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# **ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES**

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of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Bratislava**

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## **ARTICLES**

## RULES OF OCCURRENCE OF THE PASSIVE SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS IN MAORI

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When transforming the active verb into the passive, we have to choose one of a variety of the passive suffix allomorphs. Their number is put by H. W. Williams<sup>1</sup> as high as 17 (-a, -ia, -hia, -kia, -mia, -ngia, -ria, -tia, -whia, -na, -nga, -ina, -hina, -kina, -whina). However, here only the 12 allomorphs as given by B. Biggs<sup>2</sup> (-a, -ia, -hia, -kia, -mia, -ngia, -ria, -tia, -whia, -na, -nga, -ina) are taken into account as the remaining 5 are lacking from the data examined.

As far as the present author knows, no attempts have been undertaken to formulate rules determining the occurrence of the passive suffix allomorphs in Classical Maori. The views of the two aforementioned linguists on this subject are contradictory. H. W. Williams states that „...*nga* appears to be used with verbs ending in *-ai*, *mia* with those ending in *-o* and *-u*, *ina* those ending in *-a*; but in all cases other terminations also are used. For the rest it is questionable whether any rule can be formulated. Usage varies so much in different parts of the country that it appears to be a mere matter of custom, some regard being had to euphony“.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, B. Biggs regards the individual allomorphs as morphemically determined.<sup>4</sup> The present author has arrived at the conclusion that the various allomorphs of the passive suffix are, to a considerable extent, conditioned by formal properties of verbs concerned. A certain degree of freedom in choice of one of the 12 allomorphs (many verbs occur with more than one passive suffix variant) is no obstacle in formulating a statistical rule of occurrence. Such a rule does not reflect a one-to-one correspondence between the two classes of units but reflects the existence of a tendency. It is intuitively unacceptable to suppose that the passive formations of hundreds or thousands of verbs are deprived of any regularity and that the choice

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. Wellington 1957, p. XX.

<sup>2</sup> B. Biggs, *The Structure of New Zealand Maori*. Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1961), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Williams, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> B. Biggs, *o.c.*, p. 33.

of an allomorph of the passive suffix is to be defined as morphemically conditioned only. One-to-one correspondences are exceptional in grammar and, besides, they can be changed by the constant development of language. That is why any grammatical rule is at least potentially probabilistic. It would be highly desirable that the validity of grammatical rules be stated in probability terms. This is meant by I. A. Melchuk when he requires that linguistics should have at its disposal a quantitative measure of exactness of its statements.<sup>5</sup>

This paper is an attempt to formulate a set of statistical rules for the occurrence of the passive allomorphs in Classical Maori. The rules are formulated in such a way that the individual passive allomorphs are regarded as dependent while the respective verb classes as independent variables. These classes have been defined in purely formal terms. All the rules are of this form: A verb belonging to a class exhibiting a formal property X is to be transformed into passive as verb + passive suffix allomorph Y with such and such a probability P, or  $V_x \rightarrow V_x + Y (P = \langle 0.51; 1 \rangle)$ . The paper is based on the corpus of data of 753 verbs that occur in passive in the H. W. Williams' dictionary of Maori. Therefore, the results are valid for Classical Maori only. All the 753 verbs have been tentatively classified into the following formal classes: 1) bivocalic monomorphemic verbs; 2) derived verbs; 3) composed verbs.

Neither reduplicated verbs nor causative non-derived and non-composed verbs have been taken into account because they are transformed into the passive in much the same way as the respective bivocalic monomorphemic verbs. In this paper, independent verbs only are examined. Instances in which the addition of a passive allomorph is caused by the congruency need not be analyzed because they always combine with the allomorph -tia. A verb occurring as an adjunct of another verb takes -tia, even if, when occurring independently, it takes another passive allomorph (e.g. *poi haere* → passive voice *poi-a haere-tia* but *haere* → *haere-a*). Thus, the first rule can be formulated as follows:

$$(R\ 1)\ Verb + Adjunct \rightarrow Verb - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ \dots \\ ina \end{array} \right\} + Adjunct\text{-}tia$$

After several experiments, the tentative classification of verbs given above has been modified so as to obtain the following classes:

- 1) bivocalic monomorphemic verbs ending in -a (*Sa*);
- 2) bivocalic monomorphemic verbs ending in -e (*Se*);
- 3) bivocalic monomorphemic verbs ending in -i (*Si*);
- 4) bivocalic monomorphemic verbs ending in -o (*So*);
- 5) bivocalic monomorphemic verbs ending in -u (*Su*);
- 6) long verbs, i.e. derived and composed verbs (*L*).

<sup>5</sup> I. A. Melchuk, *Statistika i zavisimost roda francuzskikh sushchestvitelnykh ot ikh okonchaniiia*. Voprosy statistiki rechi. Leningrad 1958, p. 129.

This division is still insufficient in a few points. Thus, *So* is to be divided into *Sao* (verbs of the shape  $a(C_2)o$  or  $C_1aC_2o$  where  $C_1 \neq ng$  and  $C_2 \neq k$ ), into *Soo* (verbs of the shape  $C_1oC_2o$  where  $C_1 \neq m, r$  and  $C_2 \neq h, k, m, ng$ ), into *Sko* (verbs ending in *-ko*), and into *So'* (the rest of *So* verbs); *L* is to be subdivided into *Lki* (verbs ending in *-oki, -aki*), into *Lu* (verbs the vocalic skeleton of which is  $_{u\cdot}(u-u)-u-u$ ), and into *L'* (the rest of *L* verbs).

We have mentioned above that many verbs contained in the H. W. Williams' Dictionary occur with more than one passive suffix allomorph. We do not list such a verb among exceptions provided at least one of the passive allomorphs compatible is regular, i.e. conforms to a rule.

Out of the verbs of the class *Sa* (60 items in the data examined) 50 occur either with *-a* or *-ia*, and *-ina*. These 3 allomorphs seem to be in free variation with the verbs of the class *Sa*. If this is the case, we may formulate the following rule:

$$(R\ 2)\ Sa \rightarrow Sa-\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ ia \\ ina \end{array} \right\} (P = 0.83)$$

10 verbs of *Sa* do not conform to this rule:

<i>aha</i>	$\rightarrow aha-tia$	<i>oma</i>	$\rightarrow oma-kia$
<i>ara</i>	$\rightarrow ara-\left\{ \begin{array}{l} hia \\ tia \end{array} \right\}$	<i>peha</i>	$\rightarrow peha-tia$
<i>hora</i>	$\rightarrow hora-hia$	<i>raa</i>	$\rightarrow raa-\left\{ \begin{array}{l} hia \\ ngia \end{array} \right\}$
<i>hura</i>	$\rightarrow hora-hia$	<i>tena</i>	$\rightarrow tena-tia$
<i>mea</i>	$\rightarrow mea-tia$	<i>whera</i>	$\rightarrow whera-hia$
	<i>mei-nga</i>		

63 verbs of the total 65 of *Se* occurred with *-a*. In this instance, the probability of our rule is very high, i.e. 0.97:

$$(R\ 3)\ Se \rightarrow Se-a\ (P = 0.97)$$

2 verbs form the passive voice in an aberrant way:

$$hee \rightarrow hee-nga \quad pihe \rightarrow pihe-tia$$

As 71 out of the total 86 of *Si* occurred with *-a*, the probability of the rule  $P = 0.84$ .  
15 verbs take another allomorph.

The rule is as follows:

$$(R\ 4)\ Si \rightarrow Si-a\ (P = 0.84).$$

The following verbs do not conform to the above rule:

<i>ai</i>	$\rightarrow ai-tia$	<i>puri</i>	$\rightarrow puri-tia$
<i>awhi</i>	$\rightarrow awhi-tia$	<i>rapi</i>	$\rightarrow rapi-hia$
<i>haki</i>	$\rightarrow haki-na$	<i>ringi</i>	$\rightarrow ringi-hia$
<i>hiki</i>	$\rightarrow hiki-tia$	<i>taki</i>	$\rightarrow taki-na$
<i>huri</i>	$\rightarrow huri-hia$	<i>tangi</i>	$\rightarrow tangi-hia$
<i>kai</i>	$\rightarrow kai-nga$	<i>ti</i>	$\rightarrow ti-nga$

*kini* → *kini-tia*      *tiki* → *tiki-na*  
*piki* → *piki-tia*

All the 7 verbs of the class *Sao* occurred with the allomorph *-hia*:

(R 5) *Sao* → *Sao-hia* (P = 1)

Similarly, the verbs of the class *Soo* (numbering 7) all occurred with *-a*:

(R 6) *Soo* → *Soo-a* (P = 1)

The 4 verbs of the class *Sko* form the passive voice by means of the variant *-na*:

(R 7) *Sko* → *Sko-na* (P = 1)

No satisfactory rule could be discovered for the rest of the verbs ending in *-o* (class *So'*). All the 28 verbs belonging here are to be listed as exceptions:

<i>ero</i>	→ <i>ero-a</i>	<i>poo</i>	→ <i>poo-ngaia</i>
<i>hao</i>	→ <i>hao-a</i>	<i>rongo</i>	→ <i>rango-na</i>
<i>io</i>	→ <i>io-a</i>	<i>roro</i>	→ <i>roro-kia</i>
<i>kino</i>	→ <i>kino-ngaia</i>	<i>tao</i>	→ <i>tao-na</i>
<i>komo</i>	→ <i>komo-tia</i>	<i>tio</i>	→ <i>tio-a</i>
<i>koo</i>	→ <i>koo-ia</i>	<i>tiro</i>	→ <i>tiro-hia</i>
<i>meto</i>	→ <i>meto-a</i>	<i>tito</i>	→ <i>tito-a</i>
<i>miro</i>	→ <i>miro-a</i>	<i>tomo</i>	→ <i>tomo-kia</i>
<i>mono</i>	→ <i>mono-kia</i>	<i>too</i>	→ <i>too-</i> { <i>ia</i> <i>kia</i> <i>ngia</i> }
<i>moto</i>	→ <i>moto-kia</i>	<i>wero</i>	→ <i>wero-hia</i>
<i>nao</i>	→ <i>nao-mia</i>	<i>whao</i>	→ <i>whao-</i> { <i>a</i> <i>na</i> <i>ngia</i> <i>ria</i> <i>whia</i> }
<i>noho</i>	→ <i>noho-ia</i>	<i>ono</i>	→ <i>ono-kia</i>
<i>ngaro</i>	→ <i>ngaro-mia</i>	<i>oro</i>	→ <i>oro-hia</i>
<i>pao</i>	→ <i>pao-a</i>	<i>whiro</i>	→ <i>whiro-a</i>

Most of the verbs of the class *Su*, consisting of 62 verbs, combine with the passive allomorph *-a*.

(R 8) *Su* → *Su-a* (P = 0.68)

The aberrant formations are listed below:

<i>ahu</i>	→ <i>ahu-</i> { <i>ria</i> <i>tia</i> } <i>ruku</i> → <i>ruku-hia</i>
<i>aru</i>	→ <i>aru-mia</i> <i>tahu</i> → <i>tahu-na</i>
<i>hopu</i>	→ <i>hopu-kia</i> <i>tanu</i> → <i>tanu-mia</i>
<i>inu</i>	→ <i>inu-mia</i> <i>tau</i> → <i>tau-</i> { <i>ia</i> <i>ria</i> }

<i>karu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>karu-hia</i>	<i>tohu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>tohu-ningia</i>
<i>kau</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>kau-ia</i>	<i>tupu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>tupu-ria</i>
<i>mau</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>mau-ria</i>	<i>tuu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>tuu-ria</i>
<i>motu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>motu-hia</i>	<i>unu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>unu-hia</i>
<i>puu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>puu-</i> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ia \\ ria \end{array} \right\}$	<i>uu</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>uu-ningia</i>
<i>raku</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>raku-hia</i>	<i>waru</i>	$\rightarrow$ <i>waru-hia</i>

The verbs of the class *Lki* (15 items) significantly prefer combination with *-na* (in 13 instances). Thus, another rule may be given:

$$(R\ 9)\ Lki \rightarrow Lki-na\ (P = 0.87)$$

The following verbs form the passive in a different way:

*taumahaki*  $\rightarrow$  *taumahaki-tia*   *taupaki*  $\rightarrow$  *taupaki-tia*

The 13 verbs of the class *Lu* form the passive by means of *-a* in most instances:

$$(R\ 10)\ Lu \rightarrow Lu-a\ (P = 0.77)$$

The aberrant verbs are:

*koohuru*  $\rightarrow$  *koohuru-tia*   *koorurururu*  $\rightarrow$  *koorurururu-tia*

*pooruku*  $\rightarrow$  *pooruku-hia*

We are left with the largest class *L'* which consists of 406 verbs. This class significantly prefers the allomorph *-tia*.

The following rule can be formulated for the class *L'*:

$$(R\ 11)\ L' \rightarrow L'-tia\ (P = 0.76)$$

There are 96 verbs of the class *L'* which have been found to form the passive voice in a different way. They cannot be listed here because of the lack of space.

### Summary

We have been unable to construct a rule for 28 verbs of the class *So'*. The passive transformations of the 725 verbs have been characterized by means of 10 probabilistic rules. These can be reduced through uniting several classes to the following five rules:

$$(R\ 1)\ Se + Si + Soo + Su + Lu \rightarrow Se + \dots + Lu-a\ (P = 0.83)$$

$$(R\ 2)\ Sko + Lki \rightarrow Sko + Lki-na\ (P = 0.89)$$

$$(R\ 3)\ Sa \rightarrow Sa-\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ ia \\ ina \end{array} \right\}\ (P = 0.83)$$

$$(R\ 4)\ Sao \rightarrow Sao-hia\ (P = 1)$$

$$(R\ 5)\ L' \rightarrow L'-tia\ (P = 0.76).$$

The probability that a verb belonging to one of the classes *Sa*, *Se*, *Si*, *Soo*, *Sko*, *Su*, *Lki*, *Lu*, and *L'* will form the passive voice according to the respective rule can be computed as the ratio of the number of favourable cases (577) per number of all possible cases (725), which equals to 0.79.

## REDUCTION OF MULTICOMPONENTAL TERMS IN MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

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1. When dealing with terms there are at least two possible ways to follow: (1) to describe the status quo of a given terminology<sup>1</sup> or (2) to set a number of postulates and restrictions in order to invent and deliberately control this terminology as to make it more explicit, more adequate, more harmonious, etc. with different systems of scientific notions at a particular stage of scientific development.

In the following we shall be concerned with what actually is rather than with what might or should be.

2. We shall, from this point of view, examine an important phenomenon characterizing the present stage of development of the scientific and technical vocabulary of Modern Written Arabic (MWA), as used in the U.A.R., the reduction of the number of components of the multicomponental terms (m-terms).<sup>2</sup> The process under consideration is, to a considerable extent, stimulated by a high rate of „terminological intuition“ of language users all over the U.A.R. which is involved in almost every attempt to invent and use particular items of a given terminology. This intuitive approach to term building and using is, on the other hand, greatly encouraged by the low degree of terminological codification or, as it is frequently the case with many branches of science and technology, politics and ideology etc., a total lack of any codificative work.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> By this term a set of terminological items will be intended.

<sup>2</sup> Following symbols will be used:  $T$  (term),  $c$  (component of a  $T$ ),  $T^*$  (number of components of a term),  $c_1, c_2$  etc. (order of components),  $>$  (the relation of reduction).

<sup>3</sup> We give an illustrative example of what we mean by intuitive approach to term inventing and using. All alternative forms, listed below, denote a regular *tape-recorder*. The number of observed occurrences is given in brackets, sources are quoted only in less frequent cases, excerpted materials are dated 1956—1960 and, if not otherwise indicated, they are of Egyptian origin. Terminologically relevant features are marked as follows: d (device), r (recording, recorder), s (sound), m (magnetic), t (tape).

$T^4$  ( $d, r, m, s$ ): *ġihāz at-tasgīl al-majnātīsī li's-saut* ((1) advert in *Muh.*, 11, 1956);

$T^4$  ( $d, r, s, m$ ): *ġihāz at-tasgīl aṣ-ṣauṭi al-majnātīsī* ((1), 'AT, 64);

3. By the reduction, in general, such a process of component number shortening will be intended which, assumption being made of the close interrelations between the reducible m-terms and the context, does not lead to a shift of the ranges of generality of the concerned terms at any stage of the reduction. Furthermore, a relation of reduction will be recognized only between such terms whose single components, corresponding to each other at particular stages of the reduction, are built up by using the same radical morphemes as well as the same derivational patterns and which are related to each other by using the same inflectional and relational means. It should, nevertheless, be taken into account that the constantly decreasing number of single components, which can, in minimum cases, equal one, imposes certain restrictions on some of just these enumerated features.

Thus, a relation of reduction will be established between e.g.

*al-hajawānāt dawāt al-fikarāt*

and

*dawāt al fikarāt*, „Vertebrata“ (zool.);

*al-hajawānāt al-fakārija*

and

*al-fakārijāt*, (id.);

and

*tā'ira muķatila*

*muķatila*, „fighter plane“ (milit.), etc.

On the other hand, no relation of reduction will be recognized between e.g.

*al-māddā allatī tataķaddam fitāmīn alif* ('AHT, 148)

and

*muķaddam fitāmīn alif*, „provitamin A“ ('AHT, 148, 149)<sup>3a</sup>;

*tā'irat al-muķatala*

and

*muķatila*, „fighter plane“, etc., etc.

4. Between a term at pre-shortening stage ( $T^x$ ) and that at a particular level of the reduction ( $T^{x-1}$ ,  $T^{x-2}$  etc.)<sup>4</sup> a relation of „resulting from the preceding“ can be established. The very notion of „precedence“ can, however, easily lead to an ambiguous

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$T^3$  (d, r, s): *ālat* (*gīhāz*) *tasqīl as-saut* (*al-aswāt*) (32);

*āla* (*gīhāz*) *li-tasqīl as-saut* (*al-aswāt*) (24);

$T^3$  (d, r, t): *ālat tasqīl bī'l-aṣriṭa* ((1) PHILIPS adv., 'Ar., 5, 1959; Kuwait);

$T^2$  (d, r): *ālat* (*gīhāz*) *at-tasqīl* (45);

*āla* (*gīhāz*) *lī't-tasqīl* (30);

$T^2$  (d, m): *al-ġīhāz al-maġnāṭisi* ((1), 'AT, 66);

$T^2$  (r, t): *musaġġīl bī'l-aṣriṭa* ((1), 'Ar., 5, 1959; Kuwait);

$T^1$  (r): *musaġġīl* (although most generally used shortened form in oral communication, only 3 written cases were recorded (advert. in *al-Ahrām*)).

<sup>3a</sup> In the quoted source: *muķaddam fitāmīn dāl*.

<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that not only  $T^{x-1}$  can be related to  $T^x$  but also  $T^{x-2}$ : if it holds that  $T^{x-1}$  is a reduced form of  $T^x$  and  $T^{x-2}$  is a reduced form of  $T^{x-1}$ , it holds also that  $T^{x-2}$  is a reduced form of  $T^x$  (property of transitivity).

interpretation as it, besides the meaning of „more primitive“ (1), can imply that of „replaced by, out of use“ etc. (2) which is not always the case. A relation of co-occurrence can rather be set up between a particular case of  $T^{x-n}$  and a  $T^x$  in most, but not necessarily all, cases. As there is sometimes impossible to decide whether a shortened term replaces its longer variant form or not, we shall use the „preceding“ exclusively in the meaning of (1).

5. In the present study, a considerably greater importance will be accorded to the context than usually done when dealing with terminology and, consequently, a less restrictive definition of the very notion of term will be preferred.<sup>5</sup> Otherwise, it would be necessary to reconsider the major parts of some terminologies relegating them to a pre-terminological stage. The „pre-terminological“ would become, following this way, the crucial notion of every attempt to deal with scientifically relevant nominative items of a number of languages in the way of elaborating their up-to-date scientific vocabularies, especially in Africa and Asia, which would create a number of terminological (or, rather, metaterminological) difficulties.

The interdependence between the m-terms and the context<sup>6</sup> considerably varies from term to term. The vast majority of reduced m-terms, an abstraction made from the context, would necessarily manifest a shift towards more of generality, as far as their generality ranges are concerned, when compared with the underlying full-length terms at pre-shortening stage, especially when the specific (right-hand) extremity of a m-term is affected by the reduction, e.g.

*madāfi' mudādda li't-ṭā'irāt* (PMD, 4) > *madāfi' mudādda* (PMD, 116) „anti-aircraft guns“ (milit., air force). The shortened form depends largely on the restrictive power of the context which presents the unique chance to distinguish between it and e.g. *madāfi' mudādda li'd-dabbātāt* „anti-tank guns“ (PMD, 4; the quoted example is in sing.).

Considering, then, that the reduction, as understood in the present paper, does not mean an extension of generality ranges of the shortened terms, the restrictive range of the context will be assumed to be equal to that of the components left out in the course of the reduction.

On the other hand, there is a number of m-terms, especially those whose generic (left-hand) extremity is affected by the reduction, whose interrelations with the context seem to be less immediate than those of the preceding type. Some of these terms can even be found in the Academical Dictionary (Ac.) at the same level as their reductional variants, e.g.

<sup>5</sup> Every scientifically relevant lexical item will be considered a term without too categorically postulating such properties as explicitness, independence of the context etc., which are excessively restrictive in view of the present level of codification in the U.A.R.

<sup>6</sup> By the context Bühlerian *verbal context* (*Zeichenfeld*) or its later derivates (cf. Lazicius' context, as opposed to situation) will be intended (St. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics*, Glasgow 1951, pp. 54—56) rather than a context of situation in the sense used by J. R. Firth, *Papers in Linguistics*, London 1957: „*The Technique of Semantics*“, 27—33.

*al-hajawānāt al-lāhawā'ijsa > al-lāhawā'ijāt*, „anaerobic animals“ (Ac., 1,528), etc.

6. Before attempting the classification of particular cases of m-term component number shortening in MWA we find it useful to examine some significant features of the patterning of these terms. The order of single components of a m-term is of special interest for this purpose as it reveals (1) the sense in which the restrictive action of single components is operating relatively to each other<sup>7</sup> (from right to left)<sup>8</sup> and (2) the sense of decreasing generality, proceeding in left-right direction, directly dependent on the former.

When speaking about the sense in which the restrictive action of single components is operating the most general shape of this direction is intended in order to make it large enough as to include all particular cases of patterning of the restrictive interrelation of single components within a given m-term, e.g.

((c<sub>1</sub> c<sub>2</sub>) c<sub>3</sub>) — *rawāsib al-burkān as-sulfatārija*, „solfataric deposits“ (geology, (Ac., 4, 100));

(c<sub>1</sub> (c<sub>2</sub> c<sub>3</sub>)) — *daurat tahallul al-ğlikūğīn*, „glycolytic cycle“ (biology, (Ac., 4, 43)), etc., etc.

7. After the sense of 6 (1) having been established relatively to single components of a m-term and related to the right-left direction of a graphically expressed scheme of the term, we shall consider it as a departing point for setting up more immediate classificatory criteria. As far from all cases of m-term shortening proceed in this sense, we shall distinguish between:

(1) cases where the process of shortening proceeds in a sense opposite to that of 6(1), i.e. from the general (left-hand) extremity of the term towards its special (right-hand) side, and

(2) cases shortened in an opposite sense.

In the first case we shall speak about *progressive*, in the second, about *regressive* sense of the reduction. The fact, that both these senses can operate either conjunctively or disjunctively at the same term, yields a dichotomous division into:

(3) reductions operating in one sense, and

(4) those operating in both senses.

8. Reductions operating in one sense will be termed, if proceeding in the sense of 7 (1), *progressive*. This type reveals the problem of definition of the left-side limit of the term which is, in most cases highly ambiguous, e.g.

*T<sup>3</sup> > T<sup>2</sup>* (where c<sub>1</sub>, c<sub>2</sub> of T<sup>2</sup> equal c<sub>2</sub>, c<sub>3</sub> of T<sup>3</sup>), e.g.

*al-hāfirījāt fardijat al-ağābi' > fardijat al-ağābi'*, „Ungulates perissodactylates,“ (zool., (T<sup>1</sup>H, 29)); *al-hajawānāt ākilat al-luhūm > ākilat al-luhūm*, „Carnivora“; zool., (Ac., 1,506; T<sup>1</sup>H, 23 etc.), or

<sup>7</sup> There are, however, some slight exceptions from this general sense, irrelevant from the point of view of the pursued problem, e.g. the sense of the restrictive effect of demonstrative pronouns.

<sup>8</sup> To avoid confusion, this sense is established with regard to the Romanized transliteration of Arabic.

$T^2 > T^1$  (where  $c_1$  of  $T^1$  equals  $c_2$  of  $T^2$ ), e.g.

*al-hajawānāt al-lāhawā'iya* > *al-lāhawā'ijāt* (quot. in 5.)

*tā'ira muṣātila* > *muṣātila* (quot. in 3), etc., etc.

While it seems to be intuitively obvious that e.g. *tā'ira* („plane“), being a  $c_1$  of a  $T^2$  term, *tā'ira muṣātila* („fighter“), is a genuine part of the  $T^2$ , in spite of an almost exclusive occurrence of the shortened  $T^1$  form not only in everyday use and daily papers but also in a number of recognized dictionaries (cf. PMD, 116), by far less evident are cases where the first component expresses a notion of vague generic value not immediately relevant from the point of view of the terminological meaning of the concerned term, e.g.

*as-sukkarijāt wahīdat* (*tūnā'iyat*, 'adīdat) *at-tasakkur*, „mono- (di-, poly-) saccharides“ with a great variety of words substituting the first component; from a total of 21 occurrences following rates were found:

*as-sukkarijāt* („saccharides“), 10, (47,6%);

*al-mawādd as-sukkarija* („saccharic substances“), 3 (14,3%);

*mawādd* („substances“), 1, (4,7%);

*aṣṣām* („groups, classes“), 3, (14,3%);

*anwā' as-sukkar* („kinds of sugar“), 1, (4,7%);

zero, yielding a reduced term of the type  $T^3 > T^2$  (where  $c_1, c_2$  of  $T^2$  correspond to  $c_2, c_3$  of  $T^3$ ), 3, (14,3%), ('AHT, 174, 175, 189, 203, 204 etc.).

Similarly:

*mustahdarāt* ('akākīr) *muḍādda li'l-hajawījāt*, „antibiotic preparations (drugs)“ (various pharmac. pamphlets) > *muḍāddāt al-hajawījāt*, „antibiotics“ (Ac., 2, 132; the quot. ex. in sing.), etc.

A number of these terms tends to fix their left-side limit by getting rid of these extra-terminological elements, e.g.

*mawāni' al-haml* (instead of e.g. *mustahdarāt māni'a li'l-haml*, ), „contraceptives“ (pharm.);

*ākil an-naml*, „ant-eater“, (zool., (T'IH, 21)), contrasting with e.g. *al-hajawānāt ākilat al-'ušb* (*an-nabātāt*, ('AHT, 175)) > *ākilāt al-'ušb* ('IH, 60), „Herbivora“ (zool.).

9. When proceeding in the sense of 7 (2), we shall speak about regressive reductions. The problem of limit definition will be met with at this type of reduction as well, In this case, however, the opposite (right-hand) extremity of the term will be concerned. Since this side, according to 6 (2), corresponds to the specific<sup>9</sup> extremity of the term, a closer interrelation between terms reducible in this way and the context will be assumed, e.g.

<sup>9</sup> As the vast majority of terminological systems is still to be given and only a negligible part of terms reflects clearly recognizable hierarchically arranged values of generality, our terms of *generic*, *specific* will be used, in most cases, without strongly implying these hierarchical values, i.e. rather in a sense of *more general*, *more special*.

$T^3 > T^2$  (where  $c_1, c_2$  of  $T^2$  correspond to  $c_1, c_2$  of  $T^3$ ), e.g.

*madāfi' mudādda li'-ṭā'irāt > madāfi' mudādda* (quot. in 5);

$T^2 > T^1$  (where  $c_1$  of  $T^1$  equals  $c_1$  of  $T^2$ ), e.g.

*iḍrāb 'an al-'amal > iḍrāb*, „strike“, the importance of the context being emphasized by the parallel occurrence of *iḍrāb 'an at-ta'ām*, „hunger-strike“, (*al-Ahrām*<sup>10</sup>), etc.

Though a cumulation of terminologically relevant specifiers is of some importance even at the preceding type of reducible m-terms, its importance substantially increases when the specific extremity of the term is affected by the reduction. From this point of view it is possible to distinguish between two types of reducible terms: (1) those whose components tend to be reduced by the mere interrelation with the context; (2) those whose component reduction is directly conditioned by the restrictive effect of further specifiers annexed to them. By further specifiers such a minimum number of terminologically relevant specifying elements will be intended which is sufficient enough to start the process of the reduction operating.

In the first case, the reduction having been originally an optional process, turns compulsory as soon as these new restrictive elements are added. As they do not tend to become components of this type of m-terms at their pre-shortening level, we shall put them, oppositely to those of the second type, into brackets.

*The first type:* e. g.

the reduction is optional:  $T^3 > T^1$  (where  $c_1$  of  $T^1$  equals  $c_1$  of  $T^3$ ), e.g. *i'tidāl al-lail wa'n-nahār > i'tidāl*, „equinox“ (astr.), contrasting with:

the reduction is compulsory:  $T^3 + (c_4) > T^2$  (where  $c_1$  of  $T^2$  equals that of  $T^3$  while  $c_2$  of  $T^2$  corresponds to  $(c_4)$ ), e.g. *i'tidāl al-lail wa'n-nahār + (rabi'i harifī) > i'tidāl rabi'i (harifī)*, „vernal (autumnal) equinox“ similarly:

*iḍrāb 'an al-'amal > iḍrāb* (quot. above), *iḍrāb 'an al-'amal + ('āmm) > iḍrāb 'āmm*, „general strike“, etc.

*The second type:* e. g.

the reduction is not possible:  $T^2 \not> T^1$  (or, more generally,  $T^x \not> T^{x-n}$ ), e.g. *kurāt ad-dam*, „blood-corpuscles“;

the reduction is optional:  $T^2 + c_3$  produces either a  $T^3$  (where all components of  $T^3$  correspond to those of  $T^2 + c_3$ ), e.g.

*kurāt ad-dam + (al-hamrā' (al-baṣdā')) = kurāt ad-dam al-hamrā'* (al-baṣdā'), „erythrocytes“ („leucocytes“), (*IH*, 24 etc.), or a  $T^2$  (where  $c_1$  of  $T^2$  equals that of  $T^3$ , while  $c_2$  of  $T^2$  corresponds to  $c_3$  of  $T^3$ ): *al-kurāt al-hamrā'* (*IA*, 86 etc.)<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> From a total of 80 occurrences in *al-Ahrām* 24 cases (30%) of  $T^2$  (*iḍrāb 'an al-'amal*) and 56 occurrences (70%) of  $T^1$  (*iḍrāb*, in the sense of  $T^2$ ) were recorded. As far as *iḍrāb 'an at-ta'ām* and its reduced variant of  $T^1$  (*iḍrāb*, in the sense of „hunger-strike“) is concerned, from a total of 31 occ. 27 cases of  $T^2$  (87%) while only 4 occurrences (13%) of  $T^1$  were found.

<sup>11</sup> Apart from these terms also some derivational alternatives were found, e.g. *kurāt damawija* (*IH*, 45), also with another plural pattern (*humr, bīd*, (*IH*, 103, 45 etc.)).

Since just those components are affected by the reduction, in virtue of the restrictive effect of these newly added specifiers, which are part of the underlying m-term, originally irreducible, we shall consider this type of reduction as a product of special case of blend-formation.<sup>12</sup>

10. Reductions operating in both senses present the most ambiguous cases enumerated hitherto since, no support being found in the codification, they comprise problems of both preceding types. Such m-terms will be considered as a point of departure to examine this type of reduction which, at extreme left side, are introduced by words of vague generic value and whose right side limit cannot be clearly defined any more, e.g.

*mawādd mubīda li'l-ḥaśarāt > mubīdāt al-ḥaśarāt* (cf. §11) > *mubīdāt*, „insecticides, insect-killing substances“, (*al-Ahrām*, etc.)

Such cases, however, involve, to some extent, a diachronistic approach since, as stated in 8, these vague generic elements tend, though not always convincingly, to be no longer considered as genuine components of the term under consideration. On the other hand, there are terms whose reducible elements, located at both their extremities, can be synchronously related to each other as reducible components. Considering that both general and special sides of the same m-term are affected by the reduction, the most simple case of this type of reduction can be symbolized as follows  $T^x > T^{x-1} > T^{x-2}$ . Assuming that  $T^x$  corresponds to  $T^3$ , which is most frequently the case, the  $c_1$  of  $T^1$  equals  $c_1$  of  $T^2$ , while  $c_1$  and  $c_2$  of the latter equal, in turn,  $c_2$  and  $c_3$  of  $T^3$ . Taking into account the property of transitivity, we can more immediately relate  $c_1$  of  $T^1$  to  $c_2$  of  $T^3$ .

E.g.

*at-tā'ira kādīfat al-kanābil* (*al-Ahrām*, Baranov etc.) > *kādīfat al-kanābil* (*al-Ahrām*, PMD, 9, etc.) > *kādīfa* (*al-Ahrām*, PMD, 115, etc.)

It is, however, to be noticed that the property of transitivity characterizes only the most general basis of the reduction, namely the relation „to be a reduced form of the preceding term“, without implying an identity of all relevant features proper to particular stages of the reduction, as e.g. the degree of dependence on the context, the amount of inflectional and other features affected by the reduction, etc., which can considerably vary from stage to stage.

11. Reduction and inflexion. In view of the constantly decreasing number of components at particular stages of the reduction a variety of peculiarities emerges. We shall try to approach some of them from the point of view of the inflexion.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> This type of term formation proceeds sometimes in an opposite sense (towards longer). A simultaneous occurrence of e.g. *jāz musil li'd-dumū'*, „lachrymatory gaz“ and *kunbula musila li'd-dumū'*, „lachrymatory bomb, tear smoke bomb“ produces *kunbula jāz musil li'd-dumū'* in the sense of the preceding term (*al-Ahrām*). On the other hand, in the case of the first of the quoted examples PMD admits even a reduced variant: *jāz musil (li'd-dumū')* (PMD, 92). Similarly: *idrāb 'an at-tā'ām* and *tanāwul at-tā'ām* yield *idrāb 'an tanāwul at-tā'ām* (*al-Ahrām*).

<sup>13</sup> A clear-cut distinction between inflectional and word-formational (we shall be concerned only with derivational) features cannot be always carried out, especially in view of the twofold

The type of reduction we call *progressive* leads to a paradigmatical revalorization of components, provided with the lowest serial number at a particular stage of the reduction, when being compared with those corresponding to them at the next preceding stage. Thus, e.g. a  $c_1$  of a  $T^2$  (e.g.  $\bar{a}kil\bar{a}t al-luh\bar{u}m$ , „Carnivora“), when being compared with the corresponding component of the next greater reduction stage, i.e. with the  $c_2$  of  $T^3$  ( $al-hajaw\bar{a}n\bar{a}t \bar{a}kilat al-luh\bar{u}m$ ), manifests quite different paradigmatical value. While being part of  $T^3$ , it behaved as an attributive element agreeing with  $c_1$ . It shifted towards substantival elements, provided with grammatical categories of its own, as soon as  $T^3$  was reduced into  $T^2$ . Since the substantivization, regarding the present state of codification, is rarely recognized definitive by the totality of term users, a widely ranged alternation takes place.

(1) Illustrated on the formation of plural:

(1.1) the  $c_1$  of  $T^2$  (in our example) behaves as a substantivized element:

(1.11)  $\bar{a}kil\bar{a}t al-luh\bar{u}m$ , „Carnivora“ (e. g. in Ac., 1, 491, 493),

(1.12)  $\bar{a}kil\bar{u} 'l-luh\bar{u}m$  ( $al-'u\bar{s}b$ ), „Carnivora“, („Herbivora“) (DFA);

(1.13) internal pattern of „ $f\bar{a}'ala$ “:  $akalat al-luh\bar{u}m$ , id. (‘AHT, 18; Baranov);

(1.2) the  $c_1$  of  $T^2$  behaves as an adjectival (attributive) element:

(1.21)  $\bar{a}kilat al-luh\bar{u}m$  (Ac., 1,506;  $T^1IH$ , 23 etc.).

In many cases of less common occurrence only this type of reduced terms was found, e.g.

$al-\bar{h}\bar{a}f\bar{r}\bar{i}j\bar{a}t fard\bar{i}jat al-a\bar{s}ab\bar{i}$  ( $T^1IH$ , 27) >  $fard\bar{i}jat al-a\bar{s}ab\bar{i}$  ( $T^1IH$ , 29 etc.), „Ungulates perissodactylates“, zool.

(2) Illustrated on the alternation of analytical and synthetical structures.

This semi-substantival state of the  $c_1$  of a given  $T^{x-n}$  (mostly  $T^{x-1}$ ) yields, at some m-terms, an alternation of another type, based on the occurrence or the non-occurrence of the relational particle *li* within the structure of a given reduced term.

Apart from a grammatically conditioned zero/*li* alternation of the type *muḍāddāt al-hajawījāt* (e.g. Ac., 2, 9, quot. in sing.) / *al-muḍāddāt li'l-hajawījāt* (e.g. pharm. pamphlet CIBA), „antibiotics“, which is of no relevancy for the pursued problem, there is another type of alternative occurrence of *li*, e.g.

(2.1) *muḍāddāt as-sumūm*, „antidotes“ (Baranov);

(2.2) *muḍāddāt li'l-fasād*, „antiseptics“ (Wehr). Similarly: *muḍādd al-hajawījāt* (Ac., 2, 9), *muḍādd li'l-hajawījāt* (Ac., 3, 128).

Zero/*li* alternation in the last case is due to the semi-substantival state of the first component of the last two examples. While the  $c_1$  of the first example proves to be a genuine substantive, that of the second behaves partly as a substantive (in virtue of *-āt*), partly as attributive component (seeing the occurrence of *li*) of the next preceding stage, e.g.

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function of the vocalic morphemes of Arabic. It is hardly possible to decide whether e.g. *i-ā* in *kitāb<sup>u</sup>n* is of inflectional or rather derivational value, since, with reference to e.g. *u-u* *kutub<sup>u</sup>n*, is, no doubt, of inflectional, while, relatively to e.g. *ā-i* of *kātib<sup>u</sup>n*, it is of derivational nature.

(*mawādd*, *mustahḍarāt* etc.) *muḍādd* *lī'l-fasād* (*lī't-tā'affun*), „antiseptic (substances, preparations etc.)“;

*al-maṣl al-muḍādd lī'l-mukawwarāt ar-ri'awīja*, „antipneumococcus serum“ (Ac., 2, 81), etc.<sup>14</sup>

In accordance with the above statement we frequently meet cases as:

*mubīdāt al-hašarāt / mubīdāt lī'l-hašarāt* (besides a compulsory grammatically conditioned *li*-occurrence of *al-mubīdāt lī'l-hašarāt*, as well as some derivational variants, e.g. *mubīdāt hašarīja*, etc.), „insecticides“ (*al-Ahrām*);

*māni' al-iṣṭidām*, „shock-protecting device“, (CYMA Watch Co. advert., Muh., 7, 1959), contrasting with e.g.

*mudīb li'ṭ-talq*, „de-icing device, de-icer“, (SIMCA Car advert. Muh., 3, 1959), etc., etc.

The occurrence of a generic element (e.g. *mawādd* („substances“), *gīhāz*, *āla* („device“), etc.), as stated in 8, cannot be, in principle, excluded in any of these cases so that the substantival state of the *c<sub>1</sub>* of these alternating constructions cannot be considered as unchangeable a fact which greatly influences this type of alternation.

The type of reduction we call *regressive* or, naturally, a regressive stage of a reduction operating in both senses, proceeding in an opposite sense, does not generate this kind of alternating forms. It can, nevertheless, initiate some phenomena of minor importance as e.g. a shift from status constructus to status absolutus. This, being considered as a reopening of syntactical closure (i.e. -at > -a), enables the concerned term to enter a new immediate construct-state relation with other, mostly non-terminological elements, e.g.

*kādīfat al-kanābil*, „bomber“ (air force, milit.) > *kādīfa*, e.g. *kādīfat al-'adūw*, etc.

## 12. Reduction and derivation.

The general effort towards maximum of explicitness stimulates the formation of a considerable number of one-componental terms on the basis of a particular, mostly the last component of a m-term, e.g.

*ākilāt al-luhūm* (quot. 11(1)) — *al-lawāḥim* (Ac., 1, 491; Ac., 2, 192 etc.),

*ākilāt al-'ušb* (quot. ib.) — *al-'awāšib* (Ac., 4, 49),

*al-'ilāq bi'l-ašī'a* — *al-istiš'ār*, „radiotherapy“, (Ac., 2, 115), etc.

Since an independent derivational pattern is used in these cases, differing from that of the underlying component, and no restrictive action of the context being needed as to keep the generality range unchanged, as these terms are due mostly to the activity of terminological authorities in the U.A.R.<sup>15</sup>, such cases will not be considered as a result of the process of the reduction in the sense used in this paper.

The range of derivational possibilities varies with particular stages of the reduction.

<sup>14</sup> The occurrence of *li*, in this case, is not to be explained uniquely by the explicit occurrence of the definite article *al* — at the preceding components, cf. e.g. *'aḳkār muḍādd lī'l-hajawījāt* (definition of „streptomycine“ (Ac., 2, 120)), etc.

<sup>15</sup> Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo.

The resulting shortened forms are, as a rule, provided with a greater degree of optionality of selecting derivational means than longer ones. The maximum of derivational autonomy is reached at one-componental forms, no relational restrictions being imposed henceforth on the derivation. Thus, e.g. *sajjār*, „planet“, while being a *c<sub>2</sub>* of *T<sup>2</sup>*, *kaukab sajjār*,<sup>16</sup> was related to *c<sub>1</sub>* as an attribute. As soon as the *T<sup>1</sup>* was constituted, a *fa*“*āl/fā*“*āla* alternation turned possible:<sup>17</sup> *sajjār* (e.g. Wehr) / *sajjāra* (e.g. Baranov), etc.

There is, finally, another important factor to be pointed out when discussing the interrelation between reduction and derivation, namely the unequal repartition of reducible components at different derivational patterns of the same term or its derivatives, e.g.

reducible components are occurring:	reducible components are missing:
<i>ta`atṭil</i> ( <i>an al-</i> ‘ <i>amal</i> )	‘ <i>atāla</i>
„unemployment“ ( <i>al-Ahrām</i> )	id. (ib.)
<i>muta`atṭil</i> ( <i>an al-</i> ‘ <i>amal</i> )	‘ <i>ātil</i>
„unemployed, workless“	id. (ib.)
etc.	etc.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ac. — Scientific and technical terms approved by the Academy, Academy of Arabic Language I—V. Cairo 1957—1963. (*Maġmū`at al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-`ilmīja wa'l-fannīja allatī akarrahā`l-maġma`*, *Maġma` al-luja al-`arabiyya*).  
 ‘AHT — *Sulaimān `Azmī*, ‘*Alā hāmiš at-tibb*, Cairo 1961.  
 ‘Ar. — *al-*‘*Arabi*, *maġalla šahrīja musawwara* (1959). Kuwait.  
 ‘AT — Āgūrj Wahba al-‘Afī, ‘*Aṣr at-tilifizjūn*, Cairo 1960.  
 Baranov — Ch. K. Baranov, *Arabsko-russkiĭ slovar'*, Moscow 1957.  
 DFA — L. Saisse et I. Chéhata, *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, London—New York—Toronto 1955.  
 ‘IA — ‘*Ilm al-ahjā*', II, (Ministry of Education), Cairo n.d.  
 ‘IH — ‘*Ilm al-hajāt*, (Ministry of Education), Cairo 1960.  
*Muh.* — *al-Muhtār min Rīderz Daiğest* (Selection of Reader's Digest, Arabic version), Cairo 1956—1960.  
 PMD — Hassan El-Sayed Fahmy, *Pocket Military Dictionary* (English-Arabic), Cairo 1957.  
 ‘IH — *al-Āguz’ at-takmili li-manhaġ ‘ilm al-hajāt* (Ministry of Education), Cairo 1960.  
 Wehr — H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart I, II*, Leipzig 1952.

<sup>16</sup> In *Hwārizmī's Maŷātih al-`ulūm* (10th century) *kaukab* is synonymously related to *naġm* and a distinction between „planet“ and „star“ is possible only by means of attributive components (*kawākib sajjāra* (*fābita*)) co-occurring with *nuġūm sajjāra* (*fābita*)), cf. op. cit., Egyptian ed. based on van Vloeten's edition (Leiden 1895), Cairo 1930, p. 123. *Kaukab*, at present, denotes, though by far not consequently, „planet“, while *naġm* designates „star“, so that the occurrence of specifiers tends to be considered as superfluous. The occurrence of *fa*“*āl* stem would be basically possible even at pre-shortening level of *T<sup>2</sup>* (cf. *as-ṣaih al-*‘*allāma*, etc.). The intensive *-at* tends, however, to be avoided in MWA in all cases where the necessity of a gender distinction emerges, e.g. *midfa` raššāš* as against e.g. *bundukija raššāša*, etc., etc.

<sup>17</sup> cf. R. Blachère, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Grammaire de l'arabe classique*, Paris 1952, p. 90 sq.

## BEITRAG ZUR TEXTOLOGIE ORIENTALISCHER MÄRCHEN

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Es ist gut bekannt, dass die klassischen Sammlungen europäischer Märchen mehrmals Texte enthalten, deren Ursprung nicht in heimischer Tradition zu suchen ist. In solchen Fällen handelt es sich nicht selten um Märchen orientalischen Ursprungs, die auf literarischem Weg in die Sammlungen gelangten (der Sammler oder Verfasser schöpft hier direkt aus Bücherquellen), manchmal geht es um Reminiszenzen von Volkserzählern aus Lektüren. Sammler, die in ihre Werke bloss Märchen aus mündlicher Überlieferung aufnehmen wollten, unterscheiden nach Möglichkeit Texte literarischer Herkunft von rein folkloristischen Texten. Auf diese Weise gelang es jedoch nicht europäische Märchen von Märchen orientalischer Herkunft abzusondern. Es gibt nicht wenige orientalische Märchen, die in europäische Tradition übergehen und mit der Zeit ein untrennbarer Teil des Märchenrepertoires aller oder der meisten europäischen Nationen geworden sind. Der unmittelbare Widerhall des Lesens von Übersetzungs-Sammlungen ist jedoch etwas anderes und das Vergleichsstudium der Märchen muss diese Fälle von solchen unterscheiden, wo der übersetzte Text mit der Zeit zu einem bleibenden Teil der mündlichen Tradition wurde. Dabei ist schon nicht so wichtig, ob in die mündliche Tradition eine halb literarische Übersetzung oder eine freie Bearbeitung des Volkserzählers selbst übergegangen ist.

Anschauliche Beispiele sind schon in der deutschen Sammlung von Brüder Grimm zu finden. In der Ausgabe von 1815 finden wir unter Nr. 18 (in der Ausgabe von 1819 unter Nr. 104) ein Märchen von „dankbaren Tieren“ mit folgendem Inhalt:

Ein Junge kaufte für sein letztes Geld eine Maus, einen Affen und einen Bären frei; so rettete er die Tiere vor Quälerei und verdiente sich ihre Dankbarkeit. In grösster Not versuchte er in die königliche Schatzkammer einzudringen, wurde jedoch ertappt und das Gericht entschied ihn in einer Kiste auf's Wasser zu schicken. Die dankbaren Tiere befreiten ihn aus seiner Gefangenschaft und vom Bären bekam er noch einen Zauberstein dazu, der soeben am Wasser herangeschwommen kam.

Dieser Stein erfüllte dem Jungen seine Wünsche. Mit Hilfe des Steines zauberte er sich ein schönes Schloss mit Garten hervor und lebte dort in Hülle und Fülle. Einmal gestand er einer vorüberfahrenden Karawane von Kaufleuten, wie er seinen Besitz errang. Der Junge, durch ein Angebot schöner Ware verleitet, gab den Kaufleuten seinen Stein. Doch als er den Zauberstein aus Händen gab, schwamm er wieder in der Kiste am Wasser. Die treuen Tiere kamen wieder an die Truhe heran, diesmal versuchten sie aber vergeblich sie zu öffnen. Der Bär entschloss sich den Zauberstein zu allererst wieder zu erwerben. Der Stein musste also aus dem Schloss der Kaufleute entwendet werden. Einer derselben hatte ihn beim Spiegel hängen, wo ihn zwei grosse Katzen bewachten. Die Maus kroch in der Nacht ins Schlafzimmer des Kaufmannes und kitzelte ihn unter der Nase. Der geweckte Kaufmann erblickte noch die Maus und verjagte aus Zorn die beiden Katzen. Die nächste Nacht lockerte die Maus den Stein, schob ihn unter die Tür, wo sich der Bär seiner bemächtigte. Mit dem Stein schwammen die Tiere zur Kiste. Der Affe sass am Bären und hielt den Stein im Maul. Der Bär stellte an den Affen eine Frage, dieser zögerte anfangs mit der Antwort, doch auf Drängen des Bären begann er doch zu reden und da fiel ihm der Stein ins Wasser. Der Bär wusste sich aber zu helfen. Sie versammelten die Wassertiere und sagten ihnen, es käme ein furchtbarer Feind, gegen den mit Steinen anzukämpfen sei.

Die Wassertiere trugen die Steine auf einen Haufen zusammen, in welchem der Zauberstein wiedergefunden wurde. Der mit Hilfe des Steines aus der Kiste befreite Jüngling kam schliesslich wieder zu seinem Schloss.<sup>1</sup>

Ähnliche Märchen sind aus europäischer und asiatischer Überlieferung bekannt, anstatt des Steines erwirbt der Junge hier meistens einen Zauberring. Der finische Forscher A. Aarne gibt in seiner Abhandlung dieser Märchengruppe für diesen Märchentyp folgende Rekonstruktion: Ein Jüngling kaufte einen Hund und eine Katze frei, denen der Tod drohte, und dann rettete er noch eine Schlange. Vom Vater der Schlange bekam er einen Zauberstein, zauberte sich ein Schloss herbei und bekam so die Prinzessin zur Frau. Ein Dieb klaute ihm den Stein und versetzte das Schloss samt der Schönheit auf eine Insel im Meer. Dem Hund und der Katze gelang es die Insel zu erreichen, sie fingen eine Maus und zwangen sie, den Stein herbeizuschaffen (der Dieb hielt ihn in der Nacht im Munde). Auf dem Rückweg geriet der Hund mit der Katze in Streit und der Stein fiel ins Wasser; mit Hilfe eines Frosches bekamen sie den Stein wieder und gaben ihn ihrem Retter zurück. Der konnte sich dann wieder das Schloss mit seiner Frau zurückbringen.<sup>2</sup>

Die deutsche Variante mit der Maus, dem Affen und Bären erscheint in der Grimmschen Sammlung bis zum Jahre 1850, dann liess man sie mit der Begründung aus-

<sup>1</sup> J. Bolte—J. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm II*, Leipzig 1915, S. 451—454.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. A. Aarne, *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*. Helsinki 1908; Bolte—Polívka II, S. 455.

fallen, es gehe nur um den Widerhall eines ähnlichen mongolischen Märchens nach dem Buch B. Bergmanns „Nomadische Streifereien“ (1804, S. 343f.). Hier geht es um die Übersetzung der 13. Erzählung aus der berühmten Sammlung Siddhi-Kür, welche wir vor allem aus der deutschen Übersetzung von Jülg und aus russischen Übersetzungen (hauptsächlich B. J. Vladimircov) her kennen. Über einen Zusammenhang kann nicht der kleinste Zweifel bestehen. In deutscher sowie mongolischer Version kaufte ein Jüngling von Kindern eine Maus, einen Affen und einen Bären; der Jüngling machte sich dann eines Diebstahls schuldig, wurde aufs Wasser gesetzt, von den Tieren gerettet usw.<sup>3</sup>

Im deutschen Text kann nicht einmal von einer Vervolkstümlichung gesprochen werden, denn hier geht es einfach um eine wenig modifizierte Wiedergabe deutscher Übersetzung der mongolischen Erzählung. In manchen ähnlichen Fällen haben die Brüder Grimm sofort nach näherer Einsicht den Bücherursprung des orientalischen Textes erkannt und in die gedruckte Sammlung gar nicht aufgenommen. So gingen sie z. B. beim Märchen „Die Lampe und der Ring“ vor, welches in ihrem handschriftlichen Nachlass erhalten blieb. Die Handschrift vom 9. August 1813 enthält die Bemerkung, dass es sich um die Wiedergabe der Erzählung Aladdin und die Zauberlampe aus der Sammlung 1001 Nacht handle.

Größere Schwierigkeiten bereiten die Texte, bei denen wir nicht mit Sicherheit sagen können, ob es sich um Aufzeichnungen aus Volkstraditionen handelt, oder ob der Sammler seine folkloristische Notizen bloss um solche Texte vermehrte, die fremden Ursprungs sind. Gewöhnlich sind es Übersetzungen, jedoch nicht immer direkt in der Sprache des Sammlers. Solche Fälle stellte man z. B. in der Sammlung böhmischer Märchen von B. Němcová fest. Klar ist die Situation beim Märchen vom Sommer-, Mond- und Windmännchen. Hier wies Tille darauf hin, dass Němcová in diesem Falle die deutsche Übersetzung eines magyarischen Märchens aus J. Majláth (Mayláth) Sammlung Magyarische Sagen, Märchen und Erzählungen zur Vorlage hatte, die in der ersten Ausgabe in Brünn 1825 und in der zweiten 1937 in Deutschland (Stuttgart und Tübingen) erschien.<sup>4</sup>

Mit verdächtigen Varianten orientalischer Märchen haben wir es auch in Sammlungen aus neuerer Zeit zu tun, die von bekannten Fachmännern herausgegeben wurden. Dies betrifft z. B. Wlislocki, der sich vorwiegend mit Sammeln von Zigeuner-märchen beschäftigte.<sup>5</sup> Indirekt macht Wlislocki selbst auf einen dieser Fälle aufmerksam, weil er ihn in einer selbständigen Studie behandelt (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 41, 1887, S. 452f.). Es geht hier um eine Zigeuner- und gleichzeitig auch um eine rumänische Variante östlicher Version des

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Volšebyj mertvec*. Moskva 1958, S. 81—87.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. V. Tille, *Pohádkové prameny*. Národopisný věstník českoslovanský, 21, 1928, S. 21 f.

<sup>5</sup> Auf die Unzuverlässlichkeit von Wlislockis Texten machte schon V. Tille aufmerksam (Národopisný věstník českoslovanský 24, 1931, S. 203): „Wlislocki veröffentlicht Märchen, die so auffallend von anderer europäischer Tradition abstechen, dass sie, wenn nicht schon Verdächtigkeit, so wenigstens Verwunderung erwecken.“

Märchentypus „Anup und Bata“.<sup>6</sup> Wlislocki bemerkte selbst, wie sehr dieselbe einer der Varianten dieses Typus ähnelt, welche in der mongolischen Sammelschrift Siddhi-Kür enthalten sind. Die Zigeunervariation Wlislockis hat folgenden Inhalt:

Vier Brüder gingen in die Welt; vor dem Abschied setzt jeder der Brüder beim See einen Baum als Lebenszeichen ein. Nach einem Jahr wollten sie hier wieder zusammentreffen. Der jüngste von ihnen begegnete im Walde einem Mann und einer Frau, die ihm ihre schöne Tochter zur Frau anboten. Dann sollte er bei ihnen bleiben um der Prophezeihung vorzubeugen, dass die Frau die Todesursache vierer Männer werde. Einmal fiel der Frau beim Baden der Ehering ins Wasser. Der Strom trug den Ring vor den Palast des Herrschers, der die Besitzerin des Ringes suchen liess und grosse Belohnung für ihre Auffindung versprach. Ein Diener, welcher die schöne Frau im Walde fand, gab seinem Herrn davon Meldung. Der liess die jungen Eheleute sofort zu sich in die Stadt bringen und entschloss sich augenblicklich den Ehemann zu töten. Auf das Grab des Toten liess er einen schweren Stein wälzen. Die anderen drei Brüder trafen sich dem Versprechen getreu nach Jahr und Tag am bestimmten Ort und erkannten nach dem verdornten Baum des Jüngsten, dass ihm ein Unglück zugestossen sei. Mit Hilfe eines speziellen Spiegels erkundete der Älteste das Grab des Bruders. Nach Ausheben des toten Körpers belebte ihn der zweite Bruder durch Zuhilfenahme einer Zaubersalbe, der dritte gab dem wieder lebendigen Bruder ein Tuch, welches ihn nach Bedarf unsichtbar machte. Mit Hilfe desselben gelang es ihm seine Frau zurückzubekommen, doch erhoben die anderen Brüder auf Grund ihrer dem Jüngsten erteilten Hilfe ebenfalls Anspruch auf die Frau. Aus dem Streit entstand ein Kampf, wo alle samt der Frau ums Leben kamen.<sup>7</sup>

Dieses Zigeuner-Märchen ist auffallend dem zweiten Märchen in der Sammlung Siddhi-Kür (das erste Märchen bildet den Rahmen des Zyklus) nahe. Hier wird ungefähr folgendes erzählt:

Sechs Freunde verschiedener Herkunft (Söhne eines Reichen, eines Malers, eines Arztes, eines Tischlers, eines Schmiedes und eines Astrologen) verliessen ihre Eltern und gingen auf Reisen. Am Ufer eines Flusses trennten sie sich, setzten jedoch vorher Bäume als Lebenszeichen ein und versprachen sich hier nach sechs Jahren wieder zu treffen. Der Sohn des Reichen begegnete bei einem anderen Fluss einer Frau, die ihm ihre schöne Tochter als Gattin anbot. Mit dieser lebte er dann in Waldeinsamkeit. Der Frau fiel einmal der Ehering ins Wasser und der Strom trug ihn zur Mündung. Dort fanden ihn Leute und brachten ihn zu König. Der König liess die Besitzerin des Ringes suchen. Als man sie fand, wurde sie samt ihrem Gatten dem König vorgeführt, der den Ehemann töten liess und sein Grab mit einem schweren Stein beschwerte.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. K. Horálek, *Ein Beitrag zur volkskundlichen Balkanologie*. Fabula 7, 1964, S. 1—32; *Ein Beitrag zu dem Studium der afrikanischen Märchen*. Archiv Orientální 32, 1964, S. 501—521.

<sup>7</sup> H. von Wlislocki, *Volksdichtungen der siebenbürgischen Zigeuner*. Wien 1890, S. 310—313. Im erwähnten Artikel aus dem J. 1887 ist auch eine ähnliche rumänische Variante angeführt, die in den Hauptzügen mit dem zigeunerischen Text übereinstimmt.

Zu dieser Zeit versammelten sich die übrigen Freunde am vereinbarten Platze. Des Reichen Sohnes Baum bezeugte, dass ihm ein Unglück begegnete und die Freunde gingen ihn suchen. Der Sohn des Astrologen fand sein Grab, der Sohn des Arztes belebte den Toten, der Tischlersohn verfertigte eine Flugmaschine, die einem Vogel ähnelte, und der Sohn des Malers strich den Vogel mit Naturfarben an. Der Belebte holte dann seine Frau mit der Flugmaschine ab. Als er dann mit ihr zu seinen Freunden zurückkehrte, erhoben alle Anspruch auf sie. Es kam zu einem blutigen Kampf, bei dem die Schönheit getötet wurde.<sup>8</sup>

Die verdächtige Ähnlichkeit Wlislockis zigeunerischer Variante zum mongolischen Text lässt sich nur durch Vergleich mit anderen Varianten östlicher Version feststellen. Bisher sind ungefähr cca 60 solcher Varianten aufgefunden worden (sie stammen aus Asien und Afrika, in Europa sind Varianten östlicher Version am Balkan zu finden und vereinzelt in Ländern, die nicht allzuweit vom Balkan entfernt sind). Diesen tragischen Abschluss weisen eben ausser den hier angeführten mongolischen eben nur beide Varianten von Wlislocki (die Zigeunerische und die rumänische Variante) auf. Gewöhnlich erfährt der Herrscher von der Schönheit durch Erkennen nach dem Haar (so schon in altägyptischer Version) oder durch ein Porträt, welches der Gatte auf der Jagd bei sich trägt und welches vom Wind weggeblasen wird. Das Motiv des Eheringes ist ebenfalls belegt, doch nur vereinzelt auf dem Balkan. Eine sehr verdächtige Ähnlichkeit ist hier der schwere Stein am Grabe des getöteten Helden und auch dies, dass die Schönheit dem Herrscher gleichzeitig mit ihrem Gatten zugeführt wird. In anderen Varianten kommt der Held meistens deshalb ums Leben, weil der Entführer (gewöhnlich eine alte listige Frau) sich seines Talismans bemächtigt.

In einer kleineren Gruppe von Varianten (dazu gehören auch die meisten neuzeitlichen mongolischen Aufzeichnungen) bleibt der Mann am Leben und die entführte Frau kann ihm noch den Rat geben, wie er sie von neuem erreichen könnte. Der Gatte kommt in einer komischen Verkleidung vor sie (Kleider aus Vogelfedern), die entführte Frau fängt beim neuen Bewerber nach langer Zeit wieder zu lachen an, der Bewerber will sie auch zum Lachen bringen, zieht sich in die komischen Kleider ihres Mannes um (er weiss natürlich nicht, wer es ist) und die Frau nützt diese Gelegenheit aus um ihn loszuwerden. Der Anschaulichkeit wegen führe ich hier eine Variante aus China an:

Der junge Van heiratete ein derart schönes Mädchen, dass er sich ungern von ihr entfernte und deswegen sogar seine Arbeit vernachlässigte. Damit es ihm am Feld bei ihrer Abwesenheit nach ihr nicht bange sei, malte sie ihm ihr Porträt, damit er sich zeitweise bei der Arbeit dessen erfreuen könne. Eines Tages jedoch nahm ihm der Sturmwind das Papierbild, welches Leuten in die Hände kam, die für den Kaiser eine Konkubine suchten. Die Frau am Bild gefiel dem Kaiser und er liess sie suchen

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<sup>8</sup> B. J. Vladimircov, *Volšebnyj mertvec*. Moskva 1958, S. 20—23 („Der Sohn des Reichen“).

und zu sich kommen. Als des Kaisers Leute die Schönheit abführten, bat sie um Erlaubnis, vom Gatten Abschied nehmen zu dürfen. Dabei sagte sie ihm, wie er zu ihr kommen und sie befreien könnte. Beim Kaiser war sie dann stets traurig und wurde erst lustiger, als in der Hauptstadt ein komisch angezogener Mann erschien (er hatte ein Gewand aus Vogelfedern). Der Kaiser liess den komischen Mann zu sich rufen und tauschte mit ihm die Kleider, um die Schönheit selbst erheitern zu können. Die Frau rief gleich die Dienerschaft und liess den verkleideten Kaiser töten. Van wurde dann selbst Kaiser.<sup>9</sup>

Die Varianten der östlichen Version enden gewöhnlich mit Rettung der Frau, der tragische Abschluss der mongolischen Variante aus der Sammelschrift Siddhi-Kür,<sup>10</sup> zusammen mit beiden Varianten Wlislockis, sind da eine auffallende Ausnahme. Es ist zwar richtig, dass solcher Abschluss in verschiedenen Varianten unabhängig voneinander auftreten kann (durch Annäherung an den Typ „Belebte Puppe“), doch in gegebenem Fall wäre eine solche Auslegung vollständig unwahrscheinlich.

Wlislocki selbst bietet im angeführten Artikel die Erklärung des direkten mongolischen Einflusses auf die siebenbürgsche Märchengeschichte in der Zeit der mongolischen Einfälle in Europa an. Dieser Auslegung widerspricht jedoch nicht nur die Eigentümlichkeit der Verwandschaft, sondern auch der Umstand, dass die östlichen Versionen des Typus „Anup und Bata“ in Europa nur auf den Südosten beschränkt sind und hier im Ganzen klar auf neuere türkische Vermittlung hinweisen. Dieser Umstand schliesst im gegebenen Fall auch den Einfluss europäischer Tradition auf die mongolische aus. Der Endbescheid über diesen Fall kann erst dann gesprochen werden, bis alle Märchensammlungen Wlislockis einer gründlicheren Überprüfung unterzogen werden.

Verdächtige Texte finden sich auch in einigen orientalischen Sammlungen. Bei Varianten, die den europäischen Texten gar zu nahe stehen, ist literatische Vermittlung vorauszusetzen. In östlichen Texten sind schon längere Zeit Übersetzungen europäischer Märchen verbreitet, einige Texte übergingen begreiflicherweise sogar in mündliche Überlieferung. Geht es jedoch um gar zu auffallende Ähnlichkeit, ist auch Betrug nicht ausgeschlossen.

Klare Fälle von Übergang europäischer Märchen in asiatische Überlieferung auf literarischem Wege erscheinen beim Typus „Schicksalsschützling“ (im internationalen Katalog Aarne-Thompson Nr. 461). Dieser Typus wurde von Aarne in der Monographie „Der reiche Mann und sein Schwiegersohn“ monographisch bearbeitet (Hamina 1916, FF Communications No 23).

Volkstümliche Versionen des Märchens vom Schicksals Kind sind meistens Kombinationen der Typen AaTh 930 und AaTh 460.<sup>11</sup> In dem Type AaTh 930 bilden

<sup>9</sup> *Glaza drakona - legendy i skazki narodov Kitaja*. Moskva 1959, S. 318—322 („Die Mätresse des Kaisers“). Vgl. auch K. Horálek, *Pohádkoslovné studie*. Prag 1964 (Rotaprint), S. 133 f.

<sup>10</sup> Die zweite Variante dieser Sammelschrift (die angeführte russische Ausgabe S. 145—150) hat ein normales Ende.

<sup>11</sup> Im internationalen Typenkatalog ist diese Kombination als Nr. 461 eingereiht.

den Kern der Handlung Anschläge eines Reichen gegen das Kind armer Eltern, welches zum Schwiegersohn des Reichen durch Schicksalsspruch vorbestimmt wird. Im Typus AaTh 460 wird von einem schicksalsverfolgten Menschen erzählt, dessen Weg zu einem übernatürlichen Wesen (oder Sonne) führt, um dort die Frage nach der Möglichkeit der Umänderung seines Schicksals vorzubringen. Am Weg dahin wurde ihm noch auferlegt nach anderen Sachen zu fragen (warum der Brunnen versiegte, warum der Baum nicht trägt usw.). In orientalischer Tradition ist der Typ AaTh 460 ziemlich gut belegt, hier kann man im Einklang mit Aarne zulassen, dass es sich um ein ursprünglich östliches Märchen handelt, welches in europäische Überlieferung auf mündlichem Wege überging.

Aarne rechnete mit orientalischem Ursprung auch bei dem Typus AaTh 930 und dem kombinierten Typus AaTh 461; hier ist jedoch die Situation nicht so einfach. Nr. 461 ist in Asien nur durch einige alten literarischen Versionen (hauptsächlich indischen) belegt, doch in mündlicher Tradition erscheinen die der europäischen Normalfassung verwandten Versionen nur sporadisch. Aarne führt in seiner Monographie nur wenige Varianten aus Vorderasien (armenisch, kurdisch, arabisch, tatarisch) und auch noch aus Indien und Ostasien an. Er lässt jedoch selbst zu, dass es sich meistens um den Widerhall neuerer literarischen Versionen handelt. Bei einigen in neuerer Zeit publizierten Varianten ist die Abhängigkeit von europäischer Tradition klar festzustellen, gleichzeitig mit dem europäischen Text, von welchem die mittelasiatischen Varianten abgeleitet sind. Es handelt sich durchwegs um Varianten aus chinesischen Gebieten; zwei Texte haben ihren Ursprung im Milieu chinesischer Kasachen. Einer davon hat folgenden Inhalt:

Armen Eltern kam ein Junge zur Welt, der seiner Klugkeit wegen allgemein beliebt war; er bekam den Namen Ada. Die Voraussagen bestimmten ihn zum Schwiegersohn des Chans oder des Emirs. Einmal als an der Aul, wo Ada lebte, der Chan vorbeikam, erfuhr er von der Voraussage und fasste den Entschluss, sich des unerwünschten Schwiegersohnes beizeten zu entledigen. Die Eltern erliegen dem Zwange des Chans und geben ihren Sohn heraus. Dieser wird auf Befehl des Chans in eine Truhe gesperrt und in den Fluss geworfen. Das Wasser schwemmt die Kiste zu einer Mühle, hier wird sie vom Müller geöffnet, der den Jungen adoptierte, da er selbst kinderlos war.

Einmal kam der Chan beim Müller vorbei und der schöne Jüngling zog seine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich. Als man ihm die Herkunft des Jungen offenbarte, erkannte er gleich, woran er ist, und begann schnell zu handeln. Er sandte den Jüngling mit einem Schreiben zu seiner Frau, in welchem er ihr befahl, den Überbringer sofort töten zu lassen. Der Jüngling verweilte über Nacht in einer Baude, die von Banditen bewohnt war. Er traf nur die Alte an, welche ihn warnte, aber der müde Ada blieb trotzdem und schließt bald ein. Bei der Heimkehr der Banditen wurde der Anführer auf das Schreiben des Jünglings aufmerksam und las es durch. Über den Text erbost, zerriss er dasselbe um es durch ein neues zu ersetzen. Im Namen des Chans befahl er dessen

Frau, sie möge den Überbringer des Schreibens mit seiner Tochter vermählen. Dies geschah dann auch. Der Chan war bei seiner Rückkehr furchtbar aufgebracht und begann sofort neue Anschläge gegen den Schwiegersohn vorzubereiten. Er gab vor geschworen zu haben, nur dem seine Tochter zur Frau zu geben, der ihm drei goldene Haare des Dämonenherrschers bringen könne. Ada erklärte daraufhin ruhig, dass er das Gewünschte beschaffen werde und begab sich sofort auf den Weg.

So kam er zu einer Stadt, wo ihn ein Soldat nur in dem Falle das Tor passieren lassen wollte, wenn er auf die Frage, warum in der Stadt die Wasserquelle versiegte, Antwort wüsste. Ada versprach ihm dieselbe am Rückweg. Ähnlich verhielt er sich in einer anderen Stadt, als man ihn fragte, warum dort der Apfelbaum zu tragen aufhörte, der früher immer goldene Früchte zeugte. Nach längerem Pilgern kam Ada zu einem grossen See, hinter welchem der Dämonenherrscher wohnte. Der Fährmann fragte den Jüngling, wann ihn jemand ablösen käme. Auch diesem versprach Ada später zu beantworten; der Fährmann versprach ihm eine Belohnung. Im Palast des Dämons begegnete Ada einer alten Frau, welche ihn unter Schutz nahm, verwandelte ihn in eine Ameise und versteckte ihn in ihren Ärmel. Sie riss dem schlafenden Dämon die goldenen Haare aus und entlockte ihm dabei die Antworten auf alle drei Fragen (auf der Quelle sitzt ein Frosch, an den Wurzeln des Apfelbaums nagt eine Maus, den Fährmann kann ein Mensch in rotem Mantel ablösen). Auf dem Rückweg wurde Ada für seine Antworten, die Quelle und den Baum betreffend, reich belohnt. Zu Hause sagte er seinem Schwiegervater, dass hinter dem See, den er übersetzt musste um den Dämon zu erreichen, grosse Schätze liegen, welche jedoch nur der Chan in rotem Mantel bergen könne. Der Chan zog sich einen roten Mantel an und begab sich auf den Weg. Beim See übergab ihm der Fährmann die Ruder und der Chan musste Fährmann bleiben.<sup>12</sup>

Diese Variante enthält einige Züge, die sonst nur in wenigen europäischen Varianten erscheinen. Zu solchen Besonderheiten rechnen wir zum Beispiel die Verwandlung des Helden in eine Ameise (im Palast des Dämons). Der bekannteste Text, wo diese Besonderheit vorkommt, ist die deutsche Variante aus der Grimmschen Märchensammlung. Die erwähnte Variante aus dem Milieu der chinesischen Kasachen hat mit dem deutschen Text noch andere gemeinsame Detaile, unter anderem auch die Inhaltsänderung von Chans Schreiben an seine Frau durch den Räuberhäuptling. Hier kann nicht der kleinste Zweifel bestehen, dass die kasachische Variante auf Grund deutscher Vorlage und zwar am wahrscheinlichsten aus russischer oder direkt kasachischer Übersetzung entstanden ist. Die ziemlich komplizierte Vermittlung durch mündliche Überlieferung (auch durch eventuelle Fernübertragung, wie z. B. im Gefangenengelager) ist hier unwahrscheinlich.

Schon auf Grund einer einfachen Vergleichsanalyse muss man hier zum Ergebnis kommen, dass es nicht einmal um freie Reproduktion der gelesenen Erzählung,

<sup>12</sup> *Glaza drakona — legendy i skazki narodov Kitaja.* Moskva 1959, S. 299—305.

sondern einfach um eine literarische Paraphrase geht. Am Anfang entspricht der kasachische Text dem deutschen Original in einigen sogar aufeinanderfolgenden Sätzen, erweitert ist die kasachische Bearbeitung dort, wo von der Klugheit des Knaben gesprochen wird. Weiters wird frei übersetzt und der Text gegenüber der Vorlage verkürzt, immer ist aber die Abhängigkeit von der deutschen Fassung offensichtlich. Unter diesen Umständen bleibt wohl bloss die Frage offen, wer sich hier des Betruges schuldig machte. Die russische Übersetzung chinesischer Märchen mit der kasachischen Nachahmung des deutschen Textes ist nach chinesischer Vorlage verfasst. Das wird im Untertitel sowie im Vorwort (hier behauptet man, es wären hauptsächlich Texte aus der offiziellen chinesischen folkloristischen Zeitschrift verwendet worden) behauptet. Vollständig unwahrcheinlich ist, dass die Mystifikation vom Übersetzer selbst ausgehe (es sind zwei Übersetzer angeführt: Liu-Liu und P. Ustina).

Interessant ist dabei, dass es sich nicht um den einzigen kasachischen Widerhall deutscher Vorlage handelt, die in russischer Übersetzung wieder nach Europa zurückkam. Eine ein wenig selbständiger Bearbeitung erschien in der Sammlung *Skazki narodov Kitaja* (herausgegeben in Moskau 1961). Wieder handelt es sich um eine Übersetzung aus dem Chinesischen; bei kasachischen sowie bei der Mehrzahl der anderen Märchen handelt es sich also um eine indirekte Übersetzung („aus zweiter Hand“). Bei der kasachischen Erzählung „Smelyj Ada“ ist als Übersetzer der bekannte sowjetische Orientalist B. Riftin angeführt. Die Bearbeitung ist freier, zugleich aber auch oberflächlich, gleich am Anfang kommt eine Unstimmigkeit vor. Die Erzählung beginnt ähnlich wie die Variante in der Sammlung *Glaza drakona*.

Von einem durch Weisheit hervorragenden Sohn eines Armen wird erzählt, dass er der Voraussagung nach Schwiegersohn des Chans werden soll, gleich danach wird jedoch analog mit der deutschen Fassung und dem traditionellen Typus behauptet, dass der Chan sofort nach der Geburt des Knaben diesen zu töten beabsichtigte. In der Variante der Sammlung *Glaza drakona* wird auch gleich zu Beginn von der Weisheit des Knaben gesprochen, die weitere Erzählung schliesst jedoch nicht die Möglichkeit aus, dass der erste Mordanschlag erst an dem ein wenig älteren Knaben versucht wurde. Sonst ist schon aus dem Namen des Helden Ada der enge Zusammenhang der beiden kasachischen Varianten ersichtlich. Im allgemeinen ist es klar, dass der eine Text auf Grund des anderen entstanden ist und zwar wahrscheinlich wieder auf literarischem Wege, nicht also durch mündliche Überlieferung. In beiden besteht eine grundsätzlich gleiche Dialogkonstruktion des Knaben mit den Torwachen beider Städte, mit dem Fährmann und auch mit der Alten im Palast des Ungeheuers (die andere Version spricht vom Fürsten des Reiches der Riesen). Dieser zweite Fall beweist, dass die Machinationen mit folkloristischem Material in chinesischen folkloristischen Publikationen keine seltene Erscheinung sind.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Skazki narodov Kitaja*. Moskau 1961, 87—90.

In derselben Sammlung wurde noch eine weitere Variante der Erzählung vom Schicksalskind eingereiht. Diesmal ist es eine Variante aus chanschem Milieu mit dem Titel „Wie der Hirt bei der Sonne drei Haare erworben hat“. Selbst schon der Titel des Märchens deutete auf andere Zusammenhänge. Das Schicksalskind begibt sich in diesem Falle nicht zum Dämon (Ungeheuer), sondern zur personifizierten Sonne, ähnlich wie in einer Reihe von osteuropäischen Varianten.<sup>14</sup>

Die Verwandschaft mit der europäischen Überlieferung ist hier auch aus anderen Besonderheiten ganz offensichtlich. Die Fragen, die dem Schicksalskind auf dem Wege zur Sonne anvertraut werden, sind in beiden Fällen dieselben, nur die Reihenfolge der ersten zwei ist umgekehrt (an erster Stelle ist der Baum, dann folgt der Brunnen usw.). Der Fährmann wird von der unangenehmen Beschäftigung einfach dadurch befreit, dass er das Ruder einem anderen übergeben wird. Das Schicksalskind entfernt sich zuerst von ihm, bis dann sagt er, was er von der Sonne erfahren habe. Ähnliche Schilderung kommt auch in einigen europäischen Fassungen vor. Im Ganzen haben wir hier mit einer ganz selbständigen Bearbeitung zu tun, die aber doch gewisse Verwandschaftsziege mit der europäischen Überlieferung aufweist. Eine Entlehnung auf dem mündlichen Weg ist hier nicht unwahrscheinlich.

Einige völlig selbstständigen Varianten des Typus AaTh 461 sind auch von W. Eberhard im Verzeichnis „Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen“ registriert (FFC 120, Helsinki 1937, S. 183—185). Der ganze Typus ist hier nur unvollständig durch folgende Motivkette charakterisiert:

1. Jemand will eine schwere persönliche Frage lösen, geht in den Himmel, um dort den lebenden Buddha zu fragen.
2. Er trifft unterwegs Menschen und Tiere, die ihm Fragen, die sie selbst nicht lösen können, mitgeben.
3. Er trifft den Buddha, der die Fragen der anderen löst.
4. Die eigene Frage wird damit ungefragt auch gelöst.

Dazu sind noch verschiedene Variantenangaben beigefügt. Zu dem Anfang z. B. folgende: „Armer, der reiches Mädchen heiraten will, und dafür drei schwere Bedingungen erfüllen muss, will den Buddha über diese Fragen.“ Dieser Anfang erinnert schon deutlich an die europäischen Varianten. Unter den Fragen kommen auch folgende vor:

Nachbar fragt, warum seine Tochter stumm ist.

Nachbar fragt, warum Bäume (unter denen Goldtöpfe liegen) nicht blühen.

Reicher lässt fragen, warum ihm sein aufgespeichertes Korn verloren geht.

Bauer lässt fragen, warum im Jauchkübel nie Jauche ist.

Neben diesen Fragen, die ihre Verwandten in der europäischen (und auch in der vorderasiatischen und indischen) Überlieferung haben, klingt schon ziemlich eigenständlich die Frage der Mönche, warum ihr Kloster nicht besucht wird.

<sup>14</sup> Ebendorf, S. 336—342.

In die Sammlung Volksmärchen aus Südost-China (FFC 128, Helsinki 1941, S. 145 ff., Nr. 125) hat Eberhard eine interessante Variante mit wertvollen Anmerkungen eingereiht. Diese Variante hat folgenden Inhalt:

Ein krätziger junger Zimmermann wirbt um die Tochter des Ministers und soll kostbare Hochzeitsgeschenke bringen: einen 26 Lot schweren Klumpen Gold; eine viereckige nachtleuchtende Perle, zwei Drachenbarthaare, vier Perlen und goldene Schmetterlinge. Der Junge begab sich dann nach Westen zum Himmel um den Buddha fragen und sich von ihm diese fünf Geschenke erbitten. Unterwegs bat ihn eine Frau, er solle den Buddha auch fragen, warum ihre Tochter stumm ist. Als er zu einem Tempel kam, wurde ihm von den Mönchen die Frage anvertraut, warum ihr Tempel nicht besucht wird. In einem Dorf wollten die Frauen wissen, warum dortiger Brunnen vertrocknet ist. Der Jüngling kam dann an einen grossen Berg; dort wartete auf ihn schon eine Schlange, die wollte wissen, warum kann sie sich nicht in einen Drachen verwandeln.

Später kam er in eine sehr schöne Landschaft. In einem Pavillon waren Tische, Stühle, Teekessel und Becher. Der Jüngling trat ein und ruhte sich aus. Plötzlich sah er einen Mann mit ganz weissen Haaren und Bart, dieser gab ihm Antworte auf alle Fragen. „Die Schlange kann kein Drachen werden, weil sie auf dem Kopf eine nachtleuchtende Perle trägt, und noch viele andere Kostbarkeiten; wenn sie aufsteigen will, muss sie die zurücklassen. Du nimm ihre nachtleuchtende Perle. Der Brunnen vertrocknet, weil auf dem Grund des Brunnens goldene und perlene Schmetterlinge das Quellwasser absperren. Nimm sie dir heraus, dann wird der Brunnen wieder voll werden. Der Tempel ist so verlassen, weil unter der Kultrische vier goldene Ziegel sind, die keine heilige Atmosphäre aufkommen lassen. Du brauchst sie nur wegzunehmen, dann ist es gut. Und dass betreffende Mädchen nicht sprechen kann, kommt davon, weil in ihrem Haar zwei rote Drachenhaare sind. Die ