious, *dharmalok*, *dharmaguru*, with the consequent attack on the established church,⁴⁹ the appeal to poets and men of letters pleased Savarkar, whose national ideal is really a substitute for the religious ideal. Even if the use of symbols remains Sanskritic, the religious aspect of the past falls within a monistic and philosophical interpretation, which, too, is reduced to politics. This equation of religion and politics is, indeed, without known parallel in India. M.R. Lederle⁵⁰ even calls Savarkar "agnostic" for his *mantra* of God and people. It is difficult to say how much of the equation was to do with God and how much with people: the Indian immanentism played its part here.

⁴⁷ Savarkar differentiates here between "young" and "modern".

⁴⁸ SRIVASTAVA, G. 1982. Mazzini and Gandhi. *Gandhi Marg*, March 1982, pp. 734-741.

⁴⁹ On this he is close to Lajpat Rai and at variance with the much subtler and more complex stand of Tilak vis-à-vis orthodox Brahmans.

⁵⁰ *Op.cit.*, p. 287.

The banning of the book

For some time the police had been keeping an eye on Savarkar. A summary of the Introduction was translated into English and handed to the Judicial Department by the Political Department, in order to get an opinion from the Advocate General. The latter, E.B. Raikes, wrote on 19 July 1907: "On the summary before me I have no doubt that the Preface was written with a directly seditious intention and that almost every native of this country who reads it will know this, but at the same time it is very difficult to point to a single line of it which can be said to be directed against the British Government.... A regular attempt is being made to preach sedition under the guise of teaching historical lessons in this and many other articles... I cannot, however, advise that such a prosecution is certain of success... I incline to think that if the accused person were skilfully defended, he would, have a good chance of getting off."⁵¹ He concluded that any prosecution would have to be instituted in Bombay, rather than in London.

Despite such caution the book was banned, due perhaps to the specific choice of Mazzini's writings, such the "war of the bands" and the Insurrection of the Bandiera brothers, which marked a definite affinity between the Indian and Italian situations. It is the sole volume of Mazzini ever to be banned in India,⁵² although quotations on the Risorgimento were often taken as proofs of sedition.

An excerpt from Savarkar's *Atmavrt*⁵³ served as part of the Introduction of the 1979 edition (pp. 18–23). It ends with a poem by Meredith on Italy "Italia to vindicate thy name – Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi three – Thy soul, thy brain, thy sword – They set me free – from ruinous discord with one lustrous aim – May he bless thee and them".

The Mutiny: the First War of Independence

In 1907, on the 50th anniversary of the so-called Mutiny of 1857–58, Savarkar was invited to hold some lectures in India House, the first one to do so during the festivities held. The comparisons with Italy remained popular and the lectures were warmly received by Indian students.⁵⁴ After revising it in a year or so, Savarkar then published the text of the speech. The Marathi manuscript hav-

⁵¹ *Opinion of the honourable the Advocate General in regard to the Preface to a translation of Joseph Mazzini's Autobiography*. In: *Judicial Department (Confidential) Proceedings*, October 1907, Bombay, pp. 31–34.

⁵² None of Lajpat Rai's writings were proscribed. See BARRIER, G. 1976. *Banned: controversial literature and political control in British India 1907–1947*. New Delhi.

⁵³ From *Savarkar Sahitya Navnit*, *op.cit.*, pp. 276–283.

⁵⁴ Not, however, by Gandhi, who simply called a speech of Savarkar's, given on 24 September 1909 "spirited". *Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume IX, p. 499. New Delhi 1963. See SRIVASTAVA, H., *op. cit.*, about the Gandhi-Savarkar relationship (pp. 25–28).

ing been purloined by police informers, the book was immediately proscribed on its appearance in 1909 in English.⁵⁵

In the book, Savarkar again quotes Mazzini on page 3: "every revolution must have a fundamental principle" and again on page 9: "if we forget this... we cannot appreciate the vast difference between the empire-building wars of Alexander the Great and Italy's fight for liberty under Garibaldi." It was the first book to deal with the Mutiny as a war of national liberation, and all subsequent nationalist accounts of it followed in Savarkar's footsteps.⁵⁶ Thus the popular reverence now accorded to the martyrs of the Mutiny have much to do with Savarkar's work. In the previously mentioned *Satruchya Sibirat* Savarkar even asserts that Garibaldi himself volunteered to fight for Tantia Topi, the Maratha general, but had to give up his resolve due to the worsening situation in Italy.

The conviction of the Savarkar brothers and international interest

G.D. Savarkar was arrested in 1909 for seditious libel and remained in jail until 1921.⁵⁷ Madanlal Dhingra, of the India House Group, shot dead Sir Curzon Wylie, political aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley.⁵⁸ In 1910, A. Kanhere, a Chitpavan like the Chaphekar brothers, shot the District Magistrate of Nasik, Jackson. The Intelligence Department proved the connection between the London group and the terrorists in Nasik; explosives and manuals for their preparation were found in India House.⁵⁹ Savarkar was extradited to India for trial, and although he managed to escape from the boat in Marseilles he was caught again at the sea-front. This episode in Marseilles seemed to once again unify him and Mazzini.⁶⁰

The Indian nationalist group which had taken asylum in Paris and included Syamji Krishnavarma, S.S. Rana and Madam Cama tried in vain to find an echo in French public opinion and in the International Tribunal in The Hague. But the escape to Marseilles and the interest of the Indian refugees in Paris led to the

⁵⁵ SAVARKAR, V. 1909. *The Indian war of independence, 1857*. Bombay. The second edition had to wait until 1947, while a German translation appeared in Berlin in 1940 as *Indien im Aufbruch* (The Indian War of Independence by an Indian nationalist).

⁵⁶ With some exceptions such as R.C. MAJUMDAR's "The Mutiny and the revolt of 1857-58" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People. Volume XII: British paramountcy and Indian resistance*, pp. 467-650. Bombay 1963. For an analysis of this theme see also BORSA, G. 1977. *La nascita del mondo moderno in Asia Orientale*, Milano, pp. 170-175.

⁵⁷ Prosecution of G.D. Savarkar of Nasik for the publication of certain poems and verses. In: *Judicial Department (Confidential) Proceedings*, March 1909, Bombay, pp. 91-98.

⁵⁸ He was later executed. See DATTA, V.N. 1978. *Madan Lal Dhingra and the revolutionary movement*. New Delhi.

⁵⁹ *Source Material, op. cit.*, pp. 359-437; KUNTE, B.C. 1974. Nasik District Gazetter. Bombay, pp. 152-201.

⁶⁰ See *Source Material, op. cit.*, pp. 437-481.

involvement of Assoziano Mazziniana Italiana, in the person of F. Maria Zandrino, professor of French in Genoa and correspondent of numerous French and Italian newspapers.⁶¹ Zandrino wrote a letter in 1912 to Pierre Khorat, a socialist who had written a biography of Savarkar in French, asking for information on the possibility of his release.⁶² Nevertheless, Savarkar was given a life sentence and transported to Port Blair in the Andamans. After remaining there for 11 years, he was returned to the mainland in 1921 for a further 3 years in Yeravda Prison in Poona, and subsequently for a period of forced residence at Ratnagiri (until 1937).

Hindutva, Hindu-pad-padshahi

In 1921, while in prison, Savarkar once more identified Mazzini with Ramdas in the poem *Maranomukha Sanyevara* ("The meeting of the great deceased").⁶³ The morally good nations are here those which have solidarity (*lokasangraha*) and spiritual welfare (*atmahita*). In his view the present self, "I", is not permanent. It will disappear in the absolute self.⁶⁴ Then, under the pseudonym of "a Maratha" Savarkar had *Hindutva* published in Nagpur in 1923, with the intention of it becoming his national ideological project. In it he states that the Hindus are a Nation held together by a common culture, history and religion: "A Hindu is one who looks upon the land that extends from the Indus to the Sea ("from *Sindhu* to *Sindhu*") as the land of his forefathers (*pitrbhu*)... and who addresses this land as his *Punyabhu* (Holy Land)." The three main factors of unity are territorial ties (*rashtra*), blood ties (*jati*) and cultural ties (*Samskriti*). The concept of a Nation of equals departs from the idea of Dharma and its practical counterpart, the integration of different groups with their own characteristics and functions.⁶⁵ The maximum concession to the caste system is its interpretation as a functional, egalitarian way of life, part of national *samskriti*. The universal law coeval to creation is localized and chronicled. The autonomy of Dharma and Artha has no place here; the role of the political leader is absolute and replaces that of the *guru*. *Ram-rajya* is much more the kingdom of a king called Rama than of the god of *Bhakti*. *Hindutva* becomes politics (*Rajkaran*) and, as in Mazzini, politics mingles with ethics and religion is seen a factor in citizenship of the country.

⁶¹ For instance, La Sera, Scaena Illustrata, Le Soleil du Midi, Le Petit Niçois. I have been unable, so far, to find a French biography of Savarkar, the notes here having been provided by Adelina Negri in Genoa on 13 June 1983.

⁶² See YAJNIK, I. 1950. *Syamji Krishnavarma: life and times of an Indian revolutionary*. Bombay, pp. 304–305.

⁶³ MAYDEV, V.C. (ed). 1943. *Savarkaranchi kavita*. Bombay.

⁶⁴ LEDERLE, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁶⁵ DUMONT, L. 1964. Nationalism and communalism. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* VII, pp. 30–70 and *Homo Hierarchicus*, Paris. Appendix D, pp. 376–395.

In 1925 Savarkar wrote *Hindu-pad-padshahi: a review of the Hindu Empire in Maharashtra*, published also in Nagpur.⁶⁶ The example of the Marathas as “restorers” of National Independence is underlined. In his historical introduction before the events which led to this “re-awakening”, Vedic Hinduism is glorified to the detriment of Buddhism and Jainism, which are considered too pacific.⁶⁷ The Maratha-Mughal antagonism is highlighted and Shivaji is presented as the ideal Hindu Sovereign. Though the stand resembles Tilak’s, the Lokamanya was, in fact, more ready to compromise, as shown by the Lucknow Pact of 1916 with the Muslim League leaders. While Tilak and Kelkar had preferred Garibaldi and Cavour as their spokesmen, Savarkar opted for Mazzini and his idealism.

Narayan Damodar Savarkar and S.A. Joglekar: The Duties of man

Narayan, the younger brother of Vinayak and Ganesa, who was still at large, pleaded the cause of his brother even with Gandhi.⁶⁸ The latter took up the case of the Savarkar brothers in the pages of *Young India*.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, Narayan wrote on Mazzini’s birthday, on June 22nd, the Preface (*Prayojankathan*) to Joglekar’s Marathi translation of the *Duties of Men*.⁷⁰ This preface is very cautious: Narayan wonders whether he in fact should write it. He remembers in a crescendo the *Duties of man*: “The country as a God, God at the summit, a nation of equals at the base.” He, too, opposes *rajasatta* to *loksahi*, monarchy to the power of the people, but he seems to be more interested in Maharashtra, than in the idealized Indian nation (*Bharatvarsha*) as a whole. He underlines the intellectual and spiritual aspects of Mazzini, the great seer, his activism, the universal brotherhood and liberty as a gift of God. Mazzini’s combination of religion and politics is here brought closer to the Gandhian stance.

Narayan also published a book on Tantia Topi, one of the leaders of the Mutiny, and modelled his interpretation of the latter as the First War of Independence on that of his brother, though without suggesting Garibaldi’s involvement.

Joglekar belonged to Tilak’s school and his attitudes are close to Kelkar’s. His translation enjoyed a second edition in 1924. The stanzas inserted as preface to the individual chapters are all examples of duties taken from Hindu tradition:

⁶⁶ Later reissued as *Story of the Maratha struggle to re-establish sovereign Hindu power*. Bombay, 1974.

⁶⁷ Just as Gandhian *ahimsa* is considered “unalloyed nonsense”. See BHIDE, A.S. 1941. *Veer Savarkar, whirlwind propaganda*. Bombay, p. 432. Also see VARMA, V.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 386–391.

⁶⁸ Letter to Gandhi, 18 January 1920. *Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, op. cit.*, Vol. XIX, p. 507.

⁶⁹ 26 May 1920, 18 May 1921, 26 June, 28 July 1921 and 1 September 1924. *Collected works...*, Delhi, 1965. Volume 19, pp. 460–463; Volume 20, pp. 104, 284–285 and 431–432 and Volume 25: p. 118.

⁷⁰ JOGLEKAR, S.A. 1921. *Manavi Kartavye*. Poona.

the Gita, Eknath's poems, Ramdas' *Dasabodh*, Tukaram's *abhangas*, the Katho-panishad... From Joglekar's notes on the text emerges clearly the opposition between Rights and Duties, and how the rights displayed by the French Revolution could not be exercised without sufficient preparation.⁷¹

The translation employs terms which are typical of the Hindu tradition: *har har mahadev* (a warlike invocation to Shiva) becomes the hymn of the crusaders (p. 42), Dante's title is *mahakavi* (p. 96 – a great, inspired poet like Vyasa, mythical author of the Mahabharata).

The Periodical Press

Contemporary with the literature, but decidedly more biographical and political, and in symbiosis with that art of propaganda which Tilak had started with mass processions and the circulation of the *Kesari*, there is a certain emphasis on the Risorgimento in other periodicals. During British Rule, a *Report on Native Papers* of almost all publications was regularly produced, stating the name and caste of the author and the title, contents and circulation of the work. From 1900 onward the *Bombay Native Newspapers Report* became a part of this.⁷² The figures of circulation vary from year to year, but the phenomenon of "returns" was certainly not customary then in India; on the contrary, copyists used to rewrite most of the important articles and thus spread them.

The most controversial among those responsible for such periodicals was Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe, the editor of the weekly *Kal* (The Time) with a circulation of 7,000 between 1898 and 1910. Paranjpe, a Chitpavan from Mahad, followed in Tilak's footsteps but was more inclined to extremism, with a particular interest in Irish nationalism and Russian anarchists.⁷³ He wrote a preface to N.S. Phadke's *Terence McSweeney* (Poona, 1923),⁷⁴ took an active part in *Abhinav Bharat*, wrote a review of *Mazini atmacharitr wa rajkaran*⁷⁵ and defended Savarkar from accusations while the latter acted as his London correspondent. In 1908 he, too, was sentenced to 8 months in prison. Even his successor, Purshottam Bapuji Khare, was arrested and convicted⁷⁶ and the newspaper was forced to close after the Press Act of 1910, which considerably limited the freedom of the Press.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19ff.

⁷² Both of them are excellent complements to BHATE'S *History of Marathi literature (op. cit.)* and to DATE, S.G., 1961. *Marathi niyatkalikanchi suchi 1800–1950* (General Index of Marathi Periodicals 1800–1950). Bombay. Nearly a quarter of all periodicals were edited by Chitpavans between 1901 and 1921, showing their intellectual predominance.

⁷³ By contrast the supporters of non-violence preferred Tolstoy and the Russian "religious pilgrims".

⁷⁴ Mayor of Cork who died in a hunger strike in Brixton Jail in 1920.

⁷⁵ *Kal*, 12 July 1907.

⁷⁶ Prosecution of P.B. Khare, editor of the *Kal* newspaper. In: *Judicial Department (Confidential) Proceedings*, February 1909, Bombay, pp. 57–63.

On 13 April 1908, Ramchandra Narayan Mandlik (1881–1958), editor of the *Vihari* (Rambler), a Marathi weekly of Bombay with a circulation of 1,000, was likewise sentenced to two years of rigorous imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 rupees, for publishing a poem of Mazzini's entitled *Awakening*.⁷⁷ "Awake o fools! Why are you sleeping? Open your eyes for a moment and see who sits on your chests. Your motherland who gives you nourishment has fainted... A cruel ruler is governing you; why do you submit to his authority? Why did you lose your independence?... When God created the universe, he created all persons free... When freedom, which is man's birthright, is lost how can you remain quiet? You should die on the battlefield for the sake of Independence!" Rambhau Mandlik⁷⁸ had also written a review in *Vihari* on 17 July 1907 of the book on Mazzini by Savarkar, who had been the paper's sub-editor along with Balkrishna Narayan Phatak,⁷⁹ before leaving for London.

On 1 June 1909, Bhaskar Balwant Phopatkar, a Karhade Brahman from Thana, close to Tilak's position and brother of the more famous Laksman (1880–1960), leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, editor of the weekly *Bhala* (Spear) with a circulation of 2,300–6,000, was convicted to six months' imprisonment, for an article on Ramdas.⁸⁰ He also wrote a long article on *The emancipation of Italy: the preliminaries of the great rise*, with an invocation to Italy by the poet Swinbourne.⁸¹ It is a detailed history of the Neapolitan Carbonari in 1820. The reference to India was clear to British censors and, therefore, the opinion of both T.J. Strangman, Advocate General and L.C. Crump, Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, was asked.⁸² The answer of the former was: "there is no doubt in my mind that the writer's intention was to contrast the conditions of Italy under the Austrians with that of India under the English and to extol a resort to secret societies and rebellion with a view to obtain Independence in India." Crump wrote: "On the whole, viewed as an historical sketch, it cannot be said that the article is seriously inaccurate, the passage in praise of independence is germane to the matter, more particularly so as it is based on the doctrines expounded by Mazzini... There is not a word that can be hasted upon as pointing in any way to the existing state of affairs in India. The truth or falsity of an historical sketch is clearly relevant as bearing on the intention of the writer. It is for this reason that I have discussed the accuracy of the article. Neither recommended prosecution and advised the authorities to "wait and see"."

⁷⁷ KER, *op. cit.*, p. 102 and *Source Material (op. cit.)*, pp. 659–660.

⁷⁸ SAHASRABUDDHE, M.B. 1959. *Desabhakta Rambhau Mandlik yanche jivan charitr* (Life and works of the patriot D.M.). Poona.

⁷⁹ He, too, as editor, along with his successor Bhaskar Vishnu Phadke, both Chitpavans, was convicted and fined. See Comments on the sentence passed on the editor of *Vihari*. *Report of Native Papers for week ending 4th July 1908*, pp. 34–35.

⁸⁰ *A Darbar in hell*. The word *darbar* evidently referred to the British Raj.

⁸¹ It was also inscribed in the Preface to Kelkar's *Ghyaribaldi*.

⁸² Opinion of the Law Office on an article in the *Bhala* newspaper of June 1st 1909. In: *Judicial Department (Confidential) Proceedings*. July 1909, pp. 343–347.

