ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Volume 25/2016

Number 2



Published by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences

CONTENTS

Articles		
ČERNÝ, Miroslav, HUDEC, Jozef	Fortifications at Tell El-Retaba	117
Magdolen, Dušan	The Ancient Egyptian Coffin in the Slovak Museum: The Fragments Nos. 4, 5 and 6 of the Exterior Surface of the Lid	145
HUDÁKOVÁ, Ľubica, HUDEC, Jozef	Fragment of a Ramesside Stela from Tell El-Retaba	163
Liu, Yan	The Rewriting of Jesus Christ: From the Saviour to the Proletarian - A Comparative Study of Zhu Weizhi's <i>Jesus Christ</i> and <i>Jesus the Proletarian</i>	173
VILHANOVÁ, Viera	Encountering Islam and Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa: from Orality to Literacy and to the Rise of Historical Writing in the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro	191
Sorby, Karol R.	Un Security Council Resolution 242 – Source of Lasting Arab Bitterness	213
Liďák, Ján	International Migration from Asia and Africa – Issues and Challengers for Europe	231
Rácová, Anna	Verbal Conjuncts in Slovak Romani	249
MEOUAK, Mohamed	Brief Notes on the Concepts of <i>Lisān</i> and <i>Lugha</i> within the Framework of the Medieval Berber Language through Some Examples	266

Interview		
Zhang Cziráková, Daniela	New Book about Marián Gálik was Published in Beijing	281
Book Reviews		
Sorby, Karol Jr.	Iraqi Politics in the Shadow of the Military	
Reviewed by Eduard Gombár	(1936 – 1941)	288
Alyılmaz, Cengiz	İpek Yolu Kavşağının Ölümsüzlük Eser-	
Reviewed by Erdem Uçar	leri. [The Deathless Monuments of the Silk	
	Road]	289
Plates		291

FORTIFICATIONS AT TELL EL-RETABA*

Miroslav ČERNÝ Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia cerny@engineer.com

Jozef HUDEC Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia jozef.hudec@savba.sk

The article is on construction technique and materials, especially mudbricks and their composition, vis-a-vis specific situation in Tell el-Retaba. Bridging over a thousand years, the construction recommendations of Vitruvius are compared with the current situation on the tell. This article briefly describes three defence walls so far unearthed in Tell el-Retaba and focuses on the research of local ancient mudbricks. It presents results from the examinations of several samples of mudbrick and soil done during recent archaeological seasons. The samples were examined mainly by sieve analysis, testing density, dimensions, walling technique, etc., what also indirectly helps to determine approximate strength of mud bricks and their usage in single structures. The main result, grain-size curves, describing mudbrick composition and their relationship and potential reusing in constructions, are presented. Basic dimensions of the fortress's gate – Migdol, and defence walls, based on preliminary static calculations of the bearing capacity of the subsoil are also estimated from the point of view of construction engineering.

Key words: Tell el-Retaba, defence walls, Migdol, mudbrick, grain-size curves

^{*} The works at Tell el-Retaba have been supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency (grant APVV-5970-12; Slovak Research of Ancient Egyptian civilization) and by the Scientific Grant Agency (grant VEGA 2/0139/14; History and culture of the civilization of Ancient Egypt: interdisciplinary research).

1. Introduction

Archaeological and interdisciplinary research established the existence of an important Ancient Egyptian site at Tell el-Retaba in Wadi Tumilat. The first regular excavation of the tell was conducted more than 100 years ago by Swiss researcher Henri Édouard Naville (1844 – 1926) in 1885.¹ Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853 – 1942) conducted an excavation season about twenty years after Naville; his publication² practically remained the primary published English source of information on Tell el-Retaba by the start of the Polish-Slovak excavations.

There were, however, also other archaeological activities at the site in the 20th century. Tell el-Retaba was surveyed and excavated by several Egyptian and foreign archaeological missions.³

The joint Polish – Slovak Archaeological Mission started archaeological works at Tell el-Retaba in 2007. Since then an important occupation from the Second Intermediate Period, a settlement from the early New Kingdom, Ramesside fortresses, controlling the desert routes among the Upper Egypt, north-eastern Delta, Sinai and even further eastwards⁴, were discovered and/or confirmed at the site, besides extensive Third Intermediate Period's occupation and some traces from the Late Period.⁵

The excavations did not confirm expectations that occupation on the site was mainly limited to the area confined by the later Ramesside defence walls. Unfortunately, the site has been damaged over time and even now it is endangered by modern development (Fig. 1).⁶ The excavations shall therefore use every opportunity to salvage endangered monuments and to fill gaps in the knowledge of the site.

¹ NAVILLE, H. E. The Shrine of Saft-El-Henneh and the Land of Goshen (1885), p. 24ff.

² PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. Hyksos and Israelite Cities, p. 28ff.

³ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba 2007 – 2008. In *Ägypten und Levante*. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XIX/2009, p. 241ff.

⁴ HUDEC, J., FULAJTÁR, E., STOPKOVÁ, E. Historical and environmental determinations of the Ancient Egyptian Fortresses in Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2015, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 247–262.

⁵ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish–Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011–2012. In *Ägypten und Levante, Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete.* Bd. XXIV/2014, pp. 39–120.

⁶ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba 2007 – 2008. In *Ägypten und Levante*. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XIX/2009, p. 242, Fig. 1.

2. A brief description of the mudbrick and its material

So far the oldest mudbricks were found in Anatolia (Asikli Huyuk, over 9,000 years; Catal Huyuk around 8,000 years); these mudbricks had a regular prism shape, resembling today's ones. They were the standard shape in geometric ratio 4:2:1, and dimensions 32-16-8 cm. Around 8,000 years ago mudbricks were used in the lowermost layers of Knossos in Crete. Dried bricks perpetuated by fire relate Knossos mainly to Anatolia.⁷

In Egypt dwelling construction technique have been developed for several millennia. Egyptians have built huts made of wooden poles and rush mats covered by layers of mud since the Neolithic period. Bricks dried in the sun have been used since the Predynastic period. Production of mudbricks was recorded on the paintings in the tomb of Rekhmire (18th Dynasty). Men moisturised dug out soil, kneaded it with minced straw and transported it to a place where they moulded it into rectangular forms (Fig. 3) into bricks, which were then placed in the sun to dry.⁸

Unfired, sun/air-dried bricks, loosened with chaff or sand, were not only easily obtainable and cheap construction material, but, in the dry heat of the Nile valley, still play an important role in basic air conditioning inside buildings.

Everyday Ancient Egyptian architecture – huts, houses, stables, workshops, etc. – were located on both banks of the Nile, on the humid valley floor. Soil as a building material is very sensitive to humidity and also to direct water, e.g. rain or flowing water, which could cause the destruction of mudbrick structures. These structures were also subject to damp and intense use, so that after a few decades it became necessary to replace the old, dilapidated buildings with new ones; it was not a too expensive process in view of ease obtainable building material. Over the centuries and millennia, this rapid cycle of building, collapsing and (re)building raised the level of villages and towns and formed small hills. These hills, tells in Arabic, now mark the sites of ancient settlements; even modern towns could sit on a pile of "rubble".⁹

Roman engineers, especially Vitruvius, who served during the reign of Emperor Augustus in the first century B.C., paid great attention to soil types and to the design and construction of solid foundations. There was no theoretical basis for the design; experience was extracted from trials and errors.¹⁰ Vitruvius mentioned that a mudbrick wall, thick at least 2 or 3 brick

⁷ KORECKÝ, M. Objevy pod pyramidami [Discoveries at the pyramids], p. 12.

⁸ STROUHAL, E. Život starých Egypťanů [Life of the ancient Egyptians], p. 11.

⁹ WILDUNG, D., STIERLIN, H. Egypt. From Prehistory to the Romans, p. 8.

¹⁰ BUDHU, M. Soil Mechanics and Foundations, p. 1.

lengths, was the width of 1.5 foot (1 Roman "*pes*" = 29.667 cm; 1.5 pes = 44.5 cm) not able to bear more than one floor.¹¹

The Nile River transported and deposited mud over thousands of kilometres from East Africa, through Nubia, and the valley and delta in Egypt during the annual floods. These mud deposits were used to make sun-dried mudbricks.¹² The mud provided the most important building material, especially for secular architecture, from ancient times to the 1970s, when the Aswan High Dam terminated the annual flooding cycles in Egypt.

The high medium silt content of the Nile mud determines the high medium silt content in the alluvial mudbrick. The suspended material which is brought down by the Nile and makes up the Nile mud is derived from the disintegration of igneous and metamorphic rocks under weathering influences.

Soils are formed from the physical and chemical weathering of rocks. Physical weathering involves the reduction in size without any change to the original composition of the parent rock. The main agents responsible for this process are exfoliation, unloading, erosion, freezing, and thawing. Chemical weathering causes both reductions in size and chemical alteration of the original parent rock. The main agents responsible for the chemical weathering are hydration, carbonation and oxidation.¹³

The mineralogical character of the sand and silt fractions include angular crystalline fragments of quartz, feldspar, hornblende, augite, mica and other minerals derived from disintegrated rocks. The clay fractions mainly consist of kaolin, a clay mineral which is a common decomposition product in the weathering of felspathic rocks. Thus, an alluvial bricks have a similar mineral composition in Egypt.¹⁴

From a physico-mechanical point of view individual components are applied in dependence on grain size. Clays have an ability to bind water according to its colloidal particulate. Considerable volumetric change depends on the quantity of received or released water. Clay gives plasticity (in a wet state) to loam and provide an internal cohesion and also some tensile strength. But clays are the main cause of material degradation by atmospheric climate influence. As water receiving clay is swelling, and shrinking by evaporation cracks accrue. At repeated volumetric changes the total collapse of soil constructions occurs.¹⁵

¹¹ OTOUPALÍK, A., BOUZEK, J. Deset knih o architecture [Ten books on architecture], p. 85.

¹² WILDUNG, D., STIERLIN, H. Egypt. From Prehistory to the Romans, pp.7–8.

¹³ BUDHU, M. Soil Mechanics and Foundations, p. 12.

¹⁴ FRENCH, C. A. I. A sediments analysis of mudbrick and natural features. In KEMP, Barry, J. (ed.). *Amarna Reports I. Occasional Papers 1.*, 1984, pp. 198–199.

¹⁵ SUSKE, P. Hlinené domy novej generácie [Clay houses of new generation], pp. 69– 70.

Based on size, grains and fractions of soil are divided in Table 1 in accordance with recent STN EN ISO 14688-1. 16

Grain size [mm]	Name		
Gram size [mm]	Grain	Fraction	
< 0.002	Soft	clay	
from 0.002 to 0.063	5011	silt	
from 0.063 to 2.00	Coarse	sand	
from 2.00 to 63.00	Coarse	gravel	
from 63.00 to 200.00	Voru operco	stone	
> 200.00	- Very coarse	boulder	

 Tab. 1 Nomenclature of main grain sand fractions

According to a mudbrick structure and its practical use it is obvious that coarsegrained soils (sand and gravel) gives strength (a solid frame) to a mudbrick. It is not, however, possible without fine-grained soil (clay and silt) and perhaps an additional adhesive, which bonds single coarse-grained fractions together and creates a compact (well workable in a wet state) and long-lasting (sufficient stiff after drying up) unit. An optimal grain ratio (granulometry) could help to obtain an ideal composition of mudbrick material, which results into strong mudbrick by well compactions with as narrow as possible position of the soil fractions.

According to laboratory research executed in France¹⁷ the ideal granulometry of soil intended for building purposes should respond to Tab. 2 and Tab. 3.

Sieve openings	Recommended composition	Acceptable composition
[mm]	[%]	[%]
40	100	100
15	87-100	87-100
10	72-100	72-100
5	51-100	51-100
2	37-69	37-100
0.5	21-45	21-100
0.08	15-35	12-50

Tab. 2 Granulometry

Note: Contents of organic particles cannot be more than 2%

¹⁶ STN 72 1001, 2010, p. 11.

¹⁷ MARIOTTI, M. La terre-materiau de construction, pp. 16–24.

CKS	Recommended characteristics	Acceptable characteristics
OBRIG	$200 \le f * Ip \le 400 \ 8 \le Ip \le 15$	$170 \le f * Ip \le 500 \ 7 \le Ip \le 20$
MUI	Optimum: $f = 25$ Ip = 10	-

Tab. 3 Contents and composition of clay

f = percentage of particle less than 0.08 mm, Ip = plasticity index

Inadequate granulometry can be improved by adding particles needed to obtain ideal material composition. The quality or degree of compaction is also significantly influenced by the proper process of compaction and the right amount of water contained in the soil. Water content should range from 7 to 25%, according to a type of loam.¹⁸

Proportions of clay, silt and sand in the Nile alluvium are dependent and differ by particular site. If the clay level content was too high, bricks, would slowly dry in the sun, could crack, shrink and lose their shape. In such cases it was necessary to mix the alluvium material with sand, straw pieces or other sealant, such animal dung. Sand reduces shrinkage and cracking during drying and chopped straw and animal dung increases the strength and plasticity.¹⁹

The mudbrick constructions are water sensitive in general, which negatively influences relatively low strength of material and results into more massive proportions of constructions compared to other materials like baked bricks or stone. Mud plaster in mudbrick constructions therefore function not only to improve appearance of the wall and cover irregularities, but also partially to secure masonry before mechanical damages and protect walls against rain.

Sensitivity to water, along with lower strength parameters, formed specific morphology and structural principles of earthen architecture from time immemorial. Production of mudbricks was suggested in the spring or autumn time to dry them out in one stroke. Bricks manufactured in midsummer were wrong; the harsh sunlight prematurely dried up their top layers. Such mudbricks seemed to be dried, but they were still wet inside. Subsequent shrinking broke up layers which had dried up earlier. As a result such bricks were unstable. Thus, about two year old bricks, which were dry in depth, were far more suitable for constructions.

¹⁸ SUSKE, P. Hlinené domy novej generácie [Clay houses of new generation], pp. 82– 83.

¹⁹ MORGENSTEIN, M. E., REDMOUNT, C. A. Mudbrick Typology, Sources, and Sedimentological Composition: A Case Study from Tell el-Muqdam, Egyptian Delta. In *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 1998, Vol. 35, p. 129.

The quality and durability of mudbricks also depended on soaking a mixture of mud and straw in water for several days. The straw degraded during soaking and released somewhat mucus. The mucus impregnated the mud; it increased viscosity and ensured cohesion of mud during the drying.

Bricks were connected together by a mortar made from mud blended with sand, straw and chaff. Walls were generally tapered upward. Plaster had composition similar to mortar. Interior and exterior walls of houses were almost always lime-bleached.

A floor was most frequently made of trampled clay, or a layer of bricks. The design of a ceiling and/or a roof (particularly flat) was usually made up of beams and/or half beams of date palms. At greater length they were supported by pillar or pillars of a palm beam. From above, the beams were overlapped by a layer of palm leaves, bunches, or reed rugs, mudbrick, or by a layer of earthen clay. The surface was covered by a sloping waterproof layer of soft mud, to ensure run-off for rainwater.

Stairs or ladders were used to climb roofs. Window openings were small, either low and wide or tall and narrow. They were usually located at the tops of walls to prevent over-heating of rooms. Also, entrances to homes and vents in walls were situated towards the north, whenever possible.

According to the rules of traditional architecture, walls of mudbricks should not be longer than 5 m without stiffening elements (corners, transverse walls). The surface of openings should be less than about one third of the total surface. Maximum width of openings should not be more than about 1.2 m. Mortar should have approx. the same composition as mudbricks and its thickness should be from 1.5 to 2.5 cm. Too high a mortar layer decreases the strength of masonry. Because of slow drying mortar it is not suggested to brick up masonry more than one meter high because the weight of the mudbricks could cause the mortar joints to collapse.²⁰

Average resistance to pressure of mudbricks in the area of Tell ed-Der was approx. 5.5 kg/cm². Various modern Egyptian mudbricks have a crushing strength in the range of 4-6.5 kg/cm². Based on tests at the Centre for Research and Application of Clay construction (CRATerre) indicative compressive strength stabilised by fibre is possible from 0.5 to 2 MPa when using clay in the construction.²¹

When using mudbricks it is also necessary to take into account its lower strength and poor resistance to humidity and non-uniform settlement of masonry, due to poorly built foundations. Poor resistance of bricks to humidity

²⁰ OTOUPALÍK, A., BOUZEK, J. Deset knih o architecture [Ten books on architecture], p. 85.

²¹ CRATerre, 1985, p. 72.

was not an obstacle in a land where it rains rarely and briefly. According to data²² from recent 10 years, in the Tell el-Retaba area rainfalls mainly come during winters with about five average rainfall days per month and to 14 mm precipitation. Despite to relative small quantum of rainfalls, they are intensive enough to systematically decay mudbrick constructions, as it was seen at Tell el-Retaba (Fig. 2).

3. Description of Fortifications at Tell el Retaba

The fortress from the time of Ramses II (Wall 1) had its broken ground plan revised after rebuilding under Ramses III's rule (Wall 2 and Wall 3), but although the later fortresses were significantly expanded eastward in general, there was minimal extension on the western side. In this area a gravel layer with dug-in Hyksos tombs has been found. The bedrock gravel indicates the existence of a river or a channel at this place, what could also be the reason for the specific ground plan influenced by the river's aggradation mound, especially in the case of the Ramses II's fortress.

As reported by Vitruvius (70 BC-15 AD), foundations for defence walls and towers were necessary to be dug down to a bearing ground, whenever possible. They should be wider than walls or gates. Towers must protrude outside from the wall in order to enable hitting an enemy from them. The walls should be built along steep places; roads to gates should not keep in a straight direction, but should turn left. The width of the walls on the top should enable circumvention of fighters. Tanned olive pales should be walled across the entire width of fortification walls as densely as possible; so the fronts of the wall are then tied together as connectors. The distance between towers should not be more than a range of an arrowshot so that attackers could be repulsed by fire from the next towers. However, the walls and towers are more secure when they are associated with earthen mounds, then the enemies are not able neither harm nor ram, nor undermine them.²³

Due to more than a thousand years' time span between Ramessides and Vitruvius, the construction of the walls at Tell el-Retaba indicates several differences from the recommendations of Vitruvius.

It would be a question, what could represent a "bearing ground" at Tell el-Retaba. If the sand gravel of aggradation mound was considered, it does not

²² World weather online, Available from http://www.worldweatheronline.com/ismailia-weather-averages/al-ismailiyah/eg.aspx [cit. 10 May 2016].

²³ OTOUPALIK, A., BOUZEK, J. Deset knih o architecture [Ten books on architecture], p. 49.

represent the case. The walls run above the mound whenever possible, but at least on the western side of the tell the wall foundations were not dug into. Although, the builders excavated some older cultural layers (and very probably used them for making mudbricks for the wall) they did not entrench the foundations into the aggradation mound.

The walls utilised, however, the relative height of the aggradation mound to get some external slope (probably not very steep). The walls were probably also protected by a channel from western, southern and eastern side and by a lake or marches from the northern side. A unique sand buttress was discovered supporting the internal side of Wall 2, so far on its western and southern part; an earthen buttress was used in rather later periods (Fig. 30) to absorb the energy of shots by siege machines and weapons.²⁴ Buttress dams are also known, but also in rather later periods.²⁵

The only permanent gate seems to be from the west; Petrie indicated a small gate in the middle of southern Wall 3²⁶, and there is another gate on the eastern side of Wall 2 (closer to the NE corner of the fortress) indicated by geophysical prospection.²⁷ Neither external road, leading to some of the above mentioned gates, neither earth mound or moat (e.g. similar to Buhen) have not been uncovered so far.²⁸ Almost the same position of the main gate on the west implies that a main access road should approach the fortress from this side.

Foundations of neither of the three walls were not much wider than the walls themselves and the same observation is valid for the Migdol-gate. The walls are, however, poorly preserved and therefore it is difficult to determine the exact angle of their tapering (about 3°, see below), or other details of their internal construction (e.g. pales, etc.), or width of the walls on their top (disposable to fighters). Also so far, no towers were surely detected as incorporated into Tell el-Retaba defence walls.²⁹

²⁴ CAMPBELL, D. B. Besieged. Siege warfare in the Ancient world, p. 202.

²⁵ CAMPBELL, B. Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome, p. 229.

²⁶ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. Hyksos and Israelite Cities, Tab. XXXV.

²⁷ RZEPKA, S. et al. Retaba 2007 – 2008. In Ägypten und Levante. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XIX/2009, p. 276, Fig. 33.

p. 276, Fig. 33. ²⁸ Whether older gate to Wall 1 was protected by a moat is not sure (see HUDEC, J. In RZEPKA, S. et all.: Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish–Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011–2012. In Ägypten und Levante, Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XXIV/2014, p. 71f.

²⁹ There are some protrusions on Petrie's map of Wall 1 (PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. Hyksos and Israelite Cities, Tab. XXXV); they were not confirmed by recent excavations so far.

Structures visible to the naked eye include the earliest examined defence Wall 1, dated by Petrie to the Hyksos period (an obsolete dating). From the "Great House" (of the 18th Dynasty according to Petrie) and only very modest remains of a Ramesside temple can be traced on the surface. The paper will further focus mainly on defence walls (Petrie's Wall 1, Wall 2 and Wall 3), which are continuously being investigated together with other constructions at the Tell el-Retaba area.

3.1 Wall 1

Fortification Wall 1 was constructed with mudbricks. More types of mudbricks were used in repeated reconstructions. Wall 1 has been analysed near to south Migdol's tower (Fig. 6) and also behind the trench, in Area 9 (Fig. 5).Wall linthe Migdol area is created by a core (width at the bottom 1.85m), internal extension (width 2.05 m) and external extension (width 1.40 m). Fine yellow sand was in the footing bottom of both extensions. The wall is more eroded in Area 9; several children's graves have been found below the internal extension of Wall 1.

The internal and external extensions of Wall 1 also contain greenish and black mudbricks, which indicates that both extensions could have been built at the same time or in a relatively short interval only. Wall 1 at Migdol was locally damaged at the core; greenish and black mudbricks were used in its reconstruction and extension. These bricks were not, however, used in the foundations or edge area, probably due to their fragility and enhanced water sensitivity. Individual samples of mudbricks and sand from the footing bottom of Wall 1 are shown in Tab. 4.

According to the same dimensions of mudbricks used in both extensions and due to the same bonding pattern of bricks (Fig. 7) it is possible to assume that both Wall 1 extensions were made almost at the same time to widen and heighten the defence system of the fortress dated to the reign of Ramses II.

Wall 1 in Area 9 was also created by a core (width at the bottom 1.80 m), internal extension (width 1.30 m) and external extension (width 1.40 m). At the footing bottom of the internal extension is a gravel bed with shards; it is about 20 cm higher than the foundation level of the wall's core. The external extension is at a lower level than the core, by about a brick height, on a sand layer thick by about 5 cm. It seems that in this part the core of the wall and external extension was built first and only then the core of the wall was built on a sand layer about 15 cm thick. Rusty coloured gravel is below.

Name	Туре	Location	Description	Position	Dimensions
S-MB1	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	regular brown mudbrick	core, 4th row	9x19x38cm
S-MB2	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	regular brown mudbrick	external extension, 5th row	9x19x39cm
S-MB3	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	regular brown mudbrick	internal extension, 9th row	9x19x39cm
S-MB4	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the road)	regular brown mudbrick	core, 2nd row	9x15x34cm
S-MB5	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	black mudbrick	core, 5th row	9x19x39cm
S-MB6	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	greenish mudbrick	external extension, 10th row	9x19x33cm
S-S1	soil	Wall 1	yellow sand	external extension, footing bottom	-

 Tab. 4 Analysed samples for Wall 1

3.2 Wall 2

Besides the walls uncovered by the Polish-Slovak excavations, some walls can still be seen on the surface due to their research by an Egyptian mission at the beginning of the 21st century³⁰. Especially the thick walls of the Ramses III fortress (Petrie's Wall 2 and Wall 3)³¹ in their southern (Fig. 8) and western sections are quite easy to discern. Even the casemate structure of the Wall 2 is to be recognised close to the south-eastern corner of the fortress. Both walls were also recorded by archaeological rescue works of H. Goedicke and M. Fuller (Fig. 9) during construction of a trench for a high-capacity pipeline, which cross-sectioned the middle of the site from north to south.

³⁰ RZEPKA, S. et al. Retaba 2007 – 2008. In Ägypten und Levante. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XIX/2009, p. 243f.

³¹ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 1906, Tab. XXXV; RZEPKA, S. et al. Retaba 2007 – 2008. In *Ägypten und Levante*. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XIX/2009, p. 246–252.

Petrie's Wall 2 was easily recognised in the trench; nine rows of mudbrick (locus 106) were preserved in the section. The width of the wall measured 10.52 m. The maximal preserved height of the Wall 2 was 1.8 m. The inner face bricks were laid in a header bond and were arranged to make a3 degrees inward slope. The outer face of the wall was not constructed of mudbrick, but composed of puddled mud. The latter material was also used in the core of the wall. Mudbricks along the inner face had a sandy texture, pale brown colour and averaged dimensions of 10x22x46cm. The foundation of the wall consisted of 5 courses of mudbricks (locus 105) which rests upon a 10 cm thick layer of grey sand (locus 107). The foundation was laid in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. The bricks were identical in size and colour to the sandy mudbricks used in the main body of the wall.³²

Wall 2 has been for the moment analysed mainly in the section in Area 9 (Fig. 10). The wall in this area is circa 4.5 m wide. In the footing bottom is grey sand (sample S-S2) and mudbricks (sample S-MB7) are placed about 3 cm in it. A side and front view of Wall 2 in Area 9 is shown in Fig. 11. Individual samples of mudbrick and sand from the footing bottom of Wall 2 are shown in Tab. 5.

Wall 2 at the Migdol towers was built on a solid platform of mudbricks (Fig. 16); some older structures (e.g. Black house 1) were uncovered below the platform, built from black mudbricks. Even older architectures from greenish mudbricks were discovered deeper, underneath the Black house1. It is possible the bricks of these structures were reused in Wall 1 or some other constructions. Other Black houses have also been found close to the south-western corner of the fortress.

Below Wall 2 next to the Migdol the footing bottom in also sandy. An uphill gradient of Wall 2's footing bottom is traceable from the south-western corner of the fortress northwards (towards Migdol).

Name	Туре	Location	Description	Position	Dimensions
S-MB7	mudbrick	Wall 2 (Area 9)	regular brown mudbrick	1st row	9x20x45cm
S-S2	soil	Wall 2 (Area 9)	grey sand	footing bottom	-

Tab. 5 Analysed samples for Wall 2

³² FULLER, M. J. Available from http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981.html [cit. 12 May 2016].

3.3 Wall 3

Petrie's wall 3 was easily recognised in the construction trench of pipeline (see above). The heavy machinery damaged the south (outer) side of the wall

Name	Туре	Location	Description	Position	Dimensions
S-MB8	mudbrick	Wall 2 (south tower of the Migdol)	regular brown mudbrick	6th row	12x21x45cm
S-MB9	mudbrick	Wall 2 (north tower of the Migdol)	regular brown mudbrick	5th row	12x21x45cm
S-MB10	mudbrick	Wall 2 (pedestal at the north tower of the Migdol)	regular brown mudbrick	1st row	12x21x45cm
S-MB11	mudbrick	Wall 2 (at the south tower of the Migdol)	regular brown mudbrick	4th row	9x21x45cm
S-MB12	mudbrick	Wall 3 (Area 9)	regular brown mudbrick	3rd row	12x20x39cm
S-M1	mortar	Wall 2 (pedestal at the north tower of Migdol)	bed mortar	footing bottom	-
S-S3	soil	Wall 2 (pedestal at the north tower of Migdol)	yellow sand	footing bottom	-
S-S4	soil	Wall 2 (pedestal at the north tower of Migdol)	brown soil	floor soil at the <i>"Black house 1"</i> under a pedestal of Wall 2	-
S-S5	soil	Wall 2 (threshold of Migdol)	yellow sand	footing bottom	-
S-S6	soil	Wall 2 (near the south – western corner of the fortress)	yellow sand used like bed layer	footing bottom	-
S-S7	soil	Wall 3 (Area 9)	yellow sand	footing bottom	-

Tab.6 Analysed samples for Wall 2 and Wall 3

making it impossible to get an accurate measurement on its width. The surviving portion was 7.46 m wide. Petrie had recorded the width of this wall at 8.81 m, 8.92 m and 8.94 m. The inner face of the wall stood 4 courses high (0.8 m).³³ The front view on Wall 3 in section Area 9 is shown in Fig. 12. A side and front view of Wall 3 in Area 9 is shown in Fig. 15. The footing bottom of Wall 3 in Area 9 is filled with sand, charcoal and shards.

Wall 3 was identified on the southern and eastern side of the fortress, however, its existence on the western and northern side and relation to the Migdol gate (Fig. 13, Fig. 14) is dubious, mainly due to both, deep erosion of the archaeological situation on the western and northern side and intense activities of *sabbakheens*.

Individual samples of mudbrick and soil from the footing bottom of Wall 3 are shown in Tab. 6. In the next seasons some other parts of the Wall 3 will be analysed to illustrate the wall building sequences and connections with Wall 2. Some relations between walls in Area 9 (view toward east) is shown in Fig. 17.

The relation between Wall 2 and 3 has already been examined by Goedicke (Fig. 19). The mentioned cross-section of these walls (Fig. 19) is situated about 190 m towards east, behind the cross-section shown in Fig. 17.

3.4 The Migdol

The Migdol's north tower (ground plan ca 22.5x14.0 m) touches Wall 1, but the south tower (ground plan ca 22.5x14.0 m) keeps a 1.2 m gap towards Wall 1. This gap was filled with fine yellow sand. At a height of approx. 1.5 m the masonry of the tower overlaid the gap and joined Wall 1, creating a "pseudo"-corridor.³⁴ The north tower overlaid by its western side a platform, as wide as Wall 2, which continued as Migdol's threshold toward/below the southern tower. The platform was founded on a mortar layer 2 to 6 cm thick, under which was a sand backfill. It seems that the tower had circumferential foundation mudbricks lower than in the middle of the tower, so the foundations were stepped. This space was filled by a rise of fine yellow sand.³⁵

³³ FULLER, M. J., Available from http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981. html [cit. 12 May 2016].

³⁴ HUDEC, J. In RZEPKA, S. et al. New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period. In *Agypten und Levante*. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XXI/2011, p. 141f.

³⁵ HUDEC, J. In RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish–Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011–2012. In *Ägypten und Levante, Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete.* Bd. XXIV/2014, p. 72.

The preserved part of both towers are about 1.5 m higher than the door-step and compact, which indicates the purpose of towers on the ground floor as a part of an impenetrable defence system. Some rooms were probably located on the upper floors (see an architectonic reconstruction: (Fig. 31–32).

The north tower is connected to Wall 1 in a way that from entry corridor/southeastern corner the tower overlaps Wall 1 by one mudbrick row, 115 cm above the fundaments, and the tower edge slopes towards Naville's section to the footing bottom of Wall 1. It seems that Wall 1 was completely damaged or absent in this area during the Migdol construction or the empty space represents the old gateway of Wall 1, which was already indicated by Petrie.³⁶

4. Methodology of testing and description of actual state of mudbrick constructions

The composition and statistical measurements of mudbricks tested at a similar locality (el-Amarna) suggest that the all used raw materials are naturally occurring sediments. In the Delta area they have undergone the same mixing and sorting in situ, as a result of their manufacturing into bricks.³⁷

The uniformly high medium sand content suggests an influence of windblowing as an agent of transport and deposition. The "puddling" during the brick manufacture process would tend to concentrate the finer size grades; the longer the suspension was allowed to settle. The excavation in el-Amarna revealed a possible working yard with piles of dung/alluvium and ash, which may have been intended for use in the making of bricks. Other inclusions found in the bricks at el-Amarna are grass, wood, seeds and pottery. This suggests that brick composition was very much a matter of what was easily and locally obtainable. Bricks with greater and coarser amounts of gravel were more often used in the lower courses of buildings (proper mudbrick for enclosure walls and foundation courses), but for the finishing whatever materials at hand was used.³⁸

Appropriate tests for determining the ideal granulometric composition of a mudbrick are mainly based on sieve analysis (grain > 0.1 mm), hydrometer test (grain < 0.1 mm), specific Atterberg limits (shrinkage, plastic, liquid) and proctor compaction test.

At sieve analysis the weight of dry soil placed atop of the largest sieve is known and the set of sieves are shaken. The soil retained on each sieve is

³⁶ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. Hyksos and Israelite Cities, Tab. XXXV.

³⁷ FRENCH, C. A. I. A sediments analysis of mudbrick and natural features. In KEMP, Barry, J. (ed.). *Amarna Reports I. Occasional Papers 1.*, 1984, pp. 194–195.

³⁸ Ibid. pp. 194–195.

weighed and the percentage of soil retained on each sieve is calculated. The results are plotted on a graph in percentages of particles finer than a given sieve as the ordinate versus the logarithm of the particle sizes as shown e.g. in Fig. 20 and Fig. 21.

The hydrometer test involves mixing a small amount of soil into a suspension and observing how the suspension settles in time. Larger particles will settle quickly followed by smaller particles. When the hydrometer is lowered into the suspension it is possible to determine the density of the suspension at different times. The hydrometer tests will be done in the next season for the remaining parts of mudbricks after a sieve analysis.

The particle size distribution of soil is presented as a curve on a semilogarithmic plot, the ordinates being the percentage by weight of particles smaller than the size given by the abscissa. Size such as 10% of the particles is smaller than the size which is denoted by D_{10} . Other sizes such as D_{30} and D_{60} can be defined in a similar way. The size D_{10} is defined as the effective size. The general slope and shape of the distribution curve can be described by means of the coefficient uniformity of C_u and the coefficient curvature of C_c , defined as follows:

$$C_u = D_{60}/D_{10}$$

 $C_c = D_{30}^2/(D_{60}.D_{10})$

The higher the value of the coefficient uniformity the larger the range of particle sizes in the soil.³⁹A soil that has a uniformity coefficient of < 4 contains particles of uniform size (approximately one size). The minimum value of C_u is 1 and corresponds to an assemblage of particles of the same size. The gradation curve for poorly graded soils is almost vertical. Humps in gradation curve indicate two or more poorly graded soils. Higher values of uniformity coefficient > 4 are described as a well-graded soil and are indicated by a flat curve. The coefficient curvature is between 1 and 3 for well-graded soils. The absence of certain grain sizes, termed gap-graded, is diagnosed by a coefficient curvature outside the range of 1 to 3 and a sudden change of slope in the particle size distribution curve.⁴⁰

A laboratory test proctor standard delivers a standard amount of mechanical energy to determine the maximum dry unit weight of the soil.

Dry unit weight is the weight of dry soil per unit volume. To denote unit weight:

³⁹ CRAIG, R. F. Soil mechanics, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁰ BUDHU, M. Soil Mechanics and Foundations, p. 45.

 $\gamma_d = w/V [kN/m^3]$ (w – weight of a dry soil, V – volume of the soil)

Relative density I_D is an index that quantifies the degree of packing between the most loose and most dense possible state of coarse-grained soils. The relative density correlates very well with the strength of coarse-grained soils – denser soils being stronger than looser soils.⁴¹

Soil densities were tested in the field and the loosest and densest states of coarse grained soil (sand) have been evaluated.

The minimum dry unit weight $\gamma_{d,min}$ of soil in loosest conditions were found by pouring dry sand, into a container of volume 1000 cm³ using a funnel. The sand that filled up the container was weighed. The maximum dry unit weight $\gamma_{d,max}$ was determined by vibrating the container with the sampled soil. After 2 minutes of hand vibrating a new smaller value of soil volume were checked and the $\gamma_{d,max}$ were calculated.

Obtaining γ_d for non-cohesive soil directly from in situ tests is difficult and is important to measure an accurate volume from the sample pit. In the next seasons some in situ measuring of soil (sand) density will be done.

The grading curve is used for textural classification of soils which describe soils based on their particle size distribution. Various classification systems have evolved over the years to categorise soils for a specific engineering purpose. In general soils are separated into two main categories. One category is coarse-grained (non-cohesive) soils and the other category is fine-grained (cohesive) soils. Coarse grained soils are subdivided into gravels and sands while fine-grained soils are divided into silt and clays. According to Eurocode 7 and STN 72 1001 is a clay identified by a grain size less than 0,002 mm, silt has the grain size from 0.002 to 0.063 mm, sand has a grain size from 0.063 to 2 mm and gravel has the grain size from 2 to 63 mm.

For a mutual mudbrick comparison a grain size distribution curve of values were realised from sieve analysis (Fig. 20). For precise obtained data it would be appropriate to use an anti-coagulant (2% of a sodium hexametaphosphate or sodium pyrophosphate) according to a smaller percentage representation of fractions under 0.1 mm, so it will be used for the hydro-meter test in the next seasons also with additional mudbrick samples for checking results. Already obtained data are helping to illustrate the relationship between constructions and their material.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 37.

5. Evaluation of actual obtained information

From received information and observations available from the archaeological site relative to an engineering point of view, some findings of mudbrick analysis (Fig. 20) and comparison of soil from the footing bottom for individual constructions (Fig. 21) are presented. In paper mudbrick composition it was pointed out and also an examination for soil bearing capacity has been calculated.

5.1 Analysis of samples

A gravel layer was located in the area's subsoil which exact position and thickness should be specified by additional drilling. The gravel layer is strongly (yellow – rusty) oxidised in its top deposit and only lighter oxidised in a lower deposit. Humidity and oxygen cause a reduction of ferrum in deposits and consequently ferrum's possible flush. However, at a permanent water level the ferrum is kept preserved; it oxidises to yellow or rusty colour only after the water level decrease sand oxygen intakes. Oxidation at Tell el-Retaba confirms earlier soil science detection of fluctuating water levels at this site.⁴²

Differently coloured bricks are (often secondary) used for (re)constructions and extensions of constructions. Black mudbricks were probably caused by an organic carbon (or an ash) considering the fact that all fractions were black. Used mortar was regular brown. It is possible to assume that greenish mudbrick material was mined for it production from a place with excessive reduction and wash-off conditions. After all reduced ferrum was washed away the soil in specific deposits changed its colour to greenish. Such greenish deposits were observed in deeper layers of other venues in Wadi Tumilat (Fig. 33).

It is obvious that the colour of mudbricks depends on the source of used material. The producers did use such material without too much care about improving the composition of mudbricks; it seems that accessibility of soil material was the prior motive in the majority of cases in Tell el-Retaba. During sampling very low strength and fragility of greenish mudbrick were noticed; some mudbricks even crumbled away. Grain size distribution curves of mudbrick and soil samples are shown in Fig. 20 and Fig. 21.

⁴² HUDEC, J., FULAJTÁR, E., STOPKOVÁ, E. Historical and environmental determinations of the Ancient Egyptian Fortresses in Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2015, Vol. 24, No. 2, p. 275f.

5.1.1 Interpretation of some results from grain-size curves

- Comparison of mudbrick composition from Wall Iclose to the Migdol (sample S-MB1) and in Area 9 (sample S-MB4) indicates different dimensions of mudbricks (see Fig. 22) and probably also different used soil materials. From a preliminary evaluation of the coefficient uniformity of C_u and the coefficient curvature of C_c it is possible to assume that mudbrick S-MB1 was of better quality than S-MB4.
- According to very good match of mudbrick samples S-MB8 and S-MB9 we can assume that Wall 2 was probably built from Migdol next to the north and also to the south by the same mudbricks probably at the same time (see Fig. 23).
- The core of Wall 1 and its extensions (internal and external) were built by different mudbrick material, despite the mudbricks having had the same dimensions. The used black (sample S-MB5) and greenish (sample S-MB6) mudbricks have strong composition similarity, which will be explored in more details in future.
- Besides the important information about mudbrick material (grain-size curve) the type of the footing bottom, the bonding brick is also very important. Material from the surrounding area (sand and mud) was usually used in the production of mudbricks.
- The yellow sand from the footing bottom of Migdol's threshold (sample S-S5) was also used in the footing bottom of Wall 3 (sample S-S7) in Area 9 (see Fig. 24).
- Soil from the floor of Black house 1 (sample S-S4), located under Wall 2 platform connected to the Migdol, corresponds to mudbrick material from Wall 3 (sample S-MB12) in Area 9, what might indicate that bricks from Wall 2 could probably be reused at the building of Wall 3 (see Fig. 25).
- Also the match of sand from the footing bottom of north Migdol's tower (sample S-S3) and the mudbrick of south Migdol's tower (sample S-MB11) indicates that the same sand was probably used for making bricks as well as in the footing bottom (however, mudbricks from the north Migdol's tower have not been tested yet) (see Fig. 26).
- The sand sample S-S1 from the external extension of Wall 1 and sand sample S-S6 from Wall 2 near the south-west corner of the fortress used like a bed layer also match very well. Different underlying sand was used in the footing bottom of Migdol's threshold. It is possible to assume that several dunes of fine sand were blown into the vicinity of Tell el-Retaba fortresses in the 13th and 12th centuries B. C.; they were sources of a similar bed layer material in the New Kingdom (Fig. 27).

But an alternative also might be possible that the construction of Wall 2 on the western side of the fortress started in the south-west corner on the regular surface and as subsequent works continued towards the Migdol some additional fill-up material was necessary, which can also be indicated by steps in the footing bottom of Wall 2 towards the Migdol. Further analyses will be needed.

Name	Туре	Location	Cu[-]	Cc[-]	γ[kg/m ³]
S-MB1	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	18,0	0,6	2010
S-MB2	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	-	-	1640
S-MB3	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	-	-	1765
S-MB4	mudbrick	Wall 1 (Area 9)	7,5	3,3	1650
S-MB5	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	-	-	1770
S-MB6	mudbrick	Wall 1 (behind the Migdol)	-	-	1530
S-MB7	mudbrick	Wall 2 (Area 9)	-	-	1820
S-MB8	mudbrick	Wall 2 (at south tower of the Migdol)	20,0	5,0	1920
S-MB9	mudbrick	Wall 2 (at north tower of the Migdol)	18,3	5,1	1880
S-MB11	mudbrick	Wall 2 (at the south tower of the Migdol)	12,6	3,5	-
S-MB12	mudbrick	Wall 3 (Area 9)	10,0	2,3	1790
S-S1	soil	Wall 1	3,3	1,2	1610-1930
S-S2	soil	Wall 2	2,1	1,3	1500-1900
S-S3	soil	Wall 2 (platform at the north tower of the Migdol)	3,0	1,3	1730-2020
S-S4	soil	Wall 2 (platform at the north tower of the Migdol)	5,0	1,9	-
S-S5	soil	Wall 2 (threshold of the Migdol)	2,4	1,1	1610-1810
S-S6	soil	Wall 2 (near the south – west corner of the fortress)	3,0	1,2	-
S-S7	soil	Wall 3 (Area 9)	2,2	0,9	1550-1710

Tab. 6 Analysed samples for walls

• To refine a content of a fine-grained soil (silt and clay) of analysed mudbrick samples, an anticoagulant will be applied in the next tests previous to the sieve analysis and hydrometer test. The application will show non-cohesion among grains of soil and improve the course of grain-size curve, and verify the already performed tests (which were so far sufficient for adequate mutual comparison of individual curves).

The coefficient uniformity of C_u , coefficient curvature of C_c and soil density have been evaluated, based on individual soil samples and some parts of mudbricks what, together with grain – size curve, indirectly indicates the quality of mudbrick or soil material and its compacting option. Some of the test results for the analysed samples are shown in Tab. 6.

The coefficient uniformity of C_u and coefficient curvature of C_c both only show predisposition for ideal compaction and consequently possible material hardness, but the density has the final decision on how the material behaves as a mudbrick.

5.2 Examination of bearing capacity

The calculation of a bearing capacity of subsoil were realised according to observations at the site, using currently valid Eurocodes (e.g. STN EN 1997-1), to also respect the safety factor of the ancient construction. Although the constructions were not analysed with such a precision in ancient times, their extreme long durability could justify correctness of some safety reserve consideration, especially if the subject of the investigation is a military installation with increased demand for stability.

5.2.1 Input data –Migdol's northern tower

- The depth of the foundation is assumed around 4 layers of bricks (min. 60 cm).
- The projected depth of groundwater level is estimated around 3 m below the foundation base (based on information about an ancient channel and the well, which was discovered at the site).
- The ground plan dimensions of the north tower of the western gate (Migdol) are L = 22.5 m, W = 14.0 m (values have been verified by an exposed building structures).
- The geological structure of the bedrock is projected on the basis of a descriptive classification in the excavation's documentation and photographs (information was supplemented by direct specification according to the classification of soils and rocks in worldwide classification).

- A simplified engineering geological profile of subsoil (version 2013)
 0-2 m poorly graded sand S2-SP
 2-5 m silty gravel G4-GM
 5-15 m silty sand S4-SM
- Densities of mudbrick are taken as $\gamma = 19 \text{ kN/m}^3$ (the average value of samples taken on the site).
- Load on the footing bottom by its own weight of the north tower is partly based on the tower of Migdol in Medinet Habu (Fig. 28).Estimated tower height is H = 15 m.

Straight volume of the tower is estimated as $G_0 = 2850 \text{ m}^3$, due to material (mudbrick), a similar model of the gate from the same period and its interaction with defensive walls and due to the total volume of construction value of one tower.

The contact pressure on the footing bottom by its own weight of the tower: $\sigma_{g0} = (G_0 * \gamma) / (B \cdot L) = (2850 * 19) / (22.5 * 14.0) = 172 \text{ kPa}$

5.2.2 Calculations report – Migdol's tower

Bearing capacity of subsoil has been calculated by software GEO5 with the following boundary conditions:

- Foundation geometry: Width B = 14.0 m Length L = 22.5 m
- Minimal foundation depth: d = 0.6m
- Assumed geology and soil parameters:
 - Layer 1: Soil type S2 SP, $\gamma_1 = 18.5$ kN/m³, $c_{ef1} = 0$ kPa, $\phi_{ef1} = 29^{\circ}$, $h_1 = 2.0$ m Layer 2: Soil type G4 – GM, $\gamma_2 = 19.0$ kN/m³, $c_{ef2} = 0$ kPa, $\phi_{ef2} = 30^{\circ}$, $h_2 = 3.0$ m Layer 3: Soil type S4 – SM, $\gamma_3 = 18.5$ kN/m³, $c_{ef2} = 1$ kPa, $\phi_{ef3} = 26^{\circ}$, $h_3 = 10.0$ m (Note: γ_i -unit weight of soil, c_{ef1} – cohesion, ϕ_{ef1} – angle of internal friction, h_i – layer thickness)
- Partial factors: Design approach 2, combination: "A1+ M1+ R2" $\gamma_G = 1.35$, $\gamma_Q = 1.5$, $\gamma_{\phi} = 1.0$, $\gamma_c = 1.0$, $\gamma_{R,v} = 1.40$
- Contact pressure: $\sigma = \sigma_{g0}.\gamma_F = 233$ kPa
- Examination of bearing capacity according to the equation for ultimate limit state (STN EN 1997-1):
 - $\begin{array}{l} R_d = c_{ef}.N_c.b_c.s_c.i_c + \gamma.d. \ N_q.b_q.s_q.i_q + 0.5.\gamma.B. \ N_\gamma.b_\gamma.s_\gamma.i_\gamma \\ R_d = 521 \ kPa \end{array}$

- Bearing capacity check:
 - $\sigma = 233 kPa \le R_d = 521 \ kPa \ Satisfactory!$
- Note: If a more conservative examination were assumed, e.g. with safety factor for bearing capacity $\gamma_{R,v} = 3.0$ (valid in Brazil and other countries) very near values of suitable bearing capacity would be received. $\sigma = 233 \text{kPa} \le \text{R}_d = 243 \text{kPa}$ Satisfactory!

5.2.3 Input data – Wall 2

- The depth of the foundation is assumed around 4 layers of bricks (min. 60 cm).
- The projected depth of the groundwater level is estimated around 3 m below the foundation base (based on information about the ancient channel and the well, which was discovered at the site).
- An average wall thickness of the defensive wall connected to the towers of Migdol is b = 8.8 m (value has been verified by an exposed building structures).
- The geological structure of the bedrock is projected on the basis of a descriptive classification in excavation's documentation and photographs (information is supplemented by direct specification according to the classification of soils and rocks in worldwide classification).
- A simplified engineering geological profile of subsoil (version 2013)
 0-2 m poorly graded sand S2-SP
 2-5 m silty gravel G4-GM
 5-15 m silty sand S4-SM
- Densities of mudbrick are taken as $\gamma = 19 \text{ kN/m}^3$ (the average value of samples taken on the site)
- Load on the footing bottom by its own weight of the defensive wall at Migdol is based partly on the model of Migdol in Medinet Habu (Fig. 29).Estimated height of the wall is H = 12 m.

Volume of the defensive wall is estimated by the total volume of construction at 1m value $G_0 = 96 \text{ m}^3$, due to material (mudbrick), a similar model of the defensive wall from the same period and its interaction with Migdol's tower and due to the total volume of construction value of the wall.

The contact pressure on the footing bottom by its own weight of the defence wall for 1 standard meter:

 $\sigma_{g0} = (G_0 * \gamma) / (L * B) = (96 * 19) / (8.8 * 1.0) = 208 \text{ kPa}$

5.2.4 Calculation – Wall 2

Considering the related boundary conditions of Migdol, similar engineeringgeological conditions were also assumed for the defence wall in this phase of examination.

- Foundation geometry: Width B = 8.8 m
- Minimal foundation depth: d = 0.6 m
- Assumed geology and soil parameters: Layer 1: Soil type S2 – SP, $\gamma_1 = 18.5$ kN/m³, $c_{ef1} = 0$ kPa, $\phi_{ef1}=29^\circ$, $h_1= 2.0$ m Layer 2: Soil type G4 – GM, $\gamma_2 = 19.0$ kN/m³, $c_{ef2} = 0$ kPa, $\phi_{ef2}=30^\circ$,
 - Layer 2: Soil type G4 GM, $\gamma_2 = 19.0$ kN/m³, $c_{ef2} = 0$ kPa, $\phi_{ef2} = 30^{\circ}$, $h_2 = 3.0$ m
 - Layer 3: Soil type S4 SM, $\gamma_3 = 18.5$ kN/m³, $c_{ef2} = 1$ kPa, $\phi_{ef3}=26^{\circ}$, $h_3=10.0$ m

(Note: γ_i – unit weight of soil, c_{efi} – cohesion, ϕ_{efi} – angle of internal friction, h_i – layer thickness)

• Partial factors: Design approach 2, combination: "A1+ M1+ R2"

$$\gamma_{\rm G} = 1.35, \, \gamma_{\rm Q} = 1.5, \, \gamma_{\phi} = 1.0, \, \gamma_{\rm c} = 1.0, \, \gamma_{\rm R,v} = 1.40$$

- Contact pressure: $\sigma = \sigma_{g0}.\gamma_F = 281$ kPa
- Examination of bearing capacity according to the equation for the ultimate limit state (STN EN 1997-1):

$$\mathbf{R}_{d} = \mathbf{c}_{ef}.\mathbf{N}_{c}.\mathbf{b}_{c}.\mathbf{s}_{c}.\mathbf{i}_{c} + \gamma.d. \ \mathbf{N}_{q}.\mathbf{b}_{q}.\mathbf{s}_{q}.\mathbf{i}_{q} + 0.5.\gamma.\mathbf{B}. \ \mathbf{N}_{\gamma}.\mathbf{b}_{\gamma}.\mathbf{s}_{\gamma}.\mathbf{i}_{\gamma}$$

 $R_d = 403 \text{ kPa}$

- Bearing capacity check: $\sigma = 281$ kPa $\leq R_d = 403$ kPa Satisfactory!
- Note: The most probable boundary conditions are assumed in the examination; it is possible that in some parts of the wall the situation could be better and more optimistic results could be received, however, for a responsible examination of the ancient structures a safety factor of the ancient construction must also be respected.

5.2.5 Review of bearing capacity examination

The ground plan dimensions of Migdol's tower were assumed at 14.0 x 22.5 m and the resulting height of the towers is postulated at approximately 15.0 meters. Established contact pressure on the footing bottom was 233kPa. Computing bearing capacity of the subsoil under conditions as described above was 521kPa.

Dimensions of the defensive wall were considered under a ground plan thickness of about 8.8 m, height of 12 m and the width of the wall at its top of approximately 6.9 meters. Established contact load in the footing bottom was 281 kPa. Computing bearing capacity of the subsoil under conditions as described above was 403 kPa.

From the results of the assessment it is clear that under the given boundary conditions of the calculation and present results of the archaeological research it is reasonable to assume Migdol's towers height was about 15 m or maybe even a little more. The height of the defence walls could be about 12 m.

Verification of the individual building constructions boundary conditions (Sec. 5.2.1 and 5.2.3) will be complemented, which could help a consistent evaluation of building and technical conclusions for the various structural elements from the engineering point of view.

6. Conclusion and a recommendation for further research

Several building constructions (fortress walls, residential houses, buildings, etc.) in a different grade of preservation of foundations and wall parts have been uncovered at Tell el-Retaba. With regards to the geographical importance of the site the local architectures were also rebuilt (and building materials were reused in some cases). At present several structural interferences were done on the site (e.g. a mosque construction pit, a road extension, a second branch of high capacity water pipeline, etc.) which complicates the analysis of constructions.

All foundations are made of mudbricks and are founded relatively shallow assuming about today's knowledge of foundation design and examination of stresses and strains in subsoil according to a foundation load. At backward examination of assumed building constructions with preserved foundations is necessary to verify an individual aspect of limit states:

Ultimate Limit State (bearing capacity of the subsoil)

Limit State of Serviceability (subsoil settlement)

Foundation material failure, eventually overload of building

material strength (e.g. mudbricks, mortar, etc.)

Although the individual construction details of walls and Migdol did not survive till present days, it is possible to reflect, on the basis of archaeological research, supplemented by the relevant assessment of survived foundation structures, how the fortress Tell el-Retaba could have looked like in a single phase of its existence.

In this report basic dimensions of the entrance gate–Migdol and defence walls were indicatively proven, by preliminary static calculations of the bearing capacity of the subsoil. The calculation has been realised in terms of currently valid Eurocodes, according to code STN EN 1997-1 and STN 73 1001, because it is not reasonable to check ancient structures without any safety factor, even though these buildings were not evaluated with today's accuracy in time of its origin, but due to their extreme long durability it is correct to consider some safety factors. The used methodology of assessment according to Eurocodes,

which considered bearing capacity for vertical bearing capacity partial factor $\gamma_{R,V} = 1.4$, along with the methodology of the design process with the emphasis on the input data to make a reasonable and responsible view of verification of individual building structures. Due to the necessary requirements of the survey, assessment of the second limit state (settlement) was not given.

Several samples of mudbrick and soil have been examined during archaeological seasons to check and verify some of the boundary conditions. They were tested and analysed with the resources available on the site mainly by sieve analysis, testing density, dimensions, walling technique, etc., what also indirectly helps to determine approximate strength of mudbricks and their usage in single structures. Some additional ingredients like pebbles, pottery shards, etc. were found in brick samples. The grain-size curves, describing mudbrick composition and their relationship and potential reusing in constructions, are considered the distinguished result of the research.

The acquired knowledge and amplified verification of individual building constructions, together with previous information on the archaeological site is systematically complemented by improved boundary conditions for an examination of the analysed construction by an engineering approach.

As was mentioned above, present destructive impacts (construction activities, *sabakheens*, etc.)influence construction examinations, however, they also bring an interesting opportunity to observe stratigraphy of soil layers through almost the whole width of the site and to locate a gravel layer belonging to ancient channel aggradation mound. It is also very interesting to analyse cross–sections of all three defence walls, process their building and mutual relations.

Also, the Naville's trench through the north tower of Migdol permitted to specify building process, foundation parameters and also the way how Migdol was connected to Wall 1. The section of Wall 1 near to the southern Migdol's tower allowed a clear view on dual – sided extensions of Wall 1.

Even though all the construction details did not survive till today, the archaeological research supplemented with interdisciplinary examinations contributes to reconstructions and descriptions on how the Tell el–Retaba fortress could have looked in the past.

In the next research verifications of building constructions is strongly recommend to continuously complement and improve boundary conditions assumed for an engineering approach together with all determining information obtained by archaeological research.

REFERENCES

BUDHU, Muni. Soil Mechanics and Foundations. Wiley, 2007.

- CAMPBELL, Brian. *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- CAMPBELL, Duncan, B. Besieged. Siege warfare in the Ancient world. Oxford: Osprey, 2006.
- CRAIG, Robert, F. Soil mechanics. London: Chapman & Hall, 1992.
- CRATerre, Construire en terre. Paris: éditions Belin, 1985.
- FRENCH, Charles A. I. A sediments analysis of mudbrick and natural features at el-Amarna. In KEMP, Barry, John (ed.). *Amarna Reports I. Occasional Papers 1*. London: Egypt Exploration Society. 1984, p. 189–201.
- EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY. *Medinet Habu VIII*. The Eastern High Gate with Translation of Texts. Oriental Institute Publications 94. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- FULLER, Michael, J.'s website, [online] [cit. 12 May 2016] Available from http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/
- HUDEC, Jozef, FULAJTÁR, Emil, STOPKOVÁ, Eva. Historical and environmental determinations of the Ancient Egyptian Fortresses in Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2015, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 247–283, 303–318.
- KORECKÝ, Miroslav. *Objevy pod pyramidami. Zrod architektoniky ve starověkém Egyptě III.-V. dynastie* [Discoveries at the pyramids. Birth of architectonics in the Ancient Egypt of the IIIrd -Vth Dynasty]. Praha: Odeon, 1983.
- MARIOTTI, M. La terre-materiau de construction. Paris: Presses de l'École nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, 1982.
- MORGENSTEIN, Maury, E., REDMOUNT, Carol, A. Mudbrick Typology, Sources, and Sedimentological Composition: A Case Study from Tell el-Muqdam, Egyptian Delta. In *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 1998, Vol. 35, p. 129–146.
- NAVILLE, Henri, E. *The Shrine of Saft-El-Henneh and the Land of Goshen* (1885). Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 5, London, 1887.
- OTOUPALÍK, Alois, BOUZEK, Jan. *Deset knih o architecture* [Ten books on architecture]. Vitruvius Pollio. Antická knihovna. XLIII. R. Praha: Baset, 2001.
- PETRIE, William, Matthew, Flinders, DUNCAN, John Garrow. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*. London: School of Archaeology, 1906.
- RZEPKA, Sławomir, HUDEC, Jozef, WODZIŃSKA, Anna, JARMUŻEK, Łukasz, HULKOVÁ, Lucia, DUBCOVÁ, Veronika, PIORUN, Malwina, ŠEFČÁKOVÁ, Alena. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish–Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011–2012. In Ägypten und Levante, Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XXIV/2014, Wien: OAW, pp. 39–120.
- RZEPKA, Sławomir, WODZIŃSKA, Anna, MALLESON, Claire, HUDEC, Jozef, JARMUŻEK, Łukasz, MISIEWICZ, Krzysztof, MAŁKOWSKI, Wiesław, BOGACKI, Miron. New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period in Tell el – Retaba. In Agypten und Levante. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XXI/2011. Wien: OAW, pp. 129–184.
- RZEPKA, Sławomir, WODZIŃSKA, Anna, HUDEC, Jozef, HERBICH, Tomasz. Tell el-Retaba 2007 2008. In Ägypten und Levante. Internationale Zeitschrift für

ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete. Bd. XIX/2009. Wien: OAW, pp. 241–280.

- STN EN 1997-1 (Eurocode 7) Geotechnical design. Part 1: General rules, SÚTN, 2005.
- STN EN ISO 14688-1 Geotechnical investigation and testing. Identification and classification and classification of soil. Part 1: Identification and description (ISO 14688-1:20002), SÚTN, 2004.
- STN 72 1001 Classification of soil and rock, SÚTN, 2010.
- STN 73 1001 Geotechnical structures. Foundation, SÚTN, 2010.
- STROUHAL, Evžen. *Život starých Egypťanů* [Life of the ancient Egyptians]. Praha: Panorama, Odeon, 1989.
- SUSKE, Petr. *Hlinené domy novej generácie* [Clay houses of new generation]. Bratislava: Alfa, 1991.
- WILDUNG, Dieter, STIERLIN, Henry. Egypt. From Prehistory to the Romans. Koln: Taschen, 2009.
- World weather online, [online] [cit. 10 May 2016] Available from http://www.worldweatheronline.com/ismailia-weather-averages/al-ismailiyah/eg.aspx.

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN COFFIN IN THE SLOVAK NATIONAL MUSEUM: THE FRAGMENTS NOS. 4, 5 AND 6 OF THE EXTERIOR SURFACE OF THE LID^{*} (FIGURES 1–2; PLATES 1–3)

Dušan MAGDOLEN Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia kaorduma@savba.sk

In this paper I deal with the analysis of the original decoration incompletely preserved on three fragments of the exterior surface of the lid. All three fragments nos. 4, 5 and 6 are situated in the lower part of the mummiform lid of the coffin below the knees. The identification and interpretation of the preserved rests of the original decorative patterns and motifs are presented and discussed here in more details for the first time. The description of vignettes and inscriptions discussed with the comparative material enables us to outline the decorative programme originally used in this part of the coffin which is important for the typological classification of the coffin as well as its dating.

Key words: coffin, lid, vignettes, iconography, inscriptions

All three fragments of the original surface preserved on the lid of the coffin numbered as 4, 5 and 6 have already been briefly mentioned and described in my previous study.¹ They are situated on the frontal side of the legs of the

^{*} This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract No. APVV-0579-12.

¹ In this paper I am going to use the numbering of fragments of the original surface including the registers and inscriptions as suggested in my previous study. See MAGDOLEN, D. The Ancient Egyptian Coffin in the Slovak National Museum: The distribution of registers and inscriptions on the exterior surface. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2014, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 148–149, 202 and Pl. 7.

mummiform shape of the lid below its knees and isolated from each other. All of them are placed in their original position.²

Fragment No. 4 (Pl. 1)

This fragment is the smallest piece of the three fragments discussed in this paper. It is 8 cm wide and 11 cm high. In relation to the vertical axis of the mummiform shape of the lid, its position is on the left side of the lid below the left knee. The fragment is isolated by modern gypsum painted in dark grey from other fragments to the original surface. Its surface is covered by material coming from a treatment undertaken during the restoration works in the 1970s. This fragment of a roughly rectangular shape is practically without any traces of the original decoration. Only very tiny spots of almost microscopical size of yellow can be identified in several places. Its position on the lid indicates that originally at least its part which is closer to the vertical axis of the lid was covered by the decoration consisting of at least one vertical column with hieroglyphic inscriptions belonging to Central Panel 2.³ However, nothing more can be said considering the original surface and its decoration in this part of the lid.

Fragment No. 5 (Fig. 1, Pl. 2)

Details of the decoration comprising of the vignette and inscriptions preserved on this fragment have not been mentioned or discussed before.⁴ The position of this fragment is on the right side of the mummiform lid and below its right knee. As previously mentioned in Fragment No. 4, this one is also isolated from the other originally preserved surfaces of the lid by the dark grey coloured gypsum. As for its recent position in relation to the other fragments we have to rely on the evidence coming from the archive documents belonging to the

² Personal communication, Mojmír Benža. Dr Benža was responsible for the restoration of the coffin in the 1970s.

³ MAGDOLEN, D. The Ancient Egyptian Coffin in the Slovak National Museum: The Distribution of Registers and Inscriptions on the Exterior Surface. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2014, Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 145.

⁴ No information related to this part of the coffin can be found in the CAA publication from the 1980s. Cf. VERNER, M. Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lieferung 1, pp. 11–36.

restoration works in 1970s⁵ as well as the confirmation provided by Mojmír Benža who was responsible for the modern restoration (see above). The fragment vertical in the shape is 13 cm wide and 25 cm high (considering the curvature of the surface). Despite its damages in the form of abrasions, shaded places, missing parts and tiny cracks, the surface contains evident traces of polychromy from the original decoration. It includes hieroglyphic signs and an iconographic depiction as well as the vertical and horizontal geometrical border bands consisting of coloured square blocks and separating particular inscriptions and vignettes depicted on the surface of the lid. The detailed description of particular parts of the preserved decoration starts from the top and continues to the bottom of this fragment.

In the upper part of the fragment one can identify the rest of the columns filled with the hieroglyphic signs belonging to the vertical inscriptions written within each of them. The columns with vellow or vellow-orange⁶ ground were formed by vertical lines painted in blue. The colour of the hieroglyphic signs is black. It is clearly recognisable that on the left side of the upper part of this fragment one can observe the lowermost parts of at least three columns. Approximately in the middle of the upper taperred part of this fragment one can see a dark vertical band running to the bottom. This dark band is very likely the border band consisting of the coloured squares which, however, have darkened in the course of time. Despite this, blue, yellow, green, red/ochre respectively can be identified in its lower half. On the right side of this vertical border band and closer to the vertical axis of the lid, the rests of the yellow with fragments of hieroglyphic signs indicate that another vertical column can be expected here. It is probable that this one originally belonged to the group of long vertical columns with inscriptions marked as the Central Panel 2 in one of my previous studies.⁷ One of the fragments of hieroglyphic signs in this column on the right side has a shape of two slightly curved and horizontally running lines resembling the incomplete uniliteral sign r >. Immediately above it there is a part of a larger black spot that cannot be identified more precisely. Near to the bottom in the same column, the fragment of a sign indicating $nb \bigtriangledown$ or $k \backsim$ can be observed. It was preceded by another partly preserved horizontal sign on the vellow ground and followed by a small one below in the form of a large dot on the right side. No detailed identification is possible due to the incompletness of the mentioned signs.

⁵ MAGDOLEN, D. Identification of the restored parts on the exterior surface of the ancient Egyptian coffin in the Slovak National Museum (forthcoming).

⁶ TAYLOR, J. H. Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview. In DAVIES, Vivian W. (ed.). *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 2001, p. 166.

⁷ See note 3 above.

The lower endings of the three vertical columns with the hieroglyphic signs on the left side of this fragment mentioned above very probably represent the rest of the inscriptions accompanying the vignette originally placed on the right side of the mummiform lid.⁸ Although a few hieroglyphic signs are preserved more or less completely in each of the three mentioned columns, it is very hard to reconstruct particular words of the original text. The remains of at least three hieroglyphic signs on the very top of the first and the longest of the mentioned group of three columns are preserved. The shape of the uppermost of them

would indicate that it could represent the lower ending of the sign d^{j} . Approximately 3 cm below a tiny vertical line can be seen in the left part of the same column. Its upper ending is broader and oriented to the right side in what

makes the impression probably the sign | as ideogram or determinative may occur there. The shape of the dark lines preserved on the yellow-orange ground in the lowermost part of the first column indicates that they can be identified as

the sign $\frac{4}{2}$ (A 40) probably being a part of the name of a deity who could have been mentioned here. The sign oriented to the vertical axis of the lid could be at the same time further evidence that the original text was written from right to left. Unfortunately, microscopic fragments of other signs occurring in the middle part of the first column cannot be recognised more accurately. Some pieces of hardly visible signs can be observed at the bottom of the second column. One of them was probably a horizontal sign preceded by a small one placed approximately in the middle of the column. A group of more legible signs are preserved in the third column at its bottom. The signs transcribed as

were a part of an inscription written again from the right to the left. The first two signs the uppermost parts of which are missing are biliteral signs for sn and nw and the rest represents three uniliteral signs t, n and r respectively. Writing of the first three signs indicates that they belong to one word. The incompletness of the inscription, however, does not allow the determination of the meaning of this group of signs. Interpretaton of the other following signs is uncertain. One of the explanations could be that the first three signs forming a feminine noun may have been followed by an indirect genitive n (instead of nt) and the beginning of another word starting with r. The surface next to the

⁸ For example, see GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1. Pls. XV, XVII, XXIII.

third column and closer to the left edge of this fragment covered by pieces of yellow/orange, white and black is hard to be decoded. One interpretation of the mix of these colours could be that the pieces of small dark and bright colours belong to the squares of the vertical border band dividing the vignette and the inscription. However, a more detailed view using a magnifying lense reveals a short vertical line of dark colour at the very bottom behind the left vertical line of the third column. It seems that this short dark line might be interpreted as a stroke produced by ink and as a sign belonging to an inscription. In that case the short black horizontal line situated above would not be a part of the border band but the right side of another hieroglyphic sign preserved incompletely. If such an interpretion is correct, the number of incompletely preserved columns in this part of the Fragment No. 5 would be not three, but four.⁹

Below the lower parts of the columns the remains of hieroglyphic signs with a border band running horizontally can be seen with blue, red/ochre, green and yellow coloured squares. It seems that its edge on the right side touched the vertical border band described above (see also figure 1 below) as can be deduced from the presence of a vertically oriented green square belonging to the mentioned vertical border band (see Pl. 2).

Immediately below the horizontal border band a yellow row filled with the inscription consisting of at least six legible hieroglyphic signs painted in black ink is preserved. The orientation of asymmetrical signs attests that the inscription was written from right to left. The row with text started directly in front of the green square belonging to the vertical border band mentioned above. The beginning of the inscription is not preserved, but the space between the edge of the mentioned green square and the first hieroglyphic signs written one above the other despite their incompletness indicates that a few of the hieroglyphs could fit into this damaged place. The spacing between the legible signs and their size allows us to consider some of the horizontal or large signs perhaps in combination with other smaller or vertical ones (see below). The

preserved and legible signs can be transcribed as $[A \cap A]$ and transliterated as ... *n Wsir mb*..... The distance measured from the left edge of the vertical border band to the edges of the incomplete signs and $[A \cap A]$ is

⁹ The vignettes usually depicted vertically along the axis of the coffins on both sides are accompanied by a various number of columns with hieroglyphic inscriptions. The number of columns can be the same for the vignettes depicted in all rows on both sides of the coffin or it can vary (more columns depicted in the upper row of the lid and less in the lower ones. Cf. BIETAK, M. Theben-West (Luqsor). Vorberichtung über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969 – 1971), Taf. XX and GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1, Pl. XVII.

ca 2,5 cm and it is enough for the occurrence of one large sign or vertical and small signs or a group of signs of this kind combined together. It seems that this suggestion could also be supported by the study of analogies reflecting the layout of vignettes and inscriptions and their distribution on the surface of the inner coffins of this type. The decoration occurring on this kind of coffin reveals that horizontal inscriptions in this part of the lid can be introduced by the phrase <u>dd</u> mdw in.¹⁰ If so, it would mean that from this phrase only the sign has been preserved incompletely in this line. In that case, the three signs in the phrase <u>dd</u> mdw in would be illegible,¹¹ however, all of them fit perfectly into the dark place.¹² If this interpretation of the damaged part of the inscription is correct, the beginning of the text can be reconstructed as follows "The words spoken by Osiris N ...". The signs following the name of the god Osiris determined by the sign¹³

¹¹ For this way of writing of the words <u>dd</u> mdw in Wsir in which the sign \downarrow is written

separately and the sign is written above the sign in the name of Osiris, see GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 2, pp. 339, 396, 398; MORET, M. A. Sarcophages de l'epoque bubastite a l'epoque saïte. Catalogue Géneral des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 41001–41041. Tome 1, p. 133 and 137; Ibid., p. 171 and 176; JANSEN-WINKELN, K. Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil 3 (Die 25. Dynastie), p. 520; BETTUM, A. Dismutenibtes and Aaiu. Two 25th Dynasty Coffins in Oslo, In *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*, 2010, Band 39, p. 55, Taf. 9a; TAYLOR, J. H. Ancient Egyptian Book of Dead: Journey through the Afterlife, p. 176.

¹² Using a magnifying lense it is possible to identify one darker short line running horizontally in the upper part of the row and another short one oriented vertically on the right side close to the vertical border band where the beginning of this inscription can be

expected. The shapes of these short lines correspond to the signs \int and \downarrow forming the beginning of the mentioned introducing formula.

¹³ To the orthography of the name of Osiris and the importance of the sign occurring in his name for the dating of written records of the Third Intermediate Period, see

¹⁰ For example, see TAYLOR, J. H. Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview. In DAVIES, Vivian W. (ed.). *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 2001, Pl. 55/1.

personal name. Personal names starting with the sign $\frac{1}{2}$ occur in the inscriptions written on the interior surface of the lid and trough as well as on the exterior surface of the latter.¹⁴

Below the line with the foregoing inscription discussed above another horizontal border band is depicted. Its characteristics can be compared with those describing the border band mentioned above.

In the central part of Fragment No. 5 one small vignette is depicted. It is framed by the border bands depicted on all four sides. It seems that the lower horizontal border band stretches through the whole width of the fragment from one edge to the other. The background of the vignette which is square in shape was painted in yellow. Despite the damages occurring to the surface the original motif can be identified. It has a form of the wd3t eye and is mentioned as Register L briefly presented in one of the first papers.¹⁵ The shape and orientation of this asymmetric hieroglyphic sign ($\widehat{e^{nt}}$) reflects its position on

orientation of this asymmetric hieroglyphic sign (\mathcal{O}^{V}) reflects its position on the right side of the central axis of the lid. It seems that no other decorative pattern is possible to identify within this vignette except the mentioned depiction.¹⁶ The size of the square in which the *wd3t* eye is depicted is 6 x 5 cm (length x hight). All the parts of the *wd3t* eye are painted in black, but the surface between the eyebrow and the eye lid is filled with red/ochre. On the left side of Fragment No. 5 one can see a short column with the damaged hieroglyphic inscription painted in black on the yellow background behind the

LEATHY, A. The name of Osiris written I. In Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Band 7, 1979, pp. 141–149.

¹⁴ VERNER, M. Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lieferung 1, pp. 13, 20–23, 25–27.

¹⁵ MAGDOLEN, D. The Ancient Egyptian Coffin in the Slovak National Museum: The distribution of registers and inscriptions on the exterior surface. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2014, Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 149, Pl. 8.

¹⁶ For example, the analogous evidence can be observed on the inner coffins of Amenhotepiyin and Ptahirdis. See MANLEY, B., DODSON, A. Life Everlasting. National Museums Scotland Collection of Ancient Egyptian Coffins, pp. 85, 88. However, the vignette with the wd3t eye can include some other motifs. For example, on the inner coffin of Kheriru the wd3t eye is depicted above the *nb* basket. See BIETAK, M. Theben-West (Luqsor). Vorberichtung über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969 – 1971), Taf. XX; See also The Coffins of Iyhat and Tairy: a tale of two cities. In *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 2008, Vol. 94, 2008, pp. 128–129, figs. 11–12.

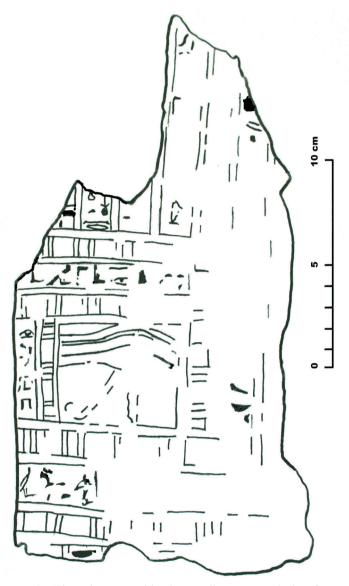


Figure 1: The vignette with the wedjat eye and the fragments of hieroglyphic inscriptions written in columns and lines preserved on the Fragment No. 5 (Drawing by D. Magdolen).

vertical border band of the vignette. The inscription is not clear and its particular signs are hard to be recognised here, however, the first sign on the top

and the last one at the bottom resemble \frown *ir* and \Box *pr* respectively. Both signs occur in the texts accompanying the scene with the *wd3*t eyes depicted in the lower parts of this type of coffins.¹⁷ One further column or more could follow in direction closer to the right edge of the mummiform lid.

Below the vignette with the wd3t eye another horizontal line with hieroglyphic inscription is recognised. From the upper and lower sides it is framed by the horizontal border bands. The line originally painted in yellow stretches from one edge of the fragment to the other as can be deduced from traces of yellow occurring in this row. The presence of asymmetrical hieroglyphic signs oriented to the right in this line reveals that the inscription described as Horizontal Inscription 3 in the previous study¹⁸ was written from right to left. The last sign preserved in this line can be identified as a bird, probably m uartheted areas an originally another the traces of traces of the traces of the traces of t

Immediately in front of it one can see a group of several signs painted one above the other. The upper sign can be transcribed very likely as (F 4).

Despite the damage to the surface below the further smaller signs could be identified as | (Z 1) or // (Z 4), and $\stackrel{\frown}{\cong}$ (X 1). This group of signs forms one

word which could be reconstructed as $h_{1}^{1} h_{2}^{1} h_{3}^{1}$ or $h_{1}^{2} h_{3}^{1} h_{3}^{1}$ Further to the right side of the fragment, traces of a large sign can be seen. Its shape indicates

that it could be a human figure $\overset{\text{W}}{\boxtimes}$ (A 1). A tiny vertical line clearly visible in front of the mentioned sign further to the right was probably a part of another large sign. Due to the damage of this part of the fragment no other details can be provided concerning this inscription.

Below the line with the hieroglyphic signs mentioned above the horizontal border band running from one edge of the fragment to the other is depicted.

The lowemost part of Fragment No. 5 contains the remains of the blue vertical lines with one hieroglyphic sign preserved and painted in black on the yellow background. The sign could probably represent the hieroglyph \smile *nb*. These remains are certainly the upper part of columns with inscriptions continuing down and related to the columns with text occurring in the upper part of Fragment No. 6 (see below).

Numerous coffins of this type used as a comparative material in the study of the coffin in Bratislava attest that some vignettes including those with the *wd3t*

¹⁷ Cf. ELIAS, J. Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation. PhD. thesis, pp. 589–590.

¹⁸ See note 15 above.

¹⁹ To the meaning and use of both words see HANNIG, R. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch, pp. 537–541.

eye with accompanying inscriptions depicted on the exterior surface of the lid were distributed symmetrically along the vertical axis of the coffin. This fact enables us to conclude that the motif of the wd3t eye also originally occurred on the opposite side of the lid, where, however, no piece of original surface was preserved.

Fragment No. 6 (Fig. 2, Pl. 3)

This fragment of the original exterior surface with polychrome decoration is the lowermost one on the mummiform lid of the coffin. Its horizontal dimension (41 cm) considering the curvature of the surface is bigger than its height (14 cm), however, it does not reach the very edges of the lid on its lateral sides. In fact, only the frontal side of the original surface covering the foot part of the lid was preserved. We can observe a long deep crack running horizontally across the central part of this fragment. The damaged surface itself comprises of polychrome, however, abraded, scratchy and smudgy decoration. The dominant motif depicted here consists of the large figure of an anthropoid deity (9 cm high) and the accompanying hieroglyphic inscriptions, both damaged and incompletely preserved.

In fact, the picture of the antropoid deity is preserved incompletely, however, its description is possible. The uppermost part of the head and both edges of the scene on the lateral sides are missing. This figure can be described as a deity seated on its own right leg with the knee depicted downwads while the left one is oriented upwards. This divine figure is depicted above the *nbw*-sign painted in red and blue. In the lower part of this sign one can see 11 beads depicted hanging down. The body of the figure is oriented to the right with the winged hands outstretched on both sides. Just the lower half of the figure's head is shown. The picture is smudgy and the details are not clear. The face together with the rest of the naked parts of the body (neck, hands, breast, leg, foot) are green.²⁰ The black spot on the left side of the head certainly represents the hair of the deity. In the upper part a little red dot can be observed next to the left edge of the black hair what could be the lower ending of the headband originally depicted in the hair of the figure.²¹ Another black spot of the same size as the left one occurring immediately on the right side of the head,

²⁰ According to Verner the colour of the figure's body is red. This colour, however, relates to the clothing of the figure only and not to the naked skin. Cf. VERNER, M. Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lieferung 1, p. 14.

²¹ Cf. MANLEY, B., DODSON, A. Life Everlasting National Museums Scotland Collection of Ancient Egyptian Coffins, p. 79.

however, makes the effect that the hair is depicted on this side too, in other words, the hair seems to appear on both sides of the head. If so, the face of the deity would not be oriented to the right, but depicted en face. However, it sounds improbable that the head of the deity painted on this part of the coffin would have been depicted in this way.²² According to the author of the restoration works, the original decoration occurring on this part of the lid was neither renewed nor repainted.²³ It seems that some other explanation must exist how to interpret the black spot on the right side of the head. A detailed view on this picture allows us to see damages to the surface in the form of small abrasions and little cracks. Some of these damages occurring on the surface of the coffin can be of modern origin and caused by careless manipulation with the coffin. The black spot on the right side of the head could belong to this category. Moreover, a slightly more transparent tone of the colour of this black spot on the right side of the head compared with that on the left side might indicate its recent date and origin too. It can be explained as an accidental result of the treatment during or after the restoration works. The upper edge of the fragment with the scene touches the modern surface made by gypsum and painted in dark grey. The contact of the fragment with the repaired wet surface could cause little drop(s) to trickle down and penetrate into the upper part of the original decoration on this place causing the darker spot to appear here. The shape of the preserved part of the neck below the head reveals that it is slightly inclined to the right side which is another important detail and confirmation that the whole figure together with the face was oriented to the right.²⁴ The hands of the deity are ended with the fist holding a small single feather in each of both (see below). The right hand of the figure is 9 cm long. Despite some damages in the depiction it seems that the hand at least behind the fist was decorated by a bracelet. The depiction of the outstretched wings is complex and it consists of

²² It should be noted that *en face* depictions of deities really occur in the decoration of the inner coffins, however, mostly on the interior sides of the coffins. See TAYLOR, J. H. Egyptian Coffins. Shire Egyptology 11, p. 52, fig. 41; IKRAM, S., DODSON, A. The Mummy in Ancient Egypt. Equipping the dead for eternity, p. 237, fig. 315; TAYLOR, J. H. Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development. In STRUDWICK, Nigel, TAYLOR, John H. (eds.). *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, 2003, Pl. 58.
²³ Personal communication, Mojmír Benža. Some other places of the coffin, however,

²³ Personal communication, Mojmír Benža. Some other places of the coffin, however, reveal traces of modifications and changes made to the original decoration. See, MAGDOLEN, D. Identification of the restored parts on the exterior surface of the ancient Egyptian coffin in the Slovak National Museum (forthcoming).

²⁴ In some cases the figure of a deity can be depicted with the body oriented to the one side, however, the head is oriented backwards. Cf. MANLEY, B., DODSON, A. Life Everlasting. National Museums Scotland Collection of Ancient Egyptian Coffins, p. 85.

three or four rows divided by four horizontal lines. Three of them on each side are depicted in red and they are broader. The uppermost dividing line is thin and black. The first row from above has the form of a plumage painted in black and arranged in four lines on a yellow background. The second row is narrower and it depicts short feathers in the form of simple short lines. Their colour is blue (closer to the body) and yellow (from the elbow to the fist). The third and fourth rows consist of longer feathers depicted as lines painted in green (the third row) and blue (the fourth row). The body of the divine figure is dressed in long red clothing²⁵ with two straps clearly depicted on the breast and shoulders in the upper part of the body which is typical for Egyptian women. Immediately on the right side of the right strap one can evidently see a picture of a naked female breast depicted in green. So, the iconography of the depicted deity described above leads to the conclusion that the figure on this fragment certainly represents a female goddess. This conclusion would also be supported by the grammatical analysis of the text written below the picture of this figure (see below).

The remains of the inscriptions occurring on this fragment can be found above and below the central picture of the goddess. Hieroglyphic text was written on yellow background with black ink. Inscriptions are arranged in columns made

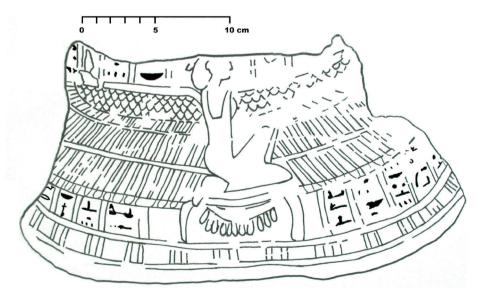


Figure 2: Female deity and accompanying fragments of the inscriptions written in columns on Fragment No. 6 (Drawing by D. Magdolen).

²⁵ See note 20 above.

by short blue vertical lines above the hands and below the wings of the figure on both sides of the fragment.

Above the right hand of the figure one can recognise the lower parts of four columns. The lower parts of these columns with preserved hieroglyphic texts written within can be surely related to the upper parts of the columns with texts described in Fragment No. 5 and depicted in its lowermost part. The distance between the lower horizontal line of the lower border band preserved on Fragment No. 5 and the upper edge of the right hand of the figure depicted on Fragment No. 6 varies between 5-7 cm. In the first column on the right side the *nb*-sign can be seen. Very little spots of black in the second column are abraded. Perhaps the combination of two signs (X1) and (Z2) written one above the other

in the form of $|\cdot|$ can be suggested. A vertical dark short line depicted in the lower part of the third column very likely does not belong to the inscription originally written in this column. On the basis of analogies this short vertical line visible immediately above the fist of the right hand can be interpreted as the

feather of the goddess Maat $\not\mid$ going up from the hand of the figure. For example, the scene with such a depiction can be found on the lid of the coffin of Padiamun,²⁶ Kheriru,²⁷ Nesmutperu,²⁸ Besenmut,²⁹ or Tesmutperu³⁰ and a

²⁶ GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1, Pl. XXI and GAUTHIER, M H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 2, pp. 297–323; RANKE, H. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band 1, p. 121; It should be noted that the female deity is not always depicted in this part of the lid

holding the feather of Maat. For example, she can be depicted holding the sign 1 in both hands (see TAYLOR, J. H. Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview. In DAVIES, V. W. (Ed.). *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 2001, Pl. 55/1) or without any object (see MANLEY, B., DODSON, A. Life Everlasting National Museums Scotland Collection of Ancient Egyptian Coffins, p. 79; VERNER, M. Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lieferung 1, p. 315.

²⁷ BIETAK, M. Theben-West (Luqsor). Vorberichtung über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969 – 1971), Taf. 20.

²⁸ GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1, Pl. XV and GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 2, pp. 220–240; RANKE, H. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band 1, p. 121.

number of others. Four small black spots are preserved in a little remain of the fourth column observable on the very edge of the left side of this fragment. Two of them can be seen in the uppermost part of the preserved column, however, the damage does not enable more precise identification. The other two are written immediately in front of the fist of the right hand and they are arranged one behind the other. They are damaged too. The shape of both signs resemble to the heads of a bird (duck) and a mammal (ox) corresponding to the signs $\widehat{\ }$ (H1) and $\widehat{\ }$ (F63) or $\stackrel{1}{\Join}$ (F1) respectively. Both of these signs as ideograms for k3 and 3pd "cattle" and "fowl"³¹ are conventionally included in the offering formula.³² Their occurrence is attested in the inscriptions written in the lower parts of the coffins where the scene with the goddess Isis occurs.³³

Above the left hand of the figure, in fact, no relevant fragments of columns or hieroglyphic signs can be seen.

Below the right wing the remains of four columns are preserved with hieroglyphical inscription written from right to left. The beginning of the text can be transcribed,³⁴ transliterated and translated as follows:

di.s htpt nb(t) nfr(t)....

"She may give all the offerings good".

²⁹See http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=124390&partId=1 [cit. 26. May 2016]; TAYLOR, J. H. Book of the Dead: Journey through the Afterlife, p. 74.

³⁰ SCHMIDT, V. Sarkofager, mumiekister, og mumiehylstre i det gamle Ægypten. Typologisk Atlas, p. 194/1089.

³¹ ALLEN, J. P. Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs, pp. 373–375.

³² The sign F 63 can be used as a variant of F 1 in the offering formula, see ALLEN, J. P. Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs, p. 476.

³³ Cf. GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1, Pls. XVII, XXII and GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 2, p. 251 and 338.

³⁴ Cf. VERNER, M. Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lieferung 1, p. 19.

On the right side of the fragment below the left wing of the figure five columns are depicted. The hieroglyphical text is written from left to right and its beginning can be transcribed, ³⁵ transliterated and translated as follows:

di f [*sic*] *htpt nbt ht nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t)... h*[*t*]..... "He may give all the offerings and every good and pure thing... thing.....".

The missing part of the text between the signs \square and at the beginning of the fifth column can be filled with at least one further hieroglyphic sign. It could certainly be the sign \square (N35a) as the determinative of the word \square w^cb "pure". Theoretically the sign \square could have been followed by the *t*-sign. The space is big enough to contain also some other hieroglyphic sign(s), for example \square *nb* as demostrated by the presence of this word occurring in the third column of the same text. The missing part of the text on the right side of the sign \bigoplus can be filled with the sign \square *t* considering its meaning as shown above.

The occurrence of the sign $\stackrel{\sim}{\longrightarrow}$ at the beginning of the inscription on the right side of this fragment in the word *di.f* deserves a little more attention here. The inscription written on the opposite side of the fragment starts with *di.s* and it is clearly related to the picture of the goddess in the described scene. The suffix .s is the personal pronoun and as such it indicates the gender, number and person. It is the feminine singular of the 3rd person (3fs). The suffix *f* in the same phrase below the left wing of the figure on the opposite side, however, indicates the masculine singular of the 3rd person (3ms). Although the inscriptions on both sides of the picture are incomplete, there can be two possible explanations for the occurrence and use of the two different personal pronouns in the mentioned inscriptions. First, the occurrence of the 3ms personal pronoun in the word *di* f can be interpreted as a mistake made by the ancient scribe and the correct version of the text should have been *di.s.* Second, the version *di.f* is not a mistake. If so, in that case the 3ms of the personal pronoun evidently does not relate to the female figure. While the former explanation would remain without convincing evidence, the latter one can be attested from written records and iconography occurring on this type of coffin. There are examples showing that the lower part of the lid of these coffins were

³⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

decorated by the picture of the goddess Isis with accompanying inscriptions written in columns or lines. Some of these inscriptions with the offering formula are related to the mentioned goddess, but some mention the god Osiris, the god of the dead and the divine consort of Isis. For example, on the coffin of Taditamun³⁶ the scene with the figure of Isis is decorated by the inscription starting with the offering formula htp-di-nsw Wsir³⁷.... "A royal offering of Osiris.....". The beginning of the other inscription written above the picture of Isis on the lid of the coffin of Nakhtbastetru³⁸ has the form *dd mdw in Wsir*... "Words spoken by Osiris....". The surface of the lower part of the coffin of Amenhotepivin³⁹ is decorated by the inscription on its frontal side. The text contains the variant of the offering formula including the list of invocation offerings addressed to the deceased identified with Osiris. The inscription written in four columns starts dd mdw in Wsir hnt(j) imnt(jw) ntr 3 nb bdw di.f prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw..... "Words spoken by Osiris, Foremost of Westerners, the Great God, Lord of Abydos. He gives an invocation offerings of bread and beer, cattle and fowl.....", The coffin of Wedjarenes⁴⁰ provides evidence of the inscriptions accompanying the goddess Isis in which two texts start in the form of dd mdw in 3st nb(t) pt.... "Words spoken by Isis, the lady of the sky...." but they continue in both cases with the words di.f.... "He gives". The explanation of the occurrence of the personal pronoun in the form of the 3ms can be that both texts mentioned above refer to the god Osiris. If this explanation is correct, the inscription below the right winged hand of the female figure on Fragment No. 6 would refer to the goddess Isis and the inscription below the left winged hand would refer to the god Osiris. Both of them played

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 124, 118, 140, 151, 157.

³⁷ The name of Osiris can be transliterated in the form of *Wsir*, *3sir* or *Jsjr*, from which the former represents the older version. See GARDINER, A. H. Egyptian Grammar, p. 170; COLLIER, M., MANLEY, B. How to Read Egyptian Hieroglyphs, p. 151; ALLEN, J. P. Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs, pp. 55, 176, 373–375.

 ³⁸ GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1, Pl. XII and GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 2, p. 183–184; RANKE, H. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band 1, p. 210.
 ³⁹ MANLEY, B., DODSON, A. Life Everlasting National Museums Scotland Collection of Ancient Egyptian Coffins, p. 85.

⁴⁰ GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1, Pl. XVII and GAUTHIER, M. H. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 2, p. 251; RANKE, H. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band 1, p. 88.

a key role in the myth of ancient Egyptians describing the death and rebirth and their images, symbols, names and inscriptions richly decorated the inner and outer surfaces of the coffins.

Verner identifies the winged goddess incompletely depicted above the *nbw*sign on Fragment No. 6 with the goddess Nut.⁴¹ However, there are neither identification marks preserved on the female deity's picture⁴² nor in the text of the accompaying inscriptions supporting this view. Both, the picture and the inscriptions are incomplete. The missing data, however, does not exclude an alternative interpretation of the incompletely preserved depiction of the female figure on Fragment No. 6 of the lid. On the basis of the analysis of the preserved data and the study of existing analogies and comparative material including the textual and iconographic evidences mentioned and presented above we can conclude that the female deity depicted in this part of the lid can be identified as the goddess Isis.

The lowermost part of Fragment No. 6 is decorated by the border band running along the whole edge from one side to the other.

REFERENCES

- ALLEN, P. James. Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- BIETAK, Manfred. Theben-West (Luqsor). Vorberichtung über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969 1971). Wien: Die österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1972.
- BETTUM, Anders. Dismutenibtes and Aaiu. Two 25th Dynasty Coffins in Oslo. In *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*, 2010, Band 39, pp. 51–65, Taf. 5–10.
- COLLIER, Mark, MANLEY, Bill. *How to Read Egyptian Hieroglyphs*. London: The British Museum, 2006.
- DODSON, Aidan. The Coffins of Iyhat and Tairy: a tale of two cities. In *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 2008, Vol. 94, pp. 107–138.
- ELIAS, Jonathan. Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation. PhD. thesis. Chicago: University Chicago, 1993.
- GARDINER, H. Alan. *Egyptian Grammar*. Third Edition. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1982.
- GAUTHIER, M. Henri. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 1. Le Caire: IFAO, 1913.

⁴¹ VERNER, M. Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lieferung 1, p. 12 and 14.

⁴² The deities are usually identifiable by their symbol depicted over the head.

- GAUTHIER, M. Henri. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres du Montou. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 410042–41072. Tome 2. Le Caire: IFAO, 1913.
- HANNIG, Rainer. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2015.
- IKRAM, Salima, DODSON, Aidan. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt. Equipping the dead for eternity*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
- JANSEN-WINKELN, Karl. *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Teil 3 (Die 25. Dynastie). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009.
- LEATHY, Anthony. The name of Osiris written [1]. In *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*, 1979, Band 7, pp. 141–149.
- MAGDOLEN, Dušan. The Ancient Egyptian Coffin in the Slovak National Museum: The distribution of registers and inscriptions on the exterior surface. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2014, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 140–153.
- MANLEY Bill., DODSON Aidan. Life Everlasting. National Museums Scotland Collection of Ancient Egyptian Coffins. Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2010.
- MORET, M. Alexandre. Sarcophages de l'epoque bubastite a l'epoque saïte. Catalogue Géneral des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 41001–41041. Tome 1. Le Caire: IFAO, 1913.
- MORET, M. Alexandre. Sarcophages de l'epoque bubastite a l'epoque saïte. Catalogue Géneral des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 41001–41041. Tome 2. Le Caire: IFAO, 1913.
- RANKE, Hermann. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Band 1. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin Verlag, 1935.
- SCHMIDT, Valdermar. Sarkofager, mumiekister, og mumiehylstre i det gamle Ægypten. Typologisk Atlas. København: J. Frimodts Forlag, 1919.
- TAYLOR, H. John. *Egyptian Coffins. Shire Egyptology 11*. Aylesbury: Shire Publications Ltd., 1989.
- TAYLOR, H. John. Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview. In DAVIES, Vivian W. (ed.). *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*. London: The British Museum Press, 2001, pp. 164–179, Pls. 50–56.
- TAYLOR, H. John. Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development. In STRUDWICK, Nigel, TAYLOR, John H. (eds.). *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future.* London: The British Museum Press, 2003, pp. 95–121.
- TAYLOR, H. John (ed.). *Ancient Egyptian Book of Dead: Journey through the Afterlife*. London: The British Museum Press, 2010.
- VERNER, Miroslav. Altägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lieferung 1. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1982.

FRAGMENT OF A RAMESSIDE STELA FROM TELL EL-RETABA*

Ľubica HUDÁKOVÁ Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia lubica.hudakova@univie.ac.at

Jozef HUDEC Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia jozef.hudec@savba.sk

A fragment of a cream white limestone stela was found by accident at Tell el-Retaba during the season 2014. Its preserved shape is 22.5 cm x 25 cm. The frontal side of the stela is bordered by a rounded line framing the area decorated in sunk relief. The decoration features an almost completely preserved sun disc with the protruding head of a uraeus oriented rightwards, apparently the crown of a deity. An inscription identifies the figure as the god Re-Harakhty. Opposite the crown, there are remains of a cartouche whose right half is lost; the signs *wsr*, *stp* and *n* make it obvious that the name of a Ramesside ruler was written in the cartouche. The stela JE 72307, kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, provides important parallels for interpretation of the Tell el-Retaba's fragment. The decoration and the workmanship show crucial similarities. It may be assumed that the stela from Tell el-Retaba also bore the representation of Ramesses II offering flowers to Re-Harakhty. Both stelae clearly belong to the corpus of so-called 'Horbeit stelae', which were probably exhibited in houses. They were most probably made at Qantir/Piramesse. It can only be assumed that the transfer to Tell el-Retaba took place in the Third Intermediate Period. A fragment of another 'Horbeit stela' was found at Tell el-Retaba in 1978 by Hans Goedicke's mission.

Key words: Tell el-Retaba, Horbeit stela, Re-Harakhty, Ramesses II, Piramesse

^{*} The works at Tell el-Retaba have been supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency (grant APVV-5970-12; Slovak Research of Ancient Egyptian civilization) and by the Scientific Grant Agency (grant VEGA 2/0139/14; History and culture of the civilization of Ancient Egypt: interdisciplinary research).

Tell el-Retaba, an important site¹ in the north-eastern Delta, has been repeatedly surveyed and subjected to excavations from the late 19th century onwards. Since 2007 it has been systematically investigated by a Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission.² Decorated or inscribed materials discovered at tell is still rather sparse. Thus, it was all the more unexpected when a fragment of a stela was found during the season 2014, fairly by accident.³

The excavators working in Area 4 asked an Egyptian worker to set up an umbrella on the site. He, in the search of heavy objects to keep the umbrella in an upright position, collected some stones in the vicinity. One of them turned out to be a decorated and inscribed fragment of a limestone stela. It was found on the side of the asphalt road crossing the site in a north-south direction.⁴ Only later, the workers reported that a local woman allegedly used the piece to stabilise the construction of her seasonal market tent for selling *batikh* (water melons) beside the road.

Area 4 has been repeatedly surveyed since 2007 thus it is hard to imagine, that such a striking stone would escape the attention of archaeologists. Rather it is plausible, that it might have come from a near construction pit for a mosque on the western outskirts of the tell, down the hill of Migdol (map). The pit was dug out into cultural layers, mostly floated from higher positions on the tell, sometimes during the mission absence between the end of 2012 and the first half of 2014.

General description

The fragment (S1851) is the upper left part of a stela made of cream white limestone (Figs. 1a-f, 2). The preserved shape is more or less square, it is 22.5 cm tall, 25 cm wide and 10.5 cm thick. The original stela was apparently broken into smaller pieces, but there are no visible signs along the edges of the breaks that would indicate an intentional cutting. The breaks on the right and lower side are quite even and do not look recent, since they are worn and in some parts actually very smooth. The back of the fragment is cragged and rough,

¹ HUDEC, J., FULAJTÁR, E., STOPKOVÁ, E., Historical and Environmental Determinations of the Ancient Egyptian Fortresses in Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2015, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 247–283.

² RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba 2007 – 2008. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2009, Vol. 19, pp. 241–280.

³ RZEPKA, S. et al. From Hyksos Settlers to Ottoman Pipe Smokers. Tell el-Retaba 2014. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2015, Vol. 25, p. 120, fig. 34a/b.

⁴ For a plan of the site with the modern road indicated see: RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba 2007 – 2008. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2009, Vol. 19, p. 241, fig. 1.

featuring several chiselled marks. These may be related to the original sculpting of the stela in antiquity.

The front side of the monument displays a rounded bordering line framing the decorated area. The width of the stela's frame, i.e. the distance between the bordering line and outer curve of the stone, varies from 1.4 to 3.2 cm. The surface of the stela, including the frame, was smoothed and the image area was decorated in sunk relief. The execution of the relief is not very accurate: especially the hieroglyphic signs are roughly carved, without giving any attention to details. The decoration features an almost completely preserved sun disc (\emptyset ca. 11.2–12.7 cm) with the protruding head of a uraeus, apparently the crown of a deity that was oriented rightwards. An inscription written above the sun disc identifies the figure as the god Re-Harakhty $(r^{c}w-hr.w-3h.ti^{5})$.⁶

Opposite to this inscription and the sun disc, there are remains of a cartouche whose right half is now lost; its preserved height is 12.5 cm. Careful examination revealed traces of at least three hieroglyphic signs. In the upper area the sign wsr can be clearly recognised (F12, head and neck of a canine animal⁷) and further down, the left part of the sign *stp* is preserved (U21, adze at work on a block of wood⁸). Underneath the *stp* sign, the leftmost ripple of water belonging to the sign n (N35⁹) is still discernible. The combination of the signs *wsr*, *stp* and *n* makes it obvious that the name of a Ramesside ruler was with outmost probability written in the cartouche. Nothing remained of the king's figure, but he must have been represented vis-à-vis the deity. The state of preservation does not, however, allow for any conclusions concerning the postures or actions of the figures.

An interesting feature of the fragment is an almost triangular recessed projection of the stone in the left upper corner, which is about 1.6 to 2.0 cm lower than the decorated surface. Its surface was treated very roughly; it was neither smoothed nor decorated. Numerous chisel marks along the curve of the stela's frame and on the smoothed surface of the frame itself indicate that the projection was made secondarily. A possible scenario is that the original rectangular limestone block was smoothed and only then the rounded shape of the stela's upper part was sculptured. During this work step, the left (and probably also the right) corner of the original block was not chiselled off

Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, lemma-no. 70002. Available from http://aaew. bbaw.de/tla/ [cit. 4 December 2015].

⁶ For the god Re-Harakhty see: BARTA, W., Re. In Lexikon der Ägyptologie V, pp. 156–180 (esp. pp. 171–172); ASSMANN, J. Harachte. In Lexikon der Ägyptologie II, pp. 956–961; WILKINSON, R. H., The Complete Gods and Goddesses, pp. 205–209. GARDINER, A. Egyptian Grammar, p. 462.

⁸ Ibid., p. 518.

⁹ Ibid., p. 490.

completely, producing a recessed projection on each side. In a third step, the stela was decorated in relief.

Ramesside cartouche

The signs *wsr*, *stp* and *n* reappear in several throne names of Ramesside kings ruling in the 19th and 20th Dynasty. The first of them is Ramesses II, followed by Sethos II, Sethnakht, Ramesses IV and Ramesses VII. All of these have to be taken into consideration when trying to determine the identity of the king who was once represented on the stela.

The three latter kings may be excluded as possible candidates, mainly because their whole throne names are too long to fit into the cartouche. This is especially the case with Ramesses VII whose throne name was $wsr-m3^{\circ}.t-r^{\circ}w-stp-n-r^{\circ}w-mr-jmn$.¹⁰ Sethnakht's throne name $wsr-h^{\circ}.w-r^{\circ}w-stp-n-r^{\circ}w^{11}$ is usually combined with the epithethon mr-jmn and thus unfitting as well.

Ramesses IV used a shorter throne name $wsr-m3^{\circ}.t-r^{\circ}w-stp-n-jmn$.¹² But even in this case, it would fit into the cartouche only in combination with a short version of Amun's name, using the sign of the sitting Amun as an ideogram, without further phonetic complements. In such versions of the throne name, however, the sign used for *n* is the red crown of Lower Egypt (S3¹³) and not the ripple of water preserved on the stela (N35). Furthermore, this name is only attested in Ramesses IV's first regnal year.

The only candidates left are thus the 19th Dynasty rulers Ramesses II using the throne name $wsr-m3^{c}.t-r^{c}w-stp-n-r^{c}w$,¹⁴ and Sethos II, for whom the throne name $wsr-hpr.w-r^{c}w-stp-n-r^{c}w^{15}$ is attested. Both versions are well in accordance with the size of the cartouche as well as with the hieroglyphic signs discernible on the stela (Figs. 3a-b).

¹⁰ BECKERATH, J. von. Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, pp. 170–173; *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, lemma-no. 859330. Available from http://aaew.bbaw.de/ tla/ [cit. 7 December 2015].

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 164–165; *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, lemma-no. 600241. Available from http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/ [cit. 7 December 2015].

¹² Ibid., pp. 166–169; *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, lemma-no. 859120. Available from http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/ [cit. 7 December 2015].

¹³ GARDINER, A. Egyptian Grammar, p. 504.

¹⁴ BECKERATH, J. von. Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, pp. 152–157; *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, lemma-no. 600505. Available from http://aaew.bbaw.de/ tla/ [cit. 7 December 2015].

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 158–161; *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, lemma-no. 600086. Available from http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/ [cit. 7 December 2015].

It should also be mentioned that the throne name $wsr-m3^{c}.t-r^{c}w-stp-n-r^{c}w$ has been "reused" in the 22nd Dynasty (so-called Bubastide) by the kings Osorkon II,¹⁶ Sheshonq III¹⁷ and Pemu.¹⁸

Origin of the stela

At first sight, stela naming a Ramesside king of the 19th Dynasty corresponds with one of the main occupation phases of Tell el-Retaba and could easily be linked to the fortress built at the site during the reign of Ramesses II (phases $E3-E2^{19}$).²⁰ As the object was found out of context, however, its origin and even its place of installation cannot be so easily determined.

An important hint in clarifying these issues provides the stela JE 72307 kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo that was discovered by Labib Habachi at Qantir in 1938 (Figs. 4a-b).²¹ In fact, the limestone stela is nearly an exact parallel of the piece found at Tell el-Retaba, concerning its form, size, decoration, material as well as execution. It is almost entirely preserved, being 58 cm high and 45 cm wide, and thus a bit smaller than its counterpart from Tell el-Retaba.

The decoration shows the standing figure of the god Re-Harakhty with a falcon head and a sun disc upon his head, holding an *nkh*-sign in his right and a *w3s*-sceptre in his left hand. The god faces the standing figure of the king Ramesses II who holds two bunches of three lotus flowers in front of Re-Harakhty's face. The offering king is adorned with the blue khepresh-crown. The two cartouches and additional epithets above the king's head identify him as *nb t3.wjwsr-m3^c.t-r^cw-stp-n-r^cw 2nb b^c.w r^cw-mss-mr-jmn 3mrj jtmw* (*"Lord of the Two Lands*

¹⁶ BECKERATH, J. von. Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, pp. 186–189.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 188–189.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 190–191.

¹⁹ For the phasing see: RZEPKA, S. et al. From Hyksos Settlers to Ottoman Pipe Smokers. Tell el-Retaba 2014. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2015, Vol. 25, p. 101.

²⁰ For the fortress see: RZEPKA, S. et al. New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period in Tell el-Retaba. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2011, Vol. 21, pp. 142–152; RZEPKA, S. et al. Egyptian Mission Rescue Excavations in Tell el-Retaba. Part 1: New Kingdom Remains. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2012/2013, Vol. 22/23, p. 273; RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011–2012. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2014, Vol. 24, pp. 64–65; RZEPKA, S. et al. From Hyksos Settlers to Ottoman Pipe Smokers. Tell el-Retaba 2014. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2015, Vol. 25, pp. 117–118.
²¹ HABACHI, L. Tell el Dab'a I: Tell el Dab'a and Qantir, p. 222 (Kat. 127), Fig. 51,

pl. 42A. Cf. also Ibid., pp. 36, 62.

Wesermaatre-setepenre, Lord of Diadems Ramesses-meriamun, beloved of Atum"). The name of the god is written opposite to the left cartouche, above the sun disc, and it actually marks the beginning of a caption that continues under Re-Harakhty's left arm: ${}^{1}r'w$ -hr.w- $3h.tj^{2}dj.n$ <=j>n=k cnh w3 snb.

Analogous composition was most probably once depicted on the stela from Tell el-Retaba as well; only minor differences in iconography and epigraphy can be observed. The god on the stela from Qantir does not feature a uraeus and the hieroglyphs of his name are grouped in a different manner. The diameter of the sun disc is about 12 cm, i.e. quite the same as on the Tell el-Retaba fragment. In contrast, the cartouche with the throne name is only ca. 11 cm high and thus a little smaller than that from Tell el-Retaba, but otherwise comparable. The latter piece lacks, however, the epithet *nb* t3.wj written above it.

Even the workmanship shows crucial similarities. Both stelae are made of limestone and were decorated and inscribed in sunk relief, the profile of which is v-shaped ("v-förmig eingetieft"²²). Moreover, the stela from Qantir also features recessed projections in the upper part like the one preserved on the Tell el-Retaba fragment –"rechts und links oben zwei an Relieffläche anfügende, leicht von dieser zurückversetzte halbkreisförmige Vorsprünge".²³ Based on all these details it can be assumed that both objects were made in the same workshop or by the same sculptor (or group of sculptors respectively). The purpose of the projections can be related to the place of installation – the stelae were most probably embedded in a wall and the projections helped to keep them in position. Their rough backs also corroborate this assumption.

Based on these observations, despite the variances described, it may be assumed that the stela from Tell el-Retaba also bore the representation of Ramesses II offering flowers to Re-Harakhty and the remains of the cartouche can be with outmost probability attributed to this king.

'Horbeit stelae'

Both stelae clearly belong to the corpus of so-called 'Horbeit stelae', of which about 100 pieces are known so far.²⁴ They are of Ramesside age and all were

²² HABACHI, L. Tell el Dab'a I: Tell el Dab'a and Qantir, p. 222 (Kat. 127).

²³ Ibid., (Kat. 127), n. 210.

²⁴ ROEDER, G. Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim, pp. 93–97; HABACHI, L. Khata'na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 514–559, pls. XXVIII – XXXVIII; HABACHI, L. Features of the Deification of Ramesses II, pp. 27–39; HABACHI, L. Tell el Dab'a I: Tell el Dab'a and Qantir, pp. 218–219; MARTIN, K. Waren die sog. "Horbeitstelen" Türschilder oder waren sie Votivtafeln?. In KLOTH. N. (ed.). *Es werde niedergelegt als*

with outmost probability made and exhibited at Qantir, the ancient Piramesse that became the capital under the reign of Ramesses II and bore the name p3-k3-r3-n-p3-r5w-hr.w-3h.tj ("*The Great Ka of Re-Harakhty*").²⁵ Their size is usually up to 70 cm and quality varies between good to rather low. The stelae are decorated with an image of one or two deities or statues/colossi of Ramesses II (most often) worshipped by one or two persons that stand with the arms raised in adoration, sometimes offering lotus flowers. An altar with a vessel also appears on several of them. Most of the stelae were engraved for or donated by low-ranking officials whose titles are related to the palace or army, but generally the group of the owners is much diverse. Among the deities mostly depicted are, for instance, Ptah, Amun and Seth who would have had temples in the city.²⁶ According to Uphill and Dorner, the major temple of Piramesse was that of the multiple god Amun-Re-Harakhty-Atum.²⁷

Stela JE 72307 as well as the one from Retaba can be linked to this cult as well as to the cult of Ramesses II. Their original place of installation is, however, difficult to establish since none of the 'Horbeit stelae' were ever found *in situ*. They have been described as votive objects as well as "door plates" (*Türschilder*) that would have been installed next to the entrance into the houses.²⁸ Karl Martin, pinpointing its heterogeneity, analysed the corpus and was able to demonstrate that all the stelae could not have had the same purpose; instead temples, private houses as well as tombs must be considered as potential

Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag, pp. 255–262; EXEL, K. Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers. A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae, pp. 119–123, 125–127. See also: BUDKA, J. Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich, pp. 95–98.

²⁵ *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, lemma-no. 860627. Available from http://aaew.bbaw. de/tla/, [cit. 22 December 2015].

²⁶ Cf. UPHILL, E. P. The Temples of Per Ramesses, passim; BIETAK, M. Ramsesstadt. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V, pp. 128–146 (esp. pp. 135–136); HABACHI, L. Tell el Dab'a I: Tell el Dab'a and Qantir, pp. 59–65. For a most recent overview see: EXEL, K. Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers. A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae, pp. 102–103.

²⁷ UPHILL, E. P. The Temples of Per Ramesses, pp. 206–211; DOMER, J. Zur Lage des Palastes und des Haupttempels der Ramsesstadt. In BIETAK, M. (ed.). *Haus und Palast im alten Ägypten: Internationales Symposium, 8. bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo*, pp. 69–71.

²⁸ BIETAK, M. Tell el-Dab'a II: Der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologischgeographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta, p. 42.

destinations.²⁹ For a few monuments he managed to narrow the range of possibilities to a single place of installation, among others to stela JE 72307.³⁰ Missing the image or at least the name of the owner/dedicator, the stela would have been purposeless in a temple or as a "door plate". Monuments representing only royal statues, kings or deities would have been rather exhibited in the houses, for instance as house altars such as those discovered at Amarna, Karnak or Deir el-Medina. Such destination can be assumed for the stela found at Tell el-Retaba as well.

Conclusion

The parallel object from Qantir (JE 72307) indicates that the fragment of a stela found at Tell el-Retaba belongs to the corpus of the so-called 'Horbeit stelae' and originally depicted the king Ramesses II bringing lotus flowers to the god Re-Harakhty. It was thus most probably made at Qantir/Piramesse and at some point was carried over a distance of ca. 30 km to Tell el-Retaba. At the present state of research it cannot be, however, decided when and why this happened. It can only be assumed that the transfer took place in the Third Intermediate Period when Piramesse was abandoned and used as a quarry for the new capital Tanis. A fragment of a 'Horbeit stela' was already found at Tell el-Retaba in 1978 by the mission of the John Hopkins University under the conduct of Hans Goedicke; it was discovered in the Third Intermediate Period level (level IV) of the so-called Central pit, reused as a door socket.³¹

REFERENCES

ASSMANN, Jan. Harachte. In Lexikon der Ägyptologie II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977.

BARTA, Winfried. Re. In Lexikon der Ägyptologie V. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

²⁹ MARTIN, K. Waren die sog. "Horbeitstelen" Türschilder oder waren sie Votivtafeln? In KLOTH N. (ed.). *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, pp. 255–262.

³⁰ MARTIN, K. Waren die sog. "Horbeitstelen" Türschilder oder waren sie Votivtafeln?. In KLOTH N. (ed.). *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, 258–259.

³¹ Cf. FULLER, M. J., available from http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba 1978.html [cit. 22 December 2015]; HUDÁKOVÁ, Ľ. Report on the excavations, in preparation.

- BECKERATH, von Jürgen. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984.
- BIETAK, Manfred. Ramsesstadt. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.
- BIETAK, Manfred (ed.). *Tell el-Dab'a* II: *Der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologisch-geographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta*, mit einem geodätischen Beitrag von Josef Dorner und Heinz König, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 1, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 4, Wien: ÖAW, 1975.
- BUDKA, Julia. Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich. Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 94, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie, Band 19, Wien: ÖAW, 2001.
- DORNER, Josef. Zur Lage des Palastes und des Haupttempels der Ramsesstadt. In BIETAK, Manfred (ed.). *Haus und Palast im alten Ägypten: Internationales Symposium, 8. bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo*, Wien: ÖAW, 1996.
- EXELL, Karen. Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers. A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae, Egyptology 10, London: Golden House Publications, 2009.
- GARDINER, Sir Alan, H. Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of *Hieroglyphs*, third revised edition, Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1982.
- HABACHI, Labib. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe, Band 5, Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1969.
- HABACHI, Labib. Khata'na Qantir: Importance. In Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 443–562.
- HABACHI, Labib. *Tell el Dab'a* I: *Tell el Dab'a and Qantir. The Site and it's Connection with Avaris and Piramesse*, Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Eva-Maria Engel, unter der Mitarbeit von Peter Jánosi und Christa Mlinar, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, Band II, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der ägyptischen Kommission der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band XXIII, Wien: ÖAW, 2001.
- HUDÁKOVÁ, Ľubica. Report on the excavations of the John Hopkins University at Tell el-Retaba in the years 1977, 1978 and 1981, in preparation.
- HUDEC, Jozef, FULAJTÁR, Emil, STOPKOVÁ, Eva. Historical and Environmental Determinations of the Ancient Egyptian Fortresses in Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2015, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 247–283.
- MARTIN, Karl. Waren die sog. "Horbeitstelen" Türschilder oder waren sie Votivtafeln? In KLOTH Nicole (ed.). *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur: Beiheft 9, Hamburg: Buske-Verlag, 2003, pp. 255–262.
- ROEDER, Günther. Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim. Berlin: Karl Curtius Verlag, 1921.
- RZEPKA, Sławomir, HUDEC, Jozef, JARMUŽEK, Łukasz, DUBCOVÁ, Veronika, HULKOVÁ, Lucia, ODLER, Martin, WODZINSKA, Anna, TRZCINSKI, Jerzy,

ŠEFČÁKOVÁ, Anna, FULAJTÁR, Emil, ČERNÝ, Miroslav, TIRPÁK, Ján. From Hyksos Settlers to Ottoman Pipe Smokers. Tell el-Retaba 2014. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2015, Vol. 25, pp. 101–169.

- RZEPKA, Sławomir, HUDEC, Jozef, WODZINSKA, Anna, JARMUŽEK, Łukasz, HULKOVÁ, Lucia, DUBCOVÁ, Veronika, PIORUN, Malwina, ŠEFČÁKOVÁ, Alena. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011 – 2012. In Egypt and the Levant, 2014, Vol. 24, pp. 39–120.
- RZEPKA, Sławomir, NOUR EL-DIN, Mostafa, WODZINSKA, Anna, JARMUŽEK, Łukasz. Egyptian Mission Rescue Excavations in Tell el-Retaba. Part 1: New Kingdom Remains, in: *Egypt and the Levant*, 2012/2013, Vol. 22/23, pp. 253–287.
- RZEPKA, Sławomir, WODZIŃSKA, Anna, HUDEC, Jozef, HERBICH, Tomasz. Tell el-Retaba 2007 2008. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2009, Vol. 19, pp. 241–280.
- RZEPKA, Sławomir, WODZINSKA, Anna, MALLESON Claire, HUDEC Jozef, JARMUŽEK, Łukasz, MISIEWICZ, Krzysztof, MAŁKOWSKI, Wiesław, BOGACKI, Miron. New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period in Tell el-Retaba. In *Egypt and the Levant*, 2011, Vol. 21, pp. 129–184.
- UPHILL, Eric Parrington. *The Temples of Per Ramesses*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1984.
- WILKINSON, Richard H. The Complete Gods and Goddesses. London: Thames & Hudson, 2003.
- Website of Michael J. FULLER, Ph.D, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, St. Louis Community College, [online] [cit. 22 December 2015]; Available from http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/.

Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, Available from http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/.

THE REWRITING OF JESUS CHRIST: FROM THE SAVIOUR TO THE PROLETARIAN A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ZHU WEIZHI'S JESUS CHRIST AND JESUS THE PROLETARIAN¹

Yan LIU

Institute for Trans-cultural Studies, Beijing International Studies University, Chao yang qu ding fu zhuang nan li No.1, 100024, Peking, China liuyan@bisu.edu.cn

Zhu Weizhi, a Chinese Christian scholar, published his book *Christianity and Literature* in 1940, one of the first in China to study the relationship between Christianity and literature. However, it is not so well known that he also published two biographies of Jesus Christ: *Jesus Christ* in 1948 and *Jesus the Proletarian* in 1950. In these two biographies, Zhu had very different opinions about Jesus who was changed from the Son of God or the Saviour to a son of the working class. Jesus is here described as a proletarian or a revolutionary after the founding of New China in 1949. By doing so Zhu tried to make his faith appropriate to Marxism and the socialist ideology of the day. This paper will attempt to explore the apparent 'need' for a rewriting of the Jesus narrative by Christian intellectuals around this period of Chinese history in order to discover whether this rewriting was prompted by old traditional Chinese cultural mores which arguably could be described as being non-Christian and non-Western in their spiritual and political outlooks? Or indeed was it due to widespread anxiety about the fate of the Chinese nation whose postcolonial visions of a new Utopian society compelled 'Chinese Christianity' to make adaptive changes more suitable to the 'New China'. These and other relevant questions will be explored in this article.

Key words: Jesus Christ, the Saviour, proletarian, postcolonial resistance, indigenous theology

¹ The first Chinese version of this paper is published in *Logos & PNEUMA: Chinese Journal of Theology* (Hong Kong) 道风: 基督教文化评论(香港), 2016 (45). The English version is translated by Lin Zhenhua 林振华 (Green Oasis School, Shenzhen, China) with some rewritten parts. I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Brian Murphy (B.A. History and Political Science, B.A. English Language Teaching and Linguistics, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland) for his help and suggested revisions in this paper. I am also deeply indebted to Prof. Marián Gálik who generously provided me Zhu Weizhi's two books [*Jesus Christ* from 1948 and *Jesus the Proletarian* from 1950] and his essay "Jesus The Proletarian: A Biography by Zhu Weizhi. (1905 – 1999)." In MALEK, R. (ed.). *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, 2007, Vol. 3b, pp. 1335–1351.

In 1940 Zhu Weizhi朱维之 (1905 – 1999) published his famous monograph *Christianity and Literature* 基督教与文学 (*Jiduijao vu wenxue*), the first book in China to study the relationship between Christianity and literature. However, seldom known are his other two biographies of Jesus Christ: Jesus Christ耶稣 基督 (Yesu Jidu) published by Zhonghua Shuju中华书局 in 1948 and Jesus the Proletarian 无产者耶稣传 (Wuchanzhe Yesu zhuan) published by the Christian Literature Society of China 广学会 (Guangxuehui) in 1950.² In the latter, the image of Jesus' was changed from that of being the Son of God, Messiah (the Saviour) and the founder of Christianity to the son of the working class, a proletarian, revolutionary and liberator who struggled against the Roman rule in his quest for a heaven on earth. Within less than three years, Zhu created two biographies of Jesus having two polarly opposite standpoints. This turn of event leads us to study how Jesus' images changed in the writings of Chinese Christian scholars from around 1949 onwards. As Chloë F. Starr points out, "The experience of the Peoples' Republican-era thinkers and their reading of both the Bible and Western theology is of great relevance for contemporary Chinese Christian studies and its relationship with world scholarship...how central the fate of the nation and the relation of culture to state was to contemporary thinkers."³ Zhu attempted to justify the legitimacy of Jesus the proletarian in the New China with Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' dialectical materialism. From his efforts we can see how a Chinese Christian scholar, in exploring indigenous Chinese theology, developed a compromising profile appropriate with the new socialist utopian ideal. This paper will argue that it was traditional Chinese culture, combined with the anti-Christian ethos of the Republican era (1911 - 1949), which combined with other factors (such as post-

² In the recent document "Zhu Weizhi xiansheng zhuzuo mulu ji gaishu" 朱维之先生著 作目录及概述 [Catalogue and Summaries of Zhu Weizhi's Works], *Yesu Jidu* 耶稣基 督 [Jesus Christ] not present and *Jesus the Proletarian* was mostly lost and unknown in China after the Cultural Revolution. Cf. LU, Longguang. 卢龙光. & WANG, Lixin. 王 立新. (eds.), Shengjing wenxue yu wenhua——Jinian Zhu Weizhi jiaoshou bainian danchen lunji 圣经文学与文化——纪念朱维之教授百年诞辰论集 [*Biblical Literature and Culture: Essays in Memory of the Centenary of Professor Zhu Weizhi's Birthday*], pp. 24–26. I was told by Professor Gálik that he had been assuming *Jesus the Proletarian* as a fictional novel till he founded it in Robert P. Kramers' collection of books because it was classified into the category of novel in *Zhongguo wenxuejia zidian: Xiandai* 中国文学家字典•现代[*The Dictionary of Chinese Literary: Modern*]. Professor Liang Gong 梁工 did not mention these two books in his introduction of Zhu Weizhi's writings of biblical materials.

³ STARR, Chloë F. 解读中国对西方的解读: 民国时期神学对今天的意义. "Reading China Reading the West: The Relevance of Republican-Era Theology Today" In 汉学 与当今中国 [Sinology and the World Today], which presents the abstracts of World Conference on Sinology 2012, p. 129.

colonial resistance to what were seen as 'Western' Christian doctrines, the fate and future of the Chinese nation, the new image of China after 1949) that constituted the significant context in which Zhu adapted the images of Jesus under a new ideology and historical background.

I. The reason of creating Jesus Christ and Jesus the Proletarian

Writing biographies of Jesus was always of importance in the ecclesiastical and literary history of Christianity. The Four Gospels of the New Testament record succinctly the life of Jesus from different perspectives, each paying specific attention to particular aspects of his character. Later writers in trying for 'new' images of Jesus became more and more complex in their approaches. For instance, E. Renan described Jesus as a quasi-feminine "genius poet"; G. Papini viewed him within Nietzsche's philosophy of the superman; in the works of such left-wing writers as Upton Sinclair and Henri Barbusse, he morphed into a "revolutionary worker" and "labourer" with ambition and power; in Sarah Cleghorn, he was labelled as a "revolutionary socialist" and "comrade Jesus". "These images reflect Jesus' colourful characters. Sometimes, he is a majestic king; sometimes a handsome prince; sometimes a muscular worker; sometimes an amiable shepherd; sometimes a robust child; sometimes a naive baby; sometimes a tender woman; sometimes a brilliant angel."⁴ Due to differences in historical background, faith and thought, writers usually presented a 'Jesus' stamped with his or her own individual experience, religious belief, cultural tradition and intellectual style. In this sense the biographies of Jesus by Chinese writers could be seen as characteristic of Chinese cultural demands.

The 1920s to the 1940s could be arguably seen as the culmination in a localising process of Christianisation in China. During the Republican era, many religious specialists and Christian scholars composed or translated a large quantity of books about Christianity into plain Chinese language. In *The Catalogue of Books during the Republican Era: Religion Volume* (1911 – 1949) 民国时期总书目: 宗教 (*Minguo shiqi zongshumu: Zongjiao 1911 – 1949*), there were 104 items related to Jesus.⁵ These monographs or translations were concerned with Jesus' divinity or humanity, the relationship between Jesusism 耶稣主义 and Chinese cultural traditions. It should be noted that Chinese Christian scholars writing biographies of Jesus reflected how Christianity in

⁴ ZHU, Weizhi. Christianity and the Literature, p. 34.

⁵ Cf. Beijing Library ed., *Minguo shiqi zongshumu: Zongjiao (1911 – 1949)*民国时期总 书目: 宗教(1911 – 1949) [The Catalogue of Books during the Republican Era: Religion Volume (1911 – 1949)], Beijing: Shumu wenxian Press, 1995, p. 273.

China was becoming localised.⁶ The Chinese Christian Zhao Zichen赵紫宸 who wrote biographies of Jesus life, portrayed him as a "moderate gentleman" 稳健的高士 whose ancient-styled diction he described as having 'a kind of classic beauty'.⁷ Zhang Shizhang张仕章, a proponent of the new 'Jesusism', in his book *A Revolutionary Carpenter*革命的木匠 (*Geming de mujiang*), turned Jesus into a leader of workers and revolutionaries. Nevertheless, Zhu Weizhi wrote two biographies of Jesus which were quite different from each other in both theme and style. This arguably is an extremely rare case in Chinese academic circles, and on this basis it is intended here to use it as a study of the intellectual challenges (compromise and confrontation, obedience and struggle, acceptance and adjustment) of a Chinese Christian scholar around 1949 as well as the development of the concept of 'Christian socialism' in China.

In February 1948 Jesus Christ, co-authored by Wang Zhixin 王治心 and Zhu Weizhi, was published by Zhonghua shuju as the first volume of Chinese Treasury 中华文库 (Zhonghua wenku). In the preface to Jesus the Proletarian written at the University of Shanghai 沪江大学 on May 1st 1950, Zhu recalled this experience:

This is my second biography of Jesus. The first one was The True Stories of Jesus耶稣正传 (Yesu zhengzhuan) written by Professor Wang Zhixin and me in the winter of 1947. He was responsible for the 'introduction' while I took responsibility for the rest. Actually, that book collected just the stories of Jesus as a religionist. Despite some revolutionary awareness, generally speaking, it tended towards idealism. Having read F. Engels 'On the History of Early Christianity' and K. Kautsky's 'Foundation of Christianity' along with other social histories since 1948, I gradually understood the correct standpoints from which to develop my view of Jesus. The current situation has changed things completely. Two months ago, Mr. Yu Muren 余牧人 invited me to write this

⁶ The following books, for instance, depicted Jesus' life, morality and ideal personality: Zhao, Zizhen. 赵紫宸. *Yesu zhuan* 耶稣传 [The Biography of Jesus], Shanghai: Qingnian xiehui shuju 1935); Xie Fuya. 谢扶雅. *Beiyapozhe de fuyin* 被压迫者的福音 [The Gospel of the Oppressed], Qingnian xiehui shuju 1938); Zhang Shizhang. 张仕章. *Gemingde mujiang* 革命的木匠[A Revolutionary Carpenter], Shanghai: Zhenli yu shengmingshe 1939); Wu Leichuan. *Modi yu Yesu* 墨翟与耶稣 [Mo Di and Jesus], Shanghai: Qingnian xiehui shuju 1940). Some essays stressed Jesus' particularity, such as "Yesu Jidu de youyuedian" 耶稣基督的优越点[Jesus Christ's Advantages] by XU Baoqian 徐宝谦 and "Wo suo renshi de Yesu" 我所认识的耶稣 [Jesus Whom I Knew] by WU Yaozong 吴耀宗. More about Sinified Jesus and Chinese Jesusism during the Republican era, see GÁLIK, Marián, "Jesus the Proletarian. A Biography by Zhu Weizhi (1905 – 1999)". In MALEK, Roman, *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 3b., 1999, op. cit. pp. 1339–1343.

⁷ ZHU, Weizhi. Christianity and the Literature, p. 32.

pamphlet which would be published by the Christian Literature Society for China. I believe it was a good opportunity to announce my investigations of the last three years and have them discussed with the new generation of young men. A valuable task it seemed to be, so I said YES to his invitation.⁸

Here Zhu Weizhi adapted Jesus; founder of Christianity and Son of God, to Jesus the proletarian and revolutionary. He arguably did this for the following reasons. Firstly, his view of the world had changed irrevocably. Reading Engels' and Kautsky's works and other related books converted Zhu from idealism to materialism. Secondly, the *context* in which he was writing had been transformed completely due to the new political situation in China. After the founding of the PRC in 1949, it was necessary to create an image of Jesus that differed from any previous Western versions for consumption by the masses, especially a new generation of young men and women who wanted a fresh approach to the study of the life of Jesus. Thirdly, the Christian scholar Yu Muren's invitation provided a good opportunity to publish Zhu's book.

It is noteworthy that the first author of Jesus Christ was not Zhu Weizhi but his teacher and colleague Wang Zhixin who had actually made contributions to the introduction only. Apparently, this reflected their unusual relationship. Twenty-four years older than Zhu, Wang (1881 - 1968) was born in the city of Wuxing吴兴 (today known as Huzhou湖州), Zhejiang province and converted to Christianity about 1900; Zhu was born of a Christian family in Wenzhou温州, Zhejiang province. In 1921, Wang became a professor of Chinese philosophy in Jinling Union Theological Seminary at Nanjing金陵神学院 and his close relationship with Zhu was established when the latter studied there from 1924 to 1927. In 1928 Wang recruited Zhu as his assistant after being appointed as the dean of faculty of arts in Fukien Christian University福建协和大学. "In 1929 at the age of twenty-four, Zhu Weizhi left Shanghai, a city of 'noisy people and Western buildings'. His destination was Fukien Christian University (now part of Fujian Normal University) where he, having been recommended by Wang Zhixin, the dean of faculty of arts, and approved by Ching Jun Lin林景润 the president, would offer a course on new Chinese literature."9 In 1934 Wang took up the post of the dean of the Chinese Department in Shanghai University沪江 大学; before long Zhu followed his teacher and stayed there for sixteen years

⁸ ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus the Proletarian, p. 3.

⁹ MENG, Zhaoyi. 孟昭毅. "Zongheng ziyou lingyun bi - Zhu Weizhi bijiao wenxue sixiang lunlüe"纵横自有凌云笔——朱维之比较文学思想论略 ["On Zhu Weizhi's Comparative Literature Studies". In Biblical Literature and Culture: Essays in Memory of the Centenary of Professor Zhu Weizhi's Birthday], p. 9.

(1936 - 1952) as Wang's successor within the period (1948 - 1952).¹⁰ When Zhu wrote Christianity and Literature基督教与文学 (Jiduiiao vu wenxue, 1940), Jesus Christ (1948), Essays on Literature and Religion 文学宗教论集 (Wenxue zongjiao lunji, 1951) and Jesus the Proletarian (1951), Wang was his superior, colleague and close friend. As a Christian nurtured by traditional Chinese culture, especially Confucianism, Wang tried to found "Chinese Christianity" rather than "Christian China". Some of his books like Notions of God in Chinese History 中国历史上的帝观 (Zhongguo lishi shang de diguan), A Christian's Research of Buddhism 基督徒的佛学研究 (Jidutu de Foxue yanjiu), A Short History of Chinese Religious Ideas 中国宗教思想史大纲 (Zhongguo zongjiao sixiang shi dagang), Sun Yat-senism and Jesusism 孙文主 义与耶稣主义 (Sun Wenzhuvi vu Yesuzhuvi), explored common and complementary features between traditional Chinese culture and Christianity, suggesting that the latter should be engrained in the former so that an indigenous Christianity would take shape with any previous Western characteristics removed. Zhu shared Wang's attitude towards Christianity, which implied a blending of Eastern and Western cultures, a practical statecraft and a kind of nationalism

Chinese scholars described Jesus from a perspective different from that of their Western peers. They often compared him with Eastern sages such as Sakvamuni, Laozi, Confucius, Mencius and Mo Di墨翟 (fl. 479 – 438 B.C.), and presented a view consciously or unconsciously, of Christianity in the context of Chinese culture. Even Chinese priests inevitably interpreted Christian doctrines in this indigenous way. Chinese people came to regard Jesus as a sage or a great man like Confucius and Mo Di because of the image of perfection. He displayed and placed Jesus in the long history of traditional Chinese culture and specific historical contexts. When a national crisis broke out in the 1940s, Christianity needed to survive so in the new socialist China of the late of 1950s, Zhu Weizhi made an immediate 'politically appropriate' response to the earlier works of Wang Zhixin, Zhao Zichen, Wu Yaozong吴耀宗 and other Christian scholars. It was in this complex situation that Zhu wrote Jesus Christ and Jesus the Proletarian, both of which provided a 'new' image of Jesus not just seen as a moral paragon but also as a proletarian revolutionary. Interestingly, Zhu did not place much emphasis on Jesus the Proletarian when mentioning it in his own autobiography.¹¹ According to the Taiwanese scholar Chin Ken Pa 曾庆豹, "this might be due to its strong political overtones. Indeed, such a book

¹⁰ Zhu became a member of the Chinese Department of Tianjin Nankai University after the reform of the high education system in 1952.

¹¹ Cf. WANG, Shoulan. (ed.). 当代文学翻译百家谈 [The Talking Collections of Hundreds Translators], pp. 188–192.

characteristic of liberation theology and Christian socialism did not seem such a close fit with the changed political reality in the years after 1949".¹² This prompts the following series of questions. Why did Zhu want to write another biography of Jesus? In what kind of social context and cultural atmosphere did the change of Jesus' images take place? What could we learn from Zhu's 'postcolonial resistance' writings?

II. The Adaption of Jesus' Images: From the Saviour to the Proletarian

Comparing *Jesus Christ* with *Jesus the Proletarian*, we find that they are different from each other not only in title, structure, narrative, perspective and style, but also in material selection, character description, image and diction.

First of all, the change of book title and the new portraits of Jesus on the fly page highlighted variation in descriptions of Jesus' character and indicated a shift of writing emphasis. In the former, it is the divinity of Jesus as "Messiah" (the Saviour) that the author intended to emphasise, whereas in the latter the identity of proletarian Jesus, implied by emphasising the comparison of Jesus' family background with the lower class of labourers at the bottom of society, deliberately avoided any reference to Jesus' nobleness of birth, his being descended from the ancient Hebrew Royal houses of Abraham and David.

Returning to the portrait of Jesus on the fly leaf described above; with the origin not indicated, the figure in *Jesus Christ*, which has a solemn expression and a sceptre in his right hand, his left hand index finger pointed upward 'Heavenly' as if announcing the Good News of the Gospels. On the next page was cited an important sentence from John 13:34: "A new commandment I give unto you: that you love one another as I have loved you." Here implies the mission of Jesus as Messiah and is arguably stating the very essence of Christianity that love is the core doctrine of Jesus, and that Christianity is a religion related to the love of one's neighbour as oneself.

The portrait in *Jesus the Proletarian* was partly copied from the *Shadow of Death* by the British painter William Holman Hunt (1827 - 1910), a symbolic painting which fuses both Jesus the imagined carpenter's workshop at Nazareth with the execution ground on Golgotha. Through depicting elaborately Jesus the carpenter, it illustrates his humble origins and emphasises his image as labourer. This accords with the historical background in which Zhu Weizhi wrote the preface for the book on Labour Day of 1950, a period during which working

¹² CHIN, Ken Pa. "Wuchanzhe shiren--Zhu Weizhi de Yesu zhuan" 无产者诗人——朱 维之的《耶稣传》["W. T. Chu's Jesus the Proletarian"]. In 道风:基督教文化评论 [Logos & PNEUMA: Chinese Journal of Theology], 2013, Vol. 39, pp. 158–159.

class identity and high morals were much to the forefront in the new socialist China. Secondly, changes of content and rewriting of some chapters show that the two books were written in different writings, thinking and reading contexts. The "introduction" of Jesus Christ written by Wang Zhixin consists of four parts: 1. Why we need to research Jesus: 2. How to research Jesus: 3. Why Jesus is called Christ; 4. Jesus' background. The "main body" written by Zhu Weizhi comprises twenty-five chapters: 1. The Infancy; 2. The Childhood; 3. The Teenager; 4. The Debut; 5. First Attack on Jerusalem; 6. Passing through Samaria; 7. Start from Capernaum; 8. Struggle against the Pharisees; 9. The Work Begins in the Next Year; 10. New Struggle; 11. Leisure Time; 12. His Journeys throughout Ancient Israel; 13. The Death of John the Baptist; 14. Secluded Days; 15. Visits Abroad; 16. Return from South; 17. On the Way to the Jerusalem; 18. Three Days in the capital; 19. Retreat to the Country; 20. Last Visit to Jerusalem; 21. Final Entry into the City; 22. Conflict with the Jewish Authorities; 23. The Last Supper; 24. Jesus' Imprisonment; 25. Jesus' Crucifizion and Death on the Cross.

In *Jesus the Proletarian* both the preface and the main body were written by Zhu, in the following twenty-six chapters: 1. "Behold!"; 2. A History Recorded by the People; 3. Brutal and Fraudulent Exploitation; 4. Jewish Society under the Rule of Romans; 5. Maria as Revolutionary Working Woman; 6. Jesus' Childhood; 7. The Teenage; 8. Great Awareness; 9. Outline of Liberation Movement; 10. Return from Wild; 11. First Attack to Jerusalem; 12. Arrest of John the Prophet; 13. Start from Capernaum; 14. Enjoy Free Atmosphere; 15. New Situation; 16. Training on Hill; 17. Leisure Time; 18. Expand Coverage and Death of John; 19. Visit Abroad; 20. Return to Capernaum; 21. March on Jerusalem; 22. Three Days in Capital; 23.Silence Before the Storm; 24. Tragic Entry into the City; 25. The Night of Betrayal; 26. The Crucifixion.¹³

¹³ Published by Qingnian xiehui shudian in 1935, Zhao Zichen's *Yesu zhuan* 耶稣传 [Biography of Jesus] was the first biography of Jesus written by Chinese. It had eighteen chapters: 1. The Age of Jesus; 2. Infancy; 3. Great Awareness; 4. Jesus' Challenge to Jerusalem's Leaders; 5. The Beginning of Career; 6. Jesus Selecting His Disciples and Instructing Them; 7. Jesus' Unusual Abilities; 8. Jesus' Teaching; 9. Jesus Abiding by Doctrines; 10. Jesus' Last Striving in Galilee; 11. The Turning Point of Jesus' Career; 12. Jesus' Last Visit to Jerusalem and His Instruction on the Way There; 13. Jesus' Last Visit to Jerusalem and What Happened on the Way There; 14. Jesus' Challenge to the Governor of Jerusalem; 15. Jesus' Enemies Framed Him; 16. Jesus' Farewell to His Disciples; 17. The Crucifixion; 18. Aftermath of the Crucifixion. Zhao cited a saying of sages, literati or religionists after each chapter title as a brief summary. These citations embody indigenous consciousness, strong religious sentiments and a Sino-Occidental comparative perspective while essentially according with Gospels and Christian doctrines.

Here the first five chapters in *Jesus the Proletarian* suggest that Zhu changed his historical view – according to him, human history was a series of records that the ruling class kept exploiting and oppressing the exploited classes which in turn struggled against oppression and tyranny. From a Marxist historical view of class struggle, Zhu pointed out that the Roman Empire in which Jesus lived (he stressed Jesus' proletarian family background in particular) was a period during which the lower working classes were brutally oppressed by the ruling class and its puppet Jewish regime in Judea. Some military terms in the table of contents such as "first attack", "liberation movement", "struggle", "new situation", "training", "march on" and "coverage" reflect not only a close relationship between the book and the War of Liberation in China which had just ended, but also the influence of the Chinese Marxist views of class struggle.

Zhu Weizhi shared Wang Zhixin's views on the cause, social functions and values of religion. For Wang's part, "Jesus was a religious leader, a famous historical personage throughout the world... Religion was seen by him as having a consoling and inspiring power; thus, it may be used to maintain morality and human relationship. This awareness held strongly to the view that belief in Jesus was the only true and righteous path leading both believers and society as a whole to their true destination."¹⁴ Zhu started the preface of - to Jesus the Proletarian in a similar vein: "Religion is a product of society the same as other cultural fruits like philosophy, arts and science. It develops with the advance of society... To understand the essence of Christianity, we should know its founder Christ's thought and practice by taking off all strange costumes which feudalism and capitalism put on him in the last two thousand years." ¹⁵ Actually, Chinese Christian scholars like Wang and Zhu often discussed the cause of religion in terms of utilitarianism and materialism rather than faith itself. Therefore, they preferred to treat Christianity in the same manner as Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. That meant that Jesus was seen basically as no more than the founder of a religion like Sakyamuni, Laozi and Confucius, a person of foresight. Differing from Wang, Zhu employed Marxist theory of class struggle, regarding all religions (including Christianity) as historical products of class struggle, describing Jesus' thought and practice from the proletarian perspective. He attempted to remove the costumes which feudalism and capitalism had put on Jesus, but unexpectedly dressed him again in proletarian clothes.

It is still not a rarity in both Chinese and overseas academic circles to have Jesus represented as a proletarian iconic figure, revolutionary and liberator and

¹⁴ WANG, Zhixin, ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus Christ, p. 1.

¹⁵ ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus the Proletarian, pp. 1–2.

not surprising at all in the Chinese context since most of the relevant 'theoretical' sources and historical materials that Chinese scholars used came from their overseas peers. Zhu Weizhi had read Buck White's *The Call of the Carpenter*, F. H. Stead's *The Proletarian Gospel of Galilee* and Yonezawa Shozo's 米泽尚三 *The Proletarian Jesus*. Among books related to Jesus' life, it was David Smith's *The Days of His Flesh* that influenced him the most. At the same time, he was influenced by Engels' *On the History of Early Christianity* and K. Kautsky's *Foundation of Christianity*.

Thirdly, both of the biographies had a difference in narrative structure, narrative perspective, setting and style. Drastic representational adjustments had been made in Jesus the Proletarian. Jesus Christ relates the life of Jesus from a religious perspective in an emotional and touching way, focusing on his divinity, his identity as Messiah and the Gospel of love. Being mostly consistent with the Four Gospels, the whole story embraces passion and piety. Jesus the Proletarian, however, emphasises Jesus' upbringing from a sociological and historical viewpoint on the basis of evolutionism and Marxist class struggle theory. It is a mix of historical facts about the Jewish nation borrowed from the Gospels, Josephus Flavius' Antiquities of the Jews and Edward Gibbon's The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Marxist terminology, personal comments and arbitrary explanations. The moralising narration reads tedious and perfunctory, even aggressive. Some conclusions and judgments tend to be ungrounded and go against the spirit of the New Testament as a religious text. For instance, while giving a detailed account of Jewish society under the colonial rule of the Roman Empire at the time of Jesus, Zhu Weizhi divided it as the class theory indicates into aristocracy (Sadducces), bourgeoisie (Pharisees) and proletariat (Zealots and Essenes). The Essenes belonged to "a kind of communism". After the fall of the Jewish nation, in Galilee emerged another party under the leadership of the proletarian Jesus, it naturally became a proletarian revolutionary religion. That Zhu put Christianity at the side of communism, on the one hand, highlights Jesus' identity as the representative of the oppressed class; on the other hand, it fits into the context of socialist ideology, providing a proletarian saint and spiritual model thought by Zhu to be fulfilling the needs of the masses, especially younger readers.

In *Jesus Christ*, Jesus' mother Mary was "born of a noble family, welleducated, beautiful and virtuous". His father Joseph "was a carpenter, a descendant of the legendary Biblical King David. In spite of the outstanding family background, he lived poor but modest". Mary became pregnant before her marriage. "Christians believe this was the incarnation of 'Logos'; for our Chinese, however, this was no more than an ancient notion that emperors were born after their maternal pregnancy caused by sensing the divine spirit."¹⁶ In *Jesus the Proletarian*, Mary turned out to be a "revolutionary working woman", belonging to neither aristocracy nor bourgeoisie. "Despite a lowly status, she had never stopped pursuing her lofty and revolutionary patriotic ideals"; "she was a brilliant woman with wisdom, ambition, patriotic ideals and class passion."¹⁷ As to Joseph, Zhu did not mention his descent, but stressed that he "was honest and austere, always ready for service. Instead of talking much, he buried himself in labouring woodwork, feeling the vicissitudes of life". Both Mary and Joseph were "proletarian workers, thus it was not necessary for them to follow seculars" to hold a lavish wedding ceremony.¹⁸ Moreover, through omitting the process of Mary's pregnancy, Zhu completely removed the divinity of Jesus as "the Son of God". The incredible moment of Jesus' birth was described minutely and piously in *Jesus Christ* whereas in *Jesus the Proletarian* it was condensed into only a few words and nearly all references to miracles, religious speeches and supernatural phenomena were omitted or vaguely told.

Fourthly, there are huge differences even contradictions between the two books in their respective descriptions of Jesus' personality, fate, mission and objective. Jesus Christ, in a view of comparative culture, concentrates on the teen years during which Jesus grew up via learning, working, meditating and his growing awareness, in particular his process of steeling himself for the vicissitudes of the future: "His greatest achievement was the nurturing of the habit of working and meditating. He kept working, kept learning, kept thinking. This is an ideal example of self-education... In China, great personages such as Jiang Ziya 姜太公 and Zhuge Liang 诸葛亮 often underwent periods of meditative reflection before realising their aspirations."¹⁹ This is typical Chinese understanding and is a good example of a comparative view of narrative emphasis in regard to Jesus's life, namely emphasis on self-cultivation as per the old adage: "If poor, they attended to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they made the whole kingdom virtuous as well" 穷则独善 其身,达则兼济天下 (Mencius, Book VII, part 1, chapter 6; trans. James Legge). Nevertheless, Jesus the Proletarian constantly reminds the reader of Jesus' main objective in launching a liberation movement: "Not only was he going to liberate slaves and transform them, but also ameliorate their lives and that of humanity generally by his example. He strived for permanent democracy and freedom, for a new society with no class and no oppression at all."²⁰

¹⁶ WANG, Zhixin, ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus Christ, p. 17.

¹⁷ ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus the Proletarian, pp. 15–16.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 16–17.

¹⁹ WANG, Zhixin, ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus Christ, p. 29.

²⁰ ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus the Proletarian, p. 31.

Conspicuous here is its Utopian significance whereas disappeared were so many descriptions about spiritual and supernatural phenomena with the 'new' proletarian Jesus becoming a hero and a model for workers and proletarians.

In order to persuade the reader that Jesus was a proletarian and revolutionary, which is not an easy task, Zhu Weizhi substituted "The Sermon on the Plain" (Luke 6:20-26) for "The Sermon on the Mount" (Matthew 5:3-12) used in *Jesus Christ* because the former referred to the need of the poor, love and tolerance.²¹ Meanwhile, he attempted to find common ground between Jesus' religious view and the Marxist world view: "Since ancient times the Hebrew have struggled for justice. Most revolutions in the world originated from this nation. Marxism and Leninism could be regarded as the modern development of Hebraism. In veins of Marx and Lenin, the great revolutionaries who liberated workers of all lands, ran the blood of this nation."²² The statement is true for Marx as he was a Jew, and also for Lenin who had 1/4 Jewish origin. Zhu Weizhi revealed a secret about the relationship between Marx-Lenin and Jewish which most of Chinese didn't know.

Many biographies of Jesus culminate with the final scenes of Jesus' crucifixion, death and Resurrection, the last being a great symbol of hope in the history of humanity. In *Jesus Christ*, it is narrated in a detailed and solemn way: ²³

From noon to mid-afternoon, the sky was covered with dark clouds which left no crevice for a single ray of light. Jesus suffered so much from the wounds that he could not help cry out: 'My God, my God, why did you leave me?' Some of the onlookers assumed that he was calling the prophet Elijah to save him. How absurd they were!

Having lost a lot of blood, Jesus said 'I'm thirsty.' Then a man dipped a stick of sea weeds into vinegar and tied it on a reed to feed him. Finally, he shouted 'Enough!' before the death. This was a victory shout because he had succeeded in finishing his mission of sacrifice. Despite a failure in the masses' eyes, he established a victory basis for a surpassing and long-term project.

Shocked by how Jesus died, a centurion sighed, 'What a righteous man! He truly is the son of God!'

In his lifetime, Jesus had repeated the significance of sacrifice to the disciples whom he hoped to understand his determination to die.

He said, 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.'

Jesus has been resurrected. He lives in the heart of many Christians. Jesus has been resurrected, bringing forth more Jesuses as if a corn of wheat fell into the ground, died and brought forth much fruit.

²¹ Ibid., p. 78.

²² Ibid., p. 30.

²³ WANG, Zhixin, ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus Christ, p. 98.

However, in *Jesus the Proletarian*, the scene was condensed into only three lines in Chinese:²⁴

Jesus breathed his last three or four hours after being nailed to the cross at noon. Having witnessed the tragedy, his birth mother, his favourite disciple John and female follower Mary Magdalene who had ever kissed his feet were all overcome with grief. Even a centurion could not help sighing with tears: 'What a righteous man!'

The first citation embodies the theological significance of Jesus' crucifixion, death and resurrection. In the second, however, relative expressions except a scenic description were removed alongside discourse about deity or God and all miracles in order to accord with socialist atheism.

All in all, Zhu Weizhi made adjustments to Jesus' image in four aspects: (1) changing Jesus' identity—from a religious leader to a proletarian as carpenter and revolutionary leader; (2) changing the style of description—less "divinity" (Jesus' awareness, his relationship with God, his mission, etc. are seldom read in *Jesus the Proletarian*), more "humanity" (such as nobleness, self-sacrifice, abhorrence of evil, consciousness of human rights and democracy); (3) exploring social elements in Jesus' thought—concern about the poor, striving for liberating the proletariat, sacredness of work, reforming an unequal society; (4) underlining that what Jesus did was a liberation movement which would transform this world into a 'heaven on earth' trying to prove a consistence between the ideals of Christianity and that of socialism, supposedly adding 'socialist' validity to Jesus' existence.

III. Context of Adaptation: Christian Indigenization and Its Difficulties

In *Jesus the Proletarian*, Zhu Weizhi tried to take off Jesus' mystique and relabel him as a Marxist or proletarian; the methodology and terminology he employed were also borrowed from dialectical materialism and Chinese-styled Marxism. He attempted to portray Jesus as a man of love, kindness, sympathy, justice and ideal personality, but at the same time, annihilated the transcendent divine dimension (miracles, Holy Spirit, God, Kingdom of Heaven, crucifixion and resurrection, Messiah, Saviour, etc.). As a result, his Jesus was a man no different than Socrates, Plato, Confucius, Mo Di and other moral teachers and saints. Christianity was inevitably reduced to a revolutionary religion with a reforming society as its main objective after Jesus the leader became a

²⁴ ZHU, Weizhi. Jesus the Proletarian, p. 106.

revolutionary rather than a founder of a religion. At that time there were no realistic problems as urgent as saving the country, loving the country, reforming society and reality. It was not necessary for the author to discuss spiritual Christian concepts (e.g. grace, tolerance, sin). Besides excessive historical facts and didacticism, the reader has to cope with baffling misinterpretation caused by occasional contradictions in narration. For instance, Jesus was regarded as a man full of revolutionary enthusiasm, struggling against colonisers, aristocracy and tyrants. His image contradicts the original one that advocated love, tolerance and repentance. Sometimes, however, Zhu's comments on Jesus' thought and practice go beyond contemporary ideology, bringing forth his morality and charisma as well as the spirit of sacrifice and single-minded pursuit of equality, fairness, justice, love, etc. From this aspect his Jesus could be valuable for establishing a socialist system, but not necessarily a religious one.

In looking for common ground between the Christian idea of Heaven and the ideal communist world. Zhu intended to prove the consanguinity of Marxism, Leninism and Judaism in order to indicate that the spreading of the Gospel instead of conflicting with socialism or Marxism, conformed to and could be applicable to its new social ideals. Unfortunately, it turns out that Marxists and proletarians disliked not only the Gospel of love which distinguished no classes and principles, but also the sacred role Jesus played as the saviour of humanity. In 1948, Zhu still took Christianity as his faith or spiritual sustenance. After 1949, however, he began to study Marxist and Leninist dialectical materialism and reform himself like other Chinese intellectual visions of a new World. On the basis of socialist ideology, he defended the legitimate existence of Christianity in New China through involving Jesus' "revolutionary aspect" (as a working man and proletarian) and neglecting his "godhood" (divinity), though he knew this seemed like an impossible task. In fact, for those scholars who had sympathy for, or supported Christianity in the socialist age, it was difficult, even dangerous to proclaim their concerns in a rational and prudent way. The publication of Zhu's works in the early years of New China were mainly achieved by his adjustment of modes of writing within the new political context he found himself in. Unfortunately, in spite of sincere efforts, Zhu still underwent an unexpected adversity.

Before the Anti-Rightist Campaign in 1957, *Jesus the Proletarian* played an important role for Chinese in learning about Jesus and Christianity; it existed as a contradictory and bizarre biography which rewrote the pre-texts (the Four Gospels and *Jesus Christ*). During the special period from 1953 to 1979, all religions were as "opium" harmful to the masses and 'an excrescence of feudalism'. With the advent of the Great Leap Forward (1958 – 1960), the movement of "pulling out the white flag and inserting the red flag" and the

Cultural Revolution after 1966, Zhu Weizhi became one of its so-called 'monsters and demons' 牛鬼蛇神 (literally, "oxen ghosts and snake spirits") in Nankai University (南开大学). Labelled as a "counter-revolutionary academic authority"反动学术权威, "escaped rightist"漏网右派, "Christian proponent"基督教吹鼓手, "evil traitor"大汉奸, "executioner of revolutionary students"镇压 革命学生的刽子手, etc, he was publicly denounced and humiliated together with other professors by the Red Guards who half shaved their heads, smeared their faces with black ink and hung placards around their necks. In the face of these unbearable political persecutions, some of them committed suicide whereas Zhu clung to his Christian spirituality for survival. Even in the darkest days, he still succeeded in translating Milton's three epics—*Paradise Lost* (published by Shanghai Yiwen Chubanshe 上海译文出版社 in 1985 as the first Chinese version), *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. It was Jesus' doctrines and Milton's tough spirit that accompanied him in the vicissitudes of time and persecution.

Significantly, in contrast to his preference for Christian faith and culture, Zhu joined the Chinese Communist Party at the age of 78 as a consequence of the persecution he suffered during his life believing that the situation would improve after the Cultural Revolution and the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976. Before his joining the Communist Party in 1983 he was the first in mainland China to begin to write about the Bible in 1980 – 1982.²⁵ In Zhu's intellectual exploration, Marxism and the City of God in Christianity, atheist communism and atheist Jesusism, did not go against each other in Chinese modern social system. For Zhu's part, proletarian revolutions should not be equal to atheism; Christianity should not divorce from social revolutions; Christians and socialists could cooperate together against imperialist invasions and serve for the communist ideal. The contemporary Marxist Slavoj Žižek states that "against the old liberal slander which draws on the parallel between the Christian and Marxist 'Messianic' notion of history as the process of the final deliverance of the faithful", therefore "instead of adopting such a defensive stance", what we should do is "fully endorse what one is accused of: yes, there is a direct lineage from Christianity to Marxism".²⁶ This is understandable in order to explain the coinciding of Zhu's communist ideal with Christian "Messianic" notion of history.²⁷

²⁵ GÁLIK, Marián. "The Reception of the Bible in the People's Republic of China (1980 – 1992). Observations of a Literary Comparatist". In GÁLIK, Marián. Influence, Translation and Parallels. Selected Studies on the Bible in China, pp. 95–100.

²⁶ ŽIZEK, Slavoj. The Fragile Absolute, or Why is the Christian Legacy Worth Fighting For?, p. 2.

²⁷ As Zhu Weizhi's disciple, the scholar of Biblical Literature Liang Gong, pointed out

Zhu Weizhi's images of Jesus are in tone and respect quite different from Zhao Zichen's. It is worth exploring further the reasons why Zhu rewrote Jesus' image within a space of no more than three years. I would argue here that no judgement can be reached until we consider the fact that the Chinese Christian world view had to fit into the socialist system and ideology of the day. These were the very real challenges which Christianity was faced with in the PRC, and Zhu's shift of worldview to Marxism could be better understood in this context. Alternatively, Zhu was more influenced by "native Christians" like Wu Leichuan 吴雷川 (1870 – 1944) and Wang Zhixin who had never studied overseas unlike "returnee Christians" like Wu Yaozong, Zhao Zichen and Xie Fuya. (The former who was devoted to the linkages between traditional Chinese culture and Christian culture often "brought Confucianism or Modism into Christianity", employing Confucian "practical statecraft" or Mo Di's "universal love" to transform Chinese churches, emphasising Jesus' "humanhood" [humanity] rather than "godhood" [divinity]). Another possibly viewpoint would be that compared to his precedents. Zhu had a better opportunity to learn Marxist materialism, absorbing its views of religion and of art to bring forth a methodology which borrowed from Jesus "humanity", great personality and insistence on social reform instead of his "divinity" and theological impact. He could have possibly even attempted to open an indigenous (or localised) theological field with modern Chinese characteristics through mediating between Jesusism and socialism (communism).

British scholar Elleke Boehmer's central argument is that rather than simply being a reflection of social and political reality, literature is actively engaged in the processes of colonisation, decolonisation, and post-independence national identity formation, all, in many respects, "textual undertakings".²⁸ Therefore, localisation is no more a cultural but political problem. In the process of Christian localisation, the writer had to cater for national ideology and the contemporary requirements of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. In this sense, Zhu's *Jesus the Proletarian* could be regarded as a postcolonial text with liberation theological significance, a political text in which imperialist cultural and colonialism had been replaced under a socialist reformation of society.

in a letter (on 14th Dec. 2014) to me – the author that "in China whose history and reality were extremely complicated, a definitely possible choice rather than a merely unwilling 'brainwash' was that an intellectual accepted the ideology with heart and soul so as to actualize the value of life and serve his motherland. While studying in Nankai University, I often heard Mr. Zhu saying that 'religion will not die out even in the communist stage'. Obviously, his political view did not compromise with any popular doctrine."

²⁸ BOEHMER, Elleke. Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors, p. 5.

Consequently, Jesus became a revolutionary and liberator fighting against imperialist tradition and oppression. As Chin Ken Pa points out: "biographies of Jesus written by Chinese authors paid much more attention to a concrete context (localisation). This is the reason why Jesus was presented as a liberator. It is so in Zhao Zichen's with the term 'liberator' understood in the spiritual sense, namely what he called 'save the country with his personality' 人格救国论 whereas in Zhu's as in Wu Leichuan's, Jesus turned into 'a social reformer'".²⁹ The concerns with China's national fate and future, with cultural identity and PRC urged Zhu to defend the legitimate existence of Christianity in socialist China. This embodies his Utopian desire for a new society and world, and reflects his sense of historical mission and responsibility to set a new moral code for a new generation in China. Moreover, it draws attention to how postcolonial resistance and recognition of national identity conflicted in a Chinese Christian scholar who had been trying to establish an indigenous theology in the meeting (or mutual rejection) of Eastern and Western cultures.

To sum up, when adapting the image of Jesus, Zhu Weizhi preferred a humanistic rather than theological perspective, treating Christianity as an ideal approach to social and political reform. Guided by a Chinese way of thinking ("domestication" 化外为内 or "Sinisation" 化西为中), his re-invention of the Jesus image was a response to the socialist transformation he was witnessing all around him. However, it was shown that replacing "divinity" with "humanity", 'advocacy of faith' with "religiousness" eventually made Christianity lose its particularity as a universal religion, reducing it to a historical product initially analogous to other religions and doctrines. By juxtaposing *Jesus Christ* and *Jesus the Proletarian* in the historical context of 20th century China, we can deduce how Chinese Christian scholars in the China of the 1940s and 1950s responded and adjusted to the challenges presented by the meeting of East and West, theism and atheism, national consciousness and identity recognition, postcolonial resistance and Christian socialism.

REFERENCES

BOEHMER, Elleke. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 2nd edition 2005.

CHEN, Ken Pa. 曾庆豹. "Wuchanzhe shiren--Zhu Weizhi de Yesu zhuan"无产者诗人

²⁹ CHIN, Ken Pa. "Wuchanzhe shiren--Zhu Weizhi de Yesu zhuan" 无产者诗人——朱 维之的《耶稣传》["W. T. Chu's Jesus the Proletarian"]. In 道风:基督教文化评论 [Logos & PNEUMA: Chinese Journal of Theology], 2013, Vol. 39, p. 180.

——朱维之的《耶稣传》[W.T. Chu's Jesus the Proletarian]. In Logos & PNEUMA: Chinese Journal of Theology 道风:基督教文化评论, 2013, Vol. 39, pp. 157–186.

- GÁLIK, Marián. Influence, Translation and Parallels, Selected Studies on the Bible in China. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2004.
- GÁLIK, Marián, "Jesus the Proletarian. A Biography by Zhu Weizhi (1905 1999)". In MALEK, Roman, *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 3b. Wiesbaden: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999.
- HOPPER, Stanley Romaine. Xinyang de weiji 信仰的危机 [The Crisis of Faith], Trans. Qu Xutong 瞿旭形译. Beijing: Religion and Culture Press, 2006.
- KWAN, Simon, S. M. Post-colonial Resistance and Asian Theology. London: Routledge, 2014.
- LU, Longguang. 卢龙光, WANG, Li Xin. 王立新 (eds.). Shengjing wenxue yu wenhua ——Jinian Zhu Weizhi jiaoshou bainian danchen lunji 圣经文学与文化——纪念朱 维之教授百年诞辰论集 [Biblical Literature and Culture: Essays in Memory of the Centenary of Professor Zhu Weizhi's Birthday]. Tianjin: Nankai University Press, 2007.
- WANG, Shoulan. 王寿兰(ed.). *Dangdai wenxue fanyi baijiatan* 当代文学翻译百家谈 [The Talking Collections of Hundreds Translators]. Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1989.
- WANG, Zhixin. 王治心 & ZHU, Weizhi. 朱维之. Yesu Jidu 耶稣基督[Jesus Christ]. Shanghai: Zhonghua Bookstore, 1948.
- ZHAO, Zichen. 赵紫宸. Yesu zhuan 耶稣传 [Biography of Jesus]. Shanghai: Qingnian Xiehui Shuju, 1935.
- ZHU, Weizhi. 朱维之. Wuchanzhe Yesu zhuan 无产者耶稣 [Jesus the Proletarian]. Shanghai: Guangxuehui, 1950.
- ZHU, Weizhi. 朱维之. *Jidujiao yu wenxue* 基督教与文学 [Christianity and the Literature]. Changchun: Jilin Press, 2010.
- ŽIŽEK, Slavoj. The Fragile Absolute, or why is the Christian Legacy worth fighting for? London: Verso, 2000.

ENCOUNTERING ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: FROM ORALITY TO LITERACY AND TO THE RISE OF HISTORICAL WRITING IN THE KINGDOMS OF BUGANDA AND BUNYORO*

Viera PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia viera.vilhanova@savba.sk

Though the existence of script in some regions of Africa, in ancient Egypt, Kush, Nubia or the Ethiopian highlands led to the spread of literacy and of written knowledge, orality was the norm in many African societies in the past, and in much of Africa, historical and other knowledge remained to be constructed, maintained and conveyed by word of mouth, in poetic, musical and dramatic settings and graphic symbolism closely related to speech. Cultural contacts with Islam and later on with Christianity brought writing systems, Arabic and Latin scripts, literacy replaced orality and prompted the production of written knowledge. The arrival of Islam and somewhat later of Christianity into the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro brought literacy in its train and led to the development of a rich tradition of historical writing.

Key words: Islam, Christianity, kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro, Arabic and Latin scripts, Arabic and Kiswahili languages, orality, literacy, historical writing

Situating the Problems and Issues

Historical consciousness and a historical narrative had always existed in Africa. Africans had always somehow or other tried to express their interest in and concern for their own history, African societies had always been busy producing their own histories and anthropologies and discoursing on their own

^{*} The present study is an enlarged and revised version of a paper presented at the Third International Conference on Islamic Civilisation and Culture and the Omani Role in the Countries of the African Great Lakes, held in Bujumbura, Burundi, 9–12 December 2014.

identities. Old people taught their descendants about the past, there were community historians. Some societies even had official historians. The existence of script in some regions of Africa, in ancient Egypt, Kush, Nubia or the Ethiopian highlands led to the spread of literacy and of written knowledge, creating the possibility of written history as well. Yet orality remained the norm in many African societies in the past and historical and other knowledge remained to be constructed, maintained and conveyed by the word of mouth, in poetic, musical and dramatic settings and graphic symbolism closely related to speech. When Islam crossed the Sahara into the Western Sudan and penetrated down the East African coast, bringing literacy in Arabic in its train, Africans no longer had to rely on maintaining their historical traditions and knowledge by memorising them, and rich African traditions of scholarship emerged, articulated in the Arabic language, and in African languages written in the Arabic script, the so-called Ajami. Writing in some African languages, such as Hausa, Fulfulde, Kanembu, Dyula, Wolof, Kiswahili, Malagasy and some other African languages, using Arabic or the so-called Ajami script developed alongside works of history in the Arabic language.¹

Jan Vansina epitomised the prevailing scholarly opinion maintaining that African civilisations in sub-Saharan Africa were to a great extent civilisations of the spoken word. "The African civilizations in the Sahara and south of the desert were to a great extent civilizations of the spoken word, even where the written word existed, as it did in West Africa from the sixteenth century onwards because only few people knew how to write and the role of the written word was often marginal to the essential preoccupations of society."² The sheer number of ancient Arabic and Ajami manuscripts located in ancient seats of Islamic learning scattered across the African continent along the so-called African Ink road stretching from Senegal and Mauritania in the west to the Red Sea and along the East African coast down to northern Mozambique, questions this assumption. Few of these manuscripts, which formed part of a significant knowledge production process over the past few centuries and which have enormous historical relevance for present-day Africa, have been studied,

¹ The term Ajami (Arabic: عجمية 'ağamī), or Ajamiyya (Arabic: 'ağamiyyah), which comes from the Arabic root for "foreign" or "stranger", has been applied to Arabic alphabets for writing African languages, especially those of Hausa and Kiswahili, although many other African languages were written using the script. It is considered an Arabic derived African writing system. Since African languages involve phonetic sounds and systems different from Arabic, there have often been adaptations of the Arabic script to transcribe them.

² VANSINA, J. Oral Tradition and Its Methodology. In KI-ZERBO, J. (ed.). *General History of Africa. I. Methodology and African Prehistory*, p. 142.

translated or published, despite growing interest in their preservation and conservation over the past decades among scholars in and outside Africa.

Africans were quick to appreciate the importance of literacy and very quickly took to the production of written histories in the imported classical language of Arabic and in African languages written using the Arabic alphabet. The growth of European interest in Africa since the fifteenth century and especially the presence and work of Christian missions gave Africans literacy in their own languages in Latin script. From the very start Christian missions paid great attention to the teaching of literacy. In many parts of the African continent, Africans who had become literate in the Arabic, Ajami or Roman scripts felt the need to record local historical traditions or to set down what they knew of the histories of their people. The introduction of a script meant that historical and cultural knowledge which had been in the past constructed and conveyed by word of mouth could be produced in locally scripted historical and cultural texts. This resulted in some parts of Africa a rich production of local histories researched and written by communities themselves, of popular historical literature, memoirs, diaries and biographical writings often produced in local African languages by individuals and local communities interested in their past and interpreting their pasts which for them had meaning and significance. The production of local histories flourished in many parts of Africa. This rich corpus belonging to the genre of "production of locality" and bridging the gap between orality and literacy, reveals how local communities conceptualised the past, the world and changes that were happening around them and to them. Africans themselves have not simply produced, inscribed, and voiced historical knowledge and cultural practices in reaction to some overpowering European or Western tradition, they have been producing their own introspections and constructions of the past and culture, and discoursing their own identities.

There developed some rich early historiographies in Africa and some, namely the early historical writing which had started to be produced in the kingdom of Buganda and to a lesser extent in the kingdom of Bunyoro and among some other neighbouring peoples since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries,³ have continued to thrive.

³ ROWE, J. A. Progress and a sense of identity: African Historiography in East Africa. In *Kenya Historical Review*, 1975, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 23–34, reprinted by Northwestern University Program of African Studies, Reprint Series Number 31.

The Course of Islam in Eastern Africa

According to recent archaeological excavations, Islam came to the East African coast early in the Islamic era, in the eighth century.⁴ It spread through trade and economic migration on dhows with the ocean monsoons around which the Indian ocean trade had been organised as far back as historical knowledge goes, and was brought by traders regularly visiting the East African coast. The arrival of Islam coincided with the increasing urbanisation of the coast. Coastal cities, the oceanic trade and Islam formed the core elements of Swahili identity and of the unique Kiswahili language and civilisation which reached its peak between the 10th and 15th centuries. The Swahili people, who had over the centuries developed their own Islamic culture, were unique in having developed a written literature deeply immersed in the spirit of Islam and in Islamic literary traditions. The Kiswahili language which had evolved in the coastal towns of East Africa and adjacent islands was a written language using the Old Swahili Script or rather the Arabic Ajami script adapted to this language.

For not quite clear reasons Islam, Swahili Islamic culture and language only remained dominant along a narrow coastal strip and did not spread past the coast. The process of Islamic expansion up-country, away from the long Islamised towns of the East African coast, only began in the nineteenth-century. As on the coast in the past, Islam in the interior of East and Central Africa advanced slowly and gradually along a network of caravan routes through trading contacts with some African people and was spread by ordinary adherents, Kiswahili-speaking merchants, who were penetrating the interior of Eastern Africa in search of ivory and slaves.⁵ Through its commercial expansion in the nineteenth century, Islam soon had its representatives scattered everywhere in Eastern Africa. We should not, however, overestimate the extent of Islamic penetration. Outside certain areas, in this early period Islam made relatively little advance. In the interior of Eastern Africa, proselytising was to a large extent incidental, a by-product of trade. The primary interest of Muslim traders was mercantile, not proselytising. The Arabs and Swahili entered the East African interior in search of ivory and slaves, and, rather than new converts to their religion or political power, they sought wealth and prosperity. There was a basic contradiction between converting Africans and selling them as slaves. Since Islam forbids Muslims to enslave co-religionists, to convert too

⁴ POUWELS, R. L. The East African Coast, Chapter 12. In LEVTZION, N., POUWELS, R. L. (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*, p. 252.

⁵ ALPERS, E. A. East Central Africa. In LEVTZION, N., POUWELS, R. L. (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*, pp. 303–305. ALPERS, E. A. The Nineteenth Century: Prelude to Colonialism. In OGOT, B. A. (ed.). *Zamani. A Survey of East African History*. pp. 229–248.

many Africans to Islam would have diminished the number of those they were permitted to enslave. For this reason conversion to Islam was limited. Along the trade routes, way stations turned into flourishing settlements where the Arab and Swahili traders could (and often did) live comfortably. It seems that the prosperity of Arab and Swahili traders based on the closely integrated trade in ivory and slaves muted their religious zeal.⁶

Many people in Eastern Africa became exposed to Islam and Islamic civilisation and culture both through extensive contacts with the coast and the presence of a small number of Muslim merchants in their midst. Some benefited from the trade and adopted the customs of the coast and Kiswahili, but they did not convert to Islam in any substantial numbers and often it was possible to talk of Swahilisation without Islamisation.⁷ Islam was initially gaining new adherents by a combination of religious ideas and the attractions of Islamic culture and civilisation, the Islamic way of life and dress, the introduction of new languages Kiswahili and Arabic as well as Arabic script. Reading and writing was no doubt one of the most important skills introduced by the Arab and Swahili traders, who propagated their religion especially in the cases when through the proselytisation and the conversion of an influencial chief or ruler they could increase their trade. Many of the processes of Islamisation in Eastern Africa were similar to those described for other areas of the African continent much earlier.8 The types of the process of Islamisation that have been repeatedly seen and described across sub-Saharan Africa can be exemplified by the initial appeal of Islam seen in the power of Arabic literacy,⁹ the prestige and honour associated with Islam in terms of increasing power, the position of converts in the social hierarchy and the top-down process of conversion. The

⁶ CAIRNS, H., ALAN C. Prelude to Imperialism. British Reactions to Central African Society 1840 – 1890. p. 133. ALPERS, E. A. Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal Peoples of the Southern Interior. In RANGER T. O., KIMAMBO, I. N. (eds.). *The Historical Study of African Religion*, pp.182–191.

⁷ The coastal influence was most visible in the use of cloth which was rapidly replacing barkcloth, the adoption of the gown or garments and many other goods, including firearms, in cultivating some vegetables, fruits and crops, wheat and rice, in building square houses and in introducing new skills and crafts, including literacy in Arabic and Kiswahili. INSOLI, T. The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, p. 384; BENNETT, N. R. The Arab Impact. In OGOT, B. A. (ed.). *Zamani. A Survey of East African History*, pp. 210–228; ALPERS, E. A. *"East Central Africa"*. In LEVTZION, N., POUWELS, R. L. (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*, pp. 303–326.

⁸ PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ, V. Similarities and Differences in the Spread of Islam: East and South Africa Compared. In HARON, M., DANGOR, S. E. (eds). *Islamic Civilisation in Southern Africa*, pp. 47–49.

⁹ Later on literacy in African languages using adapted Arabic script, the so-called Ajami.

first agents of conversion were traders and only later on missionaries and holy men. $^{\rm 10}$

Islam in the Great Lakes Region

One of the most significant areas of Islamic penetration in Eastern Africa in this early period was the Lacustrine area, namely the kingdom of Buganda, where Islam secured a strong foothold. At the time of the visit of the famous traveller and explorer Henry Morton Stanley in the country in 1875, the initial process of Islamisation in Buganda reached a climax, Islam's position was strong and after the arrival of Christianity into the country became its formidable rival.

The kingdom of Buganda and Uganda no doubt belong to the best documented African countries. Apart from official and missionary archival sources, there is also a very rich corpus of historical writings written by Baganda Muslim and Christian converts, many of them eyewitnesses and active participants in the events.¹¹ According to all available sources, Islam came to be known in Buganda under Kabaka Mutesa's father Suna (1825 – 1856) several decades before the arrival of Europeans. Although there were indirect commercial contacts between the kingdom of Buganda and the East African coast long before Kabaka Suna's reign, Sir Apolo Kaggwa in his famous book Basekabaka be Buganda claims that some trade goods from the coast such as cotton cloth, copper wires, cowrie shells reached Buganda and were used during the reign of kabaka Ssemakokiro who died in 1794, there are no indications of Islamic influence at that period.¹² The kingdom of Buganda became exposed to Islam both through extensive contacts with the coast and the presence of a small number of Muslim merchants at the royal court who had started to arrive in the country from the 1840s. Some direct contacts with Muslim merchants trading in ivory and slaves were initially established and maintained in the 1840s. From the available sources it is impossible to ascertain the exact date of the arrival of the first Arab and Swahili traders into the kingdom or their number. According to Sir John Gray, the first Arab to reach Buganda was Shaykh Ahmed bin Ibrahim, a Wahabi who visited Buganda in 1844, but this claim is not supported

¹⁰ INSOLL, T. The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, p. 395.

¹¹ ROWE, J. A. Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893 – 1969. In *The Uganda Journal*, 1969, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 17–40.

¹² Sir KAGGWA, A. Ekitabo Kya Basekabaka be Buganda [The Kings of Buganda], p. 88. See also KASOZI, A. B. The Spread of Islam in Uganda, pp. 13–32; also KASOZI, A. B. The Spread of Islam in Uganda. 45 pp., map.

by substantial evidence.¹³ Most Luganda sources authored by Ham Mukasa, Apolo Kaggwa, Prince Ggomotoka, Ssekimwanyi or Ali Kkulumba had put the date in or shortly after 1850 when Zanzibari traders tried to open up their sphere of interests as far as Buganda. As on the coast in the past, Islam in Buganda tended to spread slowly and gradually. Ahmed bin Ibrahim is said to have taught Suna about Islam and Suna is said to have learned several chapters of the Ou'ran by heart.¹⁴ According to Oded, manuscript pages from the Qu'ran were discovered in Suna's house after his death.¹⁵ The northern part of present day Uganda, Bunyoro and Acholi-Lango area, had contact with Islam from the north since perhaps as early as 1850, but the Islamic impact on Buganda from the Sudan and Egypt was limited. Zanzibar and the East coast were the main centres of Islamic influence. The process of the Islamisation of the kingdom of Buganda cannot be seen as a straightforward process of 'conversion' from one religion to another, from the ancient Kiganda religion to the orthodox Islamic religion, or an abrupt rejection of the old religion and the adoption of a new one. The process of Islamisation of Buganda was a slow one and gained momentum during the reign of Kabaka Suna's son and successor Mutesa (1856 – 1884) who encouraged trade with Zanzibaris, especially after 1866. At about the same time he decided to adopt Islam, even though he refused to be circumcised. Apolo Kaggwa in his Basekabaka states that kabaka Mutesa began to fast during the month of Ramadan for the first time at Nnakawa in 1867 and continued to observe Ramadan for ten consecutive years.¹⁶ He claimed to have converted to Islam and continued to observe Ramadan for over ten years, yet continued to practise the traditional Kiganda religion as well, or returned to it at the time of great affliction or crisis.

A by-product of the presence of Kiswahili-speaking coastal merchants in Buganda was the diffusion of new languages Arabic, Kiswahili and literacy. Literacy entered the kingdom of Buganda in the late 1860s as part of the new religion Islam and the Holy Book Qur'an and for nearly a decade instruction in Islam and Arabic was progressing and flourishing at the royal court. Literacy

¹³ GRAY, Sir J. Sheik Ahmed bin Ibrahim, the first Arab to reach Buganda. In *The Uganda Journal*, 1947, Vol. XI., No.1, pp. 80–97.

¹⁴ See SPERLING, D. C. The Coastal Hinterland and Interior of East Africa, p. 21.

¹⁵ ODED, A. Islam in Uganda. Islamization through a Centralized State in Pre-Colonial Africa, pp. 49–51.

¹⁶ See KAGGWA, A. Basekabaka be Buganda, [Kings of Buganda] p. 124, 130. On the spread of Islam also see MUKASA, H. 'Some Notes on the Reign of Mutesa'. In *Uganda Journal*, 1934, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 60–70; MUKASA, H. 'Simudda Nyuma', [Go Forward]. MITI, J. K. Ebyafayo bya Buganda, Bunyoro, Busoga, [A Short History of Buganda, Bunyoro, Busoga Ankole and Toro]; GRAY, Sir J. 'Mutesa of Buganda'. In *Uganda Journal*, 1934, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1934, pp. 22–49.

attracted local people and enhanced the popularity of Islam. Reading and writing in Arabic and Kiswahili introduced by the Arabs and Swahili traders was no doubt the most important skill connected with the spread of Islam.¹⁷ Mutesa himself learnt to read and write Arabic and Kiswahili, adopted Arab dress and manners, started to read the Our'an and maintained diplomatic relations with the Sultan of Zanzibar. He was especially fond of Arabic poetry and could converse fluently in Arabic with European visitors: Charles Chaillé-Long in 1874, Emin Pasha in 1876 or the Church Missionary Society (hereinafter referred to as CMS) missionaries Felkin and O'Flaherty. Mutesa encouraged young chiefs and pages of the royal palace to join him in learning Arabic and the Arabic script. Some pages, chiefs and dignitaries at court became interested in the teachings of Islam and learnt to read and write. Many future leading Christian chiefs, James Miti, Henry Wright Duta Kitakule or Stanislaus Mugwanya were among those Baganda who joined Mutesa and made good progress "reading Islam" okusoma ekisiramu, okusoma meaning both to read and to pray. The above mentioned Baganda chiefs were reputed to have been excellent Arabic scholars.

Islam's contribution to education and intellectual development through Arabic alphabetisation and literacy was accompanied by the spread of Kiswahili and Arabic languages among the Baganda. During the 1870s the knowledge of Arabic script and of the Arabic and Kiswahili languages spread among the court élite who started to use literacy in everyday life. Literacy became part of Buganda diplomacy. As the CMS missionary R. W. Felkin commented in his book, due to literacy in Arabic, many of the chiefs and commanders of military troops were constantly sending reports to the Kabaka Mutesa.¹⁸ Literacy was inextricably connected with Islam and Christianity, both religions of the Book because it enabled converts to read their Holy Books, the Qur'an and the Bible. As has been mentioned, the concept of reading- *okusoma* became a synonym for the adoption of the new religion, Islam, and later on Christianity. The converts were called 'readers'. The court became Islamised, mosques were built by chiefs and a number of future leading Christian converts, who were young pages at this time, adopted Islam and became literate in Arabic and Kiswahili. Between 1867 and 1875, the impact of Islamisation began to be felt not only at

¹⁷ The effects of contacts with Muslim traders in Buganda were most visible in the introduction of many new skills and crafts, in the cultivation of new crops, fruits and vegetables, such as wheat, rice, tomatoes, pomegranates, guava, onions, tomatoes, papaws and papayas, of spices, sugar, coffee, tobacco, soap, perfumes and woven grassmat manufacture, in the use of cloth which was under the reign of kabaka Mutesa rapidly replacing barkcloth, the adoption of the gown or garments and many other goods or changes in some royal rituals, namely in royal burial customs.

¹⁸ WILSON, C. T., FELKIN, R. W. Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan 1882, Vol. 2, p. 19.

the court, but in the countryside as well and for a time Islam was proclaimed the state religion of Buganda and Islamic observance made compulsory throughout the kingdom.¹⁹

At the time of the visit of the famous traveller and explorer Henry Morton Stanley in the country in 1875, the initial process of Islamisation in Buganda reached a climax, Islam's position was strong and after the arrival of Christianity into the country became its formidable rival. The famous traveller and explorer Henry Morton Stanley, who visited Buganda in 1875, was the first to teach Mutesa about Christianity and boasted that he had undermined the position of Islam in the kingdom. Stanley was on a trans-continental expedition across East and Central Africa to follow up the explorations of David Livingstone, J. H. Speke, and Samuel Baker and resolve some geographical questions. During his journey of exploration, sponsored by two newspapers, the New York Herald and London's Daily Telegraph, he visited the kabaka Mutesa of Buganda. Impressed by what he saw in Buganda, the potential of the country and its people, Stanley, journalist, traveller and explorer, turned into a lay missionary who used his stay at the court to undermine the position of Islam in the kingdom of Buganda and to "explain the Bible and the Christian religion to the king".²⁰ Kabaka Mutesa was at that time anxious to widen his country's diplomatic, political and commercial contacts and impressed by the technological superiority of the white men,²¹ he was ready to welcome them in his country in the hope that they would get him the much desired military and technical assets associated with European culture and also help him to understand the wider world that was increasingly impinging upon his country and threatening its independence.

Stanley came to be a forerunner of the missionaries by being the first to teach Mutesa about Christianity and by producing a little book of biblical selections in Kiswahili. He had some parts of the Bible translated into Kiswahili and the Ten Commandments in Arabic were written on a board for Kabaka Mutesa's

¹⁹Apart from the already quoted sources, such as KASOZI, A. B. The Spread of Islam in Uganda, The Penetration of Islam into Buganda, pp. 13–32; ODED, A. Islam in Uganda, Part One, pp. 1–142; see White Fathers Archives (WFA), P 200/14, KING, N., KASOZI, A., ODED, A. Islam and the Confluence of Religions in Uganda 1840 – 1966, p. 144; CONSTANTIN, F. 'L'islam en Ouganda' In PRUNIER, G., CALAS, B. (eds.). *L'Ouganda contemporain*, pp. 209–220.

²⁰ When describing his visit to the kingdom of Buganda in April 1875 Stanley boasted to have succeeded in his task. STANLEY, H. M. Through the Dark Continent. Vol. I., p. 164; STANLEY, H. M. Through the Dark Continent. Vol. II., pp. 193–195.

²¹ Stanley made a favourable impression on kabaka Mutesa by actively assisting him in a military campaign against the Bavuma islanders.

daily perusal.²² Together with his African servant and interpreter who Stanley had engaged for the journey to the Great Lakes, a slave from Nyasaland, Dallington Maftaa Scopion, who was freed in Zanzibar, then educated and baptised by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and who was well versed in Kiswahili, they prepared a booklet comprising some parts of the Bible translated into this East African lingua franca written down in Arabic script. Maftaa together with Masudi the Arab wrote everything down in Arabic script what Dallington Maftaa had read and translated from the Bible so that the Kabaka and some dignitaries at the royal court could read it. Stanley and Maftaa produced guite a large number of copies of this booklet. "Islam may be said to have prepared the way here," admitted Mackay, one of the first missionaries to Buganda and a bitter enemy of Islam,²³ who after his arrival in Buganda was astonished to find so many copies of the booklet of Biblical texts written in Kiswahili in the Arabic script prepared by Stanley and his scribe Dallington Maftaa still around.²⁴

Christian Missions in Buganda and Bunyoro, the Spread of Literacy and the Rise of Luganda and Runvoro Historiographies

In 1877 the first members of the Anglican Church Missionary Society arrived to be followed two years later, in 1879, by the Roman Catholic White Fathers. When literacy was introduced into the kingdom of Buganda, it was confined to speakers of Arabic and Kiswahili. Here as in many other parts of Africa, the advance of Islam, of Arabic, the language of the Qur'an and literacy in the Arabic script had preceded the introduction of Christianity and of the Latin script. Literacy in Arabic and Kiswahili in the Arabic script and the knowledge of these languages paved the way for Christian missions and their work. After their coming into the kingdom of Buganda, missionaries of both denominations used Kiswahili as a medium of instruction and its knowledge in Buganda no doubt helped them in the work of evangelisation. Christian missionaries had at their disposal some biblical texts in Kiswahili. Roman Catholics had at first used biblical texts translated into Kiswahili by the Holy Ghost Fathers (Spiritans), while CMS missionaries had at their disposal some Kiswahili translations prepared by early Protestant missionaries on the island of Zanzibar

²² STANLEY, H. M. Through the Dark Continent. Vol. 1, p. 164; STANLEY, H. M. Through the Dark Continent, Vol. 2, pp. 193–195.

²³ Mackay to CMS, 26.12, 1878. Church Missionary Intelligencer, October 1879, p. 609. ²⁴ SUNDKLER, B., STEED, Ch. A History of the Church in Africa, p. 570.

and on the East African coast.²⁵ But, the position of Kiswahili in Buganda was from the very outset in the eyes of both missions jeopardised by its association with Islam, a rival religion they wanted to eradicate, and soon both missions strove to introduce Luganda as a medium of instruction arguing that the Christian message could be properly understood only if it were taught in the mother tongue.²⁶ From the very start of their presence in Buganda and later on in the rest of Uganda, both Christian missions, paid great attention to the teaching of literacy. While Islam was associated with the introduction of written languages Arabic and Kiswahili and the promotion of literacy in these languages, Christianity promoted literacy in Latin script in local African languages transformed by translations of the Holy Book and other religious and non-religious texts into written languages.

The efforts of both missions met with an enthusiastic response. Reading became so popular in Buganda that the booklets prepared by missionaries of both denominations were circulated in tens of thousands.²⁷ Early missionaries in Uganda left vivid accounts of Baganda "readers" drifting from one mission station, one set of instruction to another, often frequening both mission stations as well as the Zanzibari camp at Lungujja, and of Baganda lads sitting on the hay-covered floor in the royal palace reading or scribbling on boards or any scrap of paper they could pick up and, lacking paper, sometimes even practising with a stick or just their own fingers in the dust of the royal courtyard.²⁸ The Baganda were introduced to written literature first through Islam and some years later through Christian propaganda. Christian missionaries provided an alternative literacy and belief system. The Qu'ran was communicated to them in sometimes incomprehensible Arabic while the very first books in their own language Luganda were produced to advance the Christian cause.

²⁵ VILHANOVÁ-PAWLIKOVA, V. Biblical Translations of Early Missionaries in East and Central Africa. Translations into Swahili. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2006, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 80–89.

²⁶ VILHANOVÁ-PAWLIKOVA, V. Biblical Translations of Early Missionaries in East and Central Africa. Translations into Luganda. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2006, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 198–210.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 205.

²⁸ MULLINS, J. D. The Wonderful Story of Uganda. London, C.M.S. 1904 includes early memoirs of a leading Protestant convert Hamu Mukasa. See also MACKAY to Lang, 29 September, 1885, C.M.S. Archives, G3A6/02, and A. M. Mackay, op. cit., pp. 138–140; TOURIGNY, Y. So abundant a harvest: the Catholic Church in Uganda 1879 – 1979, pp. 32–49.

As soon as the Baganda learned to read and write, they were keen to practise it.²⁹ Many semi-legible notes containing news of anything said or done at the court have been preserved in both the C.M.S. archives in Birmingham and the White Fathers archives in Rome, as well as in the Lugard Papers at Rhodes House, Oxford, and in other private papers. It cannot be doubted that this habit of writing anonymous letters and of conveying political secrets by writing was one of the contributing causes of Kabaka Mwanga's persecution of Christians in 1886. As substantial collection of Baganda correspondence prove, later on during the civil wars of 1888 to 1892, the Baganda were becoming more and more skilled in accurately conveying their thoughts on paper and supplementing verbal reports with written communications. Imitating the Europeans and adopting their ways and habits, the Baganda became genuine products of the Victorian age with its passion for recording, corresponding and writing diaries.³⁰

The first book originally written in Luganda ever to be published was Sir Apolo Kaggwa's *Basekabaka be Buganda* or Kings of Buganda, first printed in 1901. The famous book of history is probably the best known book in Luganda and has been used by many scholars working on Buganda history.³¹ Apolo Kaggwa was a prolific author, though there were others of a similar cast. The interest that Sir Apolo Kaggwa took in writing, and the importance he attached to preserving the written word were not exceptional and were shared by most of his contemporaries. Dr. Rowe's picture of Hamu Mukasa and his house with large glass-fronted bookcases, all the drawers, cupboards and boxes stuffed and crammed with diaries, journals, letter-books, ledgers, maps and assorted records and documents, proves that the Baganda did like to write.³² This is also clearly

²⁹ Already in 1891 Lugard reported that coloured cloth, beads and wire were useless as trade goods in Buganda. "They want paper, notebooks and writing materials." See LUGARD to Admin. Gen. IBEA Co., 13.Aug. 1891, In *Africa*, 1892, No. 4, p. 124.

³⁰ ROWE, J. A. The Purge of Christians at Mwanga s Court. In *Journal of African History*, 1964, Vol. V., p. 55–72; ROWE, J. A. Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893 – 1969. In *Uganda Journal*, 1969, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 1–40.

³¹ The original edition of *Basekabaka be Buganda*, printed in England in 1901 and numbering some 500 copies, was put on sale in Uganda in 1902 at 5 rupees per copy. The price was soon reduced to three rupees. Already by 1912 a second edition containing some new material appeared, including an account of the return of Kabaka Mwanga's body from the Seychelles, where he had died in 1903 in exile. This was followed in 1927 with a third edition also containing new additional sections on some neighbouring countries, such as Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro. This last edition was reprinted in 1953 by the Uganda Bookshop and sold out within a few years. ROWE, J. A. Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition, p. 17–21.

³² ROWE, J. A. Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition, p. 17–21.

demonstrated by an ever-growing volume of Luganda written sources, both published and unpublished which have recently been coming to light. The wealth of family papers, for example, has only begun to be explored.³³

Most Baganda of Sir Apolo Kaggwa's generation had acquired literacy after enduring many hardships sometimes incurring physical risk in so doing.³⁴ The civil succession wars of 1888 – 1892 saw the triumph of the Christian converts. The Protestant-Catholic coalition had gained sole control over the political hierarchy and those who were not in communion with them or with the recognised Muslim minority, had no other alternative but to join one of the religious parties.³⁵ Victorious Christians swept all the unsuccessful from their posts. Christianity and literacy, for these two things were inseparably connected, came to be viewed as the key to social and political advancement.³⁶

The turn of the century became the beginning of a busy period in Luganda historical writing, when a number of Kaggwa's contemporaries, both Christian and Muslim, started to write to complement Kaggwa's books, correct him, provide some new information or reassess the historical events from their point of view. Kaggwa seems to have started at an early date to record the turbulent events of the 1880s and 1890s. According to R. Ashe of the C. M. S. mission, already by 1894 Kaggwa had written a tiny booklet on *The Wars of Buganda* (*Entalo Za Buganda*), which is, however, no longer extant. Starting with *Basekabaka be Buganda* in 1901, Kaggwa's other historical writings followed: *Ekitabo kye Empisa Za Baganda (The Book of the Traditions and Customs of the Baganda*), first published in 1905; *Ekitabo Ky'Ebika bya Abaganda (The Book of the Clans of the Baganda*), published in 1908; and the book of the

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ ROWE, J. A. The Purge of Christians at Mwanga s Court, also ROWE, J. A. Baganda Chiefs who Survived Kabaka Mwanga's Purge of 1886. A paper obtainable from Makerere Institute of Social Research. Kampala, date unknown.

³⁵ LOW, D. A. Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875 – 1900. In *East African Studies*, 1957, No. 8, p. 16–18; LOW, D. A. Uganda and the British, 1862 – 1900, an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Oxford, Exeter College 1957.

³⁶ ROSCOE, J. Rev. KAGGWA A. Katikiro and Regent of Uganda In *Church Missionary Gleaner*, July 1, 1902, p. 108. Kaggwa himself described how at first he alone adopted new customs and work habits, beginning on 31st January 1890, with his purchase of a watch. Others laughed at him at first, but later followed him. He went on to reform the slopshod procedure of the *lukiiko*, purchased a horse (September 1902); built a two-storey brick house (July 1894); bought a kerosene lamp (January 1896); and a bicycle (1898) and began writing his first book. In 1894, he also adopted the custom of eating while seated at a table instead of upon mats spread on the floor, and of drinking tea instead of banana beer. Quoted from FALLERS L. A. Social Mobility, Traditional and Modern. In FALLERS, L. A. (ed.). *The King s Men, Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*, p. 183.

Grasshopper clan, *Ekitabo Kya Kika Kye Nsenene*, published in 1904. The latter was the first production on a small printing press which was presented to the *katikkiro* by the Foreign Office when Kaggwa and Mukasa visited England for Edward VII's coronation in 1902. Besides these major historical writings, in 1902 Kaggwa produced his first edition of *Baganda Fables (Engero za Baganda)*, reprinted by Sheldon Press in 1920.³⁷

Kaggwa's major historical works were written between 1900 - 1912, some thirty years after the Luganda language had been committed to writing. After 1912 Kaggwa stopped writing, except for a few occasional articles he contributed to the Ebifa, a C.M.S. newspaper. The three most outstanding historical works, *Basekabaka be Buganda, Ekitabo Kye Empisa za Baganda* and *Ekitabo Ky' Ebika bya Abaganda*, supplement each other and together cover every aspect of Kiganda history society, dynastic, military, political, cultural and social. Kaggwa's sources were, as in contemporary historical fieldwork, oral traditions. Kaggwa acted as a collector of traditions for the missionary John Roscoe. The information he had collected for Roscoe in Luganda he wrote down and the notes provided the basis for his own writings. As Dr. Kiwanuka suggested, it seems that Kaggwa was prompted to write in Luganda what John Roscoe was already writing in English.³⁸

As has been mentioned, the interest that Sir Apolo Kaggwa took in recording the past and the importance he attached to preserving the written word were not exceptional, they were shared and followed by a number of his contemporaries, Baganda amateur historians, who wrote to complement Kaggwa's books, correct him or provide new information. The literary atmosphere provided by the mission stations and the publication of Apolo Kaggwa's works acted as a stimulus to Luganda historical as well as non-historical writing. Kaggwa was a leading Protestant and his interpretation of history provoked a number of counter-studies by Catholic and Muslim Baganda.³⁹ They had consulted a wide variety of oral informants for the times past and, recalling the days of their

³⁷ PAWLIKOVÁ, V. Sir Apolo Kaggwa and the Origins of Luganda Literature. In Asian and African Studies, 1975, XI., pp. 197–203.

³⁸ KAGGWA, Sir. A. The Kings of Buganda, p. 256; were translated and edited by M. S. M. Kiwanuka and published by East African Publishing House, Nairobi – Dar es Salaam – Kampala, in 1971 as the first volume in a new series of historical texts of Eastern and Central Africa. The part of *Basekabaka* covering the colonial period was, however, skipped from this publication ROSCOE, J. The Baganda. An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs.

³⁹ PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ, V. The Challenge of Writing a History: Early Luganda Historical Writing and Buganda's Ekitiibwa and Position in Colonial Uganda. In PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ, V., MOUMOUNI, S. (Eds.). *Voices of Africa' s Pasts*, pp. 145–160.

vouth, they were able to contribute much from their own first hand experience. Since 1911, when the White Fathers first published their newspaper Munno, the Baganda have been contributing historical articles in that paper as well as in Ebifa, a C. M. S. newspaper. Alifunsi Aliwali, who acted as a collector of oral traditions for Bishop Gorju,⁴⁰ has been one outstanding contributor to the missionary newspaper Munno. From among works by other Baganda historians, the following deserve to be mentioned here: Prince Ggomotoka's massive seven volume hand written history of Buganda entitled appropriately Makula (Treasure),⁴¹ John Miti's unpublished Short History of Buganda (Ebyafavo bya *Buganda*): Hamu Mukasa's three volumes of historical narrative and personal memoirs entitled Simuda Nyuma (Don't Turn Back) and the Rev. Bartalomayo Zimbe's Buganda ne Kabaka (Buganda and Kabaka) published on the Gambuze Press in 1938.⁴² As Dr.Rowe has pointed out, there seems to have evolved a literary tradition in Buganda that ageing prominent Baganda of the turn of the century generation should set their pens to paper to revive their generation's ekitiibwa (prestige or honour), to recount their lives or expound their principles so that others may profit by their example.⁴³ Many early handwritten Luganda historical texts kept in the Makerere University Library have never been translated and published, some early editions were published only in the original African language and are now almost impossible to get hold of. Works authored by participants and eye witnesses of historical events, namely John Miti or, Rev.Bartolomavo Zimbe are the best available sources on the last two turbulent decades of the nineteenth century history of Buganda. Hamu Mukasa's monumental work entitled Simuda Nyuma (Don't Turn Back), three volumes of historical narrative and personal memoirs also dedicated to the 1880s and 1890s could also be mentioned. An example of African historical texts awaiting translation and publication is also the famous book Basekabaka

⁴⁰ GORJU, J. L. Entre le Victoria, l' Albert et l' Edouard.

⁴¹ Prince Ggomotoka was the former *ssabalangira* (the head of princes). He began his book in 1920 as the history of the Baganda royal family. Two decades later, at the time of his death, it was not quite finished.

⁴² The first volume of Mukasa s *Simuda Nyuma* (*Go Forward*), subtitled "*Ebiro by Mutesa*" (*The Reign of Mutesa*), was published in London in 1938 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The second volume *Ebya Mwanga* (*That of Mwanga*) appeared in 1942 and the third volume allegedly sent to Bishop Willis in England, who was to have seen it through publication, was lost. Dr. Rowe discovered a carbon copy of the lost volume at Kwata Mpola House, the home of the late Hamu Mukasa, in March 1964. For details see his article, *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition*, op.cit. An English translation of Miti's manuscript was also supposedly sent to Bishop Willis in England at about the same time as Mukasa's lost volume. See ibid.

⁴³ For the definition of the term ekitiibwa see ILIFFE, J. Honour in African History, pp. 167–168.

be Buganda by Sir Apolo Kaggwa, the first half of which up to the death of kabaka Mutesa in 1884 was translated into English, edited and published as The Kings of Buganda by M.S.M. Semakula Kiwanuka in the course of writing his University of London PhD. dissertation.⁴⁴

The Baganda made good use of access to literacy and turned the newly acquired skill into a useful tool for their own and their country's advancement. The interpretation of the past led to the rise of a rich historiographical tradition and became a variable in making and influencing colonial politics and the attitude of the colonial administration to different religio-political groups or individuals.⁴⁵ For a number of reasons Baganda Catholic historiography produced to counter Kaggwa's version of events is less rich than the historiography written by the Protestant Baganda and historical writings in Luganda by Muslim Baganda authors are even more sparse. To quote John Rowe, "by the 1920s two schools of history had emerged – a Protestant school of interpretation, the established school – and a Catholic revisionist school. In the 1930s they were joined (to no one's surprise) by an emergent Muslim school of historiography with its own interpretations and canons of selectivity".⁴⁶ The reason for this later start of Muslim historiography may have been the minority status of Baganda Muslims in Buganda, many of whom after their defeat in 1893 scattered to neighbouring countries. After the defeat of the Muslim faction in the civil wars, the crush of the anti-British rebellion in 1899 and especially after 1900 and the signing of the Uganda Agreement, the religion of the cross triumphed over the religion of the crescent and Muslims fell into third place behind the two Christian groupings, Protestant and Catholic. Islam became an expression of an alternative culture in a colonial society dominated by European or Western Christian culture and civilisation. Islamic identity differenciated Muslims culturally from their colonial masters. Adoption of Islam by new

⁴⁴ It was published by the East African Publishing House in Nairobi in 1971, the second half has only been published in Luganda. The first English translation of Basekabaka was made by Simon Musoke at the East African Institute of Social Research in the early 1950s. In the late 1960s there was a handwritten English translation kept in the Makerere University library.

⁴⁵ PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ, V. The Challenge of Writing a History: Early Luganda Historical Writing and Buganda's Ekitiibwa and Position in Colonial Uganda PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ, V., MOUMOUNI, S. (eds.). *Voices of Africa's Pasts*, p. 155. Twaddle, M.: The Bible, the Qur' an and Political Competition in Uganda. In KASTEFELT, N. (ed.). *Scriptural Politics. The Bible and the Koran as Political Models in the Middle East and Africa*, pp. 139–154.

⁴⁶ ROWE, J. A. Progress and a sense of identity, pp. 23–34. Also his *Myth, Memoir, and Moral Admonition*, op. cit. and TWADDLE, M. On Ganda Historiography. In *History in Africa. A Journal of Method.* 1974, Vol. I., pp. 85–100, pp. 86–88.

converts could symbolise a search for a new identity owing no intellectual inspiration to European presence, Islamic conversion could also become an expression of an anti-colonial stance and resistance to European dominance and oppressive colonial regime.

In their historical writings, *Ebyafayo Ebitonotono Kudini Ye Kiyisiramu Okuyingira mu Buganda* (A Short History of the Coming of the Muslim Religion to Buganda) by Haji Ssekinwanyi, *Ebyafayo bye Ntaloze Ddini mu Buganda* (A History of the Wars of Religion in Buganda) by Abdul Nyzani and *Ekitabo k' Ebyafayo Ebyantalo za Kabaka Mwanga, Kiwewa ne Kalema* (An Introduction to the History of the Wars of Kings Mwanga, Kiwewa and Kalema) by Bakale Mukasa bin Mayanja, to mention just a few, Baganda Muslim authors tried to rewrite the history of the turbulent period, correct mistakes and false interpretations on the part of Baganda Christian historians and argue their own views. Historical accounts, memoirs and participation histories written by Muslims present a corrective Muslim version of the wars of religion in Buganda, of the history of the introduction of Islam into the Lacustrine region or of the Buganda-Bunyoro wars and the British colonial conquest and thus serve as a useful counterbalance to dominant Protestant and Catholic historiographies.

Historical works also started to be written in neighbouring Bunyoro. The two kings, Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and Omukama Kabarega of Bunyoro, waging a long drawn out guerrilla war, were captured by British troops on 9 April 1899 and deported first to Kisimayu and later to the Seychelles.⁴⁷ The two defeated and deposed African rulers shared their exile on Mahé, the largest of the Seychelles Islands, with Agyeman Prempeh, the ex-king of the Asante Kingdom. During their long banishment the rulers tried to come to terms with the world of new ideas, modernisation, Christianity and education. As the government of the Seychelles reported to London in November 1901: "Ex-king Prempeh and the Oueen Mother have been for some time regular attendants at the Anglican Church, and the spectacle of Prempeh, the Queen Mother and the two ex-kings of Uganda, Mwanga and Kabarega, sitting side by side in church is not devoid of interest."48 Throughout the long period of their exile, both rulers, Prempeh and his co-prisoner Kabarega, converted to Christianity and learned to speak, read, and write in English, and also saw to it that any member of their entourage who wanted baptism received it.⁴⁹ They also insisted that free education would be provided, especially to children.

⁴⁷ PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ, V. History of Anticolonial Resistance and Protest in The Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunzoro, 1862 – 1899, pp. 226–272.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Otumfuo, Nana Agyeman Prempeh I. The History of Ashanti Kings and the whole country itself and other writings. Chapter 2, p. 28.

⁴⁹ Kabaka Mwanga died in 1903.

Omukama Kabarega, who during his long exile became literate, also became interested in preserving for posterity some information on the kingdom of Bunyoro before its loss of independence. The information was recorded and published by one of his sons, Tito Winyi, who spent the years between 1910 and 1920 in the Seychelles acting as private secretary to his father Omukama Kabarega. Kabarega was in 1923 allowed to return to Uganda, but died at Jinja while on his way back to his kingdom. Tito Winyi succeeded to the throne of Bunyoro as Omukama after the sudden death of his half-brother Duhaga on 30 March 1924. Between 1935 and 1937 Sir Tito Winyi published in the Uganda Journal a series of articles both in Runyoro and English using the initials K.W. (Kabarega – Winyi) to indicate that it was a joint venture of his father and himself.⁵⁰

Runyoro historical writings are not so abundant. Petero Bikunya's *Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara*, a short history of Bunyoro, published in 1927 could be mentioned. Twenty years later, a detailed history of Bunyoro Kitara written in Runyoro, *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*, from the pen of a Munyoro historian John Nyakatura, appeared. Since this early edition originally published in Canada was very difficult to obtain, Godfrey Uzoigwe prepared and published in 1973 a new, English edition.⁵¹

The rich corpus of historical texts in Luganda and to a lesser extent in Runyoro present the Baganda and Banyoro perceptions of the past of the two kingdoms and by revealing the nature of the Baganda-British and Banyoro-British encounters from the their own, African point of view, can serve as a useful balance to other historical sources, especially the European ones.

REFERENCES

Archival Sources

Church Missionary Society Archives, Birmingham. Public Record Office, London, KewWhite Fathers (Missionaries of Africa) Archives, Rome.

Luganda and Runyoro Sources (both published and unpublished).

BIKUNYA, Petero. *Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara* [A short history of Bunyoro]. London, The Sheldon Press 1927.

⁵⁰ K. W. The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara. Part I. In *Uganda Journal*, 1935, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 155–160; K. W. The Kings of Bunyoro, Part II. In *Uganda Journal*, 1936, Vol. 4. No. 1, pp. 75–83; K. W. The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara, Part III. In *Uganda Journal*, 1937, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 53–68.

⁵¹ Published as Anatomy of an African Kingdom. A History of Bunyoro-Kitara. 1973.

Encountering Islam and Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa: from Orality to Literacy ...

- KAGGWA, Apolo Sir. *Ekitabo Kya Basekabaka be Buganda* [The Kings of Buganda]. London and Kampala, 1901.
- KAGGWA, Apolo Sir. The Kings of Buganda. Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Kampala: East African Publishing House, 1971.
- K. W. The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara. Part I. In Uganda Journal, 1935, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 155–160.
- K. W. *The Kings of Bunyoro*, Part II. In *Uganda Journal*, 1936, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 75–83.
- K. W. *The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara*, Part III. In *Uganda Journal*, 1937, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 53–68.
- KINTU, Ereiza. *Sulutoni Anatoloka* [The King has escaped]. Kampala: Baganda C. S. Press, 1950.
- MAYANJA, Bakale Mukasa bin. Akatabo k'Ebyafayo Ebyantalo za Kabaka Mwanga, Kiwewa ne Kalema [An Introduction to the History of the Wars of Kings Mwanga, Kiwewa and Kalema] Mengo, 1937.
- MITI, J. K. *Ebyafayo bya Buganda*... [A Short History of Buganda]. Bunyoro, Busoga, Ankole and Toro, 1938. Unpublished typescript, both in Luganda and English. Available from Makerere University Library.
- MUKASA, Ham. *Simuda Nyuma* [Go Forward], Vol. 1. Subtitled "Ebiro by Mutesa" [The Reign of Mutesa]. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938.
- MUKASA, Ham. *Simuda Nyuma* [Go Forward], Vol. 2, Ebya Mwanga [That of Mwanga]. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1942.
- MUKASA, Ham. *Simuda Nyuma*, [Go Forward], Vol. 3. The third volume which had allegedly been sent to Bishop Willis in England, who was to have seen it through publication, was lost. A carbon copy was found by Prof. Rowe in the house of the late Hamu Mukasa.
- MUKASA, Ham. Some Notes on the Reign of Mutesa. In *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 2, No.1, 1934, pp. 60–70 (both in Luganda and English).
- MULLINS, J. D. *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*. London: C. M. S., 1904. Includes early memoirs of a leading Protestant convert Hamu Mukasa.
- NYAKATURA, John. *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara* [The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara]. Canada: St. Justin, P. Q., 1947.
- NYAKATURA, John. *Anatomy of an African Kingdom. A History of Bunyoro-Kitara*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes by Godfrey N. Uzoigwe. Translated by Teopista Muganwa. New York, Anchor Press, 1973.
- NYZANI, Abdul. *Ebyafayo bye Ntaloze Ddini mu Buganda* [A History of the Wars of Religion in Buganda]. Katwe, n. d.
- SEKIMWANYI, Sheikh Haji A. M. *Ebyafayo Ebitonotono Kudini Ye Kiyisiramu Okuyingira mu Buganda* [A Short History of Islam]. Kampala, n. d., Baganda: C. S. Press, 1947.
- ZIMBE, B. M. Buganda ne Kabaka. [Buganda and Kabaka] Mengo: Gambuze Press, 1938.

Literature

- ALPERS, Edward A. The Nineteenth Century: Prelude to Colonialism. In OGOT, B. A. (ed.). Zamani. A Survey of East African History. Nairobi, E. A. P. H. – Longman Kenya, 1968, reprinted 1973.
- ALPERS, Edward A. East Central Africa. In LEVTZION, N. & POUWELS, R. L. (ed.). *The History of Islam in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey Ltd., 2000.
- ALPERS, Edward A. Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal Peoples of the Southern Interior. In RANGER, T. O., KIMAMBO, I. N. (eds.). *The Historical Study of African Religion*, Berkeley - Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972.
- BENNETT, Norman R. The Arab Impact. In OGOT, B. A. (ed.). Zamani. A Survey of East African History. Nairobi, E. A. P. H. Longman Kenya 1968 and 1973.
- BOAHEN, Adu, AKYEAMPONG, Emmanuel, LAWLER, Nancy, MCCASKIE, T. C., WILKS, Ivor (eds.). *Otumfuo, Nana Agyeman Prempeh I.: The History of Ashanti Kings and the whole country itself and other writings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003. Published for the British Academy in Fontes Historiae Africanae, Sources of African History, New Series No.6.
- CAIRNS, H., Alan C. Prelude to Imperialism. British Reactions to Central African Society 1840 1890. London 1965.
- CONSTANTIN, François. 'L'islam en Ouganda'. In PRUNIER, Gérard, CALAS, Bernard (eds.). *L'Ouganda contemporain*, Paris, 1994.
- FALLERS, L. A. (ed.). *The King's Men. Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- GORJU, J. L. Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard. Rennes: Imprimerie Oberthür, 1920.
- GRAY, Sir John. Sheik Ahmed bin Ibrahim, the first Arab to reach Buganda. In *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. XI., No. 1, 1947, pp. 80–97.
- ILIFFE, John. *Honour in African History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- INSOLL, Timothy. *The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Series Cambridge World Archaeology, 2003.
- KASOZI, Abdu B. *The Spread of Islam in Uganda*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press in Association with the Islamic African Centre, Khartoum, 1986.
- KASOZI, Abdou B. The Spread of Islam in Uganda. polyc. 1970, 45 pp., map.
- KING, Noel, KASOZI, Abdu, ODED, Arye. Islam and the Confluence of Religions in Uganda, 1840 1966, Tallahassee, Florida, 1973.
- KIWANUKA, M. S. M. Sir Apolo Kaggwa and the Pre-Colonial History of Buganda. In *Uganda Journal*, 1966, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 137–152.
- KIWANUKA, M. S. M. (ed. and transl.) *The Kings of Buganda. Sir Apolo Kaggwa's Basekabaka be Buganda.* Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971.
- LEVTZION, Nehemia & POUWELS, Randall L. (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*. Oxford, James Currey Ltd., 2000.
- LOW, D. A. Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875 1900. In *East African Studies* No. 8, Nairobi 1957, especially p. 16–18.

Encountering Islam and Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa: from Orality to Literacy ...

- LOW, D. A. Uganda and the British, 1862 1900, an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Oxford, Exeter College 1957.
- MACKAY, A. M., *Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda*, by his Sister. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.
- ODED Arye. Islam in Uganda. Islamization through a Centralized State in Pre-Colonial Africa. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1974.
- PAWLIKOVA, Viera. Sir Apolo Kaggwa and the Origins of Luganda Literature. In *Asian and African Studies*, 1975, Vol. XI., pp. 197–203.
- PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ, Viera. History of Anti-Colonial Resistance and Protest in the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro 1862 – 1899. Prague: The Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1988.
- PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ, Viera. Biblical Translations of Early Missionaries in East and Central Africa II. Translations into Luganda. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2006, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 198–210.
- PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ, Viera. Similarities and Differences in the Spread of Islam: East and South Africa Compared. In HARON, Muhammad, DANGOR, S. Essop (eds.). *Islamic Civilisation in Southern Africa*. Istanbul, IRCICA 2009.
- PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ, Viera. The Challenge of Writing a History: Early Luganda Historical Writing and Buganda' s Ekitiibwa and Position in Colonial Uganda. In PAWLIKOVA-VILHANOVÁ, Viera, MOUMOUNI, Seyni (eds.). *Voices of Africa's Pasts*. Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press, 2014.
- POUWELS, Randall L. The East African Coast, c. 780 to 1900 C. E. Chapter 12. In LEVTZION, Nehemia, POUWELS, Randall L. (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey Ltd. et alia, 2000.
- ROSCOE, John Rev. *The Baganda. An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs.* London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1911.
- ROSCOE, John Rev. Apolo Kaggwa. Katikiro and Regent of Uganda. In *Church Missionary Gleaner*, July 1, 1902.
- ROWE, John A. Baganda chiefs who survived Kabaka Mwanga s purge of 1886. A paper obtainable from Makerere Institute of Social Research, date unknown.
- ROWE, John A. The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court. In *Journal of African History*, 1964, V. 5, No.1, pp. 55–72.
- ROWE, John A. Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893 – 1969. In Uganda Journal, 1969, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 17–40, and Uganda Journal, 1970, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 217–219.
- ROWE, John A. "Progress and a sense of identity". African historiography in East Africa. In *Kenya Historical Review*, 1975, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 23–34. Reprinted by Northwestern University. Program of African Studies, Reprint Series No. 31, p. 25.
- ROWE, John A. Eyewitness Accounts of Buganda History: The Memoirs of Ham Mukasa and His Generation. In *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 36, No. 1, Ethnohistory and Africa, Winter 1989, p. 61–71.
- ROWE, John. Mutesa & the Missionaries. Church & State in Pre-Colonial Buganda. In HANSEN, Holger Bernt, TWADDLE, Michael (eds.). *Christian Missionaries & the State in the Third World*. Oxford: James Currey, 2002, Chapter 5, pp. 52–65.

- SPERLING, David C. with additional material by KAGABO, Jose H. The Coastal Hinterland and Interior of East Africa. Chapter 13. In LEVTZION, Nehemia, POUWELS, Randall L. (eds.). *The History of Islam in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey Ltd. et alia, 2000.
- STANLEY, H. M. *Through the Dark Continent*. Vol. I., London: George Newness, 1899.
- STANLEY, H. M. Through the Dark Continent. Vol. II., London, 1878.
- SUNDKLER, Bengt, STEED, Christopher. *A History of the Church in Africa*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2000.
- TOURIGNY, Yves. So abundant a harvest: The Catholic Church in Uganda 1879-1979. London, 1979, TWADDLE, Michael. On Ganda Historiography. In History in Africa. A Journal of Method, 1974, Vol. I, pp. 85–100.
- TWADDLE, Michael. The Bible, the Qur'an and Political Competition in Uganda. In KASTEFELT, Niels (ed.). *Scriptural Politics. The Bible and the Koran as Political Models in the Middle East and Africa.* London: Hurst & Company, 2003, pp. 139–154.
- VANSINA, Jan. Oral Tradition and Its Methodology. In KI-ZERBO, J. (ed.). *General History of Africa*. I. *Methodology and African Prehistory*. Paris: UNESCO London, Heinemann, 1981.
- WILSON, C. T., FELKIN, R. W. Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan. 2 Vols. London, 1882.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 – SOURCE OF LASTING ARAB BITTERNESS*

Karol R. SORBY Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia kaorkaso@savba.sk

The passage of Resolution 242 by the UN Security Council on 22 November 1967 was a major diplomatic achievement in the Arab-Israeli conflict. It emphasised "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" and contained the formula that has since underlain all peace initiatives – land for peace. In exchange for withdrawing from Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian territory captured in the 1967 war, Israel was promised peace by the Arab states. The resolution provides the basis on which the peace talks between Israel and the Arabs could be conducted.

Key words: different superpowers interests; UN Security Council Resolution 242, formula "land for peace", deliberately ambiguous wording of the terms

During the summer of 1967 the UN General Assembly's emergency session failed to adopt a resolution calling for an end to Israeli occupation. Bilateral consultations between the USA and USSR during and after the session equally failed. The UN General Assembly met annually in regular session, normally convening on the third Tuesday in September. The session began with a general debate during which the heads of delegations provide overall assessment. In 1967, almost all the speakers in the debate referred in the first place to the Middle East.

Diplomatic activity was always high during the first weeks of each regular session of the General Assembly, when many foreign ministers were in New York. There were also several meetings held between heads of delegations. During the course of debate the Secretary General U Thant issued nine reports from observers on exchanges of fire across the Suez Canal initiated by both sides. Syria complained that Israel was mistreating the Palestinians in occupied

^{*} This study is published within the VEGA No. 2/0107/15 grant project.

territories, which Israel denied. The Palestine Conciliation Comission reported that the June war served "to further complicate an already very complex problem".¹ Therefore at the end of September U Thant suggested that the time had come to remit the Middle East problem to the Security Council.²

On his way home from the USA King Husayn stopped in London for a few days. On Sunday, 2 July 1967 he met Dr. Yacov Herzog at the home of Dr. Emanuel Herbert which lasted an hour and a half.³ There were reports in the Israeli press that King Husayn had made contact with Israeli through an intermediary, but these reports were denied by Jordan.⁴

The Soviet Ambassador to Washington, Anatoly Dobrynin on 18 July met Arthur Goldberg, US representative to the UN, and reached an agreement on a revised version of the draft which the Latin American and Caribbean states had submitted in the first phase, but amended in the light of the discussions. They affirmed (to please the Arabs) the principle of the inadmissibility of the invasion of territory in accordance with the Charter and called on all parties to the dispute to immediately withdraw their forces from the territories occupied after 4 June 1967.⁵ They also affirmed (to please Israel) that all states in the region were entitled to political sovereignty and territorial integrity, free from threat of war, so that claims of belligerency should be terminated. The draft would have asked the Security Council to continue its efforts with a sense of urgency, looking towards a just solution of all aspects of the problem.⁶

The following day, 19 July, the meeting between the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Arthur Goldberg led to a substantial US-Soviet agreement on the amended version of the draft. The Soviet Minister then asked for recess of 24 hours so that he could commend the agreed text to the Arab delegations, but they rejected it out of hand. The non-aligned states were dismayed at this

¹ SCOR (Security Council Official Records), 22nd year. Supplement for July-September 1867; GAOR (General Assembly Official Records), 22nd session, Annexes, Agenda item 34.

² Middle East Record, pp. 25, 86.

³ Dr. Emmanuel Herbert, Husayn's doctor and personal friend had a private clinic in London. He was a Jew from Russia and an ardent Zionist. At his home the King met Dr. Yacov Herzog, brother of Chaim Herzog, the director of military intelligence and later president of Israel. In SHLAIM, A. Lion of Jordan. The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace, pp. 193, 259.

⁴ *Middle East Record*, Vol. 3, 1967, p. 31–32; JABBER, F. A. *International Documents on Palestine 1967*, (doc. 178), p. 168–169; MUTAWI, S. A. Jordan in the 1967 War, p. 174.

⁵ U THANT, M. View from the UN. London and Newton Abbot: David Charles, 1978, p. 281; RIYĀD, M. Mudakkirāt Maḥmūd Riyād, 1948 – 1978. [Memoirs of Maḥmūd Riyād]. Vol I., p. 89.

⁶ EBAN, A. An Autobiography, pp. 442–443.

stance and there was "profound and even bitter disappointment" in most groups in the Assembly.⁷ The United States withdrew its support for this draft resolution only forty-eight hours later. As usual, both sides blamed the other for the collapse of the US-Soviet compromise. The USSR thereafter took the line that the draft should be regarded as a tentative working paper only.⁸

However, the truth was that Israel too rejected the text, and the Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban told Arthur Goldberg that Israel would not withdraw its forces on the basis of the US-Soviet draft. Israel considered that the wording about withdrawal could be interpreted to mean withdrawal to the armistice demarcation lines, so that the United Nations would become "a cover for continued belligerence". Moreover, the reference to the inadmissibility of conquest of territory by war was, in Israel's view, a "doubtful principle". Abba Eban continued that he could see no difference between the US-Soviet formula and Kosygin's call for unconditional withdrawal, and he warned that if this draft were persisted in, "the United States would embark on a collision course with Israel"⁹ The Israeli delegation was especially indignant because it had not been taken fully into the confidence of the United States about the discussions with the Soviet Union and Abba Eban uttered his impression that Israel's American friends were acutely uncomfortable. But President Lyndon Johnson told Abba Eban that the further Israel moved from the territorial situation which had prevailed before the June war, the further Israel moved from peace.¹⁰

After the failure of the US-Soviet draft resolution, there was nothing useful the Assembly could do in spite of the presence of a great number of world leaders. The emergency session of the General Assembly "turned out to be futile despite the glittering assemblage of world leaders".¹¹ The Assembly then adjourned and reconvened for one meeting on 18 September, the day before the opening of the Assembly's regular annual session. The meetings were presided over by Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of Afghanistan and by various vice-presidents.¹²

⁷ *Middle East Record*, Vol. 3, 1967, p. 83; LALL, A. The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967, p. 212.

⁸ REICH, B. Quest for Peace: United States-Israel Relations and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, p. 127.

⁹ RAFAEL, G. Destination Peace. Three Decades of Israeli Foreign Policy. A Personal Memoir, pp. 180–181; EBAN, A. An Autobiography, pp. 443–444.

¹⁰ SHEVCHENKO, A. Breaking with Moscow, p. 138; RAFAEL, G. Destination peace, pp. 180–181; EBAN, A. An Autobiography, pp. 443–444.

¹¹ U THANT, M. View from the UN, p. 271.

¹² LALL, A. The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967, p. 219.

The general debate in the UN Assembly began on 21 September, though there was little new to be said on the Middle East that had not already been said in the Security Council or during the emergency Assembly. The Arab delegates attacked Israel and the United States and highly appreciated the Soviet Union for political support. While Arthur Goldberg, insisted on employing the term "conflict" in interpreting Israel's actions in June the Arab delegates used the term "aggression".¹³ At the time New York was seething with hatred for anything that was Arab. Israel, the occupier, enjoyed support while the Arabs, the victims of Israeli attack, were regarded as the villains, deserving punishment. Egypt therefore complained of a systematic "campaign of deception" about the facts in the Middle East for which the United States bore a special responsibility. The Muslim countries mostly supported the Arabs and there were voices demanding a treaty to outlaw belligerency in the Middle East and to control the arms race.¹⁴

The socialist countries expressed support for the Arabs and denounced Israel. The USSR proposed that Israel should compensate Egypt, Jordan and Syria for the material damage which those countries had suffered. Early in October the Security Council members started actively to discuss the situation. After two weeks spent in the UN, Andrei Gromyko returned to Moscow, an in his place arrived in New York Vasily Kuznetsov, First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, a fair-minded man with a conciliatory style. His presence was in some quarters regarded as indicating renewed Soviet interest in moves to obtain a settlement which would encompass the withdrawal of Israel and the general cessation of belligerency in the Middle East. He was soon engaging in intensive negotiations on the Middle East, backed up in Washington by Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, who saw Secretary of State Dean Rusk on 19 October.¹⁵

In the early days of October King Husayn visited Moscow, where he expressed the gratitude of the Arabs for diplomatic support at the United Nations.¹⁶ Nikolai Podgorny, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of USSR, blamed Western imperialists for encouraging and aiding Israel. A communiqué after the talks stressed the identity of attitudes, as well as the need to eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression. According to an Israeli intelligence report,

¹³ RIYĀD, M. Mudakkirāt Mahmūd Riyād, 1948 – 1978. Vol I., p. 145.

¹⁴ GAOR, 22nd session, 1573rd plenary meeting, 22 September 1967, 1580th plenary meeting, 5 October 1967, 1565th plenary meeting, 25 September 1967; LALL, A. *The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967*, p. 227.

¹⁵ GAOR, 22nd session, 1563rd plenary meeting, 22 September 1967; 1573rd plenary meeting, 29 September 1967; 1575th plenary meeting, 2 October 1967; LALL, A. The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967, pp. 226–227.

¹⁶ HUSAYN, al-malik. Mihnatī ka-malik. [My Profession as King], p. 206.

the king was amazed by the honour and special treatment that he was accorded in Moscow. He discovered that the Russians were not quite the monsters he had assumed them to be. They offered him arms to buy, but he agreed only to economic aid and cultural relations. The primary reason for the visit was obviously a desire to form a personal impression of the Russians and to assess their ability to help break the Arab-Israeli impasse.¹⁷

Abba Eban, for Israel, said that the Arab states regarded the United Nations as a shelter against the necessity of peace. He insisted that Israel sought no declarations of guarantees, no general affirmations of Charter principles, no recommendations or statements by international bodies. What Israel proposed was a permanent end to armed conflict "by pacific settlement and direct agreement".¹⁸ Immediately after the war, King Husayn had been inclined towards a negotiated settlement, but when the Israeli policy was given expression in the Allon Plan, whereby Israel would retain strategic areas of the West Bank, and now that Israel established the first four military settlements in occupied territories, he realised that the idea of a demilitarised Arab West Bank was not on programme. As Jordan was bound by the Arab agreement at Khartoum, King Husayn was in no position to discuss a separate peace with Israel. According to an observer, it was "an unfortunate conjunction, for had the two countries then negotiated the return of the West Bank, the festering Palestinian issue might now be largely an historical reference".¹⁹

Israel continued to insist that the Arab states negotiate directly with it on the terms of a settlement. Herein lay one of the greatest obstacles to precise steps forward in the Middle East. While Israel insisted on direct negotiation, the Arabs rejected direct negotiation. The draft proposals of the Latin American and of the nonaligned states which received the largest numbers of votes at the Fifth Emergency Session moved even further away from direct negotiation. The nonaligned countries leaned heavily on third-party participation in negotiation. According to the Soviet-American text agreed upon on 19 July was that negotiations would be largely in the hands of UN.

The President of the General Assembly on 13 October suggested that the Assembly should interrupt its consideration of the Middle East, and members of the Security Council then resumed informal efforts to find a framework for peace. The following days were consumed by a frantic round of meetings, and

¹⁷ SHLAIM, A. Lion of Jordan. The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace, p. 269.

 ¹⁸ EBAN, A. An Autobiography, p. 446; GAOR, 22nd session, 1566th plenary meeting,
 25 September 1967; JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, docs.
 150, 185, 197; *Middle East Record*, 1967, Vol. 3, p. 288.

¹⁹ GAOR, 22nd session, 1566th plenary meeting, 25 September 1967; JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, docs. 150, 185, 197; BALL, George. The Past Has Another Pattern. Memoirs, p. 439; EBAN, A. An Autobiography, p. 446.

the negotiations were persistent and prolonged. With the two superpowers reflecting the positions of their clients in the Middle East, it was obvious that any agreement at all in the Council would be a considerable achievement. When it became clear that these discussions were unavailing, the five permanent members of the Council let it be known that they would welcome any initiative which the non-permanent members of the Council might take.²⁰

The non-permanent members began their separate efforts on 19 October. A good many papers and proposals were considered, including all the proposals circulated during the emergency Assembly earlier in the year, documents emerging from the Kosygin-Johnson meeting at Glassboro and other drafts. At the beginning of November, Argentina, Denmark and India were asked by the non-permanent members to form a drafting committee, but they were unable to resolve the difficulties.²¹ There was a general agreement that a resolution had to be passed calling for Israel's withdrawal from "all the occupied territories", while the Arab states maintained publicly that they would accept nothing less. All the land under Israeli occupation had to be returned, the Arabs insisted, and until that condition was met they would not negotiate. The Israelis maintained that they were willing to give up most of the land, but they wanted prior political concessions for doing so.

The same stand Israel had taken in 1957, arguing that it should reap some political benefit from its conquests. But at the time President D. Eisenhower had refused on the grounds that such a deal violated the UN Charter and US policy. He asked during a televised address: "Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of UN disapproval be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal? If we agreed that armed attack can properly achieve the purposes of the assailant, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order".²² Eisenhower's position had not only been in the best idealistic tradition of the USA, but was also the essence of high statesmanship. By his uncompromising stand, he stated for all the nations of the world to hear that America observed the principles of the UN Charter and was willing to support the weak against the strong.

President Lyndon Johnson and his advisers were mindful of how Eisenhower had dealt with the Israelis after the Suez War. They were determined not to adopt the same strategy of forcing Israel to withdraw from conquered territories in return for little in the way of Arab concession and so they completely revised

²⁰ Middle east Record, 1967, Vol. 3, p. 87.

²¹ U THANT, M. View from the UN, p. 288–290. RAFAEL, G. Destination Peace. Three Decades of Israeli Foreign Policy. A Personal Memoir, p. 188.

²² Cit. In NEFF, Donald. Warriors for Jerusalem. The Six Days That Changed the Middle East, pp. 334–335.

US-Israeli relations.²³ This did not mean that the United States endorsed Israel's indefinite hold on the occupied territories, but rather that the territories should be exchanged for a genuine peace agreement, something that had been missing in the Middle East since Israel's creation. This would take time, obviously, but time seemed to be on Israel's side, and the Israelis had officially made it clear that they did not intend to return to the former armistice line.²⁴ The need, as American officials saw it, was to establish such a framework for a peace settlement and then to allow time to pass until the Arabs were prepared to negotiate to recover their territories. Apart from helping to establish the diplomatic framework, the United States need only ensure that the military balance not shift against Israel. Such a change was not likely in the near future, however because the Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian armed forces lay in ruins.

In the course of the next five months, American diplomatic efforts were aimed at achieving a UN Security Council resolution that would incorporate Johnson's five points.²⁵ The main areas of disagreement between Israel and the Arabs, as well as between the USA and USSR, rapidly emerged. The Arabs, on the one hand, insisted on full Israeli withdrawal from the newly occupied territory prior to the end of belligerency. Israel, on the other hand, held out for direct negotiations and a "package settlement" in which withdrawal would occur only after the conclusion of a peace agreement. The USSR generally backed the Arab position, whereas the USA agreed with Israel on the "package" approach, but was less insistent on direct negotiations.

As to the withdrawal of Israeli forces, the American position changed between June and November. Initially the USA was prepared to support a Latin American draft resolution that called on Israel to "withdraw all its forces from all territories occupied by it as a result of the recent conflict". The resolution was defeated, as was a tentative joint US-Soviet draft in mid-July that was never considered because of radical Arab objections to provisions calling for an end of war with Israel. In late August the Arab position hardened further at the Khartoum conference, where Egypt's President Jamāl ^cAbdannāşir and King Husayn of Jordan, in return for subsidies from the oil-producing Arab countries, were obliged to subscribe to guidelines for a political settlement with Israel

²³ GREEN, S. Taking Sides. Americas Secret Relations with a Militant Israel, p. 250.

²⁴ NEFF, D. Warriors for Jerusalem. The Six Days That Changed the Middle East, p. 299. 25 The five points or principles used discussed in the second
²⁵ The five points or principles were: disengagement and withdrawal of forces; recognition of the political independence and territorial integrity of all countries within recognised boundaries; the right of all sovereign nations to exist in peace and security a just and equitable solution of the refugee problem, freedom of innocent maritime passage; registration and limitation of arms shipments. In ROSTOW, E. (ed.). Peace in the Balance. The Future of American Foreign Policy, p. 265.

based on no recognition, no negotiations, no peace agreement, and no abandonment of Palestinian rights.²⁶

The Western powers pressed for a new attempt to agree on the framework for a settlement. British Foreign Secretary George Brown told the Assembly that it was deplorable that there was still no agreement on how to tackle the main causes of the conflict. He was concerned at a report that Israeli settlements were to be established in the occupied territories.²⁷ Later in the month, the British cabinet decided to seek the resumption of diplomatic relations with Egypt. A senior British diplomat, Sir Harold Beeley, visited Cairo, and after a few minor matters had been resolved in discussion with Egyptian ministers, he met Jamāl ^cAbdannāşir on 21 October. Agreement to resume diplomatic relations was quickly reached, and was announced a month later.²⁸

Skirmishing along the Suez Canal continued, increasingly taking a civilian toll in Egypt's canal cities. Partial evacuation of the towns had to be undertaken to protect civilians. Then on 21 October the most serious incident occurred since the war. The British-made and from Egyptians seized Israeli destroyer *Eilat* which was patrolling off Port Said approached or possibly entered Egyptian territorial waters. The warship with a crew of about 200 sailors was sunk and losses were 47 killed and 91 wounded. Missiles had been fired from two Soviet-made missile boats given to Egypt in 1962 along with the missiles. In one quick accident, all the boastful post-war talk about the inadequacy of Soviet weaponry seemed somewhat exaggerated. In any case, as General Odd Bull stressed, these events were violations of the cease-fire. Although Israelis refused any violation of Egypt's territorial waters, it had been an error of judgment to regard the warship's mission as a routine patrol.²⁹

Egypt, humiliated in war, rejoiced; however, three days later came the revenge. Israel opened fire with artillery against the Egyptian oil refinery at Port Tawfiq. The bombardment of oil facilities and attacks on civilians had convinced Egypt to evacuate 300 thousand persons from canal cities to prevent them from being hostage to Israeli gunners. Egypt asked for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to undertake enforcement measures against Israel. Israel in reply claimed that the firing had been initiated by Egypt. The need to defuse the Middle East brought the Security Council back in session on 24 October after Egypt had asked. The Council convened in the same evening and agreed to

²⁶ KORN, D. A. Stalemate: The War of Attrition and Great Power Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1967 – 1970, pp. 31–45.

²⁷ CROSSMAN, R. The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister. Vol. II., pp. 513, 537.

²⁸ Middle East Record, 1967, Vol. 3, p. 61.

²⁹ BULL, O. War and Peace in the Middle East. The Experiences and Views of a U.N. Observer, p. 146; SCOR, 22nd year. Supplement for October-December 1967, pp. 164–190.

the participation of Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Syria, and continued until after midnight and held two further meetings the next day.³⁰ The Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Mali thought that the Council should condemn Israel and also demanded that compensation should be paid to Egypt for the damage caused and the USSR introduced a draft resolution in that effect. Israel said that recent events were a culmination to a long series of Egyptian provocations. In the end, a balanced resolution was drafted and unanimously adopted, which regretted the casualties and loss of property, condemned the violations of the cease-fire and demanded an immediate prohibition of military activities in the area.³¹

The Secretary General indicated that he would like to strengthen the UN observer mission in the Suez Canal sector, and he later reported that he favoured the establishment of nine additional observation posts and to increase their number and better equipment. As such a decision had to be in accordance with the UN Charter, Nikolai Fedorenko submitted a draft resolution which would have authorised the strengthening of the UN observer mission in line with U Thant's request.³² During the meetings several clashes occurred between US delegate Arthur Goldberg and Egypt's Foreign Minister Mahmūd Riyād. The latter after listening to Goldberg describe the problems of the Middle East, he commented: "There is no need for me to get to know Israel's position now, for the US position conforms to that of Israel." Although this remark was made with emotion, it was largely true as it applied to public opinion. Americans were basically so supportive of Israel that the country was nearly automatically anti-Arab.

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban was in New York too for the Council session, and he was having a considerably more enjoyable time than his Egyptian counterpart. Everywhere Israelis went they were hailed as heroes. Abba Eban had requested a private meeting with President Lyndon Johnson and he met him in the White House on 24 October. The President gave the Minister a pro forma lecture about Israel's failure to consult with Washington before going to war and the dangers ahead, saying that "Israelis should not forget what we have said about territorial integrity and boundaries, as we could not countenance aggression". The rhetoric aside, Abba Eban heard from the President what he really wanted to hear, namely, that US objectives and Israeli objectives are much the same in general. When the UN debate resumed in late

 ³⁰ JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, doc. 444, p. 713; SCOR,
 22nd year, Supplement for October–December 1967, pp. 64–69, 191–193; U THANT,
 M. View from the UN, p. 286; BULL, O. War and Peace in the Middle East, p. 146.

³¹ SCOR, 22nd year, 1369th meeting, 24 October 1967, paras. 25, 33, 64–65, 85, 129– 130; Supplement for October-December 1967, pp. 193–194.

³² SCOR, 22nd year, 1371st meeting, 25 October 1967, paras. 6–10; Supplement for October-December 1967, pp. 76–79.

October, the US position had shifted to support for "withdrawal of armed forces from occupied territories". The ambiguity was intentional and represented the maximum that Israel was prepared to accept. Even with this change, however, the United States made it clear in an early October minute of understanding signed with the British that the text "referring to withdrawal must similarly be understood to mean withdrawal from occupied territories of the UAR, Jordan and Syria, the details to be worked out between the parties taking security into account".

In the Security Council Lord Caradon expressed disappointment at the apparent lack of urgency shown by Council members. "For months we have been urging the appointment of a United Nations special representative." He disclosed that members of the Council had been "working with urgency, particularly in the past few days, to establish and declare the principles which should govern a settlement.³³ The Johnson Administration was determined to support Israel as far as it could, yet at the same time it recognised there was an urgent need to find a solution to the tensions that were already becoming acute in the Middle East. To that end, the United States and the nations of the world now again concentrated their efforts in the United Nations.

For the next month, November, the Security Council devoted itself to the task which Lord Caradon, Britain's Permanent Delegate to the UN, had foreshadowed, with a mixture of public debate and private diplomacy.³⁴ Notable personalities from around the world travelled to New York. The Soviet deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov, had arrived on 16 October. Gideon Rafael found him "a skilful and respected negotiator",³⁵ and Mahmūd Riyād writes that he was "very stable, fair and far-sighted" respected by all UN delegates.³⁶ U Thant describes him as "pleasant and relaxed", very different from the acidulous Nikolai Fedorenko.³⁷

Abba Eban broke his journey in London so that he could speak at a meeting to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration on a national home for the Jews. Richard Crossman also spoke, making an implicit attack on the United Nations and an overt plea for direct negotiations. Afterwards he met Harold Wilson and George Brown, who told him that Britain was in general agreement

³³ JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, doc. 200, p. 181; SCOR, 22nd year, 1369th meeting, 24 October 1967, paras. 40, 43, 82, 96, 123, 135, 140; 1370th meeting, 25 October 1967, para. 12; 1371st meeting, 25 October 1967, paras. 45, 66–69.

³⁴ SCOR, 22nd year, Supplement for October–December 1967, p. 70–73, 205–206.

³⁵ RAFAEL, G. Destination Peace, p. 186.

³⁶ RIYĀD, M. Mudakkirāt Mahmūd Riyād, 1948 – 1978. Vol I., p. 159.

³⁷ U THANT, M. View from the UN, pp. 284–285.

with the United States, but that as Britain now had tolerable relations with Egypt, it was sometimes possible to pursue a somewhat independent line. George Brown told that Britain would advocate Israeli withdrawal, but only in the context of permanent peace and to such secure and agreed boundaries as would provide satisfactorily for Israel's security.³⁸

Consultations with all Security Council members continued throughout October on the basis defined and approved by the United States. At the beginning of November Arthur Goldberg sent to the Egyptians a copy of the US draft resolution that he would submit to the Security Council. Mahmūd Riyād had been to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and had then visited Paris in order to hand over a letter from Jamāl ^cAbdannāsir expressing his esteem for de Gaulle and his policies. In New York the Egyptian Foreign Minister after reading of this draft found out that it showed a reversal of the previous American position at General Assembly meetings. He complained that the proposal which the United States was sponsoring was an Israeli draft under a US name: it was ambiguous and did not contain one clear statement about Israeli withdrawal. Arthur Goldberg assured him that the US proposal meant Israel's withdrawal saying that the draft seeks to achieve that goal even without a clear statement, because Sinai is a part of Egypt, the West Bank is part of Jordan, and the Golan is a part of Syria.³⁹ King Husayn, who had seen Lyndon Johnson and Dean Rusk in Washington, told Mahmūd Riyād that the Americans favoured "Israel's complete withdrawal", but he retorted that Egypt could not accept a resolution which did not clearly stipulate the inadmissibility of Israel's occupation of Arab territories. King Husavn in his public statements maintained that the problems of the area could be solved if only Israel would withdraw substantially from occupied territories and hinted that the Arabs would then recognise Israel's right to exist in peace and security.⁴⁰ The Big Four began on 3 November a new round of consultations. Mahmūd Riyād reports that Vasily Kuznetsov asked him whether it would be useful to submit the US-Soviet draft of the previous July and he answered that Dean Rusk had assured the Moroccan Foreign Minister that no such draft resolution existed. This incensed V. Kuznetsov who said that the United States was trying to derail the Security Council and exert tremendous pressure to acquire a convenient resolution.⁴¹

The Security Council held a night meeting on 9–10 November, after which Argentina and Brazil initiated a new round of consultations, though without

³⁸ JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, (doc. 204), pp. 185–186; EBAN, A. An Autobiography, pp. 449–450; CROSSMAN, R. The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister. Vol. II., p. 554.

³⁹ RIYĀD, M. Mudakkirāt Mahmūd Riyād, 1948 – 1978. Vol. I., p. 148.

⁴⁰ JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, (doc. 434), pp. 693–694.

⁴¹ RIYĀD, M. Mu<u>d</u>akkirāt Mahmūd Riyād, 1948 – 1978. Vol. I., p. 155.

success. Then the lead passed to Britain and three days later Lord Caradon formally submitted a British draft.⁴² The Council held seven meetings between 9 and 22 November. Several representatives, and especially Lord Caradon. stressed the urgent need for progress and the hope of unanimous agreement.⁴³ The Arabs, with Third World and Communist support, insisted that any resolution must provide for Israeli withdrawal. Israel wanted a resolution in which any withdrawal would be linked to an Arab commitment to real peace.⁴⁴

The Council proceeded to listen first to the UAR representative, Foreign Minister Mahmud Riyad. His statement emphasised the need for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces to the positions they had occupied prior to 5 June. At the same time, he described the decision of the Arab summit meeting in Khartoum as "a decision for a political solution of the crisis".⁴⁵ There were five draft resolutions. The first introduced the Indian delegate in the name of India, Mali and Nigeria and was usually known as the three-power proposal or as the non-aligned draft. This draft was based on the draft prepared by the Latin American and Caribbean countries and submitted to the emergency Assembly the previous July.⁴⁶ The second proposal was the Latin American text itself, circulated to the Security Council on 9 November at the request of India. However, after the vote on 22 November the delegate of Argentina disclosed that a new Latin American text prepared strictly in accordance with the terms of the July draft, but that this had been withheld so as not to prejudice the chances of the British proposal.⁴⁷

The third proposal was submitted by the USA. The Administration had felt growing concern at indications "Israeli objectives may be shifting from its original position seeking peace with no territorial gains towards one of territorial expansionism..."⁴⁸ The new US draft differed in some respect from the July proposal and affirmed the need for "withdrawal of forces from occupied territories" and envisaged a special representative of the UN Secretary

⁴² Middle East Record, 1967, Vol. 3, p. 88.

⁴³ SCOR, 22nd year, Supplement for October–December 1967, p. 208.

⁴⁴ CARADON, L. H., et all. U. N. Security Council Resolution 242; a case study in diplomatic ambiguity, pp. 4 – 8; *Middle East Record*, 1967, Vol. 3, p. 87; U THANT, M. View from the UN, pp. 288–289.

⁴⁵ LALL, A. The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967, p. 240.

⁴⁶ SCOR, 22nd year, 1373rd meeting, 9-10 November 1967; 1379th meeting, 16

November 1967; 1382nd meeting, 22 November 1967; RAFAEL, G. Destination Peace,

p. 188 ⁴⁷ GAOR, 5th emergency special session, Annexes, Agenda item 5, pp. 42–43; SCOR, 22nd year, 1382nd meeting, 22 November 1967.

⁴⁸ GREEN, S. Taking Sides. Americas Secret Relations with a Militant Israel, pp. 245 and 360-363.

General who would assist the parties in working out the solutions.⁴⁹ The Israeli government had strong objections to this draft and asked Gideon Rafael to convey these to Arthur Goldberg. The fourth draft presented Lord Caradon, who explained that Britain had based its proposal on the principles of the Latin American text, but modified after consultations with the parties. He admitted that the text was not perfect: it represented an attempt to be fair, just, and impartial.⁵⁰ The fifth draft was sponsored by the USSR, but was introduced at a late stage and the proposal – in Lord Caradon's view – turned out to be extreme.⁵¹

The Johnson Administration, now facing an identical situation as it was in 1957, displayed no such exalted ideals or level of statecraft. Instead, it embarked on a confused and at times an almost unbelievably naive effort to find a solution. From the very beginning, it retreated from the principle upheld by Eisenhower and conceded that indeed Israel should be allowed to impose conditions on its withdrawal. This was a fatal mistake. It plagued the Administration's actions throughout its handling of the crisis and it led directly to its squandering nearly all of its energies on one narrow issue: crafting a withdrawal formula acceptable to Israel. Fundamental to this reasoning was the assumption that any changes made would be minor and that Israel would make reciprocal concessions for any small pieces of land it might gain in adjustments to the frontiers. It apparently never occurred to the American negotiators that if withdrawal was not required to be total, then Israel might later be able to argue – as it was to do – that its withdrawal did not have to be major.

Palestinians have often complained since 1967 that the resolution was faulty in referring only to "a just settlement of the refugee problem" and not to the right of Palestinians to have their own national homeland or state. Even Gideon Rafael regards this as "a most conspicuous omission", but Mahmūd Riyād considers that to have referred to the Palestinian question after the Arabs had just suffered a total military defeat which would not have helped the Palestinian cause. With a single exception, the point about Palestinian rights was not made

⁴⁹ SCOR, 22nd year, Supplement for October–December 1967, p. 208–209; GAOR, 5th emergency special session, Annexes, Agenda item 5, p. 39; LALL, A. The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967, p. 237; RAFAEL, G. Destination Peace, p. 187; JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, (doc. 182), p. 170.

⁵⁰ SCOR, 22nd year, 1381st meeting, 20 November 1967, 1382nd meeting, 22 November 1967; BROWN, G. In my way, p. 14; CARADON, L. H., et all. U. N. Security Council Resolution 242, pp. 26–27.

⁵¹ KASS, I. Soviet Involvement in the Middle East: Policy Formulation, 1966 – 1973, p. 57; CARADON, L. H., et all. U. N. Security Council Resolution 242, p. 51; LALL, A. The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967, p. 255.

during the debates in November 1967. Syria rejected the proposals. According to the Syrian ambassador, the British text neglected the rights of the Palestine Arabs.The British text was also denounced by the PLO. General Odd Bull believed that the reference to refugees rather than Palestinian national rights was a compromise: he considers that the Palestinians ought to have accepted the resolution, on the understanding that "the refugee problem can only be solved by accepting the Palestinians' right to self-determination and the right to establish a state of their own".⁵²

In presenting his draft Lord Caradon emphasised that the intention was to achieve a balanced resolution. Therefore, the first part called for withdrawal and the ending of the state of war while the second part embodied what was needed to ensure peace. It was the understanding of the Arab states that the implementation of the first part would come first, because it cleared the ground for the implementation of the second. In order to convince the Arab states to accept the resolution in this wording and to show the seriousness of the American wish to achieve its rapid implementation, the United States assured them that it would use its weight in order to implement the resolution. The most vigorous and sustained controversy evokes paragraph 1 (i) of the British draft stipulating "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict".⁵³ Did the paragraph intend total Israeli withdrawal on all fronts, or only partial withdrawal? The answer is not clear!

During the last few days before the final vote, when Lord Caradon presented his draft, he expanded on the interpretation of the resolution and reiterated the statement of George Brown who said that Britain does not accept war as a means of settling disputes, nor that a State should be allowed to extend its frontiers as a result of war. This meant that Israel must withdraw. But equally, Israel's neighbours must recognise its right to exist, and it must enjoy security within its frontiers.⁵⁴ Lord Caradon and his colleagues engaged in a forceful campaign mainly in English to commend the English version of the text. The Arabs and their friend made strong efforts to have the word "the" inserted before "territories" in the English version, believing that withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from "the" territories occupied in the recent conflict would certainly mean total withdrawal, whereas the text without the definite article

⁵² RAFAEL, G. Destination Peace, p. 190; RIAD, M. The Struggle for Peace in the Middle East, p. 74; JABBER, F. A. International Documents on Palestine 1967, (docs. 445–446, 451, 454, 458–459) pp. 715–735.

⁵³ In the French translation we find ".Retrait des forces armées israéliennes des territories occupés lors de recent conflit". As there is no definite article in Russian or Chinese, these translations cannot be used. However, in the Spanish translation, wording "los territorios" is used.

⁵⁴ RIYĂD, M. Mudakkirāt Mahmūd Riyād, 1948 – 1978. Vol. I., p. 160.

could mean partial withdrawal. Gideon Rafael states that Lord Caradon himself tried to use the definite article "the territories" and seemed disappointed when he encountered a resolute rejection from Israel and the United States. Throughout the discussions and negotiations, Israel resisted all efforts to call for complete withdrawal because it was inconceivable for Israel. Abba Eban recalls that discussion of the various drafts occupied many sessions of the Israeli cabinet.⁵⁵ Despite general Arab mistrust Lord Caradon finally convinced the Arabs that the English text meant total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.⁵⁶ Arthur Lall writes that there were informal discussions before the vote was taken. The Indian delegate decided to state that his understanding was that the British draft resolution meant full withdrawal and that India would vote for it on this understanding. Lord Caradon informed the Indian delegate that if he made the suggested interpretation regarding withdrawal he (Caradon) would respond by saying that each delegate was entitled to his own interpretation, but the Indian interpretation was not binding on the Council. Thereupon Vasily Kuznetsov said that if Britain were to repudiate expressly the idea of complete withdrawal the USSR would veto the British proposal. Lord Caradon then retreated and said that "it is only the resolution that will bind us, and we regard its wording as clear".⁵⁷ On 22 November 1967 the vote was taken and all fifteen representatives at the Council table raised their hands to signify approval. The British draft had been adopted unanimously.

Following the vote several delegations, including USSR, India, Mali, Nigeria and Bulgaria said in the Council that they took it for granted that what was envisaged was total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories. Arthur Godberg said that he had voted on the draft resolution and not for each and every speech that had been made. Abba Eban, for whom the issue was crucial, said he was communicating to the Israeli government nothing except the original English text.⁵⁸ Lord Caradon took the view that there was no justification for Israeli annexation of territory except for certain minor rectifications as the parties may agree on.⁵⁹ It is worth mentioning that five months after the war, Israel would not have agreed to total withdrawal on terms acceptable to the Arabs, and the Americans would not agree to a resolution

⁵⁵ ROSTOW, E. Peace in the Balance. The Future of American Foreign Policy, p. 269–270; RAFAEL, G. Destination Peace, p. 189; EBAN, A. An Autobiography, pp. 451–452; CARADON, L. H., et all. U. N. Security Council Resolution 242, p. 49.

⁵⁶ El-FARRA, Muhammad. Years of No Decision, pp. 115–116; CARADON, L. H., et all. U. N. Security Council Resolution 242, pp. 10–13.

⁵⁷ LALL, A. The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967, pp. 260–262; SCOR, 22nd year, 1381st meeting, 20 November 1967, 1382nd meeting, 22 November 1967.

⁵⁸ CARADON, L. H., et all. U. N. Security Council Resolution 242, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 9–14.

unacceptable to Israel. In view of Lord Caradon the wording was both fair and clear. However, the result was deliberately ambiguous and it was immediately and publicly interpreted in totally different senses by the opposing parties.⁶⁰

Passage of Resolution 242 was a fitting conclusion to the six days in June that transformed the Middle East irreversibly. Like other efforts before and after, it gave the appearance of great accomplishment, but it had no substance without the cooperation of both sides directly involved in the Middle East. Months and years passed and nothing happened. Israel, instead of showing signs of withdrawing, extended its occupation by building more and more Jewish settlements on land confiscated from Arab owners on the West Bank, on the Golan Heights and in East Jerusalem. By allowing Israel to retain its conquest, to annex Jerusalem, to settle the occupied territories, to inflict collective punishment on a defenceless people, the United States in effect encouraged the illicit behaviour of Israel. The desperate situation of millions of Arabs remains a source of their lasting bitterness.

REFERENCES

- ^cABDANNĀṢIR, Hudā Jamāl (ed.). *Al-majmū^ca al-kāmila li-khuṭab wa taṣrīḥāt ar-ra'īs Jamāl ^cAbdannāṣir*. [Complete Collection of Speeches, Declarations and Statements of President Jamāl ^cAbdannāṣir]. (Vol I., from 25 May 1967 to 3 December 1968). Cairo: al-Maktaba al-akādīmīya, 2005.
- ABU LUGHOD, Ibrahim (ed.). *The Arab-Israeli Confrontation of June 1967: An Arab Perspective*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970.
- BĀDĪB, Sa°īd Muḥammad. Aṣ-Ṣirā^c as-su^cūdī al-miṣrī ḥawla al-Yaman ash-shimālī, 1962 – 1970. [Saudi-Egyptian struggle for Northern Yemen)]. London: Dar al-Saqi, 1990.
- BULL, Odd. War and Peace in the Middle East. The Experiences and Views of a U. N. Observer. London: Cooper, 1976.
- CARADON, lord Hugh, et all. U. N. Security Council Resolution 242; a case study in diplomatic ambiguity. Washington, D. C.: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, 1981.
- CHURCHILL, Randolph, CHURCHILL, Winston. *The Six Day War*. London: Heinemann, 1967.
- CROSSMAN, Richard. *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*. Vol. II. London: Hamish Hamilton and Jonathan Cape, 1976.
- DALLAS, Roland. A Life on the Edge. King Hussein. London: Profile Books, 1999.

Dějiny diplomacie, 1961 – 1979. [History of Diplomacy]. Praha, Svoboda, 1984.

EBAN, Abba. An Autobiography. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977.

⁶⁰ VANCE, C. Hard Choices; critical years in America's foreign policy, p. 160; BROWN, G. In my way. p. 233.

- FARĪD, ^cAbdalmajīd. *Min maḥāḍir ijtimā^cāt ^cAbdannāşir al-^carabīya wa ad-dawlīya*. [From Minutes of Arab and International Meetings of ^cAbdannāşir]. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-abḥāt al-^carabīya, 1979.
- GAOR (General Assembly Official Records), 5th emergency special session, 1967.
- GLASSMAN, Jon D. Arms for the Arabs. The Soviet Union and War in the Middle *East.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1975.
- GOLAN, Galia. Soviet Policies in the Middle East. From World War II to Gorbachev. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- GREEN, Stephen. *Taking Sides. Americas Secret Relations with a Militant Israel.* New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc. 1984.
- HAYKAL, Muhammad Hasanayn. Harb at-talātīna sana. Al-infijār 1967. [The Thirty Years War. The Explosion of 1967)]. Cairo: Markaz al-Ahrām, 1990.
- HAMRŪSH, Ahmad. Qişşat tawrat 23 yūliyū. [The Story of the 23 July Revolution]. Vol. V. Kharīf ^cAbdannāşir. [Autumn of /Jamāl/ ^cAbdannāşir]. Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1984.
- HEIKAL, Mohamed. Sphinx and Commissar. The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in the Arab World. London, Collins, 1978.
- Al-HULW, Ibrāhīm. *Harb 5 huzajrān*. [The Five June War]. Beirut: Dār al-kātib al-^carabī, without date.
- HUSAYN, al-malik. *Harbunā ma^ca Isrā 'īl*. [King Husayn: Our War with Israel]. Beirut: Dār an-nahār li-n-našr 1968.
- HUSAYN, al-malik. *Mihnatī ka-malik*. [My Profession as King]. Amman: Mu'assasat Miṣrī li-at-tawzī^c, 1987.
- El-HUSSINI, Mohrez Mahmoud. Soviet-Egyptian Relations, 1945 1985. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1987.
- IRANI, George E. The Papacy and the Middle East. The Role of the Holy See in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1962 1984. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986.
- JABBER, Fuad A. International Documents on Palestine 1967. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970.
- JIRJIS, Fawwāz. *An-nizām al-iqlīmī al-^carabī wa al-quwā al-kubrā*. [Arab Regional Order and the Great Powers]. Beirut: Markaz dirāsāt al-waḥda al-^carabīya, 1997.
- JOHNSON, Lyndon Baines. The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963 1969. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, 1971.
- KALB, Marvin, Bernard KALB. Kissinger. New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1974.
- KASS, Ilana. Soviet Involvement in the Middle East: Policy Formulation, 1966 1973. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1978.
- KIMCHE, David, BAWLY, Dan. *The Sandstorm: The Arab-Israeli War of June 1967: Prelude and Aftermath.* London: Secker and Warburg, 1968.
- KORN, David A. Stalemate: The War of Attrition and Great Power Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1967 1970. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992.
- LALL, Arthur. *The UN and the Middle East Crisis 1967.* New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968.
- LUNT, James. Hussein of Jordan. A Political Biography. London: Macmillan, 1989.

- MAHGOUB, Mohamed Ahmed. *Democracy on Trial: Reflections on Arab and African Affairs*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1974.
- MEDVEDKO, Leonid Ivanovich. *K vostoku i zapadu ot Sueca*. [To the East and West of Suez]. Moscow: Izdatelstvo politicheskoj literatury, 1980.
- MUTAWI, Samir A. Jordan in the 1967 War, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- NEFF, Donald. *Warriors for Jerusalem. The Six Days That Changed the Middle East.* New York: Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 1984.
- RAFAEL, Gideon. Destination Peace. Three Decades of Israeli Foreign Policy. A Personal Memoir. New York: Stein & Day, 1981.
- RAFAEL, Gideon. Twenty Years in Retrospect: 1967 1987. In ROTH, Stephen J. (ed.). The Impact of the Six-Day War. A Twenty-year Assessment. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- REICH, Bernard. *Quest for Peace: United States-Israel Relations and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.* New Brunswick, N. J.: Transaction Books, 1977.
- RIYĀD, Mahmūd. *Mudakkirāt Mahmūd Riyād*, 1948 1978. [Memoirs of Mahmūd Riyād]. Vol. I. Cairo: Dār al-mustaqbal al-^carabī, 1984.
- RIYĀD, Maḥmūd. Mudakkirāt Maḥmūd Riyād, 1948 1978. [Memoirs of Maḥmūd Riyād]. Vol. III. Amrīkā wa al-^cArab. [America and the Arabs]. Cairo: Dār almustaqbal al-^carabī, 1984.
- ROSTOW, Eugene. *Peace in the Balance. The Future of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.
- SALIBI, Kamal. The Modern History of Jordan. London: I. B. Tauris, 1998.
- SCOR (Security Council Official Records), 22nd year, Supplement for July-September 1967.
- SHLAIM, Avi. *The Iron Wall. Israel and the Arab World.* London: Penguin Books, 2001.
- SHLAIM, Avi. Lion of Jordan. The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace. London: Penguin Books, 2008.
- SHEVCHENKO, Arkady. Breaking with Moscow. London: Cape, 1985.
- STEPHENS, Robert. *Nasser. A Personal biography*. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1971.
- U THANT, Maung. *View from the UN*. London and Newton Abbot: David Charles, 1978.
- WILSON, Harold. *The Chariot of Israel: Britain, America and the State of Israel.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FROM ASIA AND AFRICA – ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR EUROPE

Ján LIĎÁK Academia Rerum Civilium – College of Political and Social Sciences Barborská 52, 284 01 Kutná Hora, Czech Republic lidak@vspsv.cz

This study pays attention to the phenomenon of international migration of the population from Asia and Africa to Europe, or more precisely to the European Union and attempts to point out that this is a category that brings a large number of problems to the political systems of European countries. In the case of population movement we can speak not only about the negatives, as the topic is presented in the current socio-political discourse, but we can also talk about the positives and benefits for receiving and sending countries. Positives and negatives are fundamentally influencing the policy of liberal-democratic nation states and this phenomenon is the cause of radicalisation and diversification of the policy in the European area.

Key words: international migration, migration from Asia and Africa, globalisation, state sovereignty, liberal state, undocumented migration, discrimination

Introduction

Today, in the context of recent events in Europe, no one doubts that the international migration of population, problems of immigration, identity and integration are the most important problems of the internal development of the states of Europe, the European Union and world politics as a whole. Migration has become a source of conflicts, but at the same time it is a source of development. It is the phenomenon that will influence the development of individual nations and the entire human race in the near future. It is absolutely clear that migration processes and routes are significantly related to globalisation and are its immanent part. Globalisation creates favourable conditions for its successful realisation. Diminishing distances, different ways of transport, transportation, new breakthroughs in information technology,

internet, advances in telecommunications, are all achievements of the modern world that enables quick and secure communication, connection and movement from one part of the planet to another. The globalisation processes are closely related to the dominant characteristic of our current society, a gap steadily widening between rich and poor, the rich world centre and the poor periphery. Social differentiation of the world accelerates and we can talk about serious social threats for global development. Countries and states of Western Europe are well known for the respect of human rights and freedoms, the existence of democratic systems associated with some material standards and certainties – the image of a rich and developed world is a huge magnet that attracts immigrants from countries all over the world.

In recent years and especially in 2015, the migration flows have been significantly affected by the instability in international relations, the worldwide constellation and the ongoing armed conflicts in the Middle East and African territory. It is a territorially large and politically important region in the world. Armed conflicts take place not only in Syria but also in Ukraine, Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Cameroon, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo. Europe is confronted primarily with a huge refugee crisis from these war-torn regions.

The proximity of the turbulent regions of North Africa and the Middle East significantly affects the security and stability of all European Union member states. It is important to point out that the inability of the European Union to develop a unified approach to conflict in Syria, Iraq and North Africa indirectly led to the creation of migration flows in the Mediterranean region that had developed in a huge regional refugee wave. At the same time, poorly managed logistics and the estimation of their capacities for providing and receiving migrants and refugees in the countries of the European Union have caused a number of problems. Gradually, the hopes of immigrants and refugees crushed with the political and social reality, and it is necessary to mobilise all internal and external forces of the European Union. The capacity and willingness to accept migrants and refugees are two distinct categories, the reluctance and fear of the majority of the population shows that the majority prefers security over freedom. Presently, the European Union is well aware of this fact. Political practice, especially during the economic recession and rising unemployment, is not seeking a non-party perception and theoretical explanation of the issues, but a purpose-built and party's justification of their policies, especially in the period of elections. This fact then creates, with respect to the concept and the topic of actual interest, considerable difficulties.

Unfortunately, the issue of international migration and refugee was seized by the media, populists, extremist political parties that do not work only with the facts, but use subliminal and instinctive feelings of the population. Public opinion is poorly and superficially informed about the problems of migration and immigration, and it is difficult to judge which statements are based on serious evaluation of the facts and which are only the intuitive concerns. Therefore, the information deficit of society plays an important role and it is relatively easy to manipulate an uninformed public by the use of simplified and populist statements and the abuse of symbols and emotions. Another phenomenon is the fact that the attitude towards immigrants is becoming a basal part of the mission statements of all European government cabinets.¹

Working with migration statistics was and still is very problematic. International Organisation for Migration (IOM) together with UNHCR published some figures for 2015 at the beginning of the year 2016. As completely accurate statistics are not available, these can be perceived as the most accurate an educated estimation we have at our disposal at the present moment. They indicate that in 2015, almost exactly one million refugees came to Europe. The decrease, when comparing to estimations, softened the rhetoric of the discourse in the media and UNHCR, in its last press release, it speaks of "the highest number of refugees since the war in former Yugoslavia", and not the "highest number of refugees since World War II." This is justified, as in the first half of the nineties more than 2 million people had to leave their homes because of the war in the Balkans.²

¹ ŠTEFANČÍK, R. Problém migrácie vo svetovej politike.[The Problem of Migration in World Politics] In *Medzinárodné vzťahy 2007 – Energetická politika EÚ a boj proti klimatickým zmenám*, p. 740.

² Statistics show that the Arab world has 350 million inhabitants of which two-thirds are young people under 25 years. From Syria, which had 22 million inhabitants, more than 4 million people have emigrated in recent years. Of these, nearly 2 million are in Turkey and the other hundreds of thousands are in Jordan and Lebanon's refugee camps. These people live in extreme poverty and are dependent on food aid. Practically all refugees arrived to Europe by sea. Just a little over 30 thousand passed by land through Turkey to Bulgaria or Greece. 4,000 people drowned in the sea. This is 6 times more than the number of asylums granted by Slovakia together since its formation. 87 percent were refugees from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. It should also be noted that most of the refugees claim from objective reasons that they come from Syria even if the country of origin is different.

CENKER, M. Koľko utečencov do Európy prišlo, kto ich lákal a kam ísť nechcú. [How many refugees arrived to Europe, who lured them and where they do not want to go]. [online] Available at http://iir.cz/article/ko-ko-utecencov-do-europy-prislo-kto-ich-lakal-a-kam-ist-nechcu OECD Society at a Glance: *OECD Social indicators*. OECD Publishing 2014.

In accordance with these facts, the statements about the new migration of people, or the march of world poverty to Europe has its rational core. It should be noted that a common feature of migration behaviour is to find better living and economic conditions, an effort to prove oneself, to overcome and avoid the restrictions existing in the home country. We emphasise that international migration for political reasons has mostly long-term and permanent character. It is usually a one-way movement, because similarly to the economic or social factors of international migration, there is no guarantee of return of the migration population after the consolidation of the political situation in the country of origin.

In the present study, we will pay particular attention to the phenomenon of international migration of the population from Asia and Africa in the conditions of Europe, or more precisely to the European Union and we will attempt to point out that it is a category that brings a large number of problems to the political systems of European countries. In the case of population movement we can speak not only about the negatives, as the topic is presented in the current socio-political discourse, but we can also talk about the positives and benefits for receiving and sending countries. Positives and negatives are fundamentally influencing the policy of liberal-democratic nation states and this phenomenon is the cause of radicalisation and diversification of the policy in the European area.

Theoretical definitions and approaches

International migration and the associated refugee crisis in Europe is, as already indicated, a complex, multi-level, multi-dimensional phenomenon. Investigating this phenomenon requires an interdisciplinary approach in order to capture all aspects from the perspective of various scientific disciplines. For these reasons, it is very difficult to find one theory that would cover the complexity of different aspects of international migration. At the beginning of the 21st century, there has been a large number of theories capturing and explaining the causes of international migration in today's globalised world, but none of them is consistent or complete, and most of them are characterised by a multicultural approach.³ Theoretical research on issues of international migration is still not at the stage of establishing a separate and independent discipline of social sciences. A universal theory of international migration has not yet been found,

³ STOJANOV, R., NOVOSÁK, J., DROBÍK, T., SIWEK, T. Migrace jako globální fenomén. [Migration as a Global Phenomenon] In *Mezinárodní politika*, 2006, No. 10, Vol. XXX., p. 15.

identified or designed, which would be able to cover all the relevant aspects. The theories differ from each other in their content, scope, scientism and analytical value, its authors and the time of their creation.

There are currently several competing approaches which seek to explain the most important events in international migration. These vary in identifying the causes of migratory flows and in the objectives of their research. It is important to understand that each approach considers certain specific problems to be the most important, therefore, they are not easily comparable, but at the same time we have to point out that the theories are not necessarily contradictory.

We emphasise that each one of the migrations is a very specific process, yet it is possible to find certain common features between them. When explaining this objective phenomenon, the contemporary migration and refugee crisis, we can apply classical and the most frequently used methodologies which basis were laid by E. Ravenstein, i.e. neo-classical theory, which is associated with the beginning of modern migration. Approaches of this theory are now widely known and frequently used as a push and pull theory (push – repelling, pull – attracting), or the hypothesis. The theory was developed by the English economist Thomas Brinley, who studied overseas emigration and transatlantic migration in the period of industrialisation.

The theory assumes that migration is caused by socio-economic imbalances among the areas where there are certain primary factors either repelling the population from an area, or others that attract them to a new destination.⁴ Factors that motivate people to emigrate – push factors include the following: low standard of living, economic conditions, demographic growth, inadequate environmental conditions, political instability, ethnic tensions, violent conflicts, political discrimination. The pull factors, that influence the choice of the country of destination, include: demand for labour, higher wage levels, better living conditions, accessibility of the country, hence the proximity of the intended destination, political freedoms, respect for human rights, more secure situation in the host country. The final decision of an individual to emigrate or to stay can be explained as the result of comparison between the influencing factors at home and in the destination country, either way, the pull factors are considered to be decisive.

We will not elaborate in detail on the various theoretical approaches, but we assume that the current situation is best described and the current status can be

⁴ DRBOHLAV, D. Migrační motivace, regionální a sídelní preference obyvatelstva – teoretická východiska v československé a zahraniční literatuře. [Migration motivations, regional and residential preferences of the population – theoretical background of Czechoslovak and foreign literature] In *Sociologický časopis*, 1990, No. 5, Vol. 26, p. 364.

theoretically interpreted by certain socio-economic theories, which are based on a combination of economic and social factors.

At this level, the theory of networks is important, which emphasises the importance of interpersonal ties in the migration process. Migrant networks are a set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, established migrants and nonmigrants in the country of origin and in the destination country through family ties, friendship and ethnicity.⁵ Migrants in the destination country create groups with strong social bonds. The idea is to build a broad network of contacts to serve potential migrants, to create a suitable starting position for the migration of relatives and thus boost the final decision to migrate. In the host country, the long-term migrants create favourable initial conditions and help them to integrate into the socio-economic life. This is especially in the provision of accommodation, handling of various permits and contact with the authorities of the recipient country, but also the search for and the possibility of finding a job.⁶ These ties are a kind of social capital that provide information resources. social, financial and other support and assistance. The main characteristic of social capital is its convertibility into other forms of capital, especially into financial capital. Immigrant groups often create their own economic and social infrastructure. The network increases the chances of international migration, as it reduces the costs and risks of movement and increases net revenues from migration. Thus, each additional migrant is increasing and expanding the network while reducing the risk of movement of other family members. Every act of migration creates social capital among people with whom the migrant is in a relationship and increases the chances of success of their migration. The subject of migration is not only the labour force, but also family members and refugees who are not taken into account in economic theories of migration. What is very important, especially in the current situation, is that governments are unable to control these migration flows because they do not have the

⁵ CASTLES, S., MILLER, M. J. The Age of Migration – International Population Movements in the Modern World, pp. 22–24.

⁶ As an illustration we can mention the Muslim religious community of migrants in Europe who developed a whole range of institutions, focusing on religious education and the preservation of Muslim identity during the second half of the 20th century. By mediation of the education in mosques, in schools, or through their own mass media they build-up and preserve the contacts between the Islamic emigration and home communities. The reasons for migration in such cases are not only wage differences between individual countries, but already existing broad social base among immigrants with contacts to the home country.

ŠTEFANČÍK, R. Problém migrácie vo svetovej politike. [The Problem of Migration in World Politics] In *Medzinárodné vzťahy 2007 – Energetická politika EÚ a boj proti klimatickým zmenám*, p. 744.

possibility to control the informal networks whereas the development of these networks have been made easier by the family reunification policies.

Furthermore, in this context it is worth mentioning the institutional theory, which emphasises the influence of institutional actors on migration processes. If migration process starts on international level, private institutions and voluntary organisations will start to appear and multiply to meet the growing demand created by the inequality between a large number of people who are trying to emigrate and the limited number of immigration visas. This imbalance creates lucrative economic conditions for entrepreneurs. On the one hand, there are humanitarian organisations that seek to improve the status and defend the interests of legal employees and prevent the exploitation of illegal migrants. They provide shelter, counselling, social services and others. On the other hand, there are for-profit organisations and entrepreneurs who provide their services for a fee, illegal smugglers, falsification of documents, provision of usurious loans, accommodation, arranged marriages with citizens of the host country and so on. All these institutions and organisations support the development of migration, after a certain time these institutions are well known among migrants and constitute social capital that facilitates migration decision making. Like in the case of the theory of networks, institutionalised migration flow is still independent of the circumstances that triggered it. It includes the mafia structures, can be and is a source of unfair activities and crime. The effort of governments to restrict migratory flows supports the growth of the black market, which of course provokes a negative response from humanitarian organisations.

One of the modern theories, the theory of cumulative causes indicates that over time international migration tends to promote itself so that other migratory movements occur more likely and with a possible predictability. Causality is cumulative in the sense that each act of migration is changing the social context within which migration decisions happen so that additional migratory movement becomes more likely.⁸ The theory works with the so-called domino effect in which there is a feedback between particular elements. Positive or negative change of one factor has a positive or negative impact on other factors.

In addition to the above, there are many other models and theories that attempt to answer the question about the causes of international migration flows. Research on current migration processes, migration and refugee crisis, will certainly bring a number of other different approaches and hypotheses to

⁷ MASSEY, D. S. et al. Causes of Migration. In GUIBERNAU, M., REX, J. (ed.). *The Ethnicity Reader. Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, pp. 263–264.

⁸ MASSEY, D. S., ARANGO, J., PELLEGRINO, A. Worlds in Motion – Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millenium, p. 178.

explain this complex phenomenon of today, by using different methods and tools of many scientific disciplines and different levels of analysis. But it is also necessary to say, on the basis of the above, that it is almost impossible, and in the short term unrealistic to expect the creation of a general, universal theory of international migration, which would be able to cover all possible forms and variations of international migration. The complexity of this phenomenon contains in its essence diversity, existence of a great number of factors, and their combination creates an endless number of different alternatives. Therefore, given the complexity of the issue and the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach, we can consider whether it is necessary to have the general theory of international migration. S. Castles says that the aim of theoretical research in the field of international migration should be an identification of a conceptual framework that would provide theoretical and methodological orientation for the research of various migration processes, rather than aspirations to create all-embracing and all-comprising universal theory of international migration.⁹

The pros and cons of migration to Europe

International migration and the refugee wave become a civilisational challenge of the 21st century. In the 90s, P. Huntington signalised a potential global migration crisis.¹⁰ In the context of international migration in general and a refugee crisis in the territory of Europe, we can seriously assume that the most common is the migration of poor and uneducated, disadvantaged and poorly qualified people which brings almost insoluble problems to European Union countries. Among scientists, politicians and economists there are raising concerns about the possibility of a new migration of population and thus arising huge political, social and economic changes on the map of the modern world. These changes, by their dynamics, have been forming for a long time a very complex set of problems that, in terms of their urgency, are currently becoming the priorities for various actors in the global political system. In effect, we can talk about the threat to the stability and security of the political system around the world and about a very serious problem especially for Europe, more precisely for the European Union.

J. Eichler explains the term threat as an expression, gesture, action or act which reflects the ability or even the intention to cause damage to someone. The

⁹ CASTLES, S. Understanding Global Migration: A Social Tranformating Perspective. Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change. [online] Available at http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/stephen-castles-understandin-global-migration.

¹⁰ HUNTINGTON, S. Stret civilizací. Boj kultúr a proměna světového řádu [Clash of Civilizations. Fight of Cultures and the Transformation of the World Order], p. 234.

threat is a sign or a prodrome of such an action which provokes concerns of the person in danger. Each threat may result in minor, major or even irreparable damage, thus causing fear of the person. The threat should be seen as a phenomenon of an objective nature, which operates independently of the interests of the person endangered who by his actions and his behaviour may reduce or even eliminate the threat. At the same time he can also further strengthen or even accidentally provoke the threat.¹¹ International migration in its complexity should be perceived in the same logic, together with the refugee crisis.

Positive and negative impacts of international migration and refugee crisis can be measured by its intensity. In the case of low intensity, the autochthonous population can be economically and culturally enriched and coexistence does not show greater excesses. On the contrary, in the case of a strong wave of migration or of refugee waves, there is segregation of immigrants and refugees and consequently a social cohesion. It is well known that segregation and ghettoisation of immigrants, followed by hostility manifested in various forms and intensities, is part of everyday life in all major cities of Western Europe. At the same time, these hostile sentiments are arising in other post-communist countries that became EU member states in 2004.

In general, public opinion, citizens and political elites on the European continent have anti-immigrant political sentiments. This general reluctance in developed countries is based on the whole complex of concerns related for example, to the problems of unemployment, staffing as well as salary scales. The question of safety is widely discussed, assuming that immigrants are the source of higher crime rates and criminality. There are also concerns about the loss of national identity, as the increase of migrants can very quickly change the ethnic structure of European countries with a low birth rate of indigenous population. Another problem is the costs associated with social security of migrants. The problems associated with relatively strong decrease in prices of real estate, i.e. prices of houses and land in areas where migrants are concentrated usually decreases rapidly and it is also the cause of the concentration of different ethnic minorities into some troubled parts of western European cities with all the negatives stemming therefrom.

To sum it up, all citizens of European countries are concerned with being invaded not by armies and tanks, but by immigrants speaking foreign languages, worshiping other religions, belonging to different cultures, taking their jobs and occupying their country, using their social security system and undermining

¹¹ EICHLER, J. Mezinárodní bezpečnost na počátku 21. století. [International security at the beginning of the 21st century], p. 21.

their values and way of life.¹² Migration and the problems of multi-ethnic societies are therefore a phenomenon that significantly affects the political situation in European countries.

Currently, a great number of studies are being done, dealing with the impact of migration on the economy and economic development of recipient countries. In general, international migration and thus the movement of labour force increases the economic efficiency around the world, but on the other hand it brings certain costs which could be considerable in the case of unskilled immigrants and the economy in the recipient country is in a state of stagnation. Therefore, movement of labour force remains the protected domain of a nation state.

The results show that immigration has no significant impact on employment and wage levels. The primary cause is that immigrants are working in areas with low social status, low wages, occupying positions not attractive for the domestic population. Also, the domains which are deficient, highly qualified jobs, where the costs of education are high and the time for obtaining qualification is long. In the case of highly qualified migrants (brain-gain), there are no more costs for their education and the impact is clearly positive. They work in industries that are knowledge-based, including software development, telecommunications, mobile technology or health care. European countries are not able to follow the changes in these areas and the shortage of a qualified labour force ultimately limits their growth. These migrants actually compensate for lower geographical and functional mobility of the domestic workforce. Domestic workers refuse to perform low paid work and this work is now performed by foreign migrants. Therefore, a negative situation arises in which the domestic economy could be dependent on foreign labour in the short or long term

Immigrants, it is not only the labour supply, but also the increasing demand for goods related to the needs of migrants, such as food, accommodation, services, which is affecting the production and expansion of the domestic market. We should also take into account factors difficult to quantify, such as innovation and entrepreneurship of immigrants and the associated benefits for the economic development of recipient countries.

Ambivalent attitudes of the general public of European countries towards migrants also arises from the fact, that the benefits and negative aspects of migration are very diverse within countries.

It is primarily high society, employers and wealthy people who benefit from this phenomenon. Cheap labour force works in many sectors of services –

¹² HUNTINGTON, S., Střet civilizací. Boj kultúr a proměna světového řádu [Clash of Civilizations. Fight of Cultures and the Transformation of the World Order], p. 235.

cleaning, gardening, child care, hotel industry, restaurant services and others. On the contrary, those who lose in this situation and whose status is becoming more difficult are the unskilled members of the domestic low social class. Statistics indicate that on average, the competition from migrants caused a decline in wages in this category by about 3 percent in Europe. At the same time, depending on the region, immigrants are the cause of the increase in revenue even in this category, with the increased demand on the local market. the demand for food and accommodation capacities, which can create additional job opportunities. It is important to see that the costs of providing social services and benefits in areas with large numbers of immigrants bring burdens for local budgets and it causes many problems. On the contrary, taxes paid by immigrants contribute to the state budget of the country. Although immigrants send one part of their earnings to their country of origin, most of the money earned remains on the market of the recipient country.¹³ B. Divinský points out that if an important part of foreign migrants is not economically active refugees, unemployed migrants, family members and other groups - fiscal impact on the domestic economy may be significant.¹⁴

Immigration is controversially, one of the main causes of the increasing generational imbalance in developed European countries. Since people mainly in the productive and reproductive age are migrating, the proportion of young people increases and the population is growing. In general, the population of Europe is aging, the number of people and the natural birth rate of the European population is declining, burden on the pension system is growing. The fact is that in the countries of Western and Northern Europe, the growth of the population in recent decades is driven by international migration. As a result of the negative development of the demographic situation, the aging population, a certain number of migrants is natural and inevitable in the long term. Population ageing can gradually lead to a situation where some countries will not be able to meet the requirements of its economic sectors without the arrival of a new immigrant labour force. It is reported that the elimination of this negative phenomenon would require a regular influx of a large number of immigrants. Reported data from the turn of the century estimates quite accurately the current state of this situation.¹⁵

¹³ SULMICKA, M. Trendy we współczesnych migracjach międzynarodowych. [Contemporary trends in international migration], pp. 94–95.

¹⁴ DIVINSKÝ, B. Zahraničná migrácia v Slovenskej republike – stav, trendy, spoločenské súvislosti [Foreign Migration in the Slovak Republic – Status, Trends, Social Context], p. 25.

¹⁵ The authors state that in the 90s the number of the working population in the European Union decreased by about 700,000 people. Experts estimate that the situation of the natural population increase throughout Europe in the near future will get worse.

Germany, for example, to maintain a balance between the number of employed persons and the number of pensioners, they would need to take 500,000 immigrants a year by 2050, in France it is 110,000 and for the European Union as a whole 1.6 million.¹⁶ The research of R. Štefančík and J. Lenč indicates that Germany would need an intake of 400,000 immigrants a year to stop the decline and subsequent stabilisation of the number of working population.¹⁷ In this context, we can mention, for example, the Czech Republic, where the phenomenon of the falling birth rate is the most burning issue from all the newly admitted countries and where, for a limited period of time, a positive net migration may be a compensation for the expected negative development of the population and prevent the population decline under the limit of 10 million.¹⁸ Generally thinking, there is an opinion throughout Europe according to which a correctly adjusted and oriented framework for immigration policy can help solve or at least mitigate the problems associated with an aging population.

In the European Union, the number of employed persons will decline in the next ten years and in 2025, the number will be reduced by 2 million compared to 1995, when the EU countries employed 225 million people. The number of pensioners will increase constantly. In 2001, the population of the European Union increased by 1.46 million, of which more than 70 percent consisted of immigrants. This means that today there are twice more immigrants than the natural population growth. In this context it should be noted that in the EU, there may be such a demand for skilled workers from abroad, that none of the resources of the new States (which joined the EU in 2004) will be able to satisfy them. All of them, except Cyprus, declare even lower natural population growth than the decreasing average in Western Europe. Migration potential from new states should reach 3.9 million job seekers within the next 15 years. Each year, at least 220,000 and up to 335,000 people from the new countries of the European Union should move out to the West. This process is manageable for a labour market consisting of hundreds of millions. Between 1990 and 2015, statistics reported that to provide 1 percent of employment growth potential in Western Europe it would be needed to have an inflow of 12 million foreign workers. This would cause a huge movement of migrants – a double of the immigration to Western Europe between 1960 and 1989 (estimate in this period was 6.9 million).

LIPKOVÁ, Ľ., PORUBSKÝ, J. Migračná politika Európskej únie a kandidátske štáty na členstvo v EÚ. [Migration Policy of the European Union and the candidate countries for EU membership], pp. 168–171.

¹⁶ DRUCKER, P. The next society. In *The Economist*, 3. November 2001.

¹⁷ ŠTEFANČÍK, R., LENČ, J. Mladí migranti v slovenskej spoločnosti. Medzinárodná migrácia, moslimovia, štát a verejná mienka. [Young migrants in Slovak society. International migration, Muslims, state and public opinion], p. 27.
¹⁸ Ibid.

On the other hand, this development could significantly change the racial, ethnic and religious structure of the population in the recipient countries. It has a huge impact on the culture, institutions and the entire political system of the country. Whole structures of the new institution must be built to work with migrants. Cultural influences are not negligible, when on one hand, cultural and social diversity is being enriched by a positive mutual influencing of different cultures from the perspective of multiculturalism in Western societies. On the other hand, large numbers of problems and conflicts appear, associated with the acceptance of different cultures and migrants by the domestic population, exclusion and marginalisation of immigrants, a high degree of discrimination and others. According to several authors and as proven by political reality, a so-called parallel society is growing in the recipient countries, consisting of ethnically and religiously homogeneous groups of population that are spatially, culturally and socially separated from the majority of the population. Different customs and norms can be implemented within these communities that do not always correspond with the traditions or even with the law of the country concerned. Scientific research shows that widespread negative stereotypes about parallel societies of immigrants sometimes do not correspond with reality and that immigrants have a higher degree of willingness to integrate than expected.¹⁹

When considering political problems, immigration and refugee crises currently have a very strong impact on the recipient society. There are social conflicts, increased crime, xenophobia, new manifestations of racism, segregation, manifestations of nationalism and violence against groups of immigrants and refugees. In political practice, this trend is mainly manifested by an increase of activities of right-wing extremist parties who are against foreigners and refugees and at the same time, who are against the existing democratic political order, calling for its removal. Resistance against migrants and refugees may be and as it turns out, it is an appropriate tool to gain broad public support. The results of the elections in almost all European Union countries show how sensitive the issue of migration is, with a growing popularity of political figures and political parties who are against immigration. This is the case of Austria, France, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands, Hungary and Slovakia, with growing support for anti-immigration parties in recent years. However, the opposite is also true - there are organisations of immigrants in the territory of Europe that violate the political order of democratic countries. Despite the illegal activities and terrorist attacks that took place in the territory of Europe, not all the migrants and refugees can be associated with terrorism. In Germany, research shows that two out of three

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

residents are against the raising number of immigrants in the country. Problems of migration could lead to political instability with all the associated consequences. Therefore, from the side of European countries it is necessary and legitimate to formulate an active immigration policy.

In the case of the countries exporting a labour force, i.e. emigration countries. emigration of its population reduces the pressure on the domestic labour market, especially if the unemployment rate is too high. From the economic point of view, the countries are gaining thanks to cash transfers, i.e. inflow of revenue from the earnings that emigrants send to the country of origin, known as remittances. Migrants usually occupy a low social status in the country of destination, but the social status of their families in their home country is increasing. Remittances are the basis for capital creation for later date in case of return to the country of origin and at the same time, they contribute to economic growth. In many cases, remittances represent a significant part of the revenue in the periphery countries and significantly contribute to the economic development of the country of origin. Remittances make up a large part of income of foreign currency to cover imports, i.e. to cover trade deficits. At the same time, they contribute to the widening of trade deficits or at least to their stabilisation, thanks to a gradually increasing demand of families that receive remittances.²⁰ According to estimations, in Latin America for example, the remittances of emigrants represented more than 15 billion USD a year, the estimation worldwide in 2003 is more than 115 billion USD.²¹ Remittances sent by emigrants in 2000 to Jordan, El Salvador, Albania, Haiti, Lebanon, Morocco, Jamaica, Eritrea, Lesotho, Nicaragua, Yemen, Bosnia and Herzegovina represented more than 10 percent of the GDP of their home countries.²²

²⁰ Remittances can support the process of economic development, stimulating economic activity, technical progress in emigration countries, but it is dependent on the level of economic development and the quality of the government's economic policy, which should guide remittances in the form of investments in the most productive way. An example of such a development may be the countries around the Mediterranean in the fifties and sixties, where the high level of emigration was accompanied by a high rate of economic growth.

²¹ There are countries in the world where the value of remittances from emigrants exceeds the export revenues of the country as a whole. For example, in the Dominican Republic cash transfers from emigrants in 2000 represented 175 percent of the value of exports, in El Salvador 131 percent.

Emigration from Latin America. The Economist. 23. February 2002.

²² DIVINSKÝ, B. Zahraničná migrácia v Slovenskej republike – stav, trendy, spoločenské súvislosti [Foreign migration in the Slovak Republic – Status, Trends, Social Context], p. 26.

Another issue for the countries exporting a labour force are immense losses associated with the costs of education of emigrants, i. e. drain of highly qualified labour force (brain drain). Migration of qualified professionals from poor countries means that the countries of the world centre not only take over the most valuable part of the human potential of these countries, but de facto. there is a spillover of the capital from poor to rich countries. These, without sharing the costs related to education, are benefiting from the advantages and profits stemming therefrom. For example, countries of sub-Saharan Africa have lost approximately 60,000 middle and higher managers since 1990 as a result of emigration. According to estimations, about 30,000 Africans with doctor title emigrated to the countries of the world centre, despite the fact that in Africa, there is one scientist out of 100,000 inhabitants.²³ The fact is that emigration countries spend large amounts of money on education, but they gain, if any, a profit in the form of remittances from emigrants. The rest of the domestic labour force lacks dynamic, responsive, innovative and young workforce which emigrate. A successful return of economically active emigrants would bring a significant increase of domestic productivity, technological improvements and innovations for the economy of their home countries.

As a result of the emigration, poor countries lose their qualified, productive and most of the times, the youngest and most valuable part of their population. The countries are losing their human capital. As a result of the high number of the countries of origin and higher natural birth rate, there are no major problems. The fact that mostly young men are emigrating is very interesting, which may result in a surplus of women in certain areas. One of the social consequences is an absent mutual communication between partners and an increased number of dysfunctional marriages. Huge losses in emotional and interpersonal sphere can hardly be compensated. Problems in the education of children arise as well. Negative phenomenon such as drugs, alcohol, child prostitution and others appear.

In the political area of the emigration countries, high and sudden reemigration can result in political instability and bring problems of huge dimensions.

Conclusion

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to specify the pros and cons, political, social and economic consequences of international migration from Asia and Africa in today's globalised world. In general, the legal international migration

²³ Human Developement Report 1999. UNPD, p. 32.

is beneficial for the countries of origin and destination, although unevenly distributed across the social spectrum. This was ultimately declared for the first time publicly by the British Prime Minister D. Cameron at the beginning of June 2016 on the forthcoming United Kingdom European Union membership referendum.

On the contrary, illegal or involuntary migration is associated with attributes which often have a negative impact not only on migrants themselves, but more or less on the destination, transit and origin countries. A question arises before a competent authority how to solve the problem, what to offer to the illiterate and disadvantaged immigrant and refugee communities in European countries. It is necessary to solve the problem of immigrant isolation. The frustration caused by feelings of rejection, or by non-acceptance, as well as a feeling of discrimination based on cultural and religious differences, worse job opportunities and poorer standard of living - these are generally the most common causes of discontent, race riots and of the hostile attitudes of the majority of society against immigration and immigrants in European countries. Immigrants located on the edge of social, economic and even political interest, elements of the fundamentalist mentality among themselves and in their surroundings can lead to their belonging to extremist and fundamentalist movements and to the key determinations of identity in the search for the identity and dignity of its members.

It should be emphasised that there is still a widening gap in the development of civilization between the centre and the periphery, between rich and poor, there are regional conflicts, the influence of the mass media on the population of the countries of Asia and Africa is growing and global trends associated with an increase in international migration continue to strengthen. How will Europe handle the phenomenon in question depends not only on migrants themselves, but also on the practical policies of the individual countries of the European Union since the culturally pluralistic society does not require homogenisation of culture, but does not exclude assimilation – at least to the extent that the integrity of the society is not violated.

REFERENCES

- BADE, Klaus J. *Evropa v pohybu. Evropská migrace dvou století.* [Europe on the Move. European Migration of Two Centuries] Praha: Nakladatelstí Lidové noviny, 2004.
- BUČEK, Jaroslav, ZOUHAR, Marián. *Argumentácia a médiá*. [Argumentation and media] Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2015.
- CASTLES, Stephen, MILLER, Mark J. The Age of Migration International Population Movements in the Modern World. London: Macmillan, 1993.

- CASTLES, Stephen. Understanding Global Migration: A Social Tranformating Perspective. Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change. [online] Available at http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/stephen-castles-understandin-globalmigration.
- CENKER, Michal. *Kol'ko utečencov do Európy prišlo, kto ich lákal a kam ísť nechcú*. [How many refugees arrived to Europe, who lured them and where they do not want to go]. [online] Available at http://iir.cz/article/ko-ko-utecencov-do-europy-prislo-kto-ich-lakal-a-kam-ist-nechcu.
- DIVINSKÝ, Boris. Zahraničná migrácia v Slovenskej republike stav, trendy, spoločenské súvislosti. [Foreign Migration in the Slovak Republic Status, Trends, Social Context] Bratislava: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005.
- DRBOHLAV, Dušan. Migrační motivace, regionální a sídelní preference obyvatelstva teoretická východiska v československé a zahraniční literatuře. [Migration motivations, regional and residential preferences of the population theoretical background of Czechoslovak and foreign literature] In *Sociologický časopis*, 1990, No. 5, pp. 358–374.
- DRUCKER, Peter. The next society. In The Economist, 3. November 2001.
- EICHLER, Ján. *Mezinárodní bezpečnost na počátku 21. století*. [International security at the beginning of the 21st century]. Praha: Ministerstvo obrany České republiky AVIS, 2006.
- HUNTINGTON, Samuel. *Střet civilizací. Boj kultur a proměna světového řádu*. [Clash of Civilizations. Fight of Cultures and the Transformation of the World Order] Praha: Rybka Publishers, 2001.
- KOZIAK, Tomáš. Medzinárodné vzťahy a problém ochrany ľudských práv. [International relations and the problem of human rights protection] In EŠTOK, Gabriel, GEFFERT, Richard, BZDILOVÁ, Renáta. (Eds.) Ľudské práva. Kam kráčaš demokracia. [Human rights. Where democracy goes]. Košice, 2015, pp. 287–298.
- KOZIAK, Tomáš, IŠTOK, Robert. Turkey and human rights in the context of its accession to the EU. In Rouet, Gilles, Terem, Peter. (Eds.) *Elargessiment et Politique Européenne de Voisinage. Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy.* Bruxelles: Bruylant, 2008, pp. 83–92.
- KUCHARČIK, Rudolf. Pôsobenie Európskej únie na africkom kontinente. [Operations of the European Union on the African Continent] In *Medzinárodné vzťahy 2010: aktuálne otázky svetovej ekonomiky a politiky*. Translation Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo EKONÓM, 2011, pp. 402–408.
- LIĎÁK, Ján. Mezinárodní migrace a Evropa. [International Migration and Europe]. Kolín: Nezávislé centrum pro studium politiky, 2010.
- LIPKOVÁ, Ľudmila, PORUBSKÝ, Juraj. Migračná politika Európskej únie a kandidátske štáty na členstvo v EÚ. [Migration Policy of the European Union and the candidate countries for EU membership]. In *Medzinárodné vzťahy 2002. Aktuálne problémy medzinárodných vzťahov.* Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo EKONÓM, 2003, pp. 168–178.
- MASSEY, Douglas. S. et al. Causes of Migration. In GUIBERNAU, M., REX, J. (ed.). *The Ethnicity Reader. Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration.* London: Blackwell, 1997.

- MASSEY, Douglas. S., ARANGO, Joaquin, PELLEGRINO, Adela. Worlds in Motion Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millenium. Oxford 1998.
- STOJANOV, Robert, NOVOSÁK, Jiří, DROBÍK, Tomáš, SIWEK, Tadeusz. Migrace jako globální fenomén. [Migration as a Global Phenomenon] In *Mezinárodní politika*, 2006, No. 10, p. 15.
- SRB, Vladimír. České země a migrace retrospektivní pohled. [Czech Lands and Migration – Retrospective View] In HIRTLOVÁ, Petra, LIĎÁK, Ján, SRB, Vladimír. (Eds.) *Mezinárodní migrace v evropském kontextu.* [International Migration in the European Context]. Kolín: Nezávislé centrum pro studium politiky, 2008, pp. 263– 267.
- SULMICKA, Małgorzata. Trendy we współczesnych migracjach międzynarodowych. [Contemporary trends in international migration]. In *Studia i prace. Zeszyt naukowy* 6. Warszawa 2004, pp. 93–112.
- ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Problém migrácie vo svetovej politike. [The Problem of Migration in World Politics]. In *Medzinárodné vzťahy 2007 – Energetická politika* EÚ a boj proti klimatickým zmenám: zborník príspevkov z 8. medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie: Zámok Smolenice, 29. – 30. november 2007. [CD-ROM]. Bratislava: Ekonóm, 2007, pp. 739–749.
- ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav, LENČ, Jozef. *Mladí migranti v slovenskej spoločnosti. Medzinárodná migrácia, moslimovia, štát a verejná mienka*. [Young migrants in Slovak society. International migration, Muslims, state and public opinion]. Brno: Tribun EU, 2012.

VERBAL CONJUNCTS IN SLOVAK ROMANI*

Anna RÁCOVÁ Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia kaorraco@savba.sk

A verbal conjunct is a multi-word (analytical) naming unit, which can be formed in Romani by joining a formative verb with a noun (*lel godi* "to contemplate", literally "to take reason"), with an adjective (*ačhel korkoro* "to be left alone", literally "to be lonely"), with an adverb (*ačhel palal* "to be late", literally "to be in the back") and, in some specific cases, also with a verb (*del te šunel* "to show/manifest", literally "to give to feel"). A verbal conjunct constitutes a complex unit, both from a lexical (it has a verbal meaning as a whole) and a syntactic point of view (it functions as a constituent of a sentence – predicate). Its grammatical categories, i. e., its person, number and tense, are expressed in the formative verb, which can also serve to express the lexical-grammatical category of progressivity or regressivity of a verbal action (*del kejčeň* "to lend", *lel kejčeň* "to borrow", *kerel žužo* "to make sth clear", *ačhel žužo* "to clear up") and aspectuality (the spatial orientation of action "out of": *čhivel avri andal o them* "to banish", *čhivel e jakh avri* "to peep out"; inchoativeness: *thovel roviben* "to burst into tears"). The lexical meaning of the formative verb is significantly weakened or completely lost in the verbal conjunct. The lexical meaning of the verbal conjunct is therefore often based on its non-verbal component (*chal dar* "to fear", literally "to eat fear"), or both components lose their original meaning in the resultant phraseological unit (*čhivel phuripen* "to make excuses", literally, "to throw old age").

Key words: verbal conjuncts, formative verbs, verbo-nominal conjuncts, verbo-adverbial conjuncts, verbo-verbal conjuncts, Slovak Romani

1. The definition of verbal conjuncts

Although verbal conjuncts constitute an organic part of the lexis of Slovak Romani, they have not been subject to linguistic inquiry yet. Their character demonstrates that they have a lot of features in common with analytical verbonominal naming units in other languages. In the case of Slovak Romani, studies

^{*} This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the contract No. APVV-0689-12.

on Indian languages or Slovak are of particular importance. Romani has a shared ancient history with Indian languages,¹ and its long-term contact with Slovak² has had a significant impact on its lexis and grammar. Some verbal conjuncts in Romani, especially those that are related to traditional culture or that refer to everyday actions (activities, processes and states), have long been part of Romani lexis (kerel jakhendar "to subjugate", del pativ "to honour", chal bida "to live on the breadline", kerel dukh "to trouble"); others are new formations derived from the need to name actions that have not had specific names in Romani yet. This has been particularly shown in the production of dictionaries³, where its authors invented counterparts to Slovak naming units (del hakaja "to emancipate", kerel amalipen "to be friends", kerel čerišagos "to alternate", lel sikhaviben "to train", l'idžal/del bare dumi "to theorize", visarel e duma "to interpret"). However, the rules of the formation of verbal conjuncts are also followed by new naming units: formal stability (an obligatory order of components), the role of the verbal component can only be undertaken by a verb belonging to a restricted range of formative verbs, the formative verb, which is partly or completely desemantised, then serves as the carrier of verbal categories in this unit,⁴ and the other component usually carries the factual meaning of the conjunct (kerel chasna "to do good", literally "to do benefit"; *chivel doš/došalipen* "to blame", literally "to throw blame"; *del angali* "to embrace", literally "to give an embrace"; chal dar "to fear", literally "to eat fear"; lel troma "to dare", literally "to take courage"; achel korkoro "to be left alone", literally "to become/be lonely"; ačhel palal "to be late", literally "to be in the back" etc.).

Admittedly, in some cases both components are desemantised. What arises is a verbal conjunct whose factual meaning is not directly related to the lexical

¹ For illustration we can mention Hindi, which was described, for example, in KOSTIĆ S. A Syntagmaticon of Hindī Verbo-Nominal Syntagmas. Besides other things, the author brought a detailed overview of many opinions to this issue. In the case of Bengali, the issue was addressed in BYKOVA, E. M. The Bengali Language.

² A detailed description of verbo-nominal analytical naming units in Slovak is part of, for example to KRALČÁK, Ľ. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine, where the author introduces views of Slovak and Czech linguists on this issue in Slovak and Czech.

³ Especially CINA, S., KALIÁŠ, Š., SAMKO, M., RUSNÁKOVÁ, J. Slovenskorómsky odborný terminologický slovník. [Slovak-Romani Dictionary of Terms], but also KOPTOVÁ, A., KOPTOVÁ M. Slovensko-rómsky rómsko-slovenský slovník. Slovačiko-romano romano-slovačiko lavustik. Slovaćiqo-rromano rromano-slovaćiqo lavustik. [Slovak-Romani Romani-Slovak Dictionary].

⁴ Given this function, the verb in the verbal conjunct has been termed "kategoriálne sloveso" [categorial verb] in Slovak and Czech literature.

meaning of either of its components (*čhivel phuripen* "to make excuses", literally "to throw old age"; *del muj* "to invite", literally "to give a mouth"; *cirdel pes band'ares* "to hesitate", literally "to follow an arc"). In such cases we speak of figurative expressions (figurativeness is often typical of Romani), and the result is a phraseological unit with a fixed meaning.

Verbal conjuncts are sometimes represented by multiverbalised denotations of synonymous one-word naming units.⁵ In most cases these have the same base as the non-verbal (most frequently nominal or adjectival) component of verbal conjuncts (kerel chochaviben : chochavel "to lie"; thovel asaben : asal'arel, asavel "to burst into laughter"; anel nasval'ipen : nasval'arel "to infect"; ačhel khabňi : khabňol "to get pregnant"; ačhel murš/muršeder : muršol "to grow into a man"; lel troma/del pes troma : tromad'ol "to dare"; perel pro churde : churd'ol "to crumble"; kerel kerado : kerad'ol "to overheat"). Synonymous oneword naming units, however, can be derived from a different base (anel gindipena : inspirinel (pes) "to get inspired"; kerel zoraleder : pherd'arel "to reinforce"; lel vera : solacharel "to swear", "to get married (at a registry office. in a church)"; vakerel pre god'i : sikhavkerel "to lecture"). Sometimes verbal conjuncts are the only way of naming a verbal action (*čhinel paťiv* "to humiliate"). In some cases the original verbal conjuncts are strangely univerbated, an example might be *del muj – mujdel* "to invite", ⁶ where the order of the individual components is reversed, with the verbal component at the end. Also formally, the conjunct thus acquires the form of a verb.

As is evident, verbal conjuncts usually consist of two components: a formative verb, which represents the base of the verbal conjunct, which is supplemented either by a noun, adverb, adjective or verb. According to the word class of the second component, verbal conjuncts can be divided into verbo-nominal (*del kejčeň* "to lend"), verbo-adjectival (*ačhel lalo* "to go mute"), verbo-adverbial (*del pes anglal* "to appear", but also "to make itself felt, to demonstrate itself") and verbo-verbal (*thovel te bešel* "to seat").

⁵ Due to a shortage of Romani texts of diverse character, it is difficult to determine the difference of their stylistic value, unlike in Slovak (see, for example, ONDREJOVIČ, S. O multiverbizačných procesoch v spisovnej slovenčine. [On Multiverbizational Processes in Standard Slovak]. In *Slovenská reč*, 1988, Vol. 53, qtd. according to KRALČÁK, Ľ. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine. Synchrónno-diachrónny pohľad. [Analytical Verbo-Nominal Expressions in Slovak], p. 22.

⁶ Evidence has been found in KOPTOVÁ, A., KOPTOVÁ, M. Slovensko-rómsky rómsko-slovenský slovník. Slovačiko-romano romano-slovačiko lavustik. Slovaćiqo-rromano rromano-slovaćiqo lavustik. [Slovak-Romani Romani-Slovak Dictionary].

2. Formative verb⁷ – the base component of a verbal conjunct

The verbs which are used to form analytical verbo-nominal naming units are aptly defined by Ľ. Kralčák in his work on analytical verbo-nominal phrases in Slovak as "synsemantic lexemes (neplnovýznamové lexémy) which were formed on the basis of original full verbs and which acquire their status (their categorial character) in forming a distinct analytical type of a verbo-nominal phrase" (translation mine).⁸ This definition can also be applied to formative verbs in Romani. The function of formative verbs can only be performed by a certain, although quite wide, range of verbs. It is evident that the more general the meaning of a verb is, the greater its ability to function as a formative verb, and vice versa.

The verb *kerel* "to do" can be considered the most general formative verb. It is also mirrored in the fact that new verbal conjuncts formed from abstract nouns of foreign (most frequently international) origin are often formed by its means (*kerel amnestija* "to grant amnesty"; *kerel amputacija* "to amputate"; *kerel amortizacija* "to amortise"; *kerel analiza* "to analyse"; *kerel aneksija* "to annex"; *kerel angažmanos* "to engage" etc.).

Besides the verb *kerel*, the role of the formative verb is most often assumed by the verbs *ačhel* "to become/be", *del* "to give", *lel* "to take", *avel* "to come". The following verbs are also relatively frequent: *anel* "to carry" (for example, *anel gindipena* "to inspire, to get inspired", *anel nasvalipen* "to infect", *anel nevipen* "to announce, to herald", *anel avri pro jekh* "to cement", *anel pre godi* "to inform, to notify", *anel andre ladž* "to bring shame, to embarrass"), *cirdel* "to pull" (for example, *cirdel pes garudes* "to creep", *cirdel e godi* "to think", *cirdel e vodi pal* "to desire, to miss"), *čhinel* "to cut" (*čhinel pašal* "to look around", *čhinel pativ* "to humiliate, to lose trust", *čhinel jakhaha* "to blink, to covet", *čhinel bacht* "to damage"), *čhivel* "to throw"(*čhivel baripen* "to boast/brag", *čhivel keriben* "to enchant, to bewitch, to do magic", *čhivel jaga* "to blaze"), *dikhel* "to see, to watch"(*dikhel opral* "to disdain", *dikhel choľaha* "to rage", *dikhel džungales* "to frown"), *džal* "to go" (*džal romeste/pal o rom* "to get married", *džal lačhes* "to do good", *džal seraha* "to avoid"), *chal* "to

⁷ The term *formative verb* is used in accordance with how it is used by some authors (P. Hacker, K. Ch. Bahl) in analysing verbo-nominal syntagmas in Hindi. It approximately corresponds with *light verb* used in English, *Funktionsverb* used in German, *verbe support* in French and *kategoriálne sloveso*, or sometimes also *funkčné sloveso*, used in Slovak and Czech, or the term *formálne sloveso* as used by KRALČÁK, Ľ. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine. Synchrónno-diachrónny pohľad. [Analytical Verbo-Nominal Expressions in Slovak].

⁸ KRALČÁK, Ľ. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine. Synchrónnodiachrónny pohľad. [Analytical Verbo-Nominal Expressions in Slovak], p. 37.

eat" (chal dar "to fear", chal bida/dukh "to worry", chal mariben "to get a thrashing"), chudel "to get" (chudel god'i "to become wiser", chudel nasval'ipen "to get infected", chudel dar "to get frightened"), ispidel "to push" (ispidel anglal "to push forward", ispidel dureder "to move", ispidel tele "to humiliate, to oppress"), jel "to be" (jel darate "to be afraid", jel sunende "to imagine", jel došalo "to cause"), likerel "to hold" (likerel ňisoske/pataveske "to disdain", likerel o muj/e čhib "to become time-barred", likerel tatipen "to warm up"), marel "to beat" (marel o šero "to think", marel peske o šero "to imagine" or "to become thoughtful"), thovel "to lay" (thovel pativ "to humiliate, to offend", thovel o phova/paveki "to frown", thovel lav "to order", thovel roviben "to start crying"), as well as kidel "to collect" (kidel god'i "to become wise", kidel bind'a "to score", kidel god'atar "to memorise", kidel upre le manušen "to rouse", kidel ketanes "to accumulate"), mukhel "to let" (mukhel thuv "to smoke"), perel "to fall" (perel pro churde "to crumble", perel pre god'i "to take it into one's head", perel mistes "to suit"), phagel/phagerel "to break" (phagel pativ "to offend", phagel solach/vera "to break an oath" or elsewhere "to get unmarried, to get divorced", phagerel vod'i "to disappoint"), phandel "to take" (phandel lav "to arrange", phandel peske andre god'i "to resolve, to make up one's mind", phandel e čhib "to grow silent"), phenel "to speak" (phenel lav "to deliver", phenel lačho lav "to console", phenel džungales/zorales "to admonish"), phirel "to go" (phirel band'ares "to walk with a limp", phirel vras/jekhetane "to get together", phirel dromenca/phirel than thanestar "to travel", phirel barikano/phirel upre nakheha "to boast, to brag").

Some verbs are only used in several verbal conjuncts, or quite sporadically. They are most often phraseological units, figurative denotations of a certain action, where verbal conjuncts can be an expressive denotation of an action, which can also be referred to by a neutral naming unit (for example, *čandel/čhungarel jag* "to fume", literally "to return/spit fire", is a metaphorical representation of greater expressivity than the neutral *rušel* "to be angry"), or they can be denotations of action which do not have neutral counterparts (for example, *čhingerel peske o bala* "to tear one's hair out", an action that expresses great despair, does not have a one-word (neutral) equivalent of the word "to despair". Similarly, *kovlarel peske o jilo* "to become sentimental", literally "to soften one's heart").

As I have mentioned, formative verbs are the carriers of the grammatical categories of verbal conjuncts. However, the choice of a verb also determines the intention of verbal action expressed by the verbal conjunct. This way, the formative verb *kerel* can be used to form a verbal conjunct expressing progressive action (*kerel jakhendar* "to bewitch", "to enchant"), and the formative verb *ačhel* a verbal conjunct expressing regressive action (*ačhel jakhendar* "to become bewitched"). Also the verbs *del* and *lel* are used in a

similar contrary function (*del god'i* "to instruct, to advise, to teach" vs *lel god'i* "to deliberate, to reason", *del kejčeň* "to lend" vs *lel kejčeň* "to borrow", *del vera* "to marry" vs *lel vera* "to get married", *del bešiben* "to accommodate" vs *lel bešiben* "to put up, to find accommodation", *del nevipen* "to announce, to herald" vs *lel nevipena* "to get acquainted, to familiarise oneself" etc.). This contrary function is, naturally, abandoned when a reflexive form of the respective (progressive) verb is used (*del pes god'i* "to consult", *del pes troma* "to dare"). Also the formative verbs *chal* "to eat" and *chudel* "to get" can serve as the opposites of the verb *del* in expressing regressive action (*chal bida* "to live on the breadline", *chal dukh* "to worry", *chal/chudel mariben* "to get a thrashing", *chudel nasval'ipen* "to get infected"). The focus of the action can also be expressed by means of other verbs. Also the formative verbs *anel* and *avel* can be found in the opposite function (*anel pro svetos/pre luma* "to give birth" vs *avel pre luma* "to be born").

A formative verb can be modified by an adverb, which also expresses *Aktionsart*, for example, the spatial orientation of action (*čhivel e jakh avri* "to peep out", *čhivel paňi telal* "to baste", *kerel chor avri* "to dig, to sink").

The more general the meaning of the formative verb is, the greater its ability to form a verbal conjunct with different parts of speech. The verbs *kerel* "to do", *ačhel* "to be/become" and *avel* "to come" can thus produce verbal conjuncts with nouns (*kerel buťi* "to work", *kerel bibacht* "to do harm", *kerel goďaha* "to deal with"; *ačhel kašteske* "to stiffen", *ačhel čitiben* "to grow silent", *avel pre goďi* "to remember"), with adverbs (*kerel lačhes* "to please", *kerel anglal* "to prefer", *kerel mištes* "to make sth more pleasant", *ačhel palal* "to be late", *ačhel tates/tateder* "to get warmer", *avel počoral* "to sneak in"), as well as with adjectives (*kerel kirko* "to turn bitter", *kerel bareder* "to make bigger, to enlarge", *kerel feder* "to modify", *ačhel lalo* "to become mute", *ačhel goreder* "to deteriorate", *ačhel čučo* "to remain bare-handed", *avel izdrano* "to worry").

Most formative verbs, however, connect only with nouns or adverbs: for example, *cirdel o muj/o nakh* "to grin", *cirdel pes band'ares* "to hesitate", *chinel pativ* "to humiliate; to lose trust", *chinel pašal* "to look around", *chivel/thovel keriben* "to enchant, to bewitch", *chivel tele* "to eliminate, to destroy; to throw down"; *del pes godi* "to consult", *del pes anglal* "to appear"; *chudel (pale) zor* "to recover", *chudel pes opre* "to pull oneself together, to come round".

Although the basic features of verbal conjuncts include fixedness in the connectivity of a particular formative verb with a particular second component in expressing a particular lexical meaning, in some verbal conjuncts different formative verbs can be used synonymously. Even here, however, only a certain range of verbs can alternate. Naturally, the most general formative verb *kerel* allows the most possibilities. In verbal conjuncts it most frequently alternates with similarly general verbs *del* (progress), *lel* (regress), *thovel*. Less often, the

formative verb *kerel* alternates with other formative verbs such as *anel, ispidel, chudel, mukhel, ačhel, vakerel* and *čhinel: kerel/del/anel muchl'i* "to mist", *kerel/del pharipen* "to weight down", *kerel/del lokores* "to turn down", *kerel/del maškar* "to incorporate", *kerel/del/ispidel anglal* "to prefer", *kerel/lel jakhendar* "to bewitch", *kerel/lel love* "to convert into cash", *kerel/lel/chudel love* "to suffer", *kerel/lel tele e cipa* "to peel"; *kerel/thovel pre peste kamiben* "to indebt", *kerel/thovel bašaviben* "to set sth to music", *kerel/čhinel bibacht* "to do harm", *kerel/mukhel čučo* "to empty", *kerel/ačhel pes goreder* "to deteriorate", *kerel/vakerel pre god'i* "to persuade", *kerel chor avri/kidel e chor* "to ditch".

An alternation of formative verbs also occurs in cases other than with the verb kerel: for example, ačhel/dikhel avri "to experience", anel/thovel vakeriben "to address", anel/del nevipen "to announce, to herald", kidel/thovel ketanes "to accumulate", lel/chudel love "to earn", lel tel e jakh/thovel jakh pre "to observe", *lel/thovel peske andre god'i/andro šero* "to remember", l'idžal/hordinel savoreserenca "to deliver, to distribute", l'idžal/del bare dumi "to theorise", likerel/chudel/ačhavel paš peste "to hold, to stop". marel/čhingerel rateha "to mangle", perel peske pre god'i, del pes(ke) god'i "to realise", poravel/del avri o jakha "to marvel", phagel/čhinel/thovel tele paťiv "to offend", phandel/thovel lav "to arrange", phirel/džal vras/jekhetane "to get together", phučel/mangel god'i "to consult", phundravel/phuterel o muj "to yawn", rodel/chudel buťi "to do business", sikhavel/thovel avri peskero "to prove", sikhavel/thovel baripen "to pride, to boast", sikhavel/del drom "to instruct", thovel/čhivel keriben "to enchant", thovel/del lav "to approve", thovel/anel vakeriben "to address", thovel/del peskero lav "to decide", thovel tele paťiv/čhinel paťiv "to humiliate, to dishonour", vakerel/phenel pre goďi "to reprimand", vakerel/phenel maškar peste "to arrange", visarel/čal'arel o jilo "to impress, to fascinate".

The need to add new denotations of actions to lexis results in the formation of new verbal conjuncts, which are usually based on a "traditional" range of formative verbs, as evidenced by verbal conjuncts, for example, in the above mentioned Slovak-Romani dictionary of terms.

3. Parts of speech in the position of the second component of a verbal conjunct

The position of the second component of a verbal conjunct can be occupied by a noun, adverb, adjective or verb. According to the word class of the second component, verbal conjuncts can be divided into verbo-nominal, verbo-adverbial, verbo-adjectival and verbo-verbal.

3.1. Verbo-nominal conjuncts

Verbo-nominal conjuncts are the most wide-spread and richest type of verbal conjuncts in Slovak Romani. The position of the nominal component of the verbal conjunct is most often occupied by an abstract noun, either underived or derived. Underived abstract nouns include, for example, *bacht* "good luck" (*mangel bacht sastipen* "to bless"), *bibacht* "bad luck" (*čhinel bibacht, kerel bibacht* "to do harm"), *ladž* "shame" (*kerel ladž* "to commit", *kerel peske ladž* "to discredit oneself"), *godi* "reason, mind, thought, idea" (*del godi* "to advise", *kidel godi* "to disappoint", *cirdel vodi* "to yawn", *lel vodi* "to catch one's breath"), *dukh* "pain" (*chal dukh* "to worry", *chudel dukh* "to suffer", *kerel dukh* "to trouble"), *pativ* "honour, respect, tribute" (*phagel pativ* "to offend", *thovel pativ* "to humiliate, to offend", *del pativ* "to arrange", *phenel lav* "to recommend", *thovel lav* "to order"), *nav* "name" (*del nav/thovel nav* "to name, to appoint" etc.).

Derived abstract nouns are dominated by deverbative abstract nouns with a typical suffix -iben, which denote actions (anel/thovel vakeriben "to address" <vakeriben "narration", del bešiben "to accommodate" (long-term) < bešiben "housing", *lel soviben* "to put up" (short-term) < *soviben* "sleeping", chal/chudel mariben "to get a thrashing" < mariben "thrashing", kerel dukhaviben "to harm" < dukhaviben "harm", thovel roviben "to burst into tears" < roviben "crving"). Less frequent are deadjectival abstract nouns with a typical suffix -ipen, which denote qualities (kerel bachtal'ipen "to save, to redeem"< bachtalipen "luck, blessing" < bachtalo "lucky, blessed", kerel načačipen "to wrong" < načačipen "falsehood, injustice, unreality" < načačo "untrue, false", kerel/čhivel phuripen "to hesitate" < phuripen "old age" < phuro "old", anel nasval'ipen "to infect" < nasval'ipen "infection" < nasvalo "ill", del nevipen "to announce, to herald" < nevipen "news" < nevo "new" etc.). Quite rare are also desubstantive abstract nouns with a suffix -ipen, which denote actions or qualities (kerel čohaňipen "to enchant" < čohaňipen "magic"< čohaňi "enchantress", kerel amalipen "to be friends"< amalipen "friendship"< *amal* "friend").⁹

If the nominal component of the verbal conjunct is constituted by concrete nouns, they are often denotations of body parts, particularly the head and its parts: *šero* "head" (*marel o šero* "to think", *našavel o šero* "to go insane"), *jakh* "eye" (*cirdel o jakha* "to capture sb's attention", *kerel jakha* "to spy", *lel*

⁹ It is worthy to note that abstract nouns derived by means of the borrowed suffix *- išagos*, which are otherwise common in contemporary Slovak Romani, are very rare in verbal conjuncts. I have found only one instance: *kerel čerišagos* "to alternate".

jakhate "to notice"), *muj* "mouth" (*phuterel o muj* "to yawn", *phandel o muj* "to grow silent", *del muj* "to call, to invite"), nakh "nose" (*cirdel o nakh* "to grin", *hazdel o nakh* "to walk around with one's nose in the air"), *čhib* "tongue" (*likerel e čhib* "to forfeit", *phandel e čhib* "to grow silent"). Many of them constitute a base of a figurative expression or phraseme. The denotations of other body parts which can be found in the position of the nominal component of a verbal conjunct include *phiko* "shoulder" and *dumo* "back" (*band'arel o phike/o dumo* "to hunch one's shoulders", *band'ol o phike* "to bend one's back a little"), *jilo* "heart" (*čal'arel/lošarel/visarel o jilo* "to impress/fascinate"), *vast* "hand" (*del vast* "to shake one's hand, to support").

Less frequent in the position of the nominal component of a verbal conjunct are denotations of persons: rom "man", romňi "woman" (džal romeste/pal o rom "to get married", ačhel romeha/romňaha "to get married", lel romňa "to get married", thovel romňaha "to marry"), phivľo "widower", phivľi "widow" (ačhel phivľo/phivľi "to become widowed"), murš "man" (ačhel murš/muršeder "to grow into a man"), rabos "slave" (kerel raboske "to enslave").

The function of the nominal component of a verbal conjunct is also performed by other concrete nouns, for example, *kašt* "wood" (*ačhel kašteske/sar kašt* "to stiffen"), *bar* "stone" (*ačhel bareske* "to freeze"), *paňi* "water" (*anel o paňi* "to deposit, to sediment"), *muchl'i* "fog" (*anel/kerel/del muchl'i* "to mist/fog"), *lima* "snot" (*cirdel l'ima* "to blow one's nose"), *kerestos* "cross" (*čhinel kerestos* "to cross"), *jag* "fire" (*čhivel jaga* "to blaze") etc.

The noun which performs the function of the second component of a verbal conjunct can be in various cases.¹⁰ Most often it is in the accusative, which is formally identical with the nominative in the case of inanimate nouns (del nevipen "to announce, to herald", kerel čohaňipen "to enchant", cirdel o jakha "to capture sb's attention", etc.). It is also often in the instrumental, which has a very wide use in Romani: it can express a circumstantial function of place, time, tool, means, originator, cause, aspect, manner, degree and purpose (ačhel romeha/romňaha "to get married", džal pharibnaha "to drag oneself", čhinel jakhaha "to blink", "to look secretly at", čhivel pes/džal seraha "to avoid", dikhel chol'aha "to frown", kerel god'aha "to deal with", phirel dromenca "to travel", *šunel jileha* "to empathise" and many others). It is quite rare that the noun in the position of the second component of a verbal conjunct is in the ablative form (ačhel jakhendar "to be bewitched", kerel/lel jakhendar "to bewitch", cirdel čorendar "to practise usury", kidel god'atar "to memorise"). In some cases the noun is in the dative: ačhel kašteske "to stiffen", ačhel bareske "to freeze", kerel raboske "to enslave", likerel ňisoske/pataveske "to disdain",

¹⁰ It can be said that this applies to all except for the *-ker-* form, traditionally referred to as the genitive, which confirms its exceptional position in Romani.

thovel pataveske/ňisoske "to discredit, to compromise, to humiliate, to dishonour".¹¹The noun in a verbal conjunct can also be in the nominative (*ačhel phivl'o/phivl'i* "to become widowed" – to become a widower/widow) and in the locative (*džal romeste* "to get married", *džal sune* "to dream" (while sleeping), *jel sunende* "to imagine", *hurňaľol kerekate* "to circle", *lel/ačhel darate* "to be afraid", *lel jakhate* "to notice").

In all these cases the verbal conjunct differs from a loose connection of a full verb and an object or an adverbial in that a transformation of a full verb into a formative verb also transposes the nominal component of the verbal conjunct in such a manner that it ceases to perform the function of an object or adverbial and, in terms of meaning, it merges with the verb.¹² The noun in a verbal conjunct which functions as one whole loses its function of a sentence constituent and only becomes the carrier of the factual meaning of this conjunct.¹³

3.1.1. The connection of the nominal component of a verbal conjunct with a formative verb

The nominal component connects with the formative verb in two ways:

a) directly (there is sometimes an article in front of the noun)

b) a preposition, adverb or comparative conjunction *sar* "like" is inserted between the verb and the noun.

In the first type of the nominal verbal conjunct, formative verbs directly connect with nouns in a particular case. As has been seen, they are often abstract nouns or, in the case of concrete nouns, denotations of body parts, persons and things.

Equally numerous is the second type of verbal conjuncts, in which nouns connect with formative verbs by means of a preposition, adverb or comparative conjunction *sar* "like".

¹¹ When the noun is in the dative, in some cases an identical meaning can be conveyed by a parallel description – simile: *ačhel kašteske/ačhel sar kašt* "to stiffen" (literally, "to be like wood"), *ačhel bareske/ačhel sar bar* "to freeze" (literally, "to be like stone").

¹² The lexical merger of the accusative with verbs has been dealt with by ORAVEC, J. Väzba slovies v slovenčine. [Verb Valency in Slovak], pp. 75–76, qtd. according to KRALČÁK, Ľ. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine. Synchrónnodiachrónny pohľad. [Analytical Verbo-Nominal Expressions in Slovak], p. 19.

¹³ KRALČÁK, Ľ. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine. Synchrónnodiachrónny pohľad. [Analytical Verbo-Nominal Expressions in Slovak], p. 34, in this context refers to the work of NIŽNÍKOVÁ, J., SOKOLOVÁ, M. et al. Valenčný slovník slovenských slovies. [Slovak Verbs Valency Dictionary], p. 9, who do not speak of syntactic objects in such cases but predicative names, which constitute a naming unit with a grammatical functor.

If formative verbs take nouns in a prepositional case, most often it is the preposition *pre* "on, to, in", less often *paš* "at; to; for", *andal* "from", *andre* "in", *tel* "under", *pal* "about; after; behind", *bi* "without". Like in the case of the first type of verbal conjuncts, the nominal component of verbal conjuncts can be either an abstract or concrete noun. The abstract noun *godi* is common, and so are denominations of body parts. Quite often they are figurative expressions: for example, *avel pre godi* "to remember", literally "to come to mind"; *jel paš e godi* "to be in one's right mind"; *lel pre godi*, *phandel peske andre godi* "to resolve", literally "to take it into one's mind"; "to bind into one's mind", *vakerel/phenel pre godi* "to admonish, to reprimand", "to warn", literally "to throw into sb's eyes"; *achel pro šero/pre men* "to be saddled with"; literally "to take it into one's mind"; *lel andro vast* "to be on sb's head/neck", *lel peske andro šero* "to meditate", literally "to take it into one's mind"; *phenel andro khan* "to whisper", literally "to say into sb's ear", etc.

Verbal conjuncts can become a part of a wider phraseological unit, for example, *lel god'i andro šero* "to use one's wits" (literally "to take reason into one's head, or think hard").

Verbal conjuncts with prepositional nouns include *lel pre jakh* "to notice", *lel tel e jakh* "to observe", *perel andre jakh* "to notice, to spot", *lel tel peskero vast* "to subjugate", *ispidel tel o pindre* "to humiliate", *anel andre ladž* "to bring shame on, to embarrass", *jel pre chasna* "to benefit", *avel andro berša* "to grow old", "to grow up", *perel andre dar* "to get frightened", *phenel pre dukh* "to offend", and many others.

In many cases formative verbs are modified by means of adverbs: for example, *del avri o jakha* "to marvel", *čhivel e godi avrether* "to be unfocused", *likerel godi jekhetane* "to focus", *cirdel avri/chal avri/ kidel avri o jilo* "to misuse/abuse", *del pale o muj* "to express contempt", *phagel/čhinel/thovel tele paťiv* "to offend".

Although verbs in verbal conjuncts are to a great extent desemantised, the meaning of prepositions by means of which verbs connect with nouns, or adverbs which modify them, is also reflected in the meaning of the verbal conjuncts: for example, *čhivel e jakh avri* "to peep out"; *thovel jakh pre* "to observe", *thovel jakha pal* "to follow, to pursue, to spy".

Sometimes formative verbs connect with nouns by means of the comparative conjunction *sar* "like": for example, *del vast sar phraleske* "to reconcile, to make up", literally "to shake sb's hand like a brother's"; *ačhel sar bar* "to stiffen", literally "to be like stone".

3.1.2. The factual meaning of a verbo-nominal conjunct

The meaning of a verbal conjunct is not composed of the meanings of its components. A verbal conjunct is a lexicalised or phraseologised unit which functions as a whole. As has been mentioned several times, the factual meaning of a verbo-nominal conjunct is mostly conveyed by its nominal component. However, this function of the nominal component is not in all cases equally transparent. In the case of some verbal conjuncts, their factual meaning can be unambiguously derived from the lexical meaning of the nominal component, which can be either an abstract or concrete noun: for example, del kotera "to patch" <kotera "patches", kerel kalika "to cripple" <kalika "cripple", čhinel kerestos "to cross" < kerestos "cross", čhivel/thovel baripen "to boast/brag" *<baripen* "pride", *čhivel doš* "to blame" *<doš* "blame", *del angali* "to embrace" <angal'i "embrace", del lav "to give one's word, to promise" <lav "word", chal dar "to fear" <dar "fear", chudel nasvalipen "to get infected" <nasvalipen "infection", chudel zor "to strengthen" <zor "strength", lel romňa "to get married" <*romňa* "woman", *lel bešiben* "to find accommodation" (long-term)

 phagel solach/vera "to break one's oath" <solach/vera "oath", thovel džung "to besmirch" <džung "dirt, smirch".

In other cases, nouns constitute the semantic base of verbal conjuncts, but the factual meaning of the verbal conjuncts cannot be directly inferred from the nouns. The factual meaning of verbal conjuncts is related to the established metaphorical meaning, which is, in language, attributed to the whole phrase, and is also partly composed of the meaning of formative verbs (*del god'i* "to instruct, to advise, to teach", literally "to give brains"; *lel god'i* "to think, to consider", literally "to take brains"; *kidel god'i* "to become wiser", literally "to pick up brains"; *našavel god'i* "to act rashly"; "to go mad", literally "to lose brains"; *kerel god'aha* "to deal with", literally "to work with brains"; *chivel e jakh* "to look into", literally "to cast an eye"; *kerel šereha* "to nod", literally "to work with one's head").

In some verbo-nominal conjuncts, their factual meaning is related to their nominal component (an object denominated by the noun participates in the action denoted by the verbal conjunct), yet it is not directly inferable from its lexical meaning: for example, *kerel jakha* "to spy", literally "to make eyes"; *del muj* "to invite", literally "to give sb a mouth"; *cirdel o muj/o nakh* "to grin", literally "to pull one's mouth/nose".

In the part dealing with formative verbs it has been mentioned that in some cases certain formative verbs can alternate in connection with the same noun while the same meaning is preserved. Similarly, in some cases there are synonymous verbal conjuncts formed from the same formative verb connecting with a different nominal component: *ačhel bijo dada, ačhel pro čoripen* "to be

left alone", ačhel pro šero/ačhel pre men "to be saddled with", or "to have to take care of", kerel balamuta/kerel bengipen "to frolic, to romp", kerel šišitno/kerel rat "to darken", l'ikerel zor pre/l'ikerel tel o vast/l'ikerel tel peskeri zor "to rule", l'ikerel andre god"i/l'ikerel andro šero "to remember", našavel o šero/našavel e god'i "to go insane", thovel peskero vast/thovel peskeri buťi/thovel peskero lav "to participate, to be involved", vakerel andro svetos/vakerel diliňipen "to talk nonsense". Quite often god'i and šero alternate in a synonymous meaning: lel peske andro šero "to remember", l'ikerel andre god'i/andro šero "to remember", l'ikerel andre god'i/ikerel tel peske andre god'i/ikerel tel peske andre god'i/andro šero "to remember", l'ikerel andre god'i/andro šero "to remember", l'ikerel andre god'i/andro šero "to remember".

Sometimes it can depend on the context if a particular construction formed from a verb and a noun can be interpreted as a loose connection of a full verb and an object or as a verbal conjunct: *phandel o muj* can be interpreted as "to shut one's mouth" or metaphorically as "to grow silent"; *phuterel muj* can be understood as "to open one's mouth", but also as "to yawn", *sikhavel drom* can mean "to show the way" or, as a verbal conjunct, "to instruct".

3.2. Verbo-adverbial conjuncts

Verbal conjuncts in which formative verbs connect with adverbs are also relatively common. Also in their case, like in the case of verbo-nominal conjuncts, they are set phrases which are formed on the basis of "abstracting from a particular meaning of a whole phrase, which involves a semantic shift when the adverb acquires a more abstract meaning by losing the support of the primary ("expected") context of the action; the original full verb, at the same time, becomes formal" (translation mine).¹⁴ Verbal conjuncts, as usual, represent lexical and grammatical entities in which verbs carry the grammatical and lexico-grammatical categories while adverbs convey the factual meaning. According to the character of the adverbial component, verbo-adverbial conjuncts can be divided into two types.

In the first type of verbo-adverbial conjuncts, adverbial components are constituted by circumstantial adverbs denoting a location in relation to another space (where), or heading towards a certain space (where), or from a certain space (where from): *andre* "inside; into", *anglal* "ahead of; ahead", *avri* "outside; out of", *opre* "above; up", *opral* "above, up; from above", *pale* "backward; back, but also again", *palal* "in the back; backwards; from the

¹⁴ This apt definition is used by KRALČÁK, Ľ. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine. Synchrónno-diachrónny pohľad. [Analytical Verbo-Nominal Expressions in Slovak], p. 60.

back", *pašal* "around, past", *tele* "down". The adverb *anglal* can also have the temporal meaning "prior to".

Rarer is the second type in which the position of the adverbial component is occupied by adverbs of manner: for example, *počoral* "in secret", *garudes* "in secret, secretly, undercover", *jekhetane* "together", *lokes* "gently, lightly", *lačhes* "well, correctly", *phujes* "badly", *džungales* "uglily, nastily".

In a subtype of the second type of verbo-adverbial conjuncts, the adverbial component is formed by deadjectival adverbs in the comparative form: *feder* "better", *dureder* "further" etc.

3.2.1. Verbo-adverbial conjuncts of the first type

Not all combinations of verbs and the mentioned adverbs can be considered verbal conjuncts. Verbal conjuncts include only those which approach the status of a word by their meaning or grammatical relations with the other words in a sentence and can function as a single part of a sentence.

There are two basic subtypes of verbo-adverbial conjuncts of the first type. Verbal conjuncts which are otherwise formally identical differ from each other by a degree of abstraction from the original meaning of both components, which is reflected in their factual meaning.

The first subtype is characterised by a partial desemantisation of the formative verb and an obvious reflection of the semantical meaning of the adverb, i.e., the spatial (temporal) relation it expresses, in the lexical meaning of the verbal conjunct: *ispidel pes anglal* "to push", but also "to elbow one's way" (literally "to push forward"), *džal anglal* "to make progress", elsewhere "to push" (literally "to go ahead"), *dikhel opral* "to disdain" (literally, "to look down on"), *del pale* "to pay back, revenge; to repay, reward" (literally "to give back"), *ačhel opre* "to stick out" (literally "to be above"), *(choľaha) phenel pale* "to retort" (literally "to talk back (angrily)"), *ačhel palal* "to lag behind" (literally "to push down").

Temporal meaning: *dikhel anglal* "to predict" (literally "to see in advance"), *šunel anglal* "to anticipate" (literally "to sense in advance"), *potinel anglal* "to subscribe" (literally "to pay in advance") etc.

Relatively rich is the group of verbal conjuncts of the second subtype in which the original lexical meaning of both components is completely lost. The result is a set phrase whose factual meaning is unpredictable even if one is familiar with the original lexical meanings of its components: *murdarel andre* "to turn out" (literally "to kill in"); *thovel pes andre* "to take chances", elsewhere "to intervene" (literally "to place oneself inside"); *ačhel/dikhel avri* "to experience" (literally "to be/see outside"); *del pes avri* "1. to give oneself away, 2. to confess" (literally "to give oneself out"); *chudel avri* "to find out"

(literally "to get out"); *chudel pes opre* "to pull oneself togther" (literally "to get up"), *kerel opre* "offer" (literally "to do up") and others.

Sometimes verbo-adverbial conjuncts exist as figurative references to an action besides neutral naming units. For example, *pekel andre* "to trick, to outfox" (literally "to bake inside") is an expressive counterpart to the neutral *kerel chol'i, chol'arel* "to make angry, to upset", or a substandard counterpart to the neutral *chochavel tele* "to deceive".

3.2.2. Verbo-adverbial conjuncts of the second type

The position of the adverbial component in the verbal conjunct of this type can be occupied by adverbs of manner and deadjectival adverbs in the comparative form: *avel počoral* "to sneak in" (literally "to come in secret"), *cirdel pes garudes* "to creep up" (literally "to drag oneself secretly, undercover"), *dikhel phujes* "to overlook" (literally "to look badly"), *dikhel banges* "to frown"; "to glower" (literally "to look askew"), *džal lačhes* "to do good" (literally "to go well"), *chal bokhales* "to gulp down" (literally "to eat hungrily"), *kerel mištes* "to make sth pleasant/enjoyable" (literally "to do well"), *kerel lačhes* "to please" (literally "to do well"), *perel mištes* "to suit" (literally "to fall well"), *phenel džungales/zorales* "to reprimand" (literally "to tell harshly/strictly"), *del feder* "to improve sb's situation" (literally "to give better"), *kerel feder* "to modify"; "to perfect" (literally "to make better") etc.

3.3. Verbo-adjectival conjuncts

In verbo-adjectival conjuncts the position of formative verbs is occupied almost exclusively by the verbs *kerel* "to do", *ačhel* "to be, to become", less often *avel* "to come", exceptionally other verbs such as *džal* "to go", *jel* "to be", *phirel* "to walk".

A verbo-adjectival conjunct whose base is constituted by the formative verbs *kerel* and *ačhel* usually expresses a change of state; *kerel* indicates progressive action while *ačhel* regressive action (*kerel baro/bareder* "to exaggerate", literally "to make big/bigger"; *kerel zoraleder*, "to reinforce", literally "to make stronger"; *kerel šukareder* "to liven up", literally "to make more beautiful"; *kerel avutno* "to plan", literally "to make sth original"; *ačhel lalo* "to go mute", literally "to become mute"; *ačhel čineder/čepeder/frimeder* "to diminish", literally "to become smaller"; *ačhel (sar) mulo/muľardo* "to freeze", literally "to be shaky"; *jel chochado* "to pretend", literally "to be false"; *phirel barikano* "to put on airs", literally "to walk around puffed up").

3.4. Verbo-verbal conjuncts

The last group of verbal conjuncts is constituted by verbo-verbal conjuncts. The second verb which carries the factual meaning of the verbal conjunct connects with the formative verb by means of the particle *te* (i. e., in the infinitive form): *del te šunel* "to show, to manifest", literally "to give sb feel"; *del te džanel* "to announce", literally "to give sb know"; *džal te dikhel* "to visit", literally "to go to see"; *thovel te bešel* "to seat", literally "to put to seat".

Verbo-verbal conjuncts can serve to express inchoativeness; the formative verb completely loses its original lexical meaning: *chudel te gil'avel* "to warm up one's voice", literally "to get to sing"; *del/lel te rovel* "to make cry, to burst into tears", literally "to give/to take to cry"; *chudel te čalavel* "to put in motion", literally "to get to move"; *thovel pes te rovel* "to burst into tears", literally "to get to cry".

Conclusion

In Slovak Romani there are many verbal conjuncts of different character. In terms of diversity and richness, there is a prevalence of verbo-nominal and verbo-adverbial conjuncts, which are supplemented by verbo-adjectival and verbo-verbal conjuncts. Many verbal conjuncts are the only way to form denominations of actions; others coexist with synonymous one-word naming units. Many are rooted in Romani lexis, others were formed as a result of the need to find a counterpart to a Slovak naming unit when dictionaries were being compiled, and only time will show if and to what extent they will catch on among language users. In any case, verbal conjuncts attest to the richness of the Romani language and, in many cases, also to its figurativeness.

All mentioned types of verbal conjuncts are characterised by the following properties:

1) They are formally stable: they consist of two components arranged in an obligatory order.

2) Each of the components is identifiable (as a verb, noun, adverb or adjective), but in verbal conjuncts neither of the components function as a separate lexical or grammatical unit.

3) The verb is no longer a full verb, but it is to a great extent or completely desemantised and acquires a formative function, which means that it only becomes a carrier of grammatical and lexico-grammatical categories of a new entity.

4) Also, the second component of the verbal conjunct is transformed: it loses its word class belonging and grammatical function and only becomes the carrier of the factual meaning of the verbal conjunct.

5) The verbal conjunct then, as a whole, has both a lexical and grammatical meaning.

REFERENCES

- BYKOVA, Evgeniya Mikhaylovna. *The Bengali Language*. Moscow: "Nauka" Publishing House. Central Department of Oriental Literature, 1981.
- CINA, Stanislav, KALIÁŠ, Štefan, SAMKO, Milan, RUSNÁKOVÁ, Jurina. *Slovensko-rómsky odborný terminologický slovník*. [Slovak-Romani Dictionary of Terms] Bratislava: Úrad vlády SR, 2012. available at www.narodnostnemensiny.gov.sk.
- HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, Milenia, ŠEBKOVÁ, Hana, ŽIGOVÁ, Anna. *Romsko-český a česko-romský kapesní slovník.* [Romani-Czech and Czech-Romani Pocket Dictionary]. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1991.
- KOPTOVÁ, Anna, KOPTOVÁ, Martina. Slovensko-rómsky rómsko-slovenský slovník. Slovačiko-romano romano-slovačiko lavustik. Slovaćiqo-rromano rromano-slovaćiqo lavustik. [Slovak-Romani Romani-Slovak Dictionary]. Košice: Nadácia Dobrá víla Kesaj, 2011.
- KOSTIĆ, Svetislav. A Syntagmaticon of Hindi Verbo-Nominal Syntagmas. Prague: Charles University in Prague. Karolinum Press, 2009.
- KRALČÁK, Ľubomír. Analytické verbo-nominálne spojenia v slovenčine. Synchrónnodiachrónny pohľad. [Analytical Verbo-Nominal Expressions in Slovak]. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, Filozofická fakulta, Katedra slovenského jazyka, 2005.
- NIŽNÍKOVÁ, Jolana, SOKOLOVÁ, Miloslava et al. *Valenčný slovník slovenských slovies*. [Slovak Verbs Valency Dictionary]. Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej university, 1998.
- ONDREJOVIČ, Slavomír. O multiverbizačných procesoch v spisovnej slovenčine. [On Multiverbizational Processes in Standard Slovak]. In *Slovenská reč*, 1988, 53, pp. 337–348.
- ORAVEC, Ján. Väzba slovies v slovenčine. [Verb Valency in Slovak]. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1967.

BRIEF NOTES ON THE CONCEPTS OF *LISĀN* AND *LUGHA* WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MEDIEVAL BERBER LANGUAGE THROUGH SOME EXAMPLES^{*}

Mohamed MEOUAK Universidad de Cádiz, Facultad de filosofía y letras, Avda. Dr Gómez Ulla, nº 1, 11003 Cádiz – España mohamed.meouak@uca.es

This study seeks to subject to scrutiny a range of data concerning some regional variants of the Berber language in medieval Maghreb. Offering information taken from different types of Arabic sources, we examine concepts of "language" possibly embodied in the term *lisān* (plural *alsina*, *alsun*), and of "dialect(s)" illustrated by the use of the word *lugha* (plural *lughāt*). The content presented enables an exploration of the ideas that Arabic writers used the language as an instrument for transmitting facts, and thereby establishing the outlines of debate as to whether the Berber language occupied a privileged position in medieval Maghrebian society.

Key words: Medieval Maghreb, Berber language, dialects, history, geography

Concerning tribes and language(s) through the geographical framework in medieval Maghreb

Textual items relating to Berber in medieval Maghreb are scattered throughout different texts such as chronicles, genealogical texts, Ibadi sources, hagiographic works, legal compilations or geographical documents. It is however possible to find, here or there, some references dedicated to the forms in the Berber language used to express the names of Berber tribes, names of

^{*}Part of the article was prepared within the framework of the Spanish research project "Tras las huellas de Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī: tradición y devoción en al-Andalus y el Norte de África (ss. XI a XIII)" [FFI2013-43172 P] funded by the *Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad*. Note that in this study we have chosen to indicate the dates only in the Christian dating system.

language(s) in use and names of regions linked to linguistic variants of Berber.¹ These are the points that will guide us over the following pages for the purpose of delimiting as precisely as possible the forms of employment of linguistic varieties of Berber in close relation with the tribes that peopled different geographical spaces at particular moments in the history of North Africa.²

From our point of view, it is fundamental to take into account the trinomial of tribe, language and space to attempt to gain a better understanding of the areas of diffusion of each particular Berber variant in terms of the political and religious situation of each specific tribe, at any given moment in the history of medieval Maghreb. The continuity use of languages such as Berber, Arabic, Latin, Greek, and even Punic are known to have depended greatly on the crucial role played by political and religious events. In addition to the linguistic factor, we must add the cultural question, understood as a capacity to produce literatures in different languages. Concerning the contemporary scientific discourse as to whether one or various variants of Berber existed, we must comment briefly on the sometimes polemical debates that have taken place among recognised specialists in the field.³ In this regard, it is appropriate to make some short observations regarding our remarks above on language. For it is important to recall and emphasise the validity of the concepts of "language" and "dialects" that should be focussing our attention. Thanks to the Arabic sources studied, in our opinion it is unacceptable to uphold the hypothesis according to which Arabic authors had some awareness of the conceptual and semantic difference between the terms "language" and "dialect". The word *lisān*

¹ GHOUIRGATE, M. Le berbère au Moyen Âge. Une culture linguistique en cours de reconstitution. In *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales,* 2015, Vol. 70–3, pp. 577–580, EL HOUR, R. Reflexiones acerca de las dinastías bereberes y lengua bereber en el Magreb medieval. In *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos,* 2015, Vol. 64, pp. 43–45, and MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, pp. 1–18.

² LÉWICKI, T. Le monde berbère vu par les écrivains arabes du Moyen-Âge. In GALLEY, M., MARSHALL, D. R. (eds.). *Actes du premier congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère (Malte, 3-6 avril 1972)*, 1973, pp. 37–39.

³ On these questions, see GALAND, L. La langue berbère existe-t-elle ?. In *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson, in Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques, 1985,* pp. 175–181, *idem.* Regards sur le berbère, pp. 1–39, and CHAKER, S. Dialecte, pp. 2291–2295. The first author mentioned considered it appropriate to postulate the existence of a Berber mother tongue that would actually have laid the foundations for the formation of linguistic variants of Berber. The second author, meanwhile, debated the ideas of the former arguing that different variants or dialects of Berber were in use in regions within the geographical-linguistic Berber environment.

(plural *alsina*, *alsun*) might be equivalent to "language" or "mother tongue", while the term *lugha* (plural *lughāt*) could, with all due caution, indicate the notion of "dialect" or regional and tribal variant.⁴ Having said this, we must acknowledge that these complex issues of learning lie beyond our expertise and, in consequence, we have only been able to point to certain basic elements.

Due to the dispersed nature of the information that has come to light and to the great variety of texts involved, we were obliged to reconnoitre the whole Berber linguistic area and cover a period that begins in the 9th and ends in the 16th century. This working perspective undoubtedly gives rise to various methodological problems and we are aware that the results, placed systematically in their chrono-geographical production context, are sometimes hard to interpret within the framework of a comparison with linguistic features from post-medieval times. This being the case, we have taken the trouble to distinguish between direct linguistic evidence, where the information is formulated by the writers by means of clear indications of the linguistic variants within a geographically tribal framework of Berber; and indirect reports, through which hypotheses and conclusions could be proposed in the light of passages that do not directly formulate the content of the materials sought and then found.

Making oneself understood, the Berber language and socio-linguistic status: some examples

Below we outline some details concerning the problematic of intercomprehension in medieval Maghreb, involving historical and genealogical sources composed in the Almohad period (1130 - 1269). Medieval Maghrebian historiography preserves information about issues relating to the linguistic tools that individuals had at their disposal for making themselves understood within such a vast geographical area as Maghreb. This subject is complex and the accompanying bibliography is voluminous. We will, therefore, only raise general points.

To begin with, we will now see what we are told regarding the Masmudian tribe of the Ganfīsa, who, we are given to understand by written documentation, had a specific status in relation with the fact that they utilised a variant of Berber.⁵ Indeed, the Maghrebian chronicler 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī

⁴ HASSEN, M. Évolution des parlers citadins et ruraux d'Ifriqiya (XI^e-XV^e siècle). In MEOUAK, M., SÁNCHEZ, P., VICENTE, Á. (eds.). *De los manuscritos medievales a internet: la presencia del árabe vernáculo en las fuentes escritas*, 2012, pp. 40–44, on the Berber language in medieval Ifrīqiya.

⁵ About the Ganfisa and other tribes in the medieval Maghreb history, see MONÈS, H. La conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et la résistance berbère. In EL FASI, M. (dir.). HRBEK,

(*circa.* 1270) described the speech employed by the members of the Masmudian tribe as being a Berber dialectal variant, when he said the following: "Then the Ganfīsa: it is a noble and powerful tribe; its dialect is the best of the dialects and the purest in this language {Berber} (*wa-lughatuhā ajwad al-lughāt wa-afṣaḥahā fī dhālika al-lisān*)."⁶ One of the most interesting features of this short item resides in the presence of two main terms to represent the concept of "language", in the shape of *lugha* and *lisān*. We think it is possible to pose the hypothesis by virtue of which we are looking at a dialectal variant (*lugha*), that of the Ganfīsa, elevated to the highest rank of variants within the framework of Berber (*lisān*). This *lisān* would to some degree be the mother tongue, and even a kind of pan-Berber known on a broad regional scale. But, for these brief observations to be admissible, they would have to be re-examined as part of a deeper and more detailed discussion, particularly bearing in mind works by linguists specialising in pre-modern Berber.⁷

In another text from the Almohad period, bearing the signature of al-Baydhaq (end of the 12th century), we find a story that poses the question of intercomprehension between individuals. The $T\bar{a}r\bar{i}kh$ al-muwahhid $\bar{i}n$ echoes a dialogue, between the mahd \bar{i} Ibn Tumart (ob. 1130) and two characters, that basically underlines the need to master languages. Let us study this situation in detail:

"One day, two men arrived on their way East: one was called 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and the other 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Halīm. Questioned by the *imām*, they replied that they had come from Maghreb. And they were, from the moment of their arrival, completely astonished. He asked them: 'What's the matter with you, why don't you speak? (*mā lakumā, lā takallamā*?). We don't understand Arabic (*naḥnu mā nafhamu al-'arabiyya*)', they replied in their language (*bi-lisānihimā*). And they added: 'Oh *faqīh*, we come from Daran, from Tīnmallal!."⁸

For the same Almohad period, we came across an item concerning the use and mastery of various languages including Berber and some sort of "secret"

⁸ AL-BAYDHAQ. Tārīkh al-muwaḥḥidīn, p. 57/88.

I. (codir.). *Histoire générale de l'Afrique* III. *L'Afrique du VIIe au XIe siècle*, 1990, pp. 253–256.

⁶ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ. Kitāb al-muʿjib fī talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib, p. 247, and MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, p. 114.

⁷ There is certainly no short-term resolution for the problematic differences between $lis\bar{a}n$ and lugha. More texts will have to be researched, taking into account the geographical and cultural contexts in which those texts were produced.

language. Thanks to the *Kitāb al-ansāb fī ma'rifat al-aṣhāb* we are able to know something else about this subject that certainly enables a better understanding of situations in which language plays a decisive role and might also serve the political institutions of the day. Indeed, those in political power may be assumed to have used the language question for their own religiously motivated ends, in order to promote Arabic to the detriment of Berber. Perhaps the following example can illustrate our point:

"Mallūl b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣanhājī was likewise adopted by the Hargha following the order of the impeccable *imām* Ibn Tūmart who said to him in the Western language (*bi-l-lisān al-gharbī*): **mallūl an wuhlghū** [= 'in the white robe']. Together with Sulaymān Āḥaḍrī was the secretary of the *imām*. He was eloquent and understood a variety of languages. He wrote in Syriac and in secret characters (*bi-l-suryāniyya wa-l-rumūziyyāt*) as well as in other languages, at which he excelled."⁹

Finally, in relation with the previous item we can add a point about the linguistic notion of 'ujma, or about not expressing oneself correctly, "uttering barbarisms", which illustrates another designation that medieval Arab-Muslim writers gave to other languages such as Berber. This is indeed what we believe to have detected in the *Nufādat al-jirāb fī 'ulālat al-ightirāb* by the Granada historian Ibn al-Khaṭīb (ob. 1374). This work offers a brief compilation profiling an individual, a member of a Sufi brotherhood, who did not speak Arabic (*li-l-ṣūfīyya a'jam al-lisān*) and who, according to the context of the passage, one might conjecture to be a speaker of Berber.¹⁰

Berber language(s), tribes and geographical spaces in medieval Maghreb

We have insisted that Arabic texts provided a substantial amount of information about Berber, and must again point out that there is a close correlation between tribal names, linguistic variants and geographical spaces. However, it must be noted that information about the Arabic intellectual elites' incomprehension of the language and lack of knowledge of Berber peoples

⁹ Kitāb al-ansāb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb. p. 39/59. On the Berber segment, see MARCY, G. Les phrases berbères des "Documents inédits d'histoire almohade". In *Hespéris*, 1932, XIV-1, p. 71. Henceforth, we will write Berber words in bold so that they stand out from other transliterated terms.

¹⁰ IBN AL-KHAŢĪB. Nufādat al-jirāb fī 'ulālat al-ightirāb, p. 78.

frequently crops up in medieval Arabic records.¹¹ It is sufficient to give the example of the verb *tabarbara* employed by Ibadi writers Ibn Sallām al-Ibādī (*circa* 887) and al-Darjīnī (second half of the 13th century): the first one refers to the fact that there ended up "being many (*tabarbarū*) Berbers"¹², and the second assures that Arabs said: "they became barbarian, that is, they multiplied (*tabarbarū* ay kathurū)".¹³ In addition to the latter, another interesting example can be added, taken from the work entitled *Kitāb Mafākhir al-Barbar* (*circa* 14th century), which says, textually: "The Arabs said: gabble, meaning to be brutish (*fa-qālat al-'Arab: barbara, ay tawahhasha*)."¹⁴ Lastly, in the famous *Kitāb al-'ibar* by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khaldūn (ob. 1406), we find reference to the language, or dialect, of the Berbers likened to a mere "non-Arabic jargon", and even described as incomprehensible (*lughatuhum min al-ritāna al-a'jamiyya*).¹⁵

In some medieval Ibadi sources we dug up a story that achieved some success due to its content and possible impact on society. The account contains interesting elements such as a moralising epilogue dealing with the practice of religion and a particular sense of generosity. This is, of course, what we think we detected in the story transmitted by three writers who lived between the 12th and 16th centuries.¹⁶ The main figure in it is an individual who makes some purchases in a market in Ifrīqiya and, among other articles, he acquires some lambs for a specific price. At the end of the transaction, the protagonist comes face to face with the owner of the lambs, who asks him for the amount agreed in exchange for the animals. After a curious dialogue between the two men, the owner requests the money, using the "dialect of the Ṣanhāja"¹⁷ and the buyer gives it to him. In the end, once the operation is over, the buyer gives the lambs and other beasts to another person as alms. The versions of this account are

¹¹ On these topics, see MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, pp. 316, 317.

¹² IBN SALLĀM AL-IBĀDĪ. Kitāb fīhi bad' al-islām wa-sharā'i' al-dīn, p. 123.

¹³ AL-DARJĪNĪ. Kitāb tabaqāt al-mashā'ikh bi-l-Maghrib, Vol. I., p. 17. On the verb *b.r.b.r.*, see COLIN, G. S., Appellations données par les Arabes aux peuples hétéroglosses. In *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*, 1957, Vol. VII., pp. 93–95.

¹⁴ ANONYMOUS. Kitāb Mafākhir al-Barbar, p. 238.

¹⁵ 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN B. KHALDŪN. Kitāb al-'ibar, Vol. VI., p. 104. On these linguistic details, see LUFFIN, X. L'évolution sémantique du terme ritāna dans les parlers arabes soudano-tchadiens. In *Annales Aequatoria*, 2003, Vol. 24, pp. 162–164.

¹⁶ See MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, pp. 324–326.

¹⁷ See PREVOST, V. L'ibadisme berbère. La légitimation d'une doctrine venue d'Orient. In *Annales Aequatoria*, 2003, Vol. 24, pp. 66–67.

almost identical apart from some nuances and they revolve around a keyword: the Berber verb **arrā** (**dha'r**?)¹⁸, which can mean "give", "bring", and even "give back", which in Arabic is $h\bar{a}t/h\bar{a}ti$. We will now look at the versions collected in chronological order¹⁹:

a): al-Wisyānī, a biographer and historian, lived for part of his life in Ajlū (a region of $w\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ Rīgh in the southeast of Algeria) in the 12th century. This writer left us the *Kitāb al-siyar*, in which we find some points about Berber. Below we offer the fragment of the story whose main character was the sage Abū l-Khattāb 'Abd al-Salām b. Mansūr b. Abī Wazjūn al-Mazātī:

"Abū l-Rabī' said: 'Abd al-Salām bought some lambs in a market in Ifrīqiya; their owner came with him to collect the sum of money; he said to him: idha'r! in the dialect of the Ṣanhāja (*bi-lughat* Ṣanhāja), the meaning of which is give!/bring! (*hāt/hāti*)"²⁰

b): al-Darjīnī, a famous writer who was originally from the town of Tamījār in *jabal* Nafūsa (northeast of what is Libya today), is the author of the *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashā'ikh bi-l-Maghrib* composed after the year 1253. In the piece dedicated to our Ibadi sage Abū l-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-Salām b. Manṣūr b. Abī Wazjūn al-Mazātī, al-Darjīnī follows in the footsteps of al-Wisyānī to tell us the story of the buying of the lambs:

"He remembered that 'Abd al-Salām bought a lamb from the market in Ifrīqiya; when he claimed it, its seller turned up to collect the money, and said to him: arrā! And the meaning of this word in the dialect of the Ṣanhāja (*bi-lughat al-Ṣanhāja*) is give!/bring! (*hāt/hāti*)."²¹

c): in the *Kitāb al-siyar* by the historian al-Shammākhī (ob. 1522), who was from a village in the Īfrān oasis in *jabal* Nafūsa, we find the same account of the

¹⁸ We are unaware of the exact sense of the term **dha'r**, the vocalisation of which is hypothetical. We may fairly safely assume that we are dealing with an incorrect spelling of the word **arr** $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$.

¹⁹ For the following information, see also MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, p. 325.

²⁰ AL-WISYĀNĪ. Siyar mashāykh al-Maghrib li-Abī l-Rabī[°] al-Wisyānī, p. 27.

²¹ AL-DARJĪNĪ. Kitāb tabaqāt al-mashā'ikh bi-l-Maghrib, Vol. II., p. 408. On the hero of the story, see PREVOST, V. L'aventure ibādite dans le Sud tunisien (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle). Effervescence d'une région méconnue, p. 208.

lambs in the biography of Abū l-Khattāb 'Abd al-Salām b. Mansūr b. Abī Wazjūn al-Mazātī himself, which we offer below:

"Once, he was said to have bought some lambs in Ifrīqiya; their seller wanted to collect the sum due; he said to him: [arrā!, which means give!/bring! in the dialect of the Ṣanhāja (*bi-lughat Ṣanhāja, hāt/hāti*)."²²

The Berber term **arrā** ($\partial dha'r$?), when compared with the Arabic verb $h\bar{a}t/h\bar{a}ti$, acts as the real key for this section of our study. For, indeed, this suggests that some Berber-speaking writers in medieval Maghreb showed a constant concern to translate or, at least, assist readers not familiar with Berber in understanding certain words, as in the example presented above. If a willingness to translate in order to transmit language and culture produced in Berber leads one to induce a behaviour with substantial roots in Ibadi *milieu*, the sources certainly provide us with some samples of such an engagement.

As a last additional point, we found some information that backs up what has previously been said by various Ibadi authors.²³ For instance, al-Darjīnī devoted a long item about an Ibadi sage called Abū 'Uthmān al-Mazātī al-Dagmī. In this biography details are collected about the linguistic variant of *jabal* Nafūsa, as follows: "His name was known in the Nafusian dialect (*bi-lugha al-nafūsiyya*); when they mentioned him, they said Bāthmān, which means (*ya'nūna*) Abū 'Uthmān."²⁴ Then, in the same text, we find an item that points to the use of the "language of the Berber speakers", contained in a tale featuring Bāthmān himself and a jackal. On this last point, we offer just a brief passage from the account: "Then, he observed a jackal and Bāthmān

²² AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ. Kitāb al-siyar, p. 379.

²³ See also MEOUAK. M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, p. 321.

²⁴ AL-DARJĪNĪ. Kitāb tabaqāt al-mashā'ikh bi-l-Maghrib, Vol. II., p. 308, and PREVOST, V. L'ibadisme berbère. La légitimation d'une doctrine venue d'Orient. In NEF, A., VOGUET, É. (eds.), *La légitimation du pouvoir au Maghreb médiéval. De l'orientalisation à l'émancipation politique*, 2011, pp. 66–67. On these questions, see BRUGNATELLI, V. La classification du parler de Djerba (Tunisie). In CHAKER, S., METTOUCHI, A., PHILIPPSON, G. (eds.). *Études de phonétique et linguistique berbères. Hommage à Naïma Louali (1961–2005)*, 2009, pp. 356–357; *idem*. D'une langue de contact entre Berbères ibadites. In LAFKIOUI, M., BRUGNATELLI, V. (eds.), *Berber in Contact. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 2008, pp. 44–50, on the hypothetical existence of a Berber linguistic *koiné* among the Ibadis of the Maghreb.

spoke some words to it in the language of the Berber speakers (*bi-lisān albarbarivva*) [...]."²⁵

Although items regarding the different variants of Berber tend to appear above all in texts associated with Ibadi circles, on the one hand, and their Almohad counterparts, on the other, and consequently covering a time span stretching from the 8th to the 13th century, it must not be forgotten that there exists a production of interesting works devoted in principle to the study of sanctity and hagiography that also, however, conserve information about the different linguistic varieties of Berber.²⁶ It is the case of Ahmad al-Tādilī al-Sawma'ī (ob. 1604), a Maghrebian writer who left us a bibliographicalhagiographic work largely devoted to the saint Abū I'azzā, in which we encounter information about the speech of the tribe of the Zanāta.²⁷ In the two examples below, we can observe how detailed the references provided are:

a): "I am now with a Masmudian individual standing at the door of the mosque saving to me, in the Zanatian language (*bi-l-lisān al-zanātī*) [...]."²⁸

b): "And he continued to implore, in the Zanatian language (*bi-l-lisān al-zanātī*): ay mazign ay mazign ad rān anzār anzār!; its meaning is (ma'nāhu): Oh my host, oh my lord, my master, my lords there asked me to deliver the prayer seeking rain and it is not in my power!"²⁹

²⁵ AL-DARJĪNĪ. Kitāb tabaqāt al-mashā'ikh bi-l-Maghrib, Vol. II., p. 308. On Bāthmān, see AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ. Kitāb al-siyar, pp. 123–128. Concerning this point, see also LEWICKI, T. Les noms berbères chez les Nafūsa médiévaux (VIII^e-XVI^e siècle). Observations d'un arabisant (première partie). In Folia Orientalia, 1972 – 1973, Vol. XIV., pp. 15–16, 19, 28; *idem*. Les noms berbères chez les Nafūsa médiévaux (VIII^e-XVI^e siècle). Observations d'un arabisant (quatrième partie), p. 108; OULD-BRAHAM, O. Lecture de 24 textes berbères médiévaux extraits d'une chronique ibâdite par T. Lewicki. In Littérature orale arabo-berbère, 1987, Vol. 18, pp. 89-91; idem. Sur une chronique arabo-berbère des Ibâdites médiévaux, pp. 24-25.

²⁶ More details in MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, pp. 92-121 and pp. 297-302.

²⁷ On the Zanāta, see for instance IBN 'AMĪRA, M. Dawr Zanāta fī l-haraka almadhhabiyya bi-l-Maghrib al-islāmī, pp. 15-46; BELLIL, R. Ksour et saints du Gourara dans la tradition orale, l'hagiographie et les chroniques locales, pp. 61-66, mainly for the Southern-West of the central Maghreb and based on 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khaldūn's information, and also MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, pp. 265, 266.

²⁸ AHMAD AL-TADILI AL-ŞAWMA'I. Kitāb al-mu'zā fī manāqib al-shaykh Abī Ya'zā, p. 119. ²⁹ Ibid., p. 128.

In relation to the previous information dedicated to the Berber linguistic variant of the Zanāta's tribe, we can add two informations taken from the chronicler Yaḥyā b. Khaldūn (ob. 1378), brother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn. In the first example, our author mentions the "place name in the language of the Zanāta (*ism al-maḥalla bi-lisān Zanāta*)" about the toponym Tādjrārt (western of what is Algeria today).³⁰ In the second instance, we learn that the founder of the dynasty of the Zayyanids, Yaghmurāsan b. Zayyān, "said in Zanatian 'God only knows' (*fa-qāla bi-l-zanātiyya* **īssant** *Rabbī*)" to people who wanted to see his name engraved on mosques' minarets of Tādjrārt and Agadir (vicinity of Tlemcen).³¹

Turning to the East again, we will focus on an interesting account gathered by Ibn Khallikān (ob. 1282), in his well-known biographical work entitled Wafavāt al-a'vān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān, in which he furnishes important information about the Almoravid sovereign Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (ob. 1106) regarding his linguistic skills. The Middle Eastern writer says that the sovereign did not know the Arabic language (lā ya'rifu al-lisān al-'arabī) and that he was helped by "a secretary who knew the Arabic and Almoravid languages" (wa-kāna lahu kātib va'rifu al-lughatavn al-'arabiyya wa-l-murābitivya).³² Although very infrequent in medieval sources, observations of this kind are quite striking because they highlight socio-linguistic situations that seem to point to the existence of some distance between elites of a precise origin (apparently having an only slight grasp of the Arabic language) and all other social groups who were probably even more challenged when it came to expressing themselves in that language. At that time, for the Almoravid case, we can say that, to start with, the sovereigns were Arabized to only a small degree and, in all probability, continued to use one or another of the Berber variants when they spoke. If we rely on the original provenance of the first Almoravid groups, we could assume that these collectives must have used Zenaga language (a variant of Berber often

³⁰ YAḤYĀ B. KHALDŪN. Kitāb bughyat al-ruwwād fī dhikr al-mulūk min banī 'Abd al-Wād, Vol. I., p. 21.

³¹ Ibid., p. 116. On this data, see a very short mention in MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, p. 155.

³² IBN KHALLIKĀN. Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān. Vol. VII., p. 114. On the genesis of the Almoravid's movement, see BOSCH VILÁ, J. Los Almorávides, pp. 43–62; MEYNIER, G. L'Algérie au cœur du Maghreb classique. De l'ouverture islamoarabe au repli (698 – 1518), pp. 75–91; GHOUIRGATE, M. L'ordre almohade (1120 – 1269). Une nouvelle lecture anthropologique, pp. 35–102, in an interesting chapter titled "Le précédent almoravide: rupture ou continuité ?"; *idem*. Le berbère au Moyen Âge. Une culture linguistique en cours de reconstitution, pp. 585–591, on the use of Berber during the Almoravid period. See also MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, p. 152.

associated with the tribal group of the $Sanh\bar{a}ja$)³³, which is still in use in the southwest of present day Mauritania, and probably, to a lesser extent, utilised the Tashalhīt tongue (south of the Western Maghreb).³⁴

Dialectal Berber variants, language(s) and medieval geographical framework in Maghreb

With the foundation provided by all the linguistic and historical elements offered over these pages, we are of the opinion that all this material could to some degree assist in the re-evaluation of a memory and a culture constructed in the Berber language, qualities that are often striking by their absence from researches on the languages used in medieval Maghreb, and further contribute to the value of participation from the Berber environment to the construction of Maghrebian historical knowledge itself.³⁵

The contents set out for the reader's perusal, with their limitations, provide food for thought on the role of language in the societies of Maghreb. Further, we feel that the information reflected in the study contributes to greater knowledge of the history of Maghreb through the presentation of linguistic building blocks. Between their places of location and areas of use, the variants of Berber form a set of tools intimately bonded with social history. The historian is accordingly able to address some issues such as the depth of the geographical distribution of Berber variants, their real use, morpho-syntactic convergences and divergences between the variants, and so forth. The details provided give a fairly precise notion as to what the linguistic variants, or the dialects documented in the medieval sources were. In this regard, there is a striking

³³ On the zenaga Berber branch, see TAINE-CHEIKH, C. Le zénaga de Mauritanie à la lumière du berbère commun. In LAMBERTI, M., TONELLI, L. (eds.). Afroasiatica Tergestina. Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics, Trieste, April 23–24, 1998, 1999, pp. 299–324.

³⁴ About the tashalhīt, see EL MOUNTASSIR, A. De l'oral à l'écrit, de l'écrit à la lecture. Exemple des manuscrits chleuhs en graphie arabe. In *Études et documents berbères*, 1994, Vol. 11, pp. 149–154; AMAHAN, A. L'écriture en tašlhyt est-elle une stratégie des zawaya ?. In DROUIN, J., ROTH, A. (eds.). À la croisée des études libycoberbères. Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand, 1993, pp. 437– 438; BOUNFOUR, A. Notes sur l'histoire du berbère (Tachelhit). Essai de bilan et perspectives. In DAKHLIA, J. (dir.). Trames de langues. Usages et métissages linguistiques dans l'histoire du Maghreb, 2004 pp. 172–175.

³⁵ For instance, see ROUIGHI, R. The Berbers of the Arabs. In *Studia Islamica*, nouvelle série, 2011, Vol. 1, pp. 82–85.

interest expressed by some writers, chroniclers, biographers or historians in spotlighting items and explaining to us, even simply, the different varieties of Berber present during specific periods and in particular tribal contexts: a) *lisān al-Barbariyya*, *al-lisān al-gharbī*, *al-lisān al-zanātī*, *lisān Zanāta*; b) *lughat (al-) Ṣanhāja*, *al-lugha al-nafūsiyya*; c) *al-ritāna al-a'jamiyya*; d) *a'jam al-lisān*; e) *al-murābiţyya*; f) *al-zanātiyya*. This small collection has demonstrated a larger problem, too, which is the need to establish whether or not there were various Berber languages or simply dialects springing from one mother tongue.³⁶

Thanks to the data provided by Arabic documentation, historians and linguists can continue to delve into the different linguistic variants of medieval Berber through the geographical spaces and modes of settlement in the territories. It seems absolutely necessary, therefore, to proceed with the systematic recollection of anthroponyms, toponyms, oronyms, hagionyms, and ethnonyms, in addition to the common lexicon, in order to incorporate them into reasoned classifications. The principal sources of this excavation would, for instance, be biographical and hagiographic texts, documents produced in Ibadi mediums, all complemented in terms of quality by geographical, historical, legal and literary sources. With help from these materials, it would perhaps be possible to more or less faithfully restore the historical-linguistic characteristics of Berber for concrete regions and for precise periods. Even though the items found are still insufficient for linguists, they certainly can bring to bear some indications concerning the Berber lexicon, morphology and phonology through comparative study with other Berber-speaking zones of southern Maghreb, such as some geographical areas of the Sāhil (Sahel).³⁷ To conclude, the topic can be seen to be very broad and highly complex, and we must acknowledge at the end of this brief exploration that we have no more than scratched the surface of the object under study.

REFERENCES

AHMAD AL-TĀDILĪ AL-ṢAWMAʿĪ. Kitāb al-mu'zā fī manāqib al-shaykh Abī Ya'zā. (ed.). AL-JĀWĪ, ʿA., Agadir: Jāmiʿat Ibn Zuhr, 1996.

³⁶ See a case-study in NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. Notes sur des termes berbères dans Nuzhat al-muštāq d'El-Idrisi. In LAFKIOUI, M., BRUGNATELLI, V. (eds.). *Berber in Contact. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 2008, pp. 16–17.

³⁷ SOUAG, L. Explaining Korandjé. Language contact, plantations, and the trans-Saharan trade. In *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 2015, 30–2, pp. 205–209, 209–214, on some linguistic contacts between Berber and Korandjé (a Songhay language); MEOUAK, M. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses, pp. 361–363, for geographical and historical perspectives on the subject.

- AMAHAN, Ali. L'écriture en *tašlhyt* est-elle une stratégie des zawaya? In DROUIN, J., ROTH, A. (eds.). À la croisée des études libyco-berbères. Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand, Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1993, pp. 437–447.
- ANONYMOUS. Kitāb Mafākhir al-Barbar. (ed.). YA'LĀ, M., Madrid: CSIC, 1996.
- BAYDHAQ (AL-). *Tārīkh al-Muwaḥḥidīn*. (ed. and trans.). LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, É., Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928.
- BELLIL, Rachid. Ksour et saints du Gourara dans la tradition orale, l'hagiographie et les chroniques locales. Algiers: CNRPAH, 2003.
- BOSCH VILÁ, Jacinto. Los Almorávides. Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1956.
- BOUNFOUR, Abdellah. Notes sur l'histoire du berbère (Tachelhit). Essai de bilan et perspectives. In DAKHLIA, J. (dir.). *Trames de langues. Usages et métissages linguistiques dans l'histoire du Maghreb.* Paris: Maisonneuve-et-Larose, 2004, pp. 169–181.
- BRUGNATELLI, Vermondo. D'une langue de contact entre Berbères ibadites. In LAFKIOUI, M., BRUGNATELLI, V. (eds.), *Berber in Contact. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2008, pp. 39–52.
- BRUGNATELLI, Vermondo. La classification du parler de Djerba (Tunisie). In CHAKER, S., METTOUCHI, A., PHILIPPSON, G. (eds.). Études de phonétique et linguistique berbères. Hommage à Naïma Louali (1961–2005). Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2009, pp. 355–368.
- CHAKER, Salem. Dialecte. In *Encyclopédie berbère*, Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, Vol. XV., 1995. pp. 2291–2295.
- COLIN, Georges-Séraphin. Appellations données par les Arabes aux peuples hétéroglosses. In *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*, 1957, Vol. VII., pp. 93–95.
- DARJĪNĪ (AL-). *Kitāb țabaqāt al-mashā'ikh bi-l-Maghrib*. (ed.). ȚALLĀY, I., Constantine: Dār al-baḥth, 1974, Vol. 2.
- EL HOUR, Rachid. Reflexiones acerca de las dinastías bereberes y lengua bereber en el Magreb medieval. In *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos*, 2015, Vol. 64, pp. 43–55.
- EL MOUNTASSIR, Abdellah. De l'oral à l'écrit, de l'écrit à la lecture. Exemple des manuscrits chleuhs en graphie arabe. In *Études et documents berbères*, 1994, Vol. 11, pp. 149–156.
- GALAND, Lionel. La langue berbère existe-t-elle? In Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson, in Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamitosémitiques. Supplément nº 12, Paris: GLECS, 1985, pp. 175–184.
- GALAND, Lionel. Regards sur le berbère. Milano: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici, 2010.
- GHOUIRGATE, Mehdi. L'Ordre almohade (1120 1269). Une nouvelle lecture anthropologique. Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2014.
- GHOUIRGATE, Mehdi. Le berbère au Moyen Âge. Une culture linguistique en cours de reconstitution. In *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2015, Vol. 70–3, pp. 577–605.
- HASSEN, Mohamed. Évolution des parlers citadins et ruraux d'Ifriqiya (XI^e-XV^e siècle). In MEOUAK, M., SÁNCHEZ, P., VICENTE, Á. (eds.). *De los manuscritos*

medievales a internet: la presencia del árabe vernáculo en las fuentes escritas. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2012, pp. 39–60.

- IBN 'AMĪRA, Muḥammad. Dawr Zanāta fī l-ḥaraka al-madhhabiyya bi-l-Maghrib alislāmī. Algiers: SNED, 1984.
- 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN B. KHALDŪN. *Kitāb al-'ibar*. (ed.) Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 2003, Vol. 8.
- IBN KHALLIKĀN. Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān. (ed.). 'ABBĀS, I., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968 1977, Vol. 8.
- IBN AL-KHAŢĪB. *Nufādat al-jirāb fī 'ulālat al-ightirāb*. (ed.). 'ABBĀDĪ, A. M., Casablanca: Dār al-nashr al-maghribiyya, 1985.
- IBN SALLĀM AL-IBĀDĪ. *Kitāb fīhi bad' al-islām wa-sharā'i' al-dīn*. (ed. and trans.) SCHWARTZ, W. and IBN YA'QŪB, S., Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986.
- *Kitāb al-ansāb fī ma'rifat al-aṣhāb* (ed. and trans.). LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, É., Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928.
- LEWICKI, Tadeusz. Les noms berbères chez les Nafūsa médiévaux (VIII^e-XVI^e siècle). Observations d'un arabisant (première partie). In *Folia Orientalia*, 1972 – 1973, Vol. XIV., pp. 5–35.
- LEWICKI, Tadeusz. Le monde berbère vu par les écrivains arabes du Moyen-Âge. In GALLEY, M., MARSHALL, D. R. (eds.). Actes du premier congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère (Malte, 3-6 avril 1972). Algiers: SNED, 1973, pp. 31–42.
- LEWICKI, Tadeusz. Les noms berbères chez les Nafūsa médiévaux (VIII^e-XVI^e siècle). Observations d'un arabisant (quatrième partie). In *Folia Orientalia*, 1990, Vol. XXVII., pp. 107–136.
- LUFFIN, Xavier. L'évolution sémantique du terme *rițāna* dans les parlers arabes soudano-tchadiens. In *Annales Aequatoria*, 2003, Vol. 24, pp. 159–177.
- MARCY, Georges. Les phrases berbères des "Documents inédits d'histoire almohade". In *Hespéris*, 1932, XIV-1, pp. 61–77.
- MARRĀKUSHĪ (AL-). *Kitāb al-mu'jib fī talkhīş akhbār al-Maghrib*. (ed.). DOZY, R.P.A., Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968.
- MEOUAK, Mohamed. La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval. Textes, contextes, analyses. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016.
- MEYNIER, Gilbert. L'Algérie au cœur du Maghreb classique. De l'ouverture islamoarabe au repli (698–1518). Paris: La Découverte, 2010.
- MONÈS, Hussain. La conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et la résistance berbère. In EL FASI,
 M. (dir.). HRBEK, I. (codir.). *Histoire générale de l'Afrique III. L'Afrique du VII^e au XI^e siècle*, Paris: Éditions UNESCO, 1990, pp. 250–272.
- NAÏT-ZERRAD, Kamel. Notes sur des termes berbères dans *Nuzhat al-muštāq* d'El-Idrisi. In LAFKIOUI, M., BRUGNATELLI, V. (eds.). *Berber in Contact. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2008, pp. 11–18.
- OULD-BRAHAM, Ouahmi. Lecture de 24 textes berbères médiévaux extraits d'une chronique ibâdite par T. Lewicki. In *Littérature orale arabo-berbère*, 1987, Vol. 18, pp. 87–125.
- OULD-BRAHAM, Ouahmi. Sur une chronique arabo-berbère des Ibâdites médiévaux. In *Études et documents berbères*, 1988, Vol. 4, pp. 5–28.

- PREVOST, Virginie. L'aventure ibādite dans le Sud tunisien (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle). *Effervescence d'une région méconnue*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2008.
- PREVOST, Virginie. L'ibadisme berbère. La légitimation d'une doctrine venue d'Orient. In NEF, A., VOGUET, É. (eds.), La légitimation du pouvoir au Maghreb médiéval. De l'orientalisation à l'émancipation politique. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011, pp. 55–71.
- ROUIGHI, Ramzi. The Berbers of the Arabs. In *Studia Islamica*, nouvelle série, 2011, Vol. 1, pp. 67–101.
- SHAMMĀKHĪ (AL-). Kitāb al-siyar. (ed.). HASAN, M., Tunis: Jāmi'at Tūnis al-ūlā, 1995.
- SOUAG, Lameen. Explaining Korandjé. Language contact, plantations, and the trans-Saharan trade. In *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 2015, 30–2, pp. 189–224.
- TAINE-CHEIKH, Catherine. Le zénaga de Mauritanie à la lumière du berbère commun. In LAMBERTI, M., TONELLI, L. (eds.), *Afroasiatica Tergestina. Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics, Trieste, April 23–24, 1998.* Padova: Unipress, 1999, pp. 299–324.
- WISYĀNĪ (AL-). Siyar mashāykh al-Maghrib li-Abī l-Rabī' al-Wisyānī. (ed.). AL-'ARABĪ, I., Algiers: SNED, 1985.
- YAHYĀ B. KHALDŪN. *Kitāb bughyat al-ruwwād fī dhikr al-mulūk min banī 'Abd al-Wād*. (ed.) BEL, A., Algiers: Pierre Fontana imprimeur-éditeur, 1903, Vol. I.

INTERVIEW

NEW BOOK ABOUT MARIÁN GÁLIK WAS PUBLISHED IN BEIJING

Daniela ZHANG CZIRÁKOVÁ Institute of Oriental Studies Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava Slovakia danielazhang@hotmail.com Marián GÁLIK Institute of Oriental Studies Slovak Academy of Sciences Klemensova 19, 813 64 Slovakia galikm2@gmail.com

This is an interview with Dr. Marián Gálik at the occasion of publishing the book concerning to his research written by Mrs. Yang Yuying. Dr. Gálik mentions here his lifelong work in the field of Chinese studies, his studies of sinology at Charles University in Prague and the whole atmosphere of Prague sinology in the time of his studies, the situation in modern and contemporary Chinese literature, influence of Western intellectual history on modern and contemporary Chinese literature.

Keywords: sinology, Chinese literature, comparative literature

Daniela Zhang Cziráková: I met Dr. Marián Gálik when I started to study sinology at the Comenius University in 1988. He was, together with Dr. Anna Doležalová, one of the founders of Chinese studies in Slovakia and I was one of the first students in this field. He devoted a large part of his life to research contemporary Chinese literature, what was also one of the subjects taught by him at the university. I remember very clearly also his lessons of Chinese philosophy, classical Chinese, his views and opinions which he here he presented his views not only on Chinese philosophy and literature. Few years after completing doctoral studies at Charles University in 2002, in 2010 I started working at the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, where Dr. Marián Gálik worked, so I became his younger colleague.

D.Z.: Mr. Gálik, you are regarded as a renowned Sinologist among the one or two hundred well-known scholars who have been mentioned in at least two Chinese surveys¹, since the beginning of Sinology from the end of the 16th century to this day. According to available information, you are the first foreigner, about whom a book has been written by the Chinese during his lifetime. Books about others have usually been written after their deaths. It was last year in August of 2015 when in the Sinological History Series of the Xueyuan chubanshe 学苑出版社社 Academic Publishers, Beijing, an extensive publication by Mrs. Professor Yang Yuying 杨玉英 entitled Mali'an Gaolike de hanxue yanjiu 马立安。高利克的汉学研究 Sinological Studies of Marián Gálik was published. Could you say a few words about the creation of this book?

M.G.: I met Mrs. Yang at a conference in the city of Jinan in Shandong province in 2010. Here she read a presentation about my Prague teacher Professor Jaroslav Průšek which intrigued me very much. We got into a conversation of which I found out, that she was quite well informed of my work. She became even more intensively interested in my work after a year or two. I was sending her my works that were not found in Chinese libraries. She received two grants from her university in Leshan in Xichuan province in order to finish her 489 pages long book. This monograph mainly deals with the analyses of my books and studies. The first chapter, about my sixty years long study of Sinology between the years 1953 - 2012 was written by me. The whole book was written as a *hommage* to my eightieth birthday in 2013. Due to some editorial and other changes it was published later than had been expected. Because of her modesty, the moment of surprise and secrecy, she never informed me of her work and I am immensely grateful to her for it.

D.Z.: As you just mentioned, Professor Yang Yuying deals with the presentation of your scholarly work in detail, starting with your studies at Charles University. The biggest part of this book is devoted to the research of modern and contemporary Chinese literature in China and also in the West. It is a well-known fact, that Sinologists have done a great deal of research, not only in the field of modern and contemporary Chinese literature, but also in other areas of Chinese culture. Why is it that your works are being translated into Chinese and are serving as teaching materials at major Chinese universities?

¹ Available from http://bbs.tianya.cn/post-364-11521-1.shtml and www.fyeedu.net/info/ 133003-1.htm [cit. 20 June 2016].

M.G.: According to the initial plan of the author, the book was to only contain my work in the field of modern and contemporary Chinese literature. It was probably the initiative of the chief editor of the book series published by Academic Publishers Yan Chunde 阎纯德, professor of Beijing University and expert on the works of the first Slovak sinologists Dr. Anna Doležalová-Vlčková (1935 - 1992) and me. He wished that the book would cover my entire Sinological writings. With the substantial financial support of Hong Kong's patron Mr. Wu Zhiliang 吴志良 this became possible and the book was published in its current form. On your question, why are my works often translated into Chinese, one can only reply that there was a need for it in Chinese academe because my work complements what was missing in it or it was providing different analyses. Especially my works, that were published in English between the years 1969 – 1986 which have presented a different point of view for Chinese experts in the fields of modern Chinese literature. literative thinking and in comparative literature. After the Cultural Revolution (1966 -1976) and before opening China to the world in the 1980s, they did not know enough of it. If they knew, they did not dare to write, or rather they could not. Marxism whether in Leninist or in Maoist understanding closed their eves and they were surprised how their older colleagues from the time before 1949, prior to the foundation of the People's Republic of China, managed to build on the literary legacy of classical Greece and Rome, Renaissance, Neoclassicism, Romanticism, Naturalism, Realism, Symbolism, Expressionism and various avant-garde trends. My book The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917 - 1930), published in English ends in the year in which the Marxistoriented Left League of Chinese writers was established. Its Chinese version appeared twice: once in 1997 and the other in 2000. My second book *Milestones in Chinese-Western Literary Confrontation (1898 – 1978)* was also published in Chinese in two editions in 1990 and in 2008. Also, my two other books were published in Chinese: Jieke he Siluofake hanxue yanjiu 捷克和斯 洛伐克汉学研究 Sinological Research in Bohemia and in Slovakia, in Beijing in 2009 by the Academic Publishers in Beijing, and the translation of Professor Yang Yuying of my Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism that originally appeared in English in Wiesbaden in 1969 and in Chinese in Taipei in 2014. Until now on the basis of possibly incomplete bibliographic data, one hundred eighteen of my articles or chapters from my books, and also four of my books have been published in Chinese.

D.Z.: You studied in Prague under Professor Průšek. Was it he, who brought you to modern literature? To what degree has the Prague school, whether sinological or comparative influenced you?

M.G.: It was not in the habit of Professor Průšek to propose or specify the topics of themes that his students should study or work on. I was far more interested in old Chinese history and philosophy, but I became ill in the last years of my studies and due to the illness I had to spend more than six months in hospital and in a sanatorium. This made me decide on new literature that was due to the language easily understandable. Especially in Prague for this kind of literature was relative abundant material. I am of course, one of the members of the Prague Sinological School led by Průšek, but during my years in Prague (1953 – 1958) comparative literature was regarded as bourgeois quasi-science and I started to be engaged in it later in 1964. With the exception of Frank Wollman and Jan Mukařovský, none of my Czech comparatists made an impression on me. Firstly, I was taught by American and French, then Russian and my last but foremost friend Dionýz Ďurišin.

D.Z.: Chinese literature from the first half of the 20th century was very strongly influenced by Western literature and culture. To what extent did this fact reflect positively or negatively on the quality of literary works?

M.G.: A responsible answer to your question would be writing a whole monograph. I wrote three books about Chinese literature as I have mentioned before. A part of my work is relating to the young Chinese intellectuals who were influenced by Western intellectual history. Predominantly I was writing about the German Geistesgechichte. I compiled a book of bibliography entitled Preliminary Research-Guide: German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual *History*, Munich 1971. I wrote several studies about others in English and these studies were also partly published in Chinese. Overall we can assert that Chinese literature and Chinese intellectual history from the end of the 19th century until the 1930s should be considered as valuable. Later stages of development did not attain such standards, but still there were some remarkable works written during this period. But, after Mao Zedong's total domination over Chinese culture in 1956 there was little quality overall and the excellent published works were unduly criticised and their writers ruthlessly persecuted. Some kind of relieve occurred in the years 1984 – 1988, but it was in 1989 after suppressing Tiananmen Square student protests, that asked for more academic freedom and democracy did the situation deteriorated again. Later on there were also some good works written, but they could not offend the cultural policy or the interests of the Communist Party.

D.Z.: In Mrs. Yang's book a lot of space is dedicated to three writers, Lu Xun (1881 - 1936), Guo Moruo (1892 - 1979) and Mao Dun (1896 - 1981). This trio is well known and their works were translated in the former Czechoslovakia.

As can be seen from the quoted material, you paid them in your work the biggest attention. What do you say to the fact, that some Chinese literary scholars from the end of the last century and from the early years of this century doubted their importance in Chinese literature and also the sunny side they were put in.

M.G.: Yes, there were some doubts. Surely you are familiar with the Latin proverb "De omnibus est dubitandum" (Everything must be doubted). Supposedly it comes from Aristotle, but certainly it was used by many others like Descartes, Kierkegaard and also Marx, whose teachings could not be questioned during my younger years. Such actions could lead to unpleasant penalties at the time during Communist rule. Frankly, not about everything, but some doubts are certainly possible and welcome. In China, such doubts started after the adequate development of comparative literature in the 1980s when scholars and even writers realised, where and in what can be Chinese literature compared to European or American literature and especially with its postrealistic modernist tendencies. Many have been mentioned, such as Lao She (1899 – 1966), whose best novel *Rickshaw*, was translated into Slovak by me in 1962 and it was published in two more editions. Also those, who were prohibited from writing up to the end of the Cultural Revolution, have been mentioned. A great enthusiasm for spreading Lu Xun's work to the world began in 2011 led by his grandson Zhou Lingfei. The Chinese started with an intensive propagation of his work at international conferences. But because of the lack of success recently, they partially abandoned from this trend. Guo Moruo ruined his reputation in poetry and in cultural history with his excessive adherence to Marxism and to Maoism and finally also with his devotion to the infamous Cultural Revolution. However, his achievements in the area of literature, social sciences and especially in Chinese archaeology should not be forgotten.

D.Z.: Your scholarly work involves in particular the research of Mao Dun's works, whom you probably knew personally. Which of his works left the biggest impression on you and why?

M.G.: I knew Mao Dun, writer and long time minister of culture of PRC, personally. He read a long abstract of my dissertation, which was recommended to him by Professor Průšek. After we started communicating and meeting, he read and revised my articles written in Chinese to the end of my stay in Beijing. His numerous works that informed Chinese readers of foreign and especially of European literary, made the biggest impression upon me and it had a great response throughout China. From his creative writings I have to mention his novel *Twilight*, describing Shanghai and it's surrounding in the year 1930.

Already in my early childhood I admired mythically tinged biblical stories about Patriarch Jacob and King David. Mao Dun created in his novel a modern replica of the Scandinavian myth Ragnarok (Twilight of the Gods). New gods of the pantheon led by the mythical giant Thrym decided to bring an end to the rule of the old gods. They failed like the Shanghai workers led by the communists lost their battle with the Chinese capitalists. Before that, he wrote a whole book on Northern mythology.

D.Z.: Mrs. Yang's publication mainly deals with your contribution in the research of modern Chinese literature, but comparative studies represent an important subject of your interest.

M.G.: I am predominantly a literary comparatist. I was inspired by Harvard University Professor Harry Levin's motto "What is literature, if not comparative?" Most of my studies, reviews, reports from congresses and from conferences, which I wrote for over 50 years of my scholarly career, are comparative. Practically, nearly all my works have a comparative character. Both those that are dealing with modern as well as with traditional Chinese literature.

D.Z.: Currently your research is dealing with the impact of the Bible upon Chinese literature. Could you describe this impact on Chinese literature?

M.G.: It is not only now, but I have been dealing with this kind of research for more than a quarter-century. I am also conducting my research concerned with typological similarities and differences between Chinese and Hebrew culture in the years around 1000 - 476 B. C. This area has not been studied among Western Sinologists so far. The influence of the Bible upon modern and contemporary Chinese literature cannot be compared with the works of classical literature of Greece or Rome, European classicism or with later literary movements, but Bible, as a great piece of world literature, appealed to Chinese poets, novelists, playwrights and to literary scholars to a great extent.

D.Z.: You are also the founder of the Slovak Sinology. It was thanks to you, that Chinese studies were opened at the FFUK in 1988 for the first time. How do you feel about its beginnings?

M.G.: There were two of us at the founding: besides me, there was also Dr. Anna Doležalová-Vlčková. I had to work out the plans for the whole study, give lectures on ancient Chinese literature, history, philosophy and also on intercultural communication. After twelve years, I retired. My three students are

working at the Comenius University now and you in our Institute of Oriental Studies.

D.Z.: How has your worldview changed after contact with Chinese culture and its philosophy? Or, in other worlds, did China as such change you?

M.G. If you understand under the worldview system of ethical, philosophical, religious and social values, if they are not condemnable, they are in some measure different in particular cultural circles. They are more or less differentiated, but because of the need of mutual understanding among these cultures, we have to regard them as equal. I have learned much from Chinese culture, but I stayed loyal to the heritage of my forefathers, by that I mean to our Euro-American cultural sphere, even though I appreciate the Chinese contribution to my intellectual development very much.

D.Z.: There are opinions alike that a small country such as Slovakia, cannot afford to develop fields, for instance, Sinology appearing in the media from time to time. You and your lifetime works are evidence that similar views are wrong and misled. Could you comment on this?

M.G.: I heard such opinions about Oriental studies even fifty years ago. What are Oriental studies good for, when we did not have colonies? Did our Central-European neighbours have colonies? They developed Oriental studies or Sinology for one century or for more before us! We really have to deal with studying Asian and African countries as long as our State budget and also well prepared scientific and pedagogical personnel allows. Unfortunately, we are considerably lagging behind and in this field, we appear in one of the last places in EU.

D.Z.: *Thank you for the interview.*

BOOK REVIEWS

SORBY Karol Jr.: *Iraqi Politics in the Shadow of the Military (1936 – 1941)*. Dresden: WELTBUCH Verlag. GmbH, 2014, 163 pp. ISBN 978-3-906212-11-1.

I am following the publications of the Slovak historian and Arabist Karol Sorby Jr., since he in 2006 successfully defended his PhD. thesis of which I had been one of the examiners. I can mention his scientific monograph *The Arabs, Islām and the Challenges of the Present Times* (2007), then he edited a collection of scientific articles *The Arab World in the Changing Times* (2009), afterwards he was co-author of his father Professor Karol Sorby, in publishing a monograph *The Middle East in International Politics* (2011). He publishes on a regular basis, in English and in Slovak, scientific articles relative to the modern and contemporary history of the Fertile Crescent states, especially Iraq and Syria. This activity is very praiseworthy, as in Slovakia there are still only a few specialists who deal with the scientific research of the Arab world where the problems of Iraq belong. It must be stressed that from his publication benefits the learned public in the Czech Republic.

Within this scope is also the author's monograph under review *Iraqi Politics in the Shadow of the Military (1936 – 1941)*, which was published in the WELTBUCH Publishing House in Dresden (Germany). This work in a way puts an end to the author's preparation made in the form of scientific articles and makes it possible for the wider public to become acquainted with the results of the author's research work not only in Central Europe, but in the Anglophone world as well.

Research of the political activities of army officers in the Arab countries, which since 1936 were realised by means of military coups, is still alive, as we can witness in the example of Egypt after the overthrow of President Husnī Mubārak. Karol Sorby Jr. paid particular attention to the classical case of active interference of Iraqi army officers in the course of the country's political events in the years 1936 – 1941. It is necessary to stress that it was precisely the monarchical Iraq which first experienced the classical military coup in October 1936. The author succeeded within a relatively limited space and a known subject in bringing new facts to the examined problems. As well as being a master of detail, the author is also able to change focus on key periods and key events. The deep and close knowledge of the problems are a result of many years of study and personal experience of the Arab East where he spent several long-term stays. It is necessary to appreciate the precise and very reliable scientific transcription of Arab proper names. Considering the great number of personalities listed in the monograph, for better orientation the index of names, the genealogy of the Hāshimī family and lists of Iraqi cabinets in the given period are attached.

Karol Sorby Jr. in his work uses a wide heuristic base: the list of sources and literature points to an extraordinary understanding of all issues related to the subject, and for both the scholars and students will be a reliable guide for further study. In particular it is necessary to appreciate the usage of Arab sources and books which comprises 33 titles. The author divided his monograph into three chapters. Following the preface, where he analyses the used sources, and the introduction, where he analyses the foundation of the Iraqi state and its army after the First World War, he proceeds to the essence of the problem. In the first chapter he deals with the military coup led by Lieutenant General Bakr Ṣidqī and follows the subsequent political development inspired by the wave of Iraqi nationalism until the murder of Bakr Ṣidqī in August 1937 and the following resignation of Prime Minister Hikmat Sulaymān. In the second chapter the author analyses the political development of the country before the Second World War, when the reins of power were in the hands of pro-British politicians. In the third chapter the author deals with the dramatic events that led to the activation of nationalist forces and to the notorious rebellion of the four Colonels, known as the "Golden Square", at the beginning of April 1941, which was forcibly suppressed by the British military in May 1941.

The work *Iraqi Politics in the Shadow of the Military (1936 – 1941)* fulfils all standards set on a monograph of this kind. This monograph means a qualitative enrichment of our historical literature, and both for scholars and students will be a reliable guide for further study. The Sorby's monograph under review is an excellent historical work surpassing the standard level of works treating the same subject. It will undoubtedly find its place in the wider scientific research of Near Eastern history in the twentieth century.

Eduard Gombár

ALYILMAZ, Cengiz: *İpek Yolu Kavşağının Ölümsüzlük Eserleri*. [The Deathless Monuments of the Silk Road]. Ankara: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2015. X+646 p. ISBN 978-975-442-676-2.

The Silk Road extended from China to Anatolia and was a fertile cultural intermediary and highly important trade road, which reached Europe via the Mediterranean Sea. Many states and civilisations were established along this road over time and have left precious valuable heritage for the history of humanity. East Turkestan mentioned in this work as a crossroads of the Silk Road was the regional connection between China and Central Asia.

This work is based upon two projects. The first project with the title of 'The Runic Inscriptions in the Turfan Region' was undertaken between 2009 – 2013 by three researchers: Prof. Dr. Cengiz Alyilmaz (project coordinator) (Atatürk University), Prof. Dr. Luo Xin (Beijing University), Prof. Dr. Li Xiao (Centre of Turfan Studies in Beijing). The other project started in 2013 and was undertaken by the same researchers (cooperative coordinators) titled 'Epigraphic and Photogrammetric Researches about Inscriptions in the People's Republic of China, Central Asian Turkic Groups and the Russian Federation'. Overall, this work studies movable and unmovable cultural properties and runic inscriptions in Turfan region.

The book consists of four parts. The part I briefly touch on is the project 'The Runic Inscriptions in the Turfan Region' and contributors to this project (pp. 1 - 10).

Part II informs of Turk (突厥 *tu-jue* in Chinese sources) and Chinese relations in the period of the first and second Turk Qaghanate and Uighur Qaghanate (pp. 11 - 22). This part sensitively combines the primary sources written by Turks with Chinese sources in valuably suggestive way.

Part III and IV discuss written documents and movable and unmovable cultural properties situated in Turfan or the crossroad of the Silk Road. In this part useful highquality photographs are presented along with pictures and studies of the movable and unmovable cultural properties situated in Turfan (pp. 23 - 216). These cultural properties are examined under eight main topics: 1. petroglyphs, 2. obelisks, 3. cairns and necropolises, 4. sculptures, 5. sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage, 6. town remains and ancient architecture, 7. items for daily use, 8. inscriptions. These cultural properties provide researchers a holistic view of cultural properties in the East Turkestan region, these works show the existence of cultural properties except for written culture.

Part IV contains information, which is especially remarkable for philologists. This part provides publications of inscriptions found in the Turfan region by the author and project team (pp. 217 - 614). Hereunder, a description of 18 inscriptions and theirs original and 'reproduction' photographs were submitted. Besides this, transcriptions of every inscription were carefully prepared and theirs texts were translated with an explanation in Turkish. Some of the analysed inscriptions are shared with readers for the first time.

In this work these runic are examined (in this book 'Kök(türk)') inscriptions: 1. Inscription of Yemiš Tutuq, 2. Inscription of Yorči, 3. Inscription of Qarı Čor Tegin, 4. Inscription of Qutlug Qunçuy, 5. Inscription of Šariputri, 6. Inscription of Tudun, 7. Inscription of Ay Täg, 8. Inscription of Ay Bäg, 9. Inscriptions of Körü (I – II), 10. Inscriptions of Yilig Čor (I – II), 11. Inscription of Ençkü, 12. Inscription of Beš Balıq, 13. Inscription of Ellük, 14. Inscription of Išar, 15. Inscription of Atač, 16. Inscription of Ay, 17. Inscription of Šakyamuni, 18. Other small inscriptions. The Author explains entitling at the beginning of each inscription's explanation. The problems connected with entitling of inscriptions are thus to a large extend precluded.

The works on runic texts are proceeding at the present time. Philologists should do many researches on this topic. This work without doubt will contribute to literature on Old Turkic philology. Moreover, the work is endowed with quite clear and highpixelated photographs and this feature increases its value. The topic of the so far undiscovered inscriptions in East Turkestan will certainly arouse interest of researchers working on Old Turkic philology.

Erdem Uçar