The Marathi weekly *Satara, Pratod* (The Whip), with a circulation of 3–400 copies, followed in *Kesari*'s footsteps and regularly published articles and excerpts for local readers. It was shut down in 1892 and again in 1897 for sedition, and its owner and editor were fined. The paper was again banned in 1907 and in 1908; its editors were Karhade Brahmans: Ganesh Ramchandra Kusalkar and Vasudev Damodar Mundale (1880–1947). The latter is the Marathi biographer of Cavour.⁸³ The paper's publisher, J.N. Oak, proposed the Italian example following Italy's entry into World War I; a country which fought for its independence, then became powerful. Mundale's work became part of a series of schoolbooks, among which he also produced Bismarck's biography.⁸⁴

In the Introduction to Cavour's biography, the historian Rajvade (1863–1926)⁸⁵ invites readers to know the history and geography of different countries: *Tagghyasatta* (government by experts) is preferable to monarchy, or any other form, *pratinidhisatta* (representative) or *mahajansatta* (commercial). In the footsteps of Rajvade, Mundale also stresses how history is *magistra vitae*: history is only *uttam*, the best means of inculcating *rastryaguna* (national qualities). It is interesting to note how in Mundale's book the pair of Ramdas-Mazzini is replaced by that of Ramdas-Cavour. In Tilak's realistic hypothesis, which Mundale follows, Mazzini remains a Utopian, whilst Ramdas is the embodiment of a kind of realpolitik, even if with a superior aim.⁸⁶ Cavour the statesman has the best gifts for that: *svarthyog* (personal sacrifice) and *svadeshapriti* (love of one's country). The fact that Cavour is not married is a demonstration of his attachment to the fatherland.⁸⁷ The term used for Mazzini was *brahmachari* (a chaste, religious man).

Gioberti and Cavour: Federalists and Unitarians

The opposition between Moderates and Extremists in Italy, according to Mundale, is not between Cavour and Mazzini, but rather between Federalists and Unitarians. Gioberti and his followers are *nemast*, moderates while Cavour and his are *jahal* or extremists. The ideas of *Goberti* (sic) are described in detail

⁸³ *Kavhur urf Italicha Ramdas*. Poona, 1915.

⁸⁴ *German Rashtrapurus Prins Bismarck: charitr va rajkaran*. Poona 1917.

⁸⁵ A Chitpavan of Poona, founder of Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal (Association for the historical research of India), he dedicated much of his time to the role of Ramdas in the history of Maharashtra, and settled in a *math* (monastery) of *Ramdasi* (disciples of Ramdas' teachings) in Dhule. See FASANA, E. 1987. Samarth Ramdas e il Dharma: un santo indiano nella vita, nella storia e nell'immagine. *La realizzazione spirituale dell'uomo*. Milano, pp. 75–122.

⁸⁶ A.N. Deshpande, little inclined towards foreign examples, considers Mundale's work as mediocre, and the pairing of Cavour and Ramdas as irrelevant to India. See his *Adhunik Marathi vanmayacha itihas*, *op. cit.*, Volume 2, p. 424.

⁸⁷ Mundale evidently follows the biographies of Cavour by W.R. Thayer and Pietro Orsi, the latter having evidently been translated into English.

and his federal hypothesis amply appreciated. The term used for the Sardinian-Piedmontese kingdom is *Sansthan*, already applied to Native States in Maharashtra; one cannot forget that until the 1930s all nationalists tried to attract the Princes to their cause. Only the leadership, in particular Nehru, led to the establishment of its sections in the Native States. Mundale, like Kusalkar and Bhopatkar, was a Karhade Brahman, the smallest of the Maharashtrian Brahman groups, which may explain his eclectic ideology and sympathy towards the federalist hypothesis, *Sansthancha Sangh* (Union of States).⁸⁸

Cavour is also a journalist like Mundale, and several Indian nationalist leaders, and his struggle against religious institutions (*Dharmopadesak*) and the ecclesiastical world in general (*Padrimandal*)⁸⁹ was shared by Moderates and Extremists alike, who wished to reform traditional Hindu society. If *dharmasatta* and *rajasatta* are both *satta*, then they could be competitive.

The support given to Cavour by England invited reflection. If England supported Italian independence, it might do the same for India. Garibaldi and Cavour are, therefore, not opposed but complementary; one has *mutsaddeghir* (the art of diplomacy), the other *saurya* (heroism).

Variation and decline of the impact

In Maharashtra, Cavour, too, had his say. In fact someone even likened Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda to Victor Emmanuel.⁹⁰ Nepal, also, could have been the Piedmont of the Subcontinent, a representative of whose ruling family met Savarkar during his exile in Ratnagiri. However, the interest in Italy declined as local substitutes were found: Ramdas for Mazzini and Cavour and Shivaji for Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel. Also, Italy entered the war with the Ottoman Empire, and since nationalist papers such as the *Kesari* and *The Mahratta* wished to preserve Hindu-Muslim unity, they had to stop referring to her. Instead, *Hindutva* and *Hindu-pad-padshahi* took over in revolutionary circles, and the history of Maharashtra became tantamount to the history of India. The *Maharashtra Dharma* of Ramdas changed into the *Hindu-pad-padshahi* of Savarkar. The specifically kingly functions of *Ksatriyadharm* and *Rajadharm* became the duty of every Hindu, who now had to militarize. On the other side, Gandhiji took over with his message of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa*, even if his influence in Maharashtra remained comparatively weak. From the pages of *Hind*

⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that Mundale also wrote *Karl Marx va tyachen karya* (Marx's life and works; Kolhapur 1945) along with biographies of Thomas Paine (1924) and William of Orange (1925).

⁸⁹ The term *padri* was adopted from the Portuguese.

⁹⁰ See *Source Material* (*op. cit.*), pp. 555–601 for the period of "sedition" in Baroda, as well as HARDIMAN, D. 1978. Baroda, the structure of a progressive state. In: JEFFREY, R. (ed), *People, Princes and paramount power; society and politics in the Indian Princely States*. Delhi, pp. 107–135.

Svaraj (1908) Gandhi had written with sympathy for Mazzini but at the same time declared the example of Italian unity a failure. *Svaraj* took the lead over *Svatantra*, the positive answer with a new structural plan of society over the merely political aim. Self-rule and self-respect were thus considered primary to Independence.

A short analysis of the terms of reference

One should consider the four main leaders of the Risorgimento who were the primary targets of nationalist writers. From the terms of reference and their designations, the differences between Italy and India in interpreting their role become evident. Mazzini was throughout named *deshabhakta* (Ghanekar, Tilak and Ketkar⁹¹); devotion was such a part of the Marathi tradition, though *deva* was, of course, outweighed by *desa*. V.D. Savarkar called Mazzini *Bhagwan* and Mahatma, his brother Narayana *Maharishi*, which implied his sense of suffering (and final liberation) for a cause. Kelkar also stressed the word *Mahatma*, but for Mazzini as a man of *kalpana* (imagination) compared with the *pratyaksa* (practical mind) of the *mutsaddi*, Cavour. At that time, of course, Gandhi was the only other Mahatma in the field. Both Tilak and Savarkar further compared Mazzini with Ramdas, stressing of the Samarth more the ideas than the actual practice, the man behind Shivaji, the *Svaraj* – maker.

Garibaldi was *vibhuti* and *rashtrabhakta vira*, the hero-incarnate. Tilak extolled his heroism as high as that of Shivaji and there were the already mentioned speculations regarding Garibaldi's connections with Tanda Topi in 1857 (by Savarkar). Cavour was, as we have seen, the *mutsaddi* (the practical statesman), Kelkar and Tilak both contrasting him with Mazzini's idealism. Ultimately, Mundale compared him to Ramdas, depicted in this case as a man of action. Finally, Victor Emmanuel was, for Tilak, the *rashtrabhakta sansthanik* (kingly patriot), who was held up as an example to Indian Princes, *sansthan* being the Marathi term for princely administration.

The Impact

If we have to measure the impact of the Italian nationalist Movement, we may see that the British certainly thought highly of it, judging by the ban on works dealing with Mazzini, the heavy sentences imposed on those who printed, edited and published them, along with the writings of Garibaldi and others. The Savarkar brothers certainly felt the impact, Vinayak and Ganesh having been

⁹¹ S.V. Ketkar (1884–1937), another Chitpavan, founder and editor of the *Maharashtra Jnanakosa*, the Encyclopaedia of Marathi knowledge, published in Poona in 23 volumes between 1920–1927. *Kavhur*, “The Italian *mutsaddi*” is found in Volume 14 (1924), pp. 447–449, *Garibaldi, Ghiuseppe (sic)*, “the Italian *desabhakta*” in Volume 12 (1925), pp. 40–42, and *Mazini*, also *desabhakta* in Volume 18 (1926), pp. 95–96.

sentenced to hard labour in the Andamans, and Vinayak being further detained on the mainland.

Biographies of the leaders of the Risorgimento circulated in the so-called National Schools as part of the curriculum; Aurobindo Ghose was responsible for one such school in Baroda until its closure. But while many of these schools were closed, the impact on Hindu nationalism was profound: attacks against the official power and traditional religion now went hand in hand, and used religious symbols to become part of a new national ideology. Thus, Italian nationalism was probably the outstanding European source of legitimation; more so in Maharashtra, than in the rest of India, as here interest seemed wider and included all relevant characters of the Italian Risorgimento.

On the other hand, Hindu nationalism soon saw its counterpart emerge in the claim of the Muslim League that there were in reality two nations on the Subcontinent, one Hindu and the other Muslim. In this way religion also became secularized as part of the national culture of the largest communities, now associated with fixed territories.

The European examples of the Indian nationalists showed that they overcame their national boundaries, as they were not considered at all foreign in India. This may have followed from the Hindu outlook of setting examples in life, structural as well as saintly, though the nationalist goal seemed to become one of exclusion rather than one of integration. On the individual plane the examples of Mazzini and Garibaldi as *karma yogi* (selfless in action) were universally accepted, while Cavour and Victor Emmanuel opened the way, in the wishful thinking of some authors, for an awakening of Princely India. At any rate, these examples of the Italian Risorgimento became an integral part of the Indian nationalist movement.

A note on Sources and Bibliography

Most of the contemporary research deals with the works of the *Social Reformers*. After the fire of the *Kesari* Press, its precious Library has still to be restored.

The sources are scattered in different books and articles which are difficult to find. The *Bombay Native Newspapers Report* since 1900 offers only a guideline.

For the banned literature, I referred mainly to the *Sources for a history of the freedom movement in India (collected from Bombay Government Records)* vol II 1885-1925, Bombay 1958 and to J.C. Ker, *Political trouble in India 1907-1917*, Simla 1917.

At the moment, for literature on the Italian liberation movement in English, I can count on one book and four articles plus eleven references in other works and speeches.

For the Marathi texts I came across six books and three Introductions (*Prastavna*) by different authors, eighteen articles and reviews of previous books and a few more references in other books.

The *curricula* of the different Schools of the period could offer further material to analyse the degree of the impact on the students.

Part of literature on the Risorgimento was in fact used as textbooks in High Schools (Kelkar's *Garibaldi*, Savarkar's *Mazzini*).

More material for biographies and environment of the writers involved could be found in the *Kula Vrittanta* (especially for Chitpavans). The history of the different nationalist papers encounters the difficulties mentioned above; many of them seem to have been lost.

POSSESSION IN POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES (COGNITIVE BASIS OF A LINGUISTIC CATEGORY)

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This paper is an attempt at a cognitive analysis of some aspects of the category of possession in Polynesian languages. Apparent exceptions to classificatory rules are explained as a consequence of clashing classificatory criteria.

The category of possession or rather type of possession in the Polynesian languages (and in quite a few other languages of the world) is grammatical, i. e., obligatory and all-encompassing, being at the same time semantic in the sense that its motivation is semantically quite transparent. This category comprises the opposition of alienable versus inalienable possession. Other authors employ the terms dominant versus subordinate (Pukui – Elbert 1957: XIX) or direct versus indirect (Rehg 1981: 165). The set of markers of alienable possession comprises the morpheme /a/ while the markers of inalienable possession are characterized by the presence of the morpheme /o/.

The category of possession is sometimes compared to that of gender but while the latter classifies nouns the former is clearly of a relational nature. Trying to characterize some nouns as a priori alienable and others as a priori inalienable is therefore inaccurate.

Outside the particular context it is impossible to unambiguously define whether *a*-possession or *o*-possession is to be appropriate. The category of possession is, unlike nominal gender, a relational category upon the level of reference and covert in the Whorfian sense since it is marked only by syntactic, not by morphological means. What is linguistically described as possession, in fact represents a continuum ranging from individual, permanent, vital and organic possession of such items as head, heart, eyes, or other body parts through relatives, communal ownership of land, country, etc., to individual and transient ownership of objects bought, produced or acquired in some way or another. In most European languages various kinds of possessing find reflection in the ex-

istence of a chain of (partly) synonymous verbs hold – own – possess – have. In Polynesian, however, the nuances of various kinds of possessing are expressed by syntactic means within the nominal phrase.

The extralinguistic motivation of the category of possession is incomparably more evident than is the case of gender. The choice of either *a*- or *o*-marker only takes place upon the level of speech, not upon that of vocabulary. And yet there are, on the one hand, items that are always *o*-possessed, i.e., feelings and mental states, non-acquired kin terms, just as on the other hand a few items can be found that are always *a*-possessed (some objects, artifacts, etc.).

Repeated attempts have been undertaken at establishing a set of diagnostic criteria to account for the distinction of alienable and inalienable possession. W. H. Wilson (Wilson 1976: 40) defines the items in *o*-possession as:

- (a) important in the old culture,
- (b) in close contact with the body,
- (c) inherited,
- (d) not portable,
- (e) animals used for riding,
- (f) subordinate to the possessor.

F. Zewen (Zewen 1987: 78–80) lists the following criteria for Marquesan *o*-possession:

- (a) marking relation between myself and everything considered as integral to myself (which includes body and its parts, physical and psychological qualities and states, country and place of habitation, personal objects and vehicles of transportation, clothing, name, titles, social relations, relatives that are not acquired by myself),
- (b) relations between a whole and its parts,
- (c) spatial relations,
- (d) numerical relations.

D. Tryon (Tryon 1970: 26) explains *o*-possession as marking

- (a) an absolute and intimate relationship between possessor and possessed,
- (b) all parts of the body,
- (c) anything that forms part of a whole,
- (d) anything that emanates from an animate or inanimate object,
- (e) anything which shelters or protects or is of great use to someone.

C. M. Churchward (Churchward 1953: 82) likewise gives an extensive characteristic of *o*-possession that comprises the following items:

- (a) things which constitute me or characterize me,
- (b) persons or things which, in one sense or another, represent me,
- (c) my relatives, friends, associates, or enemies,
- (d) things which are provided for me or which devolve upon me or fall to my lot,

- (e) in general, persons or things which surround, support, control or affect me, or on which I depend.

O-possession in Maori is characterized by B. Biggs (Biggs 1969: 43–44) as such where

- (a) the possessor is passive, subordinate or inferior to that which is possessed,
- (b) by means of transport, including horses,
- (c) by drinking water,
- (d) by parts, qualities, feelings, emotions, clothing and name,
- (e) by relatives other than husband, wife, child, grandchild.

Additional criteria seem to operate in some languages and help to explain individual deviations from the largely uniform pattern but are not always quoted:

- (a) more polite versus less polite,
- (b) not cultivated versus cultivated,
- (c) direct meaning versus figurative meaning,
- (d) permanent versus transitory,
- (e) inherent versus accidental,
- (f) trees versus fruits,
- (g) socially superior versus socially inferior.

Several of these criteria are at some detail discussed by S.H. Elbert in his grammar of Rennell and Bellona, perhaps the first attempt to present the grammar of a Polynesian language as firmly rooted in the culture of its speakers (Elbert 1988: 109–111).

One inevitably asks if there is a kind of common denominator that would supply unambiguous and transparent rules for the syntax of possessivity. For this purpose a semantic subclassification of nouns ought to be outlined and examined.

The category of possession discloses a cognitive basis and since human cognition as reflected in linguistic semantics has an anthropocentric and anthropomorphic background, it seems appropriate to start from the conceptual domain of body parts. Throughout Polynesia terms referring to body parts are *o*-possessed, with two exceptions. For example, a Maori would say *tooku uupoko* ‘my head’ when referring to the head sitting upon his own neck. However, when speaking of an enemy’s head as his war trophy, he would have said *taaku uupoko*. Thus there is the contrast between head as an integral part of the possessor’s being and head as something external, acquired to be used by him for some other purpose. Another instance may be quoted from Rennellese. Here a body part may be *a*-possessed in those instances when the speaker wants to sound self-debasing, polite or when cursing. Normally, however, all body parts are *o*-possessed, as expected.

In Rennellese, unlike Maori, we have to do with a shift based upon the identification of integrity with politeness; *o*-possession is viewed as weightier or

more significant than *a*-possession and that is why the former has honorific connotations while the latter is felt to be appropriate for humble usage by the speaker when referring to himself.

Physical and psychical properties are likewise inseparable components of human nature. Therefore nouns referring to mental states and activities, emotional states as well as bodily states are *o*-possessable, cf. Tongan *anga* habit, custom, nature, *iwi* power, ability, '*atamai* intelligence, *ta'u*, *motu'a*, *ta'umotu'a* age, *fotunga* appearance, *le'o* voice, sound, *nanamu* smell, odour, *fo'ui* fault, *mahaki* disease, sickness, *lavea* wound, injury. With these such items as name (Maori *ingoa*, Tongan *hingoa*, Hawaiian *inoa*), shadow (Tongan *malu*), shadow, reflection, picture (Tongan '*ata*), portrait (Tongan *fakata*, Hawaiian *ki'i*), copy or duplicate (Tongan *tatau*), news of someone (Tongan *ongoongo*) etc. might be classed.

Another major semantic domain is that of kin terminology to which social terminology is quite naturally linked. While all body parts (except those fated to be perhaps consumed or capable of other misuse) are *o*-possessed and thus felt to be integral to the human body as a whole, upon the level of family structure a distinction is made between the relatives treated as in-group and those felt to be "outside" the group. Rennellese distinguishes terms for relatives that are not acquired by the someone, i.e. those he is born with or accrued through other persons, such as *tupuna* ancestors, grandparents, *tamana* father, *tinana* mother, *maatu'a* parents, *tu'aatina* mother's brother, '*igaamutu* male's sister's children, *ta'okete*, *taina*, *tuhahine*, *tunga'ange* siblings, *ma'aa* brother- or sister-in-law, *pegea* relatives, *hosa* son of male, from those acquired by himself: *haanau* children, *tama'ahine* daughter (daughters are considered "temporary" since upon marriage they join the husband's household, as explained by Elbert), *tama* son of woman, *makupuna* grandchild, descendants.

Words which may be regarded as exceptions include *uguugu* wife and *matu'a* husband. They are obviously acquired relatives and still are *o*-possessed, perhaps for reasons of politeness. However, their synonym '*aabanga* is *a*-possessed, probably because it is felt to be less respectful. The factor of politeness seems to be present not only in Rennellese, as proved by the fact that Tongan *taula'eiki* as priest is *a*-possessed but when it refers to Christ, *o*-possession is preferable.

Some deviations have been attested for kin terms in Tongan. Here such obviously or even prototypically non-acquired relatives as *kui* grandparent, *motu'a* parent, *tamai* father, and *fa'ee* mother take *a*-markers. *O*-markers are required by *kaainga* relative, *tokoua* brother or sister, *foha* (man's) son, '*ofefine* (man's) daughter, *mokopuna* grandchild, '*ilamutu* nephew, niece, *mali* husband, wife, and *hoa* mate, husband, wife. Is a clue furnished by the fact that '*eiki* used as a honorific term for father takes *a*-marker but when referring to a chief, it is *o*-possessed? Does this imply that the social hierarchy is valued higher than that of family or has the compatibility of terms for parents and grandparents with *a*-instead of expected *o*-markers to do with the custom of adoption (and thus with the lesser permanency of parenthood in Tongan than in our society)?

Social superiors are invariably treated as *o*-possessed, cf. Rennellese *agiki* or *hakahua* chief, Tongan *'eiki* chief, lord, *tu'i* king, queen, *kuini* queen, *koovana* governor, *palesiteni* president, *taki* leader, *tauhi* keeper, guardian, Hawaiian *ali'i* chief, king, Maori *ariki* high chief, *rangatira* chief. As for teacher, some languages treat this term as *a*-possessed (Tongan *faiako*, Hawaiian *kumu*) but others as *o*-possessed (Rennellese *ako*). A problem is posed by Rennellese treatment of *guani* servant as *o*-possessed, which is quite unexpected. Does it mean that a servant was to such an extent a permanent member of a household? Positions within the social organization are also *o*-possessed, cf. Tongan *tu'unga* position, rank, status, *lakanga* office, function, and *nafai* authority, right, legal power.

A-possessed social terms in Rennellese are *ha'unga* lover (acquired and temporary?), *hemasi'inga* friend, lover (id.?), *tau'a* fighter (temporary? – not only because he is likely to die?), *tu'uganga* group (because it is acquired, temporary?).

Another discrepancy is found in constructions where the object of possession is a god. In most Polynesian languages god (*atua*, *akua*, etc.) is treated as *o*-possessed but in Rennellese *'atua* god is, surprisingly enough, treated as *a*-possessed. Maybe the explanation is supplied by this word's negative associations (it can refer not only to a god but also to any spirit or ghost but also displays such negative connotations as rough, stormy, quarrelsome, frightful).

Thus the grammatical contrast of *o*- and *a*-possession correlates with two basically different renditions of the relationship between “possessed” and “possessor”. *O*-possession reflects a higher degree of integrity of this relationship than does *a*-possession, which extends not only to human body and to social units but also to other domains. Thus, for example, terms referring to various parts of a canoe occur in syntactic constructions marked for *o*-possessive relationship (because these items are organic parts of a canoe, cf. Rennellese *ama o te baka* outrigger of the canoe, *kiato o te baka* boom of the canoe, etc.). The same holds for other units, such as house, cf. Maori *pakitara o te whare* wall of the house, *ngaa ruuma o te whare* the rooms of the house, Rennellese *ta'ohuhu o te hage* ridgepole of the house.

Possessive constructions indicate that space and time are also structured as complete units, cf. Tongan *funga* top, *'ao* front of something, *lotolotonga* midst, *vaha'a* space between, *kuohili* past, *kaha'u* future, *kuonga* era, period, *kamata'anga* beginning, *ngata'anga* ending, termination.

In this respect no major discrepancies or deviations from the expected pattern have been observed in various Polynesian languages.

However, what is and what is not integral to a whole may sometimes be viewed differently in different societies although, naturally enough, the principle of integrity remains everywhere the same. Thus in the domain of artifacts the Rennellese view as a well delimited whole their traditional culture. Therefore the objects inherited as part of their culture are *o*-possessed while, on the other hand, borrowed objects prefer *a*-possessive constructions (cf. Elbert 1988: 116). The following original Rennellese artefacts are *o*-possessed: *aganga* weapon, *bai*

gourd, *baghu* coarse mat, *baka* canoe, *bugho* long net, *hage* house, *igi* fan, *kaha* sennit, *kogoa* tapa, *kumete* bowl, *kupenga* net, *malikope* fine mat, *ngaguenga* temple, see spear point, *tao* spear, *toki* adze (unlike 'aakisi axe, *kiba* knife).

Tongan, quite unlike Rennellese, admits loanwords and borrowed items to which they refer in the *o*-possessive constructions. In Tongan, *o*-possessable artefacts are defined as items immediately belonging to a person as confirmed by the following items without regard to their origin: *vala* loin-cloth, *kofu* dress, clothes, *tataa* hat, *lelu* armlet, *mama* ring, *helu* comb, *ii* fan, *fue* fly-whisk, *tokotoko* walking-stick, *fakamalu* umbrella, *holoholo* handkerchief, *saaviyeti* seriette, *taueli* towel.

A-possessable artifacts in Rennellese are not defined exclusively upon the basis of their origin. In addition to items borrowed from European culture, they include quite a few items of local origin, e.g., *ngasau* arrow, *kauhutu* bow, *kete* basket, *pogapoga* large coconut-leaf basket, *ghinighini* small coconut-leaf basket, *ali* scoop, *ghau* fishhook, *hoe* paddle, *kabenga* burden, *uka* cord, rope.

Land, country, islands, villages, houses etc. are viewed as *o*-possessable throughout Polynesia, which may be due to their permanent relevance for human existence, e.g. Rennellese *henua* land, *manaha* homestead, *kege* earth, soil, 'aamonga island (except when the island is owned by gods), Tongan *kolo* village, town, *fonua* land, country, *kelekele* land, soil, 'api allotment of land, home, *fale* house, *loki* room, apartment, *pununga* nest ("house" for birds), *hala* path, road, *loto* 'aa enclosure, *nofo* 'anga dwelling-place. However, smaller allotments cultivated by individuals or families may be viewed as *a*-possessed, cf. Maori *maara* farm, plot of ground under cultivation, Rennellese *kunga sanga* planted area – all of them probably because they are being worked on. Therefore it is not surprising that cultivated plants are *a*-possessed in Rennellese while wild plants are treated as *o*-possessed. Trees, unlike plants are *o*-possessed in Rennellese (e.g. *niu* coconut palm, *mamiapu* papaya-tree) and elsewhere (cf. Maori *kuru* breadfruit, Tongan *moli* orange tree, *niu* coconut palm, *fusi* banana "tree") – because they are not the object of cultivation? Or because they are regarded as non-acquired by the possessors (like certain relatives?). The latter would be a link to the notion of coherence requirements (part of a whole versus non-part of a whole).

Special attention is drawn to the fact that means of locomotion – traditional canoes (Tongan *vaka*, Maori *waka*, Hawaiian *wa* 'a) and surfboards (Hawaiian *he* 'enalu) but also imported means of transportation such as horse and cars are *o*-possessed throughout Polynesia.

Literary creations are a kind of artifact of immaterial nature. Therefore it comes as no surprise that poetic works such as songs, laments, lullabies, etc. are *a*-possessed by their authors and *o*-possessed by those to whom they are dedicated. This holds for the whole Polynesia. According to S.H. Elbert, the Rennellese secret love chants always take *o*-markers. The reason is suggested by T. Monberg who explains that these songs are highly cryptic verses as coded messages, in theory anonymous and unintelligible to those not involved (quoted after Elbert 1988: 119).

The differing behaviour of intransitive versus transitive actions (when nominalized) is easy to explain in terms of integrity. The consequences of intransitive actions and states such as going, running, standing, sleeping, or sitting are confined to the person exerting or experiencing them. Therefore nominalized intransitive verbs are compatible with *o*-markers. On the other hand, transitive actions such as cutting, writing, eating, drinking, etc. affect objects that are external to the executor. This outgoing activity justifies the functioning of nominalized transitive verbs in *a*-possessive constructions.

It could safely be concluded that there is the notion of integrity hidden behind the Polynesian category of possession. However, the distinction of integral versus non-integral possession as such cannot account for the observed deviations between various languages. These deviations can perhaps be explained by differing interpretations of what is integral and what is not as well as by the semantic shift of the diagnostic criterion itself, such as when the contrast of integrity versus non-integrity becomes to be associated with the contrast of politeness versus non-politeness or greater importance versus – lesser importance.

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INTERNALLY-HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES
IN *TAKETORI MONOGATARI* AND *KOKINSHUU*
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF OLD JAPANESE

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In the light of the theory of development of internally-headed relative clauses presented in Modini (1994), this paper evaluates the various claimed instances of these constructions in early Heian period Japanese works.

1. Introduction

Internally-headed relative clauses (hereafter IHRCs) may be defined as relative clause constructions which are formally identical to nominalisations and whose semantic head is formally a constituent of the nominalisation (Modini 1993c: 126). The present paper investigates certain claimed occurrences in the early 10th century works *Kokinshuu*, or *Kokinwakashuu* [Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern] and *Taketori Monogatari* [Tale of the Bamboo Cutter] in the light of the theory of development of the Japanese IHRC presented in Modini (1994). This theory predicts that relative constructions where the semantic head is both the subject of the relative clause and the object of the main verb arose first in post-Nara Japanese.

For the sake of illustration, the following are the full texts of four of the 8 KKS¹ and 3 TM constructions claimed by Kaiser (1990, 1991), Kholodovich (1971) and Kondoo (1981) to contain IHRCs:

¹ Abbreviations of the names of Nara and early Heian period Japanese texts referred to in this paper, together with editions of the texts used are as follows: EN: Engishiki Norito (Kurano and Takeda 1958); KKS: *Kokinshuu* (Saeki 1958), MYS: *Man'yooshuu* (Takagi et al. 1957–1962); SNS: *Shoku Nihongi Senmyoo* (Kitagawa 1982); TM: *Taketori Monogatari* (Sakakura et al. 1957). Unless otherwise indicated, translations of EN examples are from Philippi (1990), KKS translations are from McCullough (1985), MYS translations are from Pierson (1929–1963), SNS ones are from Sansom (1923–1924), and TM from Keene (1956).

- (1) *Shiroki tori no hashi to ashi to akaki*
white (ATT) bird SUBJ beak and foot and red (ATT)

kawa no hotori ni asobikeri
river ATT side at play (PERF CCL)²

'A white bird with a red bill and red legs chanced to be frolicking near the river' (KKS 411 headnote; Kaiser 1991: 95).

- (2) *hanagame ni sakura no hana o sasasetamaeru*
vase OBL cherry blossom OBJ arrange (HON PERF ATT)

o mite yomeru
OBJ see (PERF CTN) compose (PERF ATT)

'composed on seeing cherry blossoms arranged in a vase' (KKS 52 headnote; Kholodovich 1971: 130).

- (3) *Musubishi mizu no kooreru o haru*
scoop (PERF ATT) water SUBJ freeze (PERF ATT) OBJ spring

tatsu kyoo no kaze ya tokuran
begin (ATT) this day ATT breeze EXC melt (FUT CCL)

'On this first spring day might warm breezes be melting the frozen waters I scooped up?' (KKS 2; Kondoo 1981: 19).

- (4) *hachi no hitaguro ni sumitsukitaru o*
bowl SUBJ pitch-black ADV black with smoke (PERF ATT) OBJ

torite
take (CTN)

² The following abbreviations are used in glossing morpheme roles in example sentences:

ADV: adverbial	HYP: hypothetical
ATT: attributive/possessive	IMP: imperative
CAUS: causative	INT: interrogative
CCL: conclusive	NEG: negative
CDT: conditional	OBJ: object
COM: complementiser	OBL: oblique
CTN: continuative	PERF: perfective/past etc.
EXC: exclamatory	PFT: perfect
FUT: future	SUBJ: subject
HON: honorific	TH: theme

'he obtained a pot which was pitch-black with soot' (TM 8 omote; Kaiser 1991: 31).

2. Old Japanese IHRCs?

It is highly doubtful whether IHRCs occurred in Nara period Japanese, or Old Japanese (OJ), all the incontrovertible examples given in the literature being from later periods.

Wenck's (1974:836–848) discussion of the "nachgestellte Attributivsatz" [IHRC] includes only one example from MYS, viz., p. 837:

- (5) *kaze majiri ame furu yo no ame majiri yuki*
wind mix (CTN) rain fall (ATT) night ATT rain mix (CTN) snow

furu yo
fall (ATT) night

'the nights in which the wind is blended with the falling rain, and the nights in which the rain mixes with the whirling snow' (MYS 892).

(5) contains two coreferential nominals, both expressed by *yo*. Masamune (1953–1955: 861–862) considers (5) to be on a par structurally with the following:

- (6) *hidari te no waga oku no te*
left arm ATT my precious arm
'my precious left arm' (MYS 1766).

The particle *no* in both (5) and (6) is, according to Masamune, the attributive marker with a special function of showing an appositional relation between nominals. This appositional view of *no* in (5) is also held by Pierson (1938: 163), Takagi et al. (1959: 99) and Kojima et al. (1972: 94). On the other hand, the *no* in the corresponding IHRC is conventionally regarded as a subject marker (cf. Kuroda 1974:71).

Wenck's (1974) unified view of the nature of the postposition *no* in the appositional structure (5) and in the IHRC has it as the subject particle. Another unified view, expressed, for example, in Saeki (1953: 397–399), has it as attributive. It seems to me that such a view of *no*, which does not see it just as an equivalent of the subject marker *ga*, suggests a way of explaining the apparent differences in restrictiveness noted by Kuroda (1974: 90; 1975–76: 94; 1976–77: 165) between IHRCs with *no* as subject marker and those with *ga*. Thus the classical/modern IHRC with *no* may result from influence by the appositional structure on the original IHRC. Attributive *no* in appositional constructions may have been predominantly an indicator of what Martin (1988:

1053) calls “scope-narrowing”, with what follows the particle specifying what precedes it, as in (6), and this restrictiveness-marking role may have been extended to the subject marker *no* in IHRCs.

I examined the contexts of all the entries listed in Masamune (1953–1955) of *no* as a subject marker (pp. 899–911) and of *ga* as a subject marker (pp. 215–220) to establish whether there were any clear instances of IHRCs with a relativised subject, i.e. of internally-headed *subject* relative clauses. What I found (see Modini 1994: Appendix 2) was constructions of the following type:

- (7) *morobito no asobu o mireba*
 all people SUBJ play (ATT) OBJ see (CDT)
 ‘when I see that all people enjoy themselves’ (MYS 843).

Although (7) could be taken as having an IHRC – ‘people who are enjoying themselves’ – it can also be interpreted as containing a nominalisation, as my translation suggests. In fact, in *none* of the examples like (7) of constructions having the formal attributes of IHRCs/nominalisations was the nominalisation interpretation inappropriate.

Indisputable examples of IHRCs are also absent in Kaiser’s (1991) references to OJ. Like Wenck’s “nachgestellte Attributivsatz”, Kaiser’s “circum-nominal relative clause” embraces both the appositional *no* construction in (5) and true IHRCs. Convincing examples of the latter, however, are all from works composed after the Nara period.

Kaiser states that there are five examples of IHRCs in MYS. For two of these five supposed examples, he gives only their numbers – 481 and 1787 – without citing the constructions themselves (p. 106). The other three – from poems 2831, 3752 and 4429 – are to be found on pp. 43, 29 and 70, respectively. The constructions in 481 and 4429 are similar, each with what looks like a nominalisation as the object of *okite* ‘leaving’; however the “object marker” *o* in 4429 is classified as a conjunction in Masamune (1953–55: 1320). Additionally, the *o* in 481 is coupled with the particle *mo*, which, like *o*, can be concessive, and if these two constructions were indeed to be regarded as containing nominalisations they would be exceptional in that all other like instances involve a verb of perception/thinking as the matrix verb. A conjunctive clause vs. nominalisation interpretation of the construction in 1787 is also given by Masamune (p. 1320). Although Kaiser’s IHRC interpretation for 481, 1787 and 4429 finds support in the NKBT and the NKBZ, his remaining two supposed examples – in 2831 and 3752 –, both nominalisations and followed by *yori* and *ni* respectively, are not seen as relatives there.

Just as he finds examples of IHRCs in MYS, Kaiser sees the following as an instance of an IHRC in SNS:

- (8) *Arata ni tsukureru tera no ooyakadera to*
 newly build (PERF ATT) temple ATT public temple OBL

nasu beki wa ooyakedera to nashitamau
 make (CCL) should (ATT) TH³ public temple into make (HON CCL)

'Newly-built temples which can become public temples we make into public temples' (SNS 13).

In the above, a *zero* anaphoric pronoun can on my view be regarded as taking the place of the second instance of the repeated nominal *tera*, apparently owing to the fact that a word containing *tera*, *ooyakedera*, occurs later in the same sentence. That is to say, the following repeated-nominal construction was avoided, with the second *tera* replaced by zero:

(8a) *Arata ni tsukureru tera no ooyakedera no nasubeki tera wa ooyakedera to nashitamau.*

A second example of this type of appositional construction occurs in EN:

(9) *ko no kokoro ashiki ko no kokoro arabiru wa*
 this ATT heart bad (ATT) child ATT heart be rough (ATT) TH
 'this child of evil disposition wildly disposed' (EN 12).

Here the zero anaphoric pronoun can be regarded as taking the place of a repeated *ko*, which perhaps would have had the unwanted effect of resuming the alliteration of the *k* sounds:

(9a) *ko no kokoro ashiki ko no kokoro arabiru ko wa ...*

This and the previous example of what I take to be an OJ zero-pronominal appositional construction are regarded by Kaiser (1991: 39, 120) as examples from EN and SNS of IHRCs.

3. Derivation of Japanese IHRCs

In Modini (1994) it is argued that verbal predicate raising constructions⁴ occurred in OJ. An example is the following, with ellipsis of the raising verb *omoite* 'thinking':

³ "Theme" is used in the Prague School sense of "old information," vs. "rheme".

⁴ I.e. involving an ordinary, non-adjectival (e.g. action) verb. I adopt the classical transformational-generative term "raising" (which in the context of the discussion in this paper more particularly involves "subject-to-object raising") just to identify the structure to the general reader. It denotes what recent transformational models term an instance of "exceptional case marking" or what in functional sentence perspective is known as "complex condensation". However neither of these latter labels, nor others from other models of grammar, is as widely known.

- (10) *inochi o sakiku aramu to*
 life OBJ happy (ADV) exist (FUT CCL) COM
 'thinking my life will be happy' (MYS 1142).

From the previous discussion in the present paper, we can say that IHRCs did not occur in OJ. And just as these relatives developed therefore after the Nara Period, so the verbal predicate raising type apparently disappeared post-Nara. Is it possible that there was a cause-and-effect relationship between the loss of the one and the rise of the other? In other words, did the demise of a structure characterised by a NP semantically part of a subordinate clause but formally a constituent of the main clause give rise somehow to a structure characterised by a NP semantically a constituent of the main clause but formally part of the subordinate?

I believe that there was such a historical connection between the two constructions, and that the key to the connection is provided by a certain other structure more or less functionally equivalent to the verbal predicate raising construction but where there is no disparity, or misalignment, between the semantic role of a NP and its formal expression. The semantically transparent structure I have in mind is represented by sentence (7), containing a perception verb and nominalisation as its complement.

Now the most obvious mechanism of loss of a raising structure entails the reanalysis of the characteristic α -NP as the *semantic* object of the main (to be precise, matrix) verb (typically a verb of physical/mental perception or thinking) in order to eliminate the misalignment between the semantic role of the NP and its formal expression. However the reanalysis of the semantic role of the subordinate clause NP necessarily has the effect of stranding the predicate, causing it to acquire an adverbial role⁵ or else the role of *postposed relative*. Under the influence of the already-existing preposed relative, the verbform of the postposed relative underwent modification from conclusive (+to) to attributive, I suggest. We can schematise the suggested changes so far as follows:

- (11) (a) NP- α + verb (CCL)-to + verb (raising)
 (b) NP- α + verb (CCL)-to + verb (non-raising)
 (c) NP- α + verb (ATT) + verb (non-raising).

⁵ This adverbialising effect of the stranding of the predicate at stage (b) accounts, I believe, for the '-ku + perception/thinking verb' construction with adjectival predicates and '-yoo ni + perception/thinking verb' especially with verbal predicates. With nominal predicates, the complementiser to was taken to be an adverbial marker. This to, attached directly to nouns and nounlike, i.e. uninflected, adjectives, came to be attached to ordinary adjectives, presumably as an extension of its use with the uninflected type. Finally, this to reverted to complementiser status under the influence of the corresponding canonical, non-raising subordinate clause structure. Thus developed the adjectival and nominal predicate raising structures in evidence in the modern language.

With the reaching of stage (c) in the developmental process, the postposed relative verbform was identical to that of the perception/thinking verb nominalisation complement, which, like preposed relatives, was attributive. The next stage in the development of the IHRC was, I suggest, the assimilation of the entire stage (c) structure to the structure exemplified by (7). This *assimilation* was doubtless facilitated by the close semantic connection between perceiving an action and perceiving the entity carrying it out. Moreover, my investigation of MYS revealed that attributive-ending nominalisations with *no* or *ga* as subject marker occurred *only* with perception/thinking verbs, so that this structure was felt to be the natural complement type of those formerly-raising perception/thinking verbs in (11c). Stage (d) can be represented as follows:

(11) (d) NP-*no/ga* + verb (ATT)(- ω) + verb (non-raising).

As in a perception/thinking verb nominalisation complement structure, *no/ga* in (11d) was taken to mark the NP as the attributive-ending verb's subject. Thus this NP was taken to be the relativised NP, as well as the head of the relative clause as previously in stages (a) to (c). And the ω in (d) showed the object relation of the whole relative clause (i.e. the object relation of the semantic head of the relative clause) to the matrix verb, just as in the formally-identical nominalisation complement structure the ω showed that the complement was the object of the matrix verb.

The assimilation stage of the developmental process could only have occurred in post-OJ, since ω retained a theme-marking role in at least some clause types throughout MYS (Modini 1993a, b). Thus ω in OJ was not just a case marker like *no* in (7), so that NP- ω in (11c) could not have become NP-*no/ga* in (11d) at that time.

With *no/ga* in (d) marking the NP as subject of the relative, ω naturally came to be used to mark the NP as object. And it seems that the other case relations came to be marked by the other particles. Moreover, *no* or *ga* could occur after the attributive-ending verb to show that the relative clause was the subject of the matrix verb. Thus we may represent the final stage in the process of development as follows:

(11) (e) NP- ω /*no/ga* etc. + verb (ATT)- ω /*no/ga* etc. ...

The effect of this process was the creation of formal identity between two structures – the nominalisation structure and the IHRC.

4. Categorisation of the putative IHRCs

According to the theory of development of Japanese IHRCs proposed in the preceding section, which is based on Modini (1994), IHRCs in earliest post-OJ could be expected to function as *object* of the main verb. Thus, if any of the pu-

tative KKS or TM IHRCs do not function in this way, then they must be constructions of another type, i.e. nominalisations, zero-pronominal appositional constructions or externally-headed relative clauses.

4.1

Examining first (4) in this light, we see that it appears to be internally-headed *subject* relative clause constructions where the subject of the minor clause, marked by *no*, is at the same time semantic *object* of the matrix verb,⁶ and thus conforms to our expectation concerning the nature of IHRCs in early post-OJ. (4) is repeated here as (12):

- (12) *hachi no hitaguro ni sumitsukitaru o*
 bowl SUBJ pitch-black ADV black with smoke (PERF ATT) OBJ

torite
 take (CTN)

‘he obtained a pot which was pitch-black with soot’.

Another example of basically the same construction seems to be the following, where, however, instead of *no*, the subject marker is zero:

- (13) *toburai ni yaru uta ... to aru o yomite*
 visit OBL give (ATT) poem be OBJ compose (CTN)

kikasu
 say (HON CCL)

‘she sent him a poem of enquiry: ...’ (TM 33 omote ; Kondoo 1981: 26).

4.2

(3) appears at first glance also to fit into the above category. It is repeated here as (14):

- (14) *Musubishi mizu no kooreru o haru*
 scoop (PERF ATT) water SUBJ freeze (PERF ATT) OBJ spring

tatsu kyoo no kaze ya tokuran
 begin (ATT) this day ATT breeze EXC melt (FUT CCL)

‘On this first spring day might warm breezes be melting the frozen waters I scooped up?’

⁶ In Kuroda’s (1974: 123) terminology, the “relative connection” expressed by the construction here is “*no/o*”.

Another interpretation of this example is possible, as suggested by the following translation provided by Konishi, Brower and Miner (1958: 99):

- (14a) 'Will the wind that gently blows on this first day of spring melt perhaps *the ice to which was changed the water?*'

The italicised part in the above is the rendering of the Japanese:

- (14b) *mizu no kooreru o.*

The Brower-Miner interpretation views the clause in (14b) as equivalent to the English construction:

- (14c) what the water froze into.

Thus there is no IHRC, on their interpretation, since the semantic head is not *mizu*. And so perhaps we may put KKS 2 into the category of a prenominal relative without a head.

Into the prenominal, i.e. external-head, relative clause category also fit the following claimed IHRCs, both from Kaiser:

- (15) *tomodachi no hisashuu moode kozarikeru*
friend SUBJ long time come (NEG PERF ATT)

moto ni yomite tsukawashikeru
residence OBL compose (PERF CTN) send (PERF ATT)

'composed and sent to a friend who had not called for a long time' (KKS 976 headnote; Kaiser 1991: 35).

- (16) *chichi ga yamato no kami ni haberikeru moto*
father SUBJ Yamato ATT lord OBL serve (PERF ATT) residence

e makaru
OBL go (CCL)

'go to stay with her father, the governor of Yamato' (KKS 780 headnote; Kaiser 1990: 49).

Kaiser takes both of these to be instances of an internal head having a possessive case relationship with *moto*. On the other hand, in keeping with my IHRC theory, they had rather both be construed as instances of ordinary prenominal relative clauses, with *moto* as the external head, so that the literal meaning in both examples is: '... to a place *concerning which* ...'.

4.3

The zero-pronominal appositional interpretation, characteristic of constructions in EN and SNS but not MYS, appears only possible if there is *repetition* of forms involved in the construction, as there is in the OJ examples discussed earlier in this paper. This interpretation seems to fit (1), where there is no object relation between the internal head and the matrix verb. (1) is repeated here as (17):

- (17) *Shiroki tori no hashi to ashi to akaki*
white (ATT) bird SUBJ beak and foot and red (ATT)

kawa no hotori ni asobikeri
river ATT side at play (PERF CCL)

‘A white bird with a red bill and red legs chanced to be frolicking near the river’.

With the repetition of the form *tori* in the sequence ‘*tori... hotori*’ in the above may be compared that of *ko* to be found in (8), discussed earlier and repeated here as (18):

- (18) *Arata ni tsukureru tera no ooyakadera to*
newly build (PERF ATT) temple ATT public temple OBL

nasu beki wa ooyakadera to nashitamau
make (CCL) should (ATT) TH public temple into make (HON CCL)

‘Newly-built temples which can become public temples we make into public temples’.

Another of the 11 claimed IHRCs appears to fit into this category:

- (19) *Yamazato wa mono no wabishiki koto koso are*
mountain village TH thing SUBJ sad (ATT) fact EXC be (PFT)

yo no uki yori wa sumi yokarikeri
world SUBJ hard (ATT) than TH live (CTN) good (PERF CCL)

‘It is true enough that a mountain hermitage offers small comfort, yet life is far better there than in the vexatious world’ (KKS 944; Kaiser 1991: 38).

Here there is repetition of the form *yo* in the sequence: ‘*yo... yori ... yoka-rikeri*’.

4.4

The next claimed IHRC is as follows, which, in accordance with my IHRC development theory, had better be regarded as an example of a nominalisation:

- (20) *Tsubakurame mo hito no amata nobori itaru ni*
 swallow also person SUBJ many climb (CTN) reach (ATT) OBL
ojite su ni nobori koji
 fear (PERF CTN) nest OBL climb (CTN) come (NEG CCL)

'The swallows, terrified by all the people who had climbed up to the roof, did not return to their nests' (TM 29 ura; Kholodovich 1971: 128).

4.5

Sentence (2) is repeated here as (21):

- (21) *hanagame ni sakura no hana o sasasetamaeru*
 vase in cherry blossom OBJ arrange (HON PERF ATT)
o mite
 OBJ see (PERF CTN)

'on seeing cherry blossoms arranged in a vase'.

This is of the same type as the following two IHRCs given by Kholodovich:

- (22) *himo ni fumi o yuitsuketarikeru o torite*
 cord OBL note OBJ tie (PERF ATT) OBJ take (PERF CTN)

'took a note tied to one of her streamers' (KKS 857 headnote; Kholodovich 1971: 130).

- (23) *aruji no kinu o kisetarikeru o ashitani*
 host ATT robe OBJ wear (CAUS PERF ATT) OBJ next day

kaesu
 return (CCL)

'return a robe his host lent him to wear on the following morning' (KKS 876 headnote; Kholodovich 1971: 130).

In terms of the theory of development of IHRCs presented in the previous section, these last three examples from KKS must be considered to be the most advanced of all those discussed, inasmuch as in these three we have *object* relative clauses, rather than the original pattern of subject relatives. It is to be ex-

pected that this most advanced IHRC pattern should occur in KKS, rather than TM, composed earlier.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have taken the view that the zero-pronominal appositional construction in OJ occurred as an alternative to the repeated-nominal appositional construction in those instances where the repeated-nominal construction would have created an undesirable sequence of repeated forms. This view has provided one way of accounting for the existence of an IHRC-like construction in early post-Nara Japanese which is *not the object* of the matrix verb in conformity with the theory I have advanced of the development of Japanese IHRCs.

Moreover, as I have demonstrated above, other putative IHRCs in early Heian Japanese which are not object of the matrix verb are equally amenable to other satisfactory characterisations.

Of the 11 claimed IHRCs in KKS and TM, 3 have been characterised here rather as instances of prenominal relatives (1 without the head) (section 4.2), 1 as involving a nominalisation (section 4.4), 2 as involving a zero-pronominal appositional construction (section 4.3) and 5 as genuine instances of IHRCs (2 having the internal head as subject of the relative clause verb (section 4.1) and 3 having it as object (section 4.5)). Concerning TM, the earlier of the two works investigated here, of the 3 claimed instances of IHRCs, 2 have been viewed here as genuine instances and 1 as a nominalisation. The more advanced IHRC pattern is, as is to be expected, found in KKS.

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ELEPHANT, HIPPOPOTAMUS AND OTHERS: SOME ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AFROASIATIC HOMELAND*

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The author pursues these aims: (1) collecting basic terminology, (2) differentiating zoonyms with analysable semantic motivation, borrowings and etymologically obscure terms, (3) interpreting the results. According to his conclusions, the elephant and hyopotamus, unlike rhinoceros, probably lived in the Afroasiatic homeland. However, only new and independent arguments could confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

There are several words meaning “elephant” in Afroasiatic zoological terminology.

The semantical motivation of some of them can be explained on the basis of general meanings such as horn, tooth, big, etc., with help of other zoonyms or as borrowings from neighbouring languages.

1) Semitic languages probably only know word for an elephant which can be reconstructed **pīr-* or **pīl-* (**pīr-l-?*) > Akk *pīlu*, *pīru*, *pēru* “elephant”, *pīrāti* “female elephant”, *šinnipīri* “ivory” (> Hurrit *šinni perahḫu*), Hbr *pīl*, Aram-Syr *pīlā*, Mandaic *pila(a)*, Arab *fīl* “elephant”, ? Gz *falfal* “id., water buffalo” (Salonen 1976, 232–3; Leslau 1987, 159).

The Sem “elephant” was borrowed by more languages, e.g. OPers *piru-* “ivory”, OInd *pīlú-* “elephant” (Mayrhofer I, 296), Greek (Hesychios) *pirissas*eléphas* (Schrader, Nehring I, 245). Probably the closest cognates among AA zoonyms are in ECush: Yaaku *puria*’, pl. *puriaín* “rhinoceros” and in CChad: Margi (Meek) *pīr* “elephant” (Illich-Svitych 1966, 26:Sem+Margi). If we accept the semantical motivation “horn” → “elephant (/rhinoceros)” confirmed by typological evidence, e.g. Sumerian *am-si* “elephant”, composed from *am* “wisent” and *si* “horn” (Salonen 1976, 175), we can seek the original root in AA **par/l-* “horn”: WChad **p/para* > Kofyar *fēr*; NBauči: Warji *parái*, Kariya *pár*, Miya *ápár*, *ipír*, Pa’a *pur-kiti*; CChad: Daba *fālám*, *fállim* id. (Stolbova 1987, 146; Mukarovskiy 1987, 214); NOm: Šakko *fāra*, Še *fāl*, Benčo *pāl*, *fāl* (Mukarovskiy 1989). On the other hand, also known SNil **pēL* “elephant” (Rottland 1982, 403), which can be a later borrowing from

* Paper presented at the VIII. Afrikanistentag. Vienna, Sep 27–29, 1990.

Arabic (see Schuchardt 1912, 29), but external parallels from Niger-Congo confirming an older age of the SNil word are not excluded: Adamawa: Mata *pāle*, Koke *boāl* (Lukas), Mburu *balli*, Duru *mbal*, Mangbai *bālā*, Dama *bali*, Sari *bari*, etc. “elephant” (Strümpell), also Jarawan-Bantu: Nagumi *bali* id. (Strümpell), and/or pUbangian **f̥r̥ò* id. (Moñino 1988, 108).

But the presence of a similar root for “elephant” also in CChad: Zulgo *mbele*, Mada *mbilē* (Mouchet), Hurzo, Mbreme, Gwendele *mbelele*, Uldeme, Muyang *mbele*, allows for the formulation of the opposite hypothesis: The root *(*m*)*bal-* for “elephant” in Adamawa and Jarawan Bantu represent the Chadic loans. This point of view is confirmed by WChad *[*ha-*]bilum (> *b̥VIVm*) “horn” > Montol *bulu*, Gerka *hil*; Karekare *h̥l̥im*, Bole *h̥l̥um*, Ngamo *halum*, etc. with parallels in SOm: Galila *bāli*, Dime *baltu* “horn” (Mukarovskiy 1987, 214; Stolbova 1987, 158: **mba-Hili-um*). Mukulu (EChad) *bilyò* “buffalo” is perhaps of the same origin (“horned”?). Daba (CChad) *bil̥r* “hippopotamus” can belong here, too, if the original meaning was “elephant”, cf. as a typological parallel the words for “hippo” in some Mande languages: Dan *ya-bia*, Bě *yo-biž*, lit. “water” + “elephant” (Mukarovskiy 1987, 208). If the preceding implications are correct, the form **mbVI-* represents a regular derivation by the prefix of nomina actionis/agentis (Dolgopolskiy 1967).

2) One of the most widespread terms for “elephant” in CChad and EChad is the form **bakin-* > Mafa *bikine*, Gisiga *bigine*, Mofu-Gudur *béginéy*, Mefeke *bekine*, Magumaz *bikine*; Musugeu *bignf*, Maturua *béginē*; Gidar *béknē*; Lame *biá'nè*, (Sachine) *bàknây*, Peve *bwoknai*, Misme *bakni*, Dari *bagnei*; Musgu (Barth) *fégenē*, (Krause) *pékene*, Mbara *pikinè*, Vulum *pèknè*; Kera *bānà*, Kwang *báginì*. The connection with the word for “horn” is possible, cf. CChad: Hurzo *bōḥwe*, Zeligwa *mbukum*, Udlam *ambukam*. This interpretation is confirmed by other terms for horned animals, derived probably from the same root: WChad: Hausa *ḥaunā*, pl. *ḥak^wānē* “buffalo” (Rössler 1964, 203). The external parallels from Mande (Mano *biè*, Samo *bž*, *biyágá*, Dan *biž*, etc. “elephant”), quoted by Mukarovskiy (1987, 157), are rather of areal origin (Chadic > Mande) if not accidental. Similarly ENil: pMasai **buḥa* “bull” (Ehret, quoted by Rottland 1982, 97).

3) The semantical derivation “tooth” → “elephant” can be supposed in AA area probably only in the case of Beja *kurib* “elephant” (> Barea *kúrbe*), with an article *ū-krub*, vs. *küre*, *küle*, (Roper) *kwire* “tooth” (cf. *ō-kürbī-t küre* “ivory”). This pattern is known in more African language families, e.g. pWNigr **-ni-*, **-niang-* “elephant” vs. Common Bantu **-niangá-*, “tusk” (Mukarovskiy 1976, 228), maybe WNil: Šilluk *lyeč* “elephant” vs. *l̥ž̥o*, Lango, Ačoli, Alur, Luo *lak* “tooth” (Drexel 1925, 239; Blount, Curley 1970, 12).

4) The semantical motivation “nose” → “elephant’s trunk” → “elephant” can be seen in Gz *nage*, *noge* “elephant”, *nagot* “trunk of an elephant”, *qarna nage* “ivory” = “horn of an elephant”, Te, Tna *migot* > Bilin *nug^wat*, Afar-Saho *nuge* “trunk of elephant” (Leslau 1987, 390, 393), while Yaaku *nuka* “nose” (Ehret 1987, 24: Cush **nug^w* “snout”) represents rather an independent cognate, how SOm parallels confirm: Ari, Banna, Karo *nuki*, Dime *nūko* “nose” (Dolgopolskiy 1973, 177).

5) The original Berber *(*a-*)*aliw*, pl. *ilwan* “elephant” is attested in Southern

and Western branches: (S) Ghat *alu*, Ahaggar *ēlu*, pl. *ēlwān*, Air *ilīw*, pl. *ilwan*, Iullemeden *elīw*, pl. *elwan*, (W) Zenaga (Nicolas) *ižih*, (Basset) *ižit*, pl. *āšādēn*. The external connections are problematic, maybe Sem: Akk *alū* (*Halw-*) “mythical giant bull”, originally perhaps “wisent” (Bison bonasus) (Salonen 1976, 167; Diakonoff 1981, 32) and ECush: pBoni *‘ālīšī* “female elephant” (Heine 1982, 104). If the Berber *‘-w-* originates from the older *‘-b-*, the closest parallels are found in Chad (E) Mukulu *‘elbí* “elephant” and perhaps (W) Tangale (Jungraithmayr) *lābātà* id. Probably the same root is presented in (E) Somrai *lābei* “cattle” (Jungraithmayr, Shimizu 1981, 79, 95). It is not excluded, Greek *éléphas*, *-antos*, attested from Mycaenean, was borrowed from any AA source, maybe Libyan? What is the connection of the preceding zoonyms with Sumerian *alim* “wisent” (Salonen 1976, 165) ? Can we seek the traces of AA substratum here?

6) The Egyptian name for “elephant” *ʒb.w* is known from the Ancient Kingdom until the New Kingdom (EG I, 7), cf. also *ʒb* “ivory” > Latin *ebur* id. (Ivanov 1984, 71) and OInd *ibha-* “elephant” (Mayrhofer I, 90; III, 644). If the initial sound in pEg was *‘l-*, the closest cognates appear in Chadic: (W) Tangale *lābātà*, (E) Mukulu *‘elbí* id. (see n. 5) and maybe Berber *‘alīw* < *[a-]lib[w]-* ? But the existence of the word *īrb₃* “rhinoceros” attested in the Ancient Kingdom (EG I, 115) and the fact that *ʒb.w* means (from Middle Kingdom “rhinoceros” also (Störk 1975, c. 1214–50), allows us to suppose the original form *‘arb-*, which has exact cognates in ECush *‘arb-*, “elephant” (Sasse 1982, 28) Som *arba*, *arbe*, Rendille *arab*, Arbore *arba*, Daseneč *‘arab*, Elmolo *árap*, Oromo *arba*, Konso *arpa*, Gidole *arp*, Burji *árba*, Dullay *arapka* id., Yaaku *arape* “large feline” (Ehret), “carnivorous animal” (Heine), SCush *‘ara* > Mbugu *áro* “large herbivore elephant” (Ehret 1980, 332), ? SCush > ENil: Masai *ól-arro* “buffalo” (Ehret 1974, 78); CChad: pKotoko *‘arbu/i* > Buduma *ambu*, ?Logone *neví* (or *‘Vb-* ?, see n. 5), Ngala *ánwe*, Makeri *árfu*, Gulfei *árfu(r)*, Kuseri *árwi*, Šoe *arfu* “elephant” (Šölken 1967, 242–3). The etymology is not unambiguous. The two following solutions seem to be the most promising: a) the *‘-b* derivation from the AA root represented by Sem *‘arw-* “wild animal” (Fronzaroli 1968, 292) and ECush *‘awr-* “large male animal”, cf. e.g. Boni *ōr* “male elephant”, Saho *awr* “bull” (Sasse 1979, 45, 46); b) the *‘-a-* derivation from the AA root *‘rVb-* “great, strong” > Sem *‘rab(b)-* “(to be) great” (Aistleitner 1963, 287; Segert 1984, 200) // ECush *‘rib(‘)-* “to be strong” (Sasse 1982, 159). More on AA *‘-a-* see Zaborski 1974.

7) One of the less frequent Chadic names for “elephant”, (W) Hausa *torō* “giant male elephant” (Meinhof 1912, 233 compared with Ful *torōri*), (C) Musgu (Röder) *tauraga*, Muskum *tāwràkà*, Baldamu *turogo* “elephant”, maybe Daba *mòtùlùm* id., has a possible cognate in NOM: Kafa *turo* “fattened ox”. But external (areal?) parallels exist too, besides Ful and Mande: Soninke *tūre* “elephant”, Bozo *twō* id. (Mukarovskij 1987, 157) in NS: Kuliak: Tepeth *turo* “buffalo”, Surma: Didinga *dhuri* “male buffalo”; ?ENil: Bari *ture* “horn as musical instrument” (Ehret 1974, 94); Nubian: Meidob *tur* “cow”, Dulman *țérē* “ox”, Dilling *tera*, Dair *terrē* “bull”; ESaharan: Zaghawa *turr* “ram”. And so a borrowing is the most hopeful explanation of this zoonym.

8) Similarly, the most widespread Chadic word for “elephant”, reconstructed

as **gʷiwan* (Newman 1977, 25) on the basis (W) Hausa *gīwā*, Gwandara *gyuwo*, Montol *kūn*; SBauči: *Seya giwī*; Bade *giyānw-an*, Duwai *gīwīn*; (C) Vizik *giwan*; Wandala *gūwè*, Glavda *gunà*, Zeghwana *gwinè*, Gava *gwnà*, Nakatsa *gwona*, Paduko *gwišana*, Lamang *gwiyan*, Hidkala *gīwān*, Hide *gwiyin*; Mora *giwe*; (E) Mubi *gāwyan*, has only an isolated and problematic parallel in AA: NOm: Gimira (Še) *gām* (Montadon). On the other hand, the external parallels allow us to suppose the substrate origin with high probability, cf. NS: Maba *ngon*, Aiki *āṅṅn*, Kaben *aṅṅn* (Nougayrol); WSaharan: ? Kanuri *komagen*; Tubu *komōgun*, *kūun*, *kūwun* (Lukas), resp. Daza *kuwun*, Teda *kuhun* (de Coeur); WNil: Dinka *akōn* id. (Greenberg 1963, 138) probably representing a root which is different from another NS isogloss “elephant” known from Tama *ṅor*, Sungor *ṅor*, Fur *aṅir*, Nubian: Dilling *oṅgol*, Gulfan *ānworān/aṅwoalaṅ/obul*, Koldegi *omul* (Meinhof); Gaam *aṅe*; Surma: Didinga *oṅol*, Tirma *ṅoro*, Yidinit *nu’ar* (Haberland 1966, 93; Fleming 1983, 440), pKuliak *’oṅor* (Ehret 1981, 98), pKoman *’gual* (Bender 1983, 280), WNil: Nuer *gwōr*, etc. id. (Ehret 1983, 410), maybe ESaharan: Zaghawa (Mac Michael) *girrbo*, Berti (Petraček) *zirrbe*. The Kordofan data as Tegele *ṅine*, Lafofa *uṅi*, Tagoy *fūnen*, pl. *yuṅen*, Tumtum *moṅgo*, etc. (Meinhof) can be connected with both NS roots but also with Niger-Congo “elephant” (Greenberg 1963, 155), borrowed in WChad: Angas-Ankwe *’nyi* id. (Hoffmann 1970, 9).

9) The most widespread term for “elephant” common for most of Cushitic and Omotic languages is attested in CCush: *’zaxn-* (Ehret 1987, 66) > Bilin *ṅānā*, Xamir *zohón*, Qwara, Dembea, Kemant *ṅānā*, Falaša (Beke) *djāni*, Awngi *ennī*, *ennān*, (Fleming) *ziṅoni*, Kunfāl *eni*, borrowed probably in Ethio-Semitic: Amhara *zāhon*, *zohon*, Gafat *zohúniš*, Čaha *zāx’ārā*, Ennāmor *zāx’ārā*, Gogot *zegā*, Tigriña *zihol*, while the following forms resemble rather the ECush (Afar-Saho/Somali): Harari *doxon*, Selti *dāhano*, Ulbareg *dehanō* (Leslau 1979, 721); ECush: Afar-Saho *dakāno*, Somali *dagon*, *dogon*, Sidamo *dano*, Hadiya *dāneččo*, (Borelli) *dané*, Kambatta *danieččo*, (Leslau) *zanō*, Quabenna *zanō*, Tambaro (Borelli) *zаноčo* (Dolgopolskiy 1973, 107; Leslau 1980, 125); Yaaku *sogómè*; SCush *’dax-* (Ehret 1980, 166) > Dahalo *dokomi*, *ḍokomi*; Iraqw *daṅw*, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge *daw*; SOm: Hamar *donger*, Bako *dongor* (Fleming 1976, 318); NOm: Bambeši *toṅgile*, Sezo *toṅgili*, Hozo *taṅgil*, *toṅgil*; Nao, Maji *dōr*, Šakko *dorō*; Kafa *dangiyō*, Moča *dāngao*, Sinaša *dangeša*, Anfillo *dangeččo*; Zaise *dongor*, Wolaita, Gofa, Basketo, Čara *dangarsā*, Zala, Kullo *dangarsa*, Doko *dangars*, while the forms with initial *z-* probably conserve the old protoform of CCush or Ethio-Semitic: Janjero *zaknō*, Kačama, Koyra *zākkā*, Gofa (Fleming) *zakki*, Ganjule *zakka*. The possibility, that the same root existed in Beja, is not excluded either. The sought word (*’danhar-* ?) can be reflected in late Eg *dnhr*, Demotic *tnhr* (Müller 1896, 203–205; Störk 1975, c. 1214–5). If this hypothesis is correct we have here a unique pan-Cushitic – Omotic isogloss.

Two Chadic elephant-names pretend to be the cognates of the quoted Cushitic-Omotic term: (1) (E) Sokoro *dógol* “elephant”, vs. *dúger*, (Friedrich) *dúkur* “rhinoceros”, Tobanga (Jungraithmayr by O. Stolbova) *dūgūrū* “elephant” (cf. WSaharan: Daza *dugugul* “trunk of elephant”, see de Coeur 1956, 306), while (C) Musgu (Krause) *tégene* besides (Röder) *lēgene* and Bana *thogna*, or *chlōna*, com-

pared with EChad and Cush/Om forms by Dolgopolskiy (1973, 107) reflect rather the initial lateral affricate /č/, cf. Masa *θoka*, (Caitucoli) *slōk-ŋā*, (Mouchet) *čok*, Banana *lōk-ŋa*, Musey *hlōk-ŋa* “elephant”, also (W) SBauči: Dwot *nzu’u*, borrowed probably from Jarawan-Bantu **nzoku* < pBantu **jōgù* id. (Gerhardt 1982, 91); (2) **čiH’an-* > (W) Ngizim *čāunāk*; (C) Tera *čūwān*; Fali Jilbu *čū’wūni*, Fali Mucela *čūnu*; (E) Ndam *čem*, Nancera *čena’*, Gabri *čenu*, Dormo *čunu*, Kaba *čuno*, Tumak *sūn*, Mawer *sūn* id., with the variant **čiH’an-* > (C) Hwona *čīwānā*, Ga’anda *cuwēna*, Gabin *cuwēne*; Bura *ciwař*, Čibak *isiwař*, WMargi *ciwar/ciwir*, Ngwaxi *ciwir*, Kilba *čīwār*, Hildi *ciwarū*, Wamdin *ciwār*, Margi *ciwař*, (Hoffmann) *čūwār*; Higi Nkafa *cūwe*, Higi Baza *ciwē*, Kapsiki *cūwe*, Higi Ghye *ciwe*, Higi Futu *cūwe*, Fali Kiria *ciwīnu*, Fali Gili *ciwu*; Gude *conā*, Koboči, Nzangi *čūārē*, Mwulyen *čūwā*, Bata Demsa *čūē*, Wadi *šua*, Holma *šūārē*.

An internal AA etymology is dark. Perhaps certain external parallels exist, cf. Kordofan: Šabun *zongor*, Kawama *dognor*, pl. *djognor*, Kanderma *doñōro*, pl. *ignoro* (but the initial *d/dj/z* can be the old prefix, in this case the root **-oŋor* is the exact cognate of NS **anwal/r* – see n. 8), maybe also Niger-Congo: Adamawa: Were *dan(g)*, Kolbila *dōng*, Čamba-Laego *dōnā* (Strümpell 1910, 466) and NS: Berta (Marno) *dagn* “ox”; CSudanic: pŠari *daga* “bison” (Thayer 1976, 49). On the other hand, this doubtless archaic AA zoonym has a hopeful cognate in Nostratic: Altaic **či[g*]an* “elephant” > Turkic **jiGan*, Mongol *čigān* (Räsänen 1969, 177–8) confirming the oldest age just of this elephant-name in AA.

10) Also the terms naming a “rhinoceros” use semantical motivations similar to those in the case of “elephant”. Besides late constructions of the type of Arab *waḥid al qarn*, *umm al-qarn* or Sudan Arabic *abu qern* borrowed e.g. in Nubian (Dair *buger*) or Sungor *abugern* id. or Baiso *gasi* “rhinoceros” vs. Afar *gasi* “buffalo” from ECush **gays-* “horn” (Fleming 1964, 54; Sasse 1979, 33, 44) much older forms derived from the word “horn” exist. So Eg *skb* “rhinoceros” (Störk 1980, 351–2) can be formed from the AA **sVk/k-* “horn” reflected in WChad: Čip *sqkom*, Ankwe *sogom*, etc. “horn” (Stolbova 1987, 178) and Berb **-sikaw-* id. > Ghadames *aškaw*, Siwa *aččao*; Ahaggar *isik*; Zenaga *tiska*; Semlal *isk/askiwn*, Rif, Nefusa *aššaw* id. (Militarev), maybe also SOm: Ubamer *šuk(u)ma/šoqma* “claw”. The puzzle Akkadian name of unicorn or rhinoceros *sakēja* known from the obelisk of Salmanassar III (Landsberger 1934, 143) may have the same origin.

11) SCush **dof-* > Iraqw, Alagwa *dofa*, Burunge *dofimo*, Qwadza *dofuko*, Asa *dofuk/defet* m./f. “rhinoceros” (Ehret 1980, 166), has probable cognates in Eg (AK) *db* “hippopotamus” (EG V, 433) and CChad: Musgu (Rohlf) *defān* “bull”. But again, all zoonyms can be derived from the AA root known from Eg (Med) *db* “horn” (EG V, 434) and CChad: Banana *ādifā* id. (Lukas 1937, 135). On the other hand, there are NS parallels, too: pKuliak **dqb* “rhino” and Surma: Majang *depe* “elephant” (Fleming 1983, 459).

12) Rhinoceros, hippopotamus or elephant – all three sememes can probably be traced to one and the same AA root: Mbugu *maxa* “rhinoceros”, Burunge *maxu*, Alagwa *maxwi* “hippopotamus” (Ehret 1980, 155), SCush > Sandawe *maxunko* id. (Ehret 1974, 70); EChad: Bidiyo (Alio) *múgu* “elephant”, Kera Fianga (Lukas) *témege* “rhinoceros”. The source can be sought again in the word for “horn”, cf.

CChad: Gidar *mohō*, Masa (Mouchet) *myok*, Banana *miyēka*, Musgu (Krause) *mōho*, (Decorse) *omok*, Munjuk *ámíyók*, etc. On the other hand, a certain NS influence is not possible to exclude, esp. on SCush, cf. WNil: Ačoli *amúgga*, Jur *umuó*; ENil: Bari *mui*, Masai *e-munš* “rhinoceros” (Schuchardt 1912, 38) and/or ENil: Latuka *a-moxwo*, Masai *e-mowwo* “(signal-)horn” (Hohenberger 1958, 394), or also ENil: Masai *ol-makau*, SNil: Nandi *makas*, Suk *moko*, Lumbwa *makai* “hippopotamus” (Hohenberger 1958, 387); CSudanic: Kreiš *maŋuŋu* id.

13) ECush **warš-* “rhinoceros” (Sasse 1979, 33, 54), or **waršay** (Haberland, Lamberti 1988, 147) > Oromo *worsēsa*, Konso *oršayta*, Gidole *oršayt*; Gollango *oršate*; Baiso *wōrsēsa*; Burji *wórša* id., Hadiya *oršarado* “rhinoceros’ horn”, has two possible etymologies: (a) Borrowing from Ethio-Semitic **arwē hariš* > Gz **arwe horas*, **awrāhars*, **awrāris*, **awrihars* and *hariš*, *haris*, *horas* (> Arab *hariš* id.), Tna *hariš*, **awrariš*, Amh *haris*, *awraris*, etc. (Leslau 1987, 48, 244), perhaps with an original meaning “beast of mountains”, cf. Sem **hurš-* “mountain, forest” (Gesenius, Buhl 1921, 264), similarly as Gz **arwe midr* “snake, serpent, dragon” lit. “beast of earth” (Leslau 1987, 40). This is a point of view of W. Leslau (1988, 201). But the borrowing of the name of a typical representative of African fauna from originally non-African languages in ECush (Yaaku!) is improbable, mainly chronologically. Since there is a promising internal AA etymology for ECush **warš-*, the resemblance of Ethio-Semitic and ECushitic represents rather an accidental coincidence. Therefore, I prefer the following explanation:

(b) ECush **warš-* “rhinoceros” has parallels in Chad: (W) Angas (Foulkes) *wīlī* id. and perhaps (C) Mbara *wi(r)šī/wūršā*: “cattle”, if we accept the correspondence *-š-*, *-l-* and *-š-*, doubtless reflecting the old lateral sibilant (Militarev). But this comparison does not exclude the internal structure of this zoonym. The reconstruction **waršay** can be analysed as a composite of ECush **war-* > Daseneč *warr* “mountain”, Hadiya *wor* “forest” and ECush **šā-* “cow” (Sasse 1979, 36).

14) The other ECush term for “rhinoceros”, pSam **wīyyèl*, reconstructed on the basis Somali *wiyil*, Rendille *wéšèl*, pBoni **wóòl* (Heine 1981, 198; 1982, 124), and its cognate in Dahalo *wala* (Dammen), *wāla* (Ehret 1974, 68), can be related to some Chadic names for “hippopotamus”: (W) Angas (Foulkes) *wūšāī*; (C) Muskum *wūzil*.

15) Beja *šē*, pl. *ša* “rhinoceros” has only doubtful parallels in NOM: Kačama *šoro*, if we accept the lost of *-r-* in Beja, or Basketo (Fleming) *ošá*, Wolaita *oswā*, Zala *osoā* id., if these forms are not borrowed from ECush **warš-* (see n. 13b). The CChad forms as Kulungso, Banana (Lukas) *āšó’a* “elephant” or Lame (Lukas) *zé* “hippopotamus” represent rather different roots.

16) The isolated NOM word for a “rhinoceros”, Zaise *mulē*, has a possible (areal?) parallel in NS: Surma: Mursi *mile* (Haberland 1966, 94), Tirma *mulyoy* id. (Fleming 1983, 459 compares also with Kuliak: Nyangi *muny* id. – but cf. n. 12). Is there any connection with Cush **mayloγ* “(removed) horn” > (C) Bilin *mālxat* “long trumpet”, (E) Yaaku *maylog* “horn” (Ehret 1987, 66)?

17) Paradoxically, most described terms for “rhinoceros” in Chadic represent cultural words or old borrowings, e.g. Hausa *karkanda* from Arab *karkand*, *karkaddan* (similarly Tuareg Azawarh *tagergeddu*, Nile-Nubian (Reinisch)

kargedān, Coptic *xarkinos* id. (Vycichl 1983, 246–7) or (C) Masa (Lukas) *bórni*, Musgu (Röder) *bīrni*, Musku *birni*, (E) Somrai, Ndam, Nancere, Gabri, Kwang *birni*, Kaba *burni* vs. Arab *barnīq* id. cf. also NS: CSudanic: Kenga, Kuka *birni*), or (E) Mukulu *páttò*, Kera Tuburi (Lukas) *pasi* vs. Common Bantu **pédà* “rhinoceros” (Guthrie).

18) The analysis of the terms for “hippopotamus” shows a richer spectrum of semantical motivation than in the case of preceding zoonyms. For instance, Egyptian uses a lot of late innovations: *ḥ3* “fighter”, *wr* “the great”, *ḥd.t* “the white”, *dšr* “the red”, *dns* “the heavy”, *nš(n)* “ferocious”, *ḥrj-ntj* “being in water”, *k3-mḥj* “cattle of swamp” (Störk 1981, c. 501–506), besides the archaic terms *db* (see n. 11) and *ḥ3b* (EG III, 229). Egyptologists interpret this zoonym as “the animal with crooked tooth” (Lacau) or “the cunning, false, traitorous” (Störk 1981, c. 501–506). Mukarovsky (1959, 7; 1976, 410: pWNigritic **-gwab-*) connects it with Niger-Congo “hippo”: Ful *ngabu*, pl. *gabi*; Dyola *e-kav*; Bulom *i-pak* (metath.); Common-Bantu **-gùbù*, **-gùbù*, **-gùbù*. But there are plausible AA parallels in Cushitic: (C) Xamir *biwā*; (E) Rendille *ibeh*, (Schlee) *ibe*, pl. *ibénye*; Arbore *yibéh*, Elmolo *yéhe*, *yé* (1973), pl. *yéme* (1980); (S); Iraqw *hàwewē mō* id. (Elderkin 1988, 493). Some Cushitic languages seem to be a source of Gz *bih*, *biḥe*, *bih*, *biḥe* “hippopotamus” (this word is usually interpreted as a loan from Coptic (*p-*)*ehe* “cow” (via Egyptian Arabic *bīḥ*) or *iḥ* “demon, monster” again with an affixal article (Leslau 1987, 93). On the other hand, Hbr *biḥemōt* “hippopotamus” (corresponding with plural of *biḥēmā* “cattle” (Gesenius, Buhl 1921, 86), cf. Arab *bahīmat* “animal”), borrowed in Gz *biḥemot*, *biḥemot* id. (Leslau 1987, 90), could contaminate the old Cushitic zoonym. A similar term exists even in NS: CSudanic: pŠari **aba* > Mbay *yàb*, *hab*, Bongo, OSara *haba*, OBagirmi *ab(o)* id. (Thayer 1976, 67); SNil: Datooga *hōburš*, Omotic *obirēta*; Kuliak: Ik *obi* *ʔ* “rhinoceros” (Rottland 1983, 497) and perhaps in KH: Khoe *ngyáBá*, Nama *!nawa-s* “rhinoceros” (Köhler 1966, 149). And so the remarkable Eg-Cush isogloss may have an areal origin (cf. also the later loans in CChad: Nzangi *ngábbu*, Mofu-Gudur *ngábaw*, Gisiga *abu*, *ngabu* from Ful).

19) Other Cushitic term for “hippo” can be reconstructed as **gumar-* > (C) Kemant *gumārī*, Qwara *gumārē*, *gumārī*, Xamir *gumārī*, Xamta *gumār*, Awngi *gumārī*, (Beke) *gomāri*; (E) Saho *gūmārē*, Afar *gūmārī* (< CCush ?); OSomali **geero-* (Lamberti 1986, 248) > NSomali *šēr/cēr*, Jiddu *širi*; Boni *šēr*; Elmolo *gúris* id., Arbore *girač*, *gurēč* “rhinoceros”; Qabenna *gomarra*, Tambaro *gumorra* (Leslau 1979, 278), *gumara* (Borelli) “hippopotamus”. Probably some old CCush form passed in Ethio-Semitic: Tna *gumarre*, Te *gomāri*, Amh *gumarre* (>Gz *gomārī*, *g*imārī*), Harari *gumārre*, Wolane *gomare*, Čaha *g*āmanā*, Gyeto *g*āwanā*, Endegeñ *gā*irā*, etc. (Leslau 1979, 278; 1987, 195), although there is a promising Semitic cognate in Ugaritic *gmr* “a kind of animal capable of fighting ferociously” (C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965: 380), confirming the Semito-Cushitic age of this zoonym. The Ethio-Semitic (Gurage ?) source is the most probable for the following forms: Kullo *gomára*; Janjero *gumáu*; Šinaša (Beke) *góma*, (Schuver) *gomia*, Kafa *gomānō*, (Cecchi) *gomého*. This zoonym has more alternative etymologies: a) The model of the type

of Arab *ḥiṣān al-baḥr* “hippo”, lit. “horse of river”, cf. Greek *hippo-potamos* id. or Kenuzi (Reinisch) *essi-n-ti, essitī, éssin Ṣamūs/gamūs* “hippopotamus”, lit. “cattle of river”, composed from *ássi, éssi* “river, water” and *ti* “cow”, or *Ṣamūs/gamūs* “buffalo” (< Arab); Nile-Nubian > Beja *ásin, isin*, pl. *ísena* (Reinisch 1895, 31; 1911, 98). The similar interpretation of the Cush term based on the Berb *‘a-gumār* “horse” > Siwa, Ghadames *a-gmār*, Zenaga (Nicolas) *i-gmir**; Semlal *a-gmār*, Nefusa *a-gmār*; etc. (Militarev), maybe Chad *‘gam* “ram” (Newman 1977, 30).

b) The model “aquatic animal” → “hippo” – cf. pBantu *‘-γamba* (Meinhof, Warmelo 1932, 194) > Konde *ka-Ṣamba* “tortoise”, Sotho *le-t’ap’ē*, Venda *damba ṡṡek’wa* “crab” vs. Ndonga *o-ndyamba* “hippo” and even Kuang *o-ndaba* “elephant” or Kunama *aynima* “crocodile”, but by Munzinger *hainuma* “hippo” or Afar *ulúm* “hippo” vs. Saho *ilmā* “crocodile”; Beja *léma* id. (> Nile-Nubian *elúm*); Bilin *ālmā* “sp. snake”. This interpretation of the Cush term is based on its hypothetical derivation from the AA root presented in CChad: Musgu (Rohlf’s) *gēmi* “tortoise”, cf. (Rohlf’s) *gimmer*, (Krause) *gumurī*, etc. “shield”.

20) ECush *‘robH-* “hippopotamus” > Oromo *rōbī/rōpī*; Sidamo *robē, robicco*, Darasa *rōpe*, Kambatta *lōbičču* (both Leslau), Hadiya (Plazikowsky-Brauner) *lōbiččo*, gen. *loṗ*, Burji *rōbē* (Dolgopolskiy 1973, 170; Sasse 1982, 160; Leslau 1988, 198) can be of the same origin as ECush *‘arb-* “elephant”, Eg *gb.w* id. and *irbʒ* “rhinoceros”. But there are also other possibilities. Besides the semantical motivation “hippo” = “aquatic animal”, based on AA *‘rub-* “wet” > Sem \sqrt{rbb} “to rain”; ECush *‘roob-* “rain” (Müller 1975, 67); WChad *‘rubV* “wet” (Stolbova 1987, 236) again external, namely NS, parallels exist: CSudanic: Madi *rubbī*; WNil: Šilluk *rau*, Dinka *rou*, Nuer *rou*, Lur *rāwe*, Ačoli *rā* “hippo”, ? ENil: Bari *Ṣa-ro* (Schuchardt 1912, 35; Greenberg 1963, 101).

21) The semantical connection of hippo and other aquatic/wild animals is evident in the case of ECush *‘dul-* > Afar *dūlu*, Somali *dōl* “fierce animal; sp. antelope”, d. Mijurtein, Benadir *duša* < *‘dul-ta* “hippo”, Jiddu *dōl* “a giant crocodile” (?), Baišo *dulo* (Fleming 1964, 51), *dūlo* “hippo”, Konso *tulpēta* “hippo/pig” (cf. Burji *bōyē* “hippo” vs. *bōyyē* “domestic pig”, both from ECush *‘bōy(y)-* “naked” by Sasse 1982, 40); Dullay: Gollango *tulpe*, Gawwada *tullupe* “hippo” (Haberland, Lamberti 1988, 89). The possible connection with WChad: Hausa *dōrīna*, Gwandara *dōrina*; Miya *dōriná* (< Hausa?), Tsagu *dōránà*, etc. “hippo” proposed by Mukarovskiy (1987, 207) still together with Mande: Bobo *dūrù* id., Mano *dudu, lulu*, Dan *duro* “crocodile” is doubtful for its problematic correspondence *l/r*. Similarly, Bokkos *tilis*, Ša *tilis* “hippo”, Daffo-Butura *tilis* “a big animal living in the water” represent doubtful cognates for voiceless anlaut.

22) It is not excluded that the initial *t-* in Kera *tūni* f. “hippo” is an old prefix of fem., but if the *t-* belongs to the root, it is possible to connect it with Sem *‘tannīn-* “mythical water monster, dragon” (Aistleitner 1963, 327; Fronzaroli 1968, 286, ftn. 88).

23) The isolated Dahalo (Damman) *na’e*, (Elderkin) *nāhe* “hippo” has hopeful cognates in Chad: (W) Kirfi *nàṡayi*, Bole (Benton) *nēm*; (C) Kotoko: Logone *niē*, Buḍuma *nay*, Ngala *nai*, Makeri *nae, ney*, Gulfei *ney*, Afade *ney, nay*, Klesem

anne, Kuseri *are* (Sölken 1967, 242); Lame (Sachnine) *nē'e* id. The etymology is obscure if we do not accept any connection with Niger-Congo “elephant” (see n. 8) or with isolated CSudanic: Lendu (Tucker) *nya* “hippo”.

24) NOm: Kačama *azāgē*, Koyra *azzāgē*, *azzagi*, Ganjule *azagé*, Basketo (Fleming) *azāma* “hippo” have promising cognates in Chad: (W) NBauči: Siri *šīṅwa*, Diri, Pa'a *šūṅwa* id. (Skinner) and Ngizim *āzagūm* (Schuch); ? (C) Gidar *šōmi*, Lame (Lukas) *zé* id.

25) NOm: Wolaita *tādyā*, (Beke) *tsade*, Kullo *tadia*; Mao (Grottanelli) *tsoeddi*; SOm: Dime *cid* “hippo” (Fleming 1976, 319) can be hypothetically compared with WChad: Ron: Ša, Kulere *didām*, Daffo-Butura, Bokkos *tidām*, Fyer *tidiš* “elephant”.

26) NOm: Doko *yerinzē*, Gofa (Conti Rossini) *yerunšē*, Malo *yerinšā*, Kullo (Conti Rossini) *yerunzā*, Basketo (Fleming) *yerinsa* “hippo” probably have substrate origin, cf. NS: CSudanic: Baka (Thayer) *ároa*, Logo *ariwa*, Ojiga *arúwà*, Luluba *yarU* (Tucker); Nile-Nubian (Reinisch) *erit* “hippo”; Surma (Haberland): Bodi, Mursi *āro* id.

27) Probably only one of the known terms for “hippo” in Chadic has an evident internal etymology: (C) Masa (Mouchet) *gáryam*, Banana (Lukas) *gariamba*, Muzgu (Krause) *gériam*, (Rohlf) *gáriam*, Vulum, Mbara *gàriyàm*; (E) Tumak *gìrim*, Mubi *gìrimí* “hippo” vs. Muzgu *gari* “(big) bull”, Muskum *gèrré*, Vulum *gari*: “bull” plus Musgu *yem*, *yim*, etc. “water”.

28) “Hippo” appears in Berber lexicons only rarely. Tuareg Ahaggar (Foucauld) *bañro*, Aulemidden *tanaṅuet* and Zenaga (*n*)*neber*’ (both Basset) reflect probably a certain language union connecting Songhai (*baña* id.) and Atlantic (Wolof-Serer *léber* id., see Basset 1887, 455).

Conclusions

This contribution has the following aims: 1) to collect a basic terminology; 2) to differentiate zoonyms with analysable semantical motivation, borrowings and etymologically obscure terms (if the latter also have a wider distribution it is probable that they represent the most archaic level of zoological lexicon); 3) to interpret the results.

A similar picture is probable e.g. in the case of Indo-European languages. Some zoonyms have an evident semantical motivation based on certain characteristic features such as “horn(s)” or “hornless”, “(living in) water”, “running”, various colours, etc. Zoological terminology concerning “exotic fauna” (elephant, camel, lion, monkey) is usually borrowed. The other zoonyms with obscure etymology and wider distribution have often Nostratic parallels (fish, dog, stag, etc.). On the other hand, Tocharians or Indo-Aryans after coming to places with different ecological environment transformed the meanings of some original terms according to external resemblance (e.g. “stag”→ “gazelle”) or they formed innovations or borrowed names for unknown animals from local languages.

An analogical situation, only on the deeper chronological level, can be expected in the case of Afroasiatic languages. I chose three typical representatives

of African fauna, elephant, rhinoceros and hippopotamus, although they are not strictly limited only to African territory. The elephant was still known in the 2nd millennium B.C. in West Syria, where it was hunted by Pharaoh Thutmose III (1464 B.C.) and in the basin of the Euphrates, where Assyrian kings hunted it (Salonen 1976, 14). The rhinoceros is supported only from isolated discoveries in Barda Balka (Iraq) and Galilea, both from the early Stone Age (Salonen 1976, 14; Šnirelman, June 1990, personal communication). The hippopotamus is described in the Old Testament (Job 40.15) as a terrible aquatic monster. But it was limited to Western Asia in the swamps of the Jordan basin.

Our analysis allows for the formulation of the following hypotheses:

(1) The oldest name of “elephant” in AA is **ʒi[kʷ]jan/r* (n. 9), probably with Nostratic cognates.

Other elephant-names have more or less hopeful internal AA etymologies or they can be interpreted as NS or NC borrowings although in some instances it is not possible to decide which variant is primary.

(2) Rhinoceros probably does not belong to common AA lexicon. Only **wu3yał* (n. 14) has a relatively wider distribution in the AA area, it is without internal AA etymology and contemporarily without parallels in African languages. But Chadic cognates mean “hippo” and so the original meaning is not evident.

(3) The original word for hippopotamus is also reconstructable problematically on the AA level. The data resemble independent borrowings from common substratum. The most promising is n. 21, which can be reconstructed as **durV*, if we accept the development **durl-* > **dull-* (Gawwada *tullupe*) > **dul-/dül-* in ECushitic (analogically perhaps Sem **pīr-/pīl-* < **pīr-l-* “elephant”, see n. 1). The original protoform of n. 24 can represent the composite **ʒikʷan* + **yam* “water-elephant” (but Omotic data suppose **d-*, cf. n. 9) or **ʒaḳ/gi* + **yam* “water-ass”, cf. WChad **ʒaki* “ass” (Stolbova 1987, 194); CChad: Glavda *ažungwa* id. (Skinner 1977, 18); Berb: Zenaga *ažig* “ass” (Woelfel 1955, 61). The third term, perhaps **naḥyV* or a similar one (n. 23) is too poorly supported (excluding Chadic).

So, I see the following picture: the elephant and hippopotamus probably lived on the territory of the AA homeland while the rhinoceros not. This pattern allows localizing the sought homeland in Syro-Palestinian region, the territory where the bearers of Natufian mesolithic culture began their “invasion” of Africa from. Of course, this conclusion cannot be definitive. Only new and independent arguments will confirm or disprove this hypothesis, originally formulated by A. Militarev, V. Šnirelman and supported by I.M. Diakonoff.

Abbreviations: AA Afroasiatic, Akk Akkadian, Amh Amhara, Arab Arabic, Aram Aramaic, Berb Berber, C Central, Chad Chadic, Cush Cushitic, d. dialect, E East, Gz Geez, Hbr Hebrew, Ind Indic, N North, NC Niger-Congo, Nigr Nigritic, Nil Nilotic, NS Nilo-Saharan, O Old, Om Omotic, p proto, Pers Persian, S South, Scm Semitic, Syr Syriac, Te Tigre, Tna Tigrina, W West. Basic sources for the languages where the author is not quoted in text: Amborn, Minker, Sasse – Dullay; Barreteau – Mofu-Gudur; Beke – Gafat; Borelli – Kullo, Tambaro; Caprile – Mawer, Tumak; Cerulli – Anfillo, Basketo, Čara, Gofa, Hadiya, Janjero, Kafa, Kambatta, Koyra, Maji, Nao, Sidamo, Šakko, Šinaša, Wolaita, Zala; de Colombel – Hide, Lamang, Magumaz, Mefe, Paduko; Conti Rossini – Awngi,

Doko, Kačama, Kemant, Šc, Xamta; Cowley – Kunfāl; Ebert – Kera; Fleming – Bambeši, Ganjule, Hozo, Sezo, Ubamer; Hayward – Arbore, Baiso; Heine – Boni, Elmolo, Rendille, Yaaku; Jungraithmayr – Ron; Kraft – Ankwe, Bade, Banana, Čibak, Čip, Daba, Dwot, Fali Gili, Fali Jilbu, Fali Kiria, Fali Mucela, Ga'anda, Gabin, Gava, Glavda, Gude, Higi Baza, Higi Futu, Higi Ghye, Higi Nkafa, Hildi, Hwona, Kapsiki, Kilba, Lame, Margi, Masa, Misme, Musey, Mwulyen, Nakatsa, Ngwaxi, Peve, Seya, Wamdiu, Wandala, WMargi, Zeghwana; Leslau – Moča; Lukas – Buduma, Dormo, Gabri, Gisiga, Hidkala, Kaba, Kenga, Kuka, Kulung, Kwang, Logone, Mubi, Mukulu, Musgu, Nancere, Ndam, Sokoro, Somrai, Sungor; MacMichael – Zaghawa; Meinhof – Kordofanian, Kreiš, Nubian; Mouchet – Gidar, Nzangi; Newman – Tera; Newman, Ma – Duwai, Vizik; Reinisch – Afar, Barea, Beja, Bilin, Dembea, Kunama, Qwara, Saho, Somali, Xamir; Schuch – Ngizim; Seignobos, Tourneux – Baldamu, Munjuk; Skinner – NBauči; Strümpell – Bata Demsa, Dari, Holma, Koboči, Musugeu, Muturuu, Wadi; Tourneux – Muskum; Tourneux, Seignobos, Lafarge – Mbara, Vulum.

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- RRAL Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Cl. di sc. mor., stor. e filolog.
- RSE Rassegna di studi etiopici.
- RSO Rivista degli studi orientali.
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SUGIA *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

NOPPEN, Jean-Pierre van – HOLS, Edith: *Metaphor II. A Classified Bibliography of Publications 1985 to 1990*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1990. ISBN 90 272 3746 8 (Eur.), 350 pp.

This volume is an appreciated continuation of Warren Shibles' survey published in 1971 and Noppen's bibliography published in 1985. The compilers have systematically followed papers and books on the subject of metaphor but have decided to include remarkable references that are for some reason or another absent from either Shibles' (1971) or Noppen's (1985) bibliographies.

According to the authors, the impetus to the compilation of Volume II of this bibliography was given by the research team of Professor Harald Delius at Mannheim University; Mannheim additions are marked MA in the text. Data contributed by E. Hols are marked EH.

The project has been supported by the Belgian Research Foundation, and a network of participants from all parts of the world has been created. This has resulted in a more exhaustive coverage that includes, at least to some extent, Eastern Europe. Some references have been taken over from other available bibliographies on metaphor and the latter are likewise acknowledged in the text.

Despite concentrated efforts, Noppen's and Hols' bibliography is not 100 % exhaustive, which is not meant as a criticism here. The reviewer appreciates the ambition of the authors to extend their scope so as to present not only the research of metaphor in linguistics and literary theory but also that in psychology, psychiatry, sociology, economics, and even biology and medicine. This is a welcome exertion, for metaphorical mechanisms operate in the very core of our cognitive attitude and activity within the world.

The authors conclude their Preface with an invitation to the users of their bibliography to contribute to the data bank with bibliographical information on the subject of metaphor.

The bulk of the publication is taken up by some 300 pages of alphabetically classified bibliography including some 3,000 bibliographical entries. Noppen 1985 contains some 4,200 items but while the latter covers some 15 years of research in metaphor, the present bibliography sums up only five years of research but with a much higher degree of inclusivity. An entry is introduced by the family name of the author(s), followed by the year of publication, by the title of the publication in the original (with its English translation if the item is published in a less accessible language, such as Romanian, Japanese, Slovak, Polish, etc. Quite a few entries contain brief content characteristics in English. In addition to books and papers, reviews and dissertations have also been included. The ratio of non-English sources is higher than expected and the titles of Eastern European publications are no exception in the text. The latter, however, tend to suffer from misprints, e.g. Naukaa Dumka instead of Naukova Dumka (publisher's name), ZhoI instead of ZoI (an author). The transcription of Russian words ought to be unified;

the phoneme /j/ is written both as *i* and as *j* (*iazykovaia metafora* vs. *Voprosy jazykoznanija*).

A highly commendable feature of the present volume is the Index of disciplines (pp. 303–311). This alphabetically arranged list of disciplines deserves a more encompassing label since it includes not only disciplines, such as ethnology, rhetorics, semiotics or technology, but also subjects as humour, writing, religion (tens of them, some of the latter subclassified). Another welcome index is that of tenors, vehicles and semantic fields (pp. 312–320) as well as an index of theoretical notions and uses of metaphor (pp. 321–330). This feature of the bibliography will no doubt be appreciated by all its users. Besides, there is an index of names (pp. 331–341), and a supplement that brings additional titles (pp. 345–350).

The compilers of the present bibliography deserve the gratitude of all scholars involved in the study of tropes and figurative language. The lacunae in the book are qualified by the reviewer not as shortcomings but rather as a challenge to help the authors to fill these gaps or at least make the results of their work accessible to the public.

I should like to suggest these addenda on metaphor from Slovakia:

ĎURČO, P.: A review of *Metafora v yazyke i tekste*. Jazykovedný časopis 41 (1990): 1

KROŠLÁKOVÁ, E.: *Metaforické posuny v nárečovej lexike* (Metaphorical Shifts in the Dialectal Vocabulary). Jazykovedné štúdie 21. *Dialektológia*. Bratislava, Veda 1987: 46–54

KROŠLÁKOVÁ, E.: *Lexikálna metafora v systéme slovenskej a ruskej lexiky*. Studia Academica Slovaca 18 (1989): 261–273

KRUPA, V.: *Lexical Metaphors in the Malay Language*. Asian and African Studies 22, Bratislava – London, Veda – Curzon Press 1986: 9–18

KRUPA, V.: *The Role of Metaphor in the Extension of Indonesian and Malay Vocabulary in Comparison with Maori*. Asian and African Studies 23, Bratislava – London, Veda – Curzon Press 1987 (1988): 131–140

KRUPA, V.: *Remarks on Creativity in Language*. Asian and African Studies 24, Bratislava – London, Veda – Curzon Press 1988 (1989): 11–18

KRUPA, V.: *Conceptual Distance within Metaphor*. Asian and African Studies 25, Bratislava – London, Veda – Curzon Press 1989 (1990): 89–94

KRUPA, V.: *Metaphor in Maori Traditional Poetry*. Asian and African Studies 25, Bratislava – London, Veda – Curzon Press 1990: 95–100

KRUPA, V.: *Metafora na rozhraní vedeckých disciplín* (Metaphor As a Transdisciplinary Subject). Bratislava, Tatran 1990, 182 pp.

OROSZOVÁ, D.: *Metafora a termín*. Slovenská reč 53, Bratislava, Veda 1988: 12–18.

Viktor Krupa

PUSKÁS, Ildikó: *India Bibliográfia – India Bibliography*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1991. 601 pp.

This is the very first Hungarian bibliography on India. It has come into existence thanks to the enthusiastic work of Hungarian Indologist Ildikó Puskás and a group of her students. They have collected an enormous amount of material: various scientific and other publications (books, studies, articles, review and translations) written by Hungarians in Hungary and abroad, as well as foreign authors in Hungary – Indologists, India researchers, scholars and even laymen interested in India. The bibliography contains

over 4,000 items which are not simply arranged in an alphabetical order but conveniently divided into 25 thematic groups: 1. *Jawaharlal Nehru (1889 – 1964)*, 2. *Bibliography of the India Research (From Alexander Csoma de Kőrös till our days)*, 3. *Folkways and Country. Ethnography, Geography*, 4. *Itinerary, Guidebook. Travelogue, Personal Narrative*, 5. *India Philology. India (Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian) Linguistics*, 6. *Languages (Practical Aspect), History of Writing*, 7. *Literary Studies, History of Literature. Fore- and Afterwords to Literary works, Translations*, 8. *Religious history, Mythology. History of Philosophy. Missionary Works*. 9. *Archeology, Epigraphy. History: General, Ancient, Medieval, Modern (incl. Gandhi)*, 10. *History: Our days. Political History. Political Sciences*, 11. *Sociology, Sociography. Statistics, Demography. Administration. Law and History of Law*, 12. *Economy. Industry. Trade. Agriculture*, 13. *Medical Sciences, Psychology, Sexuality. Natural Sciences: Biology, Pharmacology, Physics, Geology, Chemistry, Microbiology, Paleontology, Pedology, Zoology, etc. Technical Sciences*, 14. *Education, Organization of Research. Archives, Libraries. Mass-communication, Informatics*, 15. *Health-protection: Sport, Yoga. Food and Eating Habits, Cuisine*, 16. *Indian Literature – in Hungarian Translation*, 17. *India, Indian Topics in the Hungarian Literature*, 18. *India, Indian Topics in the World Literature Translated into Hungarian*, 19. *Fine Arts. History of Fine Arts, History of Architecture. Museum, Exhibitions*, 20. *Music. Dance*, 21. *Theatre. Film, Television*, 22. *Hungarian-Indian Relations: Political, Economic and Trade, Scientific and Cultural Contacts*, 23. *Miscellany from Newspapers, Daily Papers*, 24. *Major Encyclopaedias*, 25. *Appendix I.: Addenda. Appendix II.: Periodicals*. Then *Index of Names* follows.

The bibliography is a bilingual Hungarian – English publication. For items published in Hungarian (occasionally in some other languages as well, e.g. Russian, German, or French) it gives the English name of the author followed by the title in English. Sometimes the genre and a short comment is also given. Only the first part of the item, usually the Hungarian one, has a complete bibliographical apparatus.

In addition to the enormous amount of bibliographical data, the bibliography contains a thought-provoking introduction by Ildikó Puskás. The author tries to answer the question of what has motivated Hungarian interest in East. She also examines the history of Hungarian interest in India, to the most prominent personalities and their works, the activities of the Department for Indological and Indo-European Studies and other institutions devoted to Indological research, to translations from Indian languages and present cooperation with India.

Thanks to this introduction, the bibliography presents not only a valuable reference book for specialists and laymen interested in India but useful information on development of Hungarian relations towards India as well.

Anna Ráková

BERNSTORFF, Dagmar – BRAUN, Dieter (Eds.): *Political Transition in South Asia. Regional Cooperation, Ethnic Conflict, Political Participation*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1991. 168 pp.

The articles published in this book were presented at the 9th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies held at Heidelberg University in 1986. They are devoted to three groups of problems, i.e., the intraregional relations in South Asia, ethnicity and political conflict, and political participation.

Partha Ghosh in his contribution *Domestic Political Constraints to South Asian Regionalism* explains broad systemic diversities of the region, and concentrates on the bilateral problems, having India as the common denominator. He points out the roots and reasons of lasting problems of the Indo-Pakistan, Indo-Bangladesh and Indo-Sri Lanka relations. Though belonging to the same geographical region and sharing the elements of a common history, the above mentioned states differ as to the patterns of nation-building, political growth and approaches to democracy. These contradictions result also in conflicting approaches to external linkages, particularly to superpowers. For various reasons the states in the region do not cooperate. Just the contrary, the political élites of all of them "have an in-built tendency to build up their credentials by underscoring the weaknesses of their counterparts in the neighbourhood" (p. 21) and the cleavages among them are widening.

Citha D. Maass in his paper *Regional Cooperation: A New Phase in India's Foreign Policy?* examines the cooperation scheme known as South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC)/South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). He focusses mainly on the political implications of the Indian attitude towards this scheme. He analyses the role of Rajiv Gandhi in Indian foreign policy who, in contrast to Mrs Gandhi, emphasized the improvement of the relations with neighbours as one of the topmost foreign policy objectives. Maass summarizes India's role in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and changing character of Indo-Pakistan conflict.

In following contribution named *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and India's Response*, S. D. Muni examines ethnic conflict between the Tamil minority and the Sinhalese state. He traces the roots of the conflict to the post-independence period and follows its development up to India's humanitarian help in June 1987. He points out the reasons of Sri Lankan government's attempt to exclude India from the Tamil issue and India's concerns to get involved in the Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis. Although India supported legitimate interests of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, it opposed the creation of a separate Tamil Eelam in order not to rejuvenate Tamil separatism in Tamil Nadu. By involving itself in the ethnic problems in Sri Lanka, India preserved and protected also its long-termed security interests. Muni also describes in short the reasons for failure of India's mediating role in the deepening ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka.

In the study *Sikh Revivalism and Protest in Punjab: 1978-1984*, Joyce Pettigrew analyses the historical and religious framework of the Sikh movement. She introduces the basic ideas of Sikhism as a separate faith and analyses the Sikh concept of *miri-piri* according to which the religious and political power are indivisible. The doctrine stresses the supremacy of religion and life in accordance with religious precepts. According to this doctrine, obedience to the government is legitimate only as long as the government remains just. As in the Sikhs' view the present Indian government is unjust, it is their duty to fight against it. The doctrine *miri-piri* along with the concept of *Panth*, i.e. the religious community of all Sikhs, exerted decisive influence on formation of Sikh identity. The author further analyses the Bhindrawale's preaches inviting Sikhs to act against injustice and against moral corruption within Sikh community. J. Pettigrew's deep knowledge of Sikh society results in her more understanding attitude towards the Sikh campaign and *Sant* Bhindranwale and more critical attitude towards the State injustice and violence in Punjab than it is usual in contributions presented in international media.

In the following essay: *Ethnic Relations under Stress: Punjabis, Pashtuns, and Afghan Refugees*, the authors Bernt Glatzer and Ursel Siebert examine the reasons of diverse attitudes towards Afghan refugees in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan

and in Punjab. The majority of Afghan refugees are Pashtuns as are the majority of the local population of NWFP, but unlike the population of Punjab. The authors believe that the different models of Pashtun and Punjabi society play decisive role in diverse attitudes towards Afghan refugees. Pashtuns from Pakistan and from Afghanistan consider themselves descendents of one ancestor which results in their consciousness of being equal and kinsmen. They have the same organization of society and the relations among their members are reflected also in kinship terms *wróra*, i.e. descendents from a common father (friends), and *tarbúra*, i.e. descents from father's brother who quarrel over grandfather's patrimony. In the author's view this point is relevant for Pakistani Pashtuns' attitude towards refugees. As long as the refugees depend on their own or outside resources, they consider them friends, but as soon as they might claim any share in a scarce local resources and compete economically with Pakistani Pashtuns, they become enemies.

In Punjab the situation is different. Not only is the local population not ethnically related to Afghan Pashtuns but also the organization of Punjabi society is very different. Its dominant feature is the hierarchical system of occupational distinction and mutual dependence. Under these circumstances a Pathan may be integrated to Punjabi society just as an individual.

Hagen Berndt in his paper *Chipko Andolan: From Protest to Social Movement* describes the main events of the movement in Himalayan districts of Uttar Pradesh in 1973 aimed in the beginning against the felling of the ash trees by the Simon Company. Later, the activists of the Dashauli Gram Swarajya Sangh, supported by local members of all political parties in Chamoli District and from village *panchayats*, resulted in an aim for the movement for certain economic and political changes in the rural population. The author further shows how the separatists made use of the movement's high publicity on the national and international level as a basis for their demand for a separate state of Uttarkhand.

Tatu Vanhanen in his paper *The Patterns of Electoral Participation in South Asia* examines electoral participation as a form of political participation. After paying attention to the problem in general, he gives attention to national elections in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan and analyses the factors on which the political significance of electoral participation depends, such as the extent of electoral participation in national parliamentary election, the degree of competition in elections, distribution of voters among various social groups and particular sections of the population, etc. T. Vanhanen comes to the conclusion that the extent of electoral participation has been relatively high in South Asian countries, but there appears some inequality in the representation of various sections and social groups. He believes that proportional representation would be more suitable to South Asian plural societies than the first-past-the-post system as it would secure fairer representation of minority groups.

The last contribution named *People's Participation, Local Government and Rural Development in West Bengal* deals with the *panchayat* system in West Bengal and the role the system plays in the Left Front's political strategy. Kirsten Westergard analyses here the efforts to change the rural power structure in order to secure economic and political control by the poor and studies the results of these efforts. Her analysis is based on intensive field work in four *gram panchayats* in Birbhum, Bankura and Mindnapore. The author comes to the conclusion that compared to the pre-Left Front period, the changes set in motion as regards rural structure are considerable. The Left Front parties introduced party politics at the *panchayat* level, but the rural poor have not been politicized to such an extent to press for their rights.

In my estimation, the authors of the book under review have made a significant contribution to our understanding of South Asian regionalism, ethnic conflicts and various forms of participation in the political process. The book will no doubt receive the careful attention it deserves by those interested in the political development in South Asia.

Anna Rácová

TRYJARSKI, Edward: *Zwyczajy pogrzebowe ludów tureckich na tle ich wierzeń* (Begräbnisbräuche der türkischen Völker auf dem Hintergrund ihrer Glaubensbekenntnisse). Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 1991. 416 S. ISBN 83-01-09389-7. ISSN 0079-4783.

Die Geburt und der Tod – das sind zwei Marksteine, die das Beisein des Einzelnen in der menschlichen Gemeinschaft begrenzen. In einer jeden solchen Gemeinschaft, sei es Geschlecht, Stamm, oder Volk, waren diese zwei schwerwiegendsten Momente im Leben eines Menschen mit einem ganzen Komplex von Vorstellungen, Riten und Praktiken verbunden.

Die bisher umfangreichste Synthese der Erkenntnisse über Begräbnisbräuche der türkischen Völker repräsentiert die Monographie des polnischen Orientalisten Professor Edward Tryjarski. In Hinsicht auf die Zerstreung dieser Volkszugehörigen über ein riesiges Gebiet, das vom Fernen Osten bis in die Mitte Europas reicht, sowie eine große Zeitspanne von ungefähr fünfzehn Jahrhunderten, ist auch das Quellenmaterial zu dieser Problematik nicht nur außerordentlich umfangreich, aber auch verschiedenartig. Wie der Autor im Vorwort zu seiner Monographie mit Bedauern feststellt, „das selbstständige und komplexe Sammeln und die Analyse von Angaben betreffend einige Zehnen ethnischer Einheiten im historischen Querschnitt geht über die Möglichkeiten eines Forschers“ (S. 13). Trotz dieser Feststellung schon das Verzeichnis der angewendeten Literatur, welches neunzehn Seiten einnimmt (S. 348–367), beweist, daß E. Tryjarski wirklich eine respektable Menge von Material einer Analyse und Gegenüberstellung unterzogen hat. In der Monographie sind, natürlich in viel geringerem Maß, auch die Ergebnisse eigener Forschungen im Gelände enthalten, welche der Autor während seiner kurzzeitigen Aufenthalte im Kasachstan, Usbekistan, in der Türkei, in Jugoslawien und Rumänien durchgeführt hat.

Der einleitende Teil des Buches von Tryjarski (*Wstęp*, S. 16–61) ist den Einflüssen der verschiedenen Völker und ihrer Kulturen auf die Türken gewidmet. Diese haben sich ausdrucksvoll auch beim Formieren der mit dem Tod verbundenen Vorstellungen und der einerseits von diesen Vorstellungen, andererseits von Lebensbedingungen abhängigen Begräbnisbräuchen bemerkbar gemacht.

Das erste authentische Zeugnis über Rituale in Zusammenhang mit dem Ableben von Häuptlingen des Zweiten Kaganats (682–744) stellen die von F.W. Radloff dechiffrierten Epitaphe dar. Einen starken Kultureinfluß von China bezeugen außerdem auch die an diesen Epitaphen angeführten Daten, die mit dem chinesischen Kalender übereinstimmen. Überreste von mumifizierten Körpern in asiatischen archäologischen Fundstellen erlauben die Voraussetzung, daß auch bei bedeutsamen Einzelpersonlichkeiten zur Zeit der frühen türkischen Staaten die Mumifizierung nach chinesischem Muster vorgenommen wurde (S. 157–158).

Tryjarski läßt die Vermutung einiger Forscher zu, daß vom Brauch die Leichen bedeutsamerer Vertreter des Stammes zu verbrennen und gewöhnliche Mitglieder nur

frei wegzuerwerfen, die Türken zu deren Bestattung auch unter dem chinesischen Einfluß übergegangen sind. Dazu aber bemerkt er, daß auch einige ostiranische Völker, mit welchen die türkischen Nomadenstämme in Berührung kamen, zum Beispiel die Skythen, ihre Toten begruben (S. 40). Der Autor hebt auch das zahlreiche Vorkommen analoger Bestattungspraktiken und Aberglauben verbunden mit dem Tode bei den Slaven und Türken hervor (S. 45–49).

In der vorislamischen Zeit kamen die türkischen Nomaden mit religiösen Systemen in Berührung, die unter den sesshaften Bewohnern in Territorien, wo sie sich bewegten, verbreitet waren. Ihr Einfluß überstieg jedoch im allgemeinen nicht den Kreis der Stammesaristokratie. In den breiten Schichten überlebten die uralten animistischen Vorstellungen. Deshalb kamen auch beim Ableben eines gewöhnlichen Stammesangehörigen vor allem die Rituale zur Geltung, welche die Lebenden vor den Toten schützen sollten. Andererseits wurden auch Maßnahmen getroffen, welche die Toten vor den Lebenden schützen sollten, was der Überzeugung entsprang, daß falls ein Feind sich der Überreste bemächtigt, er das Leben des Verstorbenen auf der anderen Welt negativ beeinflussen kann und aus ihnen auch seine Kraft gewinnen.

Einer chronologischen oder ethnisch-sprachlichen Ordnung des in der Monographie präsentierten Materials zog ihr Autor ein System vor, in dem er von Vorstellungen und Aberglauben verbunden mit dem Tod über einzelne Phasen des Begräbniszyklus, zu welchem auch Opfer von Menschen und Tieren gehörten, zu den verschiedenen Typen von Gräbern, Kenotaphen, Balbals, Steinbabas, Grabsteinen und Friedhöfen übergeht. Der Schlußteil des letzten, fünften Kapitels stellt eine Abhandlung über den Inhalt der Grabinschriften aus verschiedenen historischen Zeitabschnitten dar, dokumentiert durch Proben von Übersetzungen ins Polnische. Dokumentationscharakter besitzen auch Reproduktionen von 149 Fotografien und Zeichnungen.

Wegen ihres interdisziplinären Charakters kann die Monographie von Professor Tryjarski der Aufmerksamkeit nicht nur von Turkologen, aber auch Archäologen, Ethnologen, Ethnologen, Soziologen und Religionswissenschaftlern empfohlen werden, welchen die beigefügten Register von Personennamen, ethnischen, geographischen und historischen Bezeichnungen und vor allem ein detailliertes Sachregister eine Orientierung im umfangreichen Text erleichtern.

Eine deutsche Mutation dieses ungewöhnlich umfangreichen Werkes, dessen Ausgabe vom Verlag Otto Harrassowitz vorbereitet wird, wird es einem breiteren Kreis von Interessenten aus den Bereichen der erwähnten wissenschaftlichen Fachgebiete zugänglich machen.

Xénia Celnarová

EKKEHARD, Rudolf: *Westliche Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik. Grundzüge und aktuelle Merkmale einer innerislamischen Diskussion /Western Islamic studies in Muslim criticism/*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd. 137). Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1991. 217 pp.

The aim of the book under review is to analyse the response of the Arab Muslim intellectuals to the work of the Western Arabists and Islamists. The discussion that is going on shows that the results of the research, especially concerning the Koran, ḥadīth and the law are in most cases found unacceptable. This is of course a sensitive issue in the Arab Muslim environment with serious cultural and political connotations. Many Muslims see a parallel between the political and military activities of the Western pow-

ers in the Near East in the past and the scientific endeavour of the Western scholars. They hold that in both cases the Muslim Arabs are no more than objects of Western imperialism, in the latter case spiritual imperialism.

The work concentrates on the reactions of those Arab thinkers whose arguments are based on the traditional concept of science and scholarship in Islam. The methods applied by the traditional scholars include description, ordering and sanctification of the ideal, not criticism. The critical methods used by the Western scholars both in secular and religious domains without exception have no chance of being approved. It is precisely this difference in method that divides the Islamic scholars into two antagonistic groups: Western specialists (outsiders) and Muslim scholars (insiders). However, the dividing line between the two also cuts into the group of insiders. The texts produced by Islamic theologians, historians and political writers show considerable differences and, in the author's view, no unified voice can be expected in the near future. Besides, much of the criticism, formally aimed at the researchers from the West seems in fact to be destined for the adherents of the liberal and anti-traditional attitudes in the Arab camp itself.

The first part of the book provides the historical setting. It shows how the originally positive attitudes to the work of the Western scholars changed with the development of the political situation in the Near East and the development of the Arab societies themselves. The second part deals with the form of the controversy and the main points of contention. Here the author analyses the typical positions of the traditional intellectuals. His main concern are such themes as the Koran, Islamic law, etc.

The core of the book is the third part, the actual analysis of the texts. The author decided to concentrate on the period from the beginning of the seventies to the early eighties and, geographically, on the Arab Near East, omitting amongst others Turkish, Pakistani and Indian voices. The actual objects of his analysis are the texts of four authors: Anwar al-Ġundī, Maḥmūd Ḥamdī Zaqqūq, Qāsim as-Samarrā'ī and Muḥammad Ḥusain 'Alī aṣ-Ṣaġīr. Although their choice of themes and sources as well as the public they want to reach show some differentiation, it is too early to say they represent special tendencies in the discussion.

According to the author the controversy over Orientalism must be seen as part of the constant search of the Arabs for their own position and, at the same time, as part of the struggle for the future orientation of their societies. The book provides a valuable insight into this process.

Jarmila Drozdiková

SCHREGLE, Götz: *Arabisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Unter Mitwirkung von Sayed Moḥammad Rizk (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Orient-Institut, Beirut). Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Sitz Stuttgart, 1992. Band II, 1. und 2. Lieferung, 1 – 256 pp., and Band II, 3. und 4. Lieferung, 257 – 458 pp.

After a six year break Schregle's lexicon commenced publication of its second half by issuing the first four fascicles of the second volume (Band II). Since a general characteristic of this giant lexicographical work has already been given in our previous reviews (*AAS* 21, pp. 290–296, 1985: Bd. I, fasc. 1–4; and *AAS* 23, pp. 313–320, 1987: Bd. I, fasc. 5–10), the following remarks will exclusively refer to a number of isolated phenomena as noted in the four fascicles under review.

Despite the fact that the volume of the lexicon makes it possible to include a truly spectacular amount of multiword units that cannot currently be found in bilingual lexicons of an Arabic – non-Arabic orientation, a number of commonly used terms of this type is still surprisingly missing. Thus, under *muta^caddid* “zahlreich, mehr-, viel-, poly-” (‘multiple, multi-, many-, poly-’), despite quite a rich collection of multicomponential adjectives, such as *muta^caddid al-‘alwān*; – *aṭ-ṭawābiq*; – *aṭ-ṭabaqāt*; – *al-‘aṭrāf* (p. 92), some other equally important units of current usage are missing, e.g.: *muta^caddid al-‘aḍlā^c* “polygonal”; – *al-jawānib* “multilateral, many-sided”; – *al-qawmiyyāt* “multinational”; – *an-nawāḥi* “manifold”, and the like.

Further, a certain lack of uniformity may be observed in the presentation of multiword terms that display alternative syntactic structures. The presence or absence of the analytic element *li-* in constructions like *bāxira ‘ābirat al-muḥiṭāt* “Ozeandampfer, Überseedampfer” (‘overseas vessel, transoceanic steamer’), as against e.g. *ṣārīx ‘ābir lil-qārāt* “interkontinentale Rakete” (‘intercontinental rocket’) (p. 77), is quite random and haphazard and so is noted. Both examples are, of course, quite correct. Nevertheless, it would perhaps be more advantageous to adopt a uniform presentation either with *li-* or without it or, finally, to adopt a writing that would reflect this *zero/li-* alternation, such as *ṣārīx ‘ābir al- (li-) qārāt*, etc.

The recent low degree of lexical and terminological codification manifests itself in a high rate of alternative terms. A considerable number of them are recorded in the lexicon, e.g. *‘ilm al-qadṣi / ‘ilm ḥarakat al-maqdūfāt* “Ballistik” (‘ballistics’) (432). It is hardly possible to record the whole range of synonymous terms with each unit quoted. For ‘ballistics’, for instance, apart from the units just quoted and, of course, apart from the borrowed *bālistik* (Schregle, Bd. I, 83) and *bālistiyyāt* (Corriente 1988, 176), several other units are in circulation: *‘ilm al-qadā’if*; *qidāfa* (Khatib 1971, 42); *miqdāfiyya* (Corriente, 176), etc. The same holds true of the respective derivatives. Apart from *qadṣi* (432) “ballistisch” (‘ballistic’), we find *qadīfti*, *qadā’ifti*, *bālisti* (Doniach 1972, 91) and, besides *bālisti*, a slightly modified *bālistikī* (Krahl-Gharieb 1984, 51), as well.

The inclusion of regionalisms is certainly inevitable in presenting the lexical stock of a language spoken over a widely extended geographic area. With terms whose use is more or less strictly restricted to certain regions, to the exclusion of others, their regional identity should have been indicated. The use of the culinary term *ṭa^cmiyya*, for instance, defined as “Frikadelle aus Bohnen, Zwiebeln, Knoblauch u. ähnlichen Zutaten” (‘patty made of beans, onions, garlic and similar ingredients’) (p. 20), is almost exclusively restricted to Egypt, a fact that should have been indicated in the lexicon. The same dish is known in Palestine, Jordan and several adjacent areas under the name of *falāfil*, presented as a synonym of *ṭa^cmiyya* (p. 366) with no regional characteristic, either.

The term *ḥājib al-‘adasa*, as an Arabic equivalent of the German “Verschluß” (p. 93), does not seem to be generally accepted. In a number of technical texts, dealing with photography, *ḥājib (aḍ-ḍaw’)* tends to denote ‘diaphragm’, as well (Krahl 1964, 87: ‘Blende’); similarly *ḥājib an-nūr* (Schregle 1974, 225). The term *ḥājib*, as a component of the multiword unit *ḥājib aḍ-ḍaw’*, is interpreted as ‘shutter’ in Baranov 1984, 156: ‘zatvor’; the same holds true of *ḥājib al-‘adasa* (Doniach 1972, 1146). The situation is further complicated by a number of tentative neologisms, such as:

‘shutter’:
dābiṭ as-sur^a (Krahl 1964, 432); *ḡalaq*, viz. *muṭtiq al-ḡalaq* “shutter release”; *sur^a* *al-ḡalaq* “shutter speed” (Khatib 1971, 546);

‘diaphragm’:

riqq, viz. *fathat ar-riqq* “diaphragm opening (phot.)” (Khatib, 157); *sijāf* (Reig 1983, No 2471), etc.

In the domain of moviemaking, the correspondence between *film ‘arḍuhu tamā-niyatu millimitrāt* (‘8-mm film’) (390) and the German “Schmalfilm” (‘narrow-gauge film’) does not seem to be quite correct. The term *šarīḏ ḏayyīq* “Schmalfilm” (Schregle 1974, 1019), inclusive of all types of narrow-gauge films, seems to be much better.

There is certainly no need to repeat words of appreciation that have already been uttered in our reviews of the fascicles 1 – 4 and 5 – 10 of the first volume. When completed, Schregle’s lexicon will seemingly be the richest record of the lexical stock of Modern Written Arabic.

Ladislav Drozdik

MOKHTAR, Ahmed: *Lehrbuch des Ägyptisch-Arabischen*, 3., erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1992. XV + 419 pp.

As we already had the opportunity to state in our review of the first edition (AAS 20, 1984, pp. 263–7), Mokhtar’s *Lehrbuch* is the first comprehensive and really modern manual of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic presented in German. By the latter Cairo Arabic is generally understood. As the mother tongue of more than fourteen million inhabitants of the Egyptian capital, one of the most important cultural and intellectual centres of the Arab world, its importance cannot be overestimated. Furthermore, Cairo Arabic is the linguistic medium of a great part of radio and TV programmes broadcast in Egypt and its knowledge is steadily spreading by means of movies and pop hits circulating all over the Arab world.

The manual consists of four parts as follows: I. Grammar (Grammatik, pp. 1–144); II. Texts (Texte, pp. 145–306); IIIa. Texts rewritten in Arabic script (Arabisch transkribierte Texte, pp. 307–356), and IIIb. Glossary (Glossar, pp. 357–419). Besides this, the book has a short preface and an introduction.

Up to page 300, the text of the 3rd edition displays no substantial changes. Only some insignificant morphophonemic features have been corrected (e.g. *biṭunna* = *biṭunna*, in: *maskīn biṭunna mil-gūʿ*, p. 220). At the end of the textual part of the book some texts have been replaced by new ones. Parts IIIa and IIIb are the only true innovations of the 3rd edition. Our comments on the 1st edition of Mokhtar’s *Lehrbuch* (1981) refer in full to the present 3rd edition, as well.

The present edition would have deserved a more careful revision since almost all misprints, recorded in the 1st edition, are repeated. Some of them:

(nicht *sāfa*) = (nicht *safā*) (5); *iḏrab* = *iḏrāb* (still better *iḏrāb*) (18); *ḥabbaya*, *ḥabbayit manga* = *ḥabbāya*, *ḥabbāyit manga* (48); *irbaʿ* = *irbāʿ* (‘*irbāʿ*’) (51); *sā ʿi* = *sāʿi* (86); *šara* – *yišra* = *šaraʿ* – *yišraʿ* (87); *mazarhāš* = *mazarhāš* (103); *la ya sēh* = *la ya šēh* (107); *maḥbaz* = *maḥbaz* (110); *lamʿaya* = *la-mʿāya* (111); *illi-f ’albu ʿala-l-sānu* = *illi-f ’albu ʿala-l-sānu* (115); *qims* = *qism* (118); *id-dalhum* = *iddalhum* (120); *bitoʿ il-gamʿa* = *bitōʿ il-gamʿa* (164); *taʿširit id-duḥūl* = *taʿširit id-duḥūl* (198); *ana gāy ḥalan* = *ana gāy ḥālan* (202); *l-ibtitaʿiyya* = *l-ibtidaʿiyya* (211); *musʿidda-ḏaḥḥi* = *mustaʿidda-ḏaḥḥi* (from *mustaʿidda* + *ṭiḏaḥḥi*) (230); *izzāy baʿā?* = *izzāy baʿaʿ?* (255); *šūfa baʿa ya sitti* = *šūfi baʿa ya sitti* (255); *iʿarāš* = *iʿrāš* (258); *ḏāmīr* = *ḏamīr* (295);

maṭariḥ = *maṭāriḥ* (297); *naṣayih* = *naṣāyih* (297); *wa'if^cala* = *wa'if^cala* (298); *asdaq* = *'aṣdaq* (298); *sitt il-ḥusu* = *sitt il-ḥusn* (255).

Old misprints have only very rarely been corrected, e.g. *ma^canduhumsi* ^c*ēs* = *ma^canduhumšī* ^c*ēš* (109).

Despite the fact that the 3rd edition did not offer a really improved version of *Lehrbuch* 1981, we may recommend it as the best modern manual of Cairo Arabic available in German.

Ladislav Drozdik

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- The Dervish Lodge. Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey.* Ed. Raymond Lifchez. Berkeley, University of California Press 1992. 348 pp.
- GOLDEN, Peter B.: *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1992. 483 pp.
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Published by

Institute of Oriental and African Studies
Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava

Text set by
ACADEMIC DTP

Subscription information

SAP – Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.
P.O. Box 57
Nám. slobody 6
810 05 Bratislava

Distributed by

SAP – Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.
P.O. Box 57
Nám. slobody 6
810 05 Bratislava
Slovakia

Registr. No. 679/92

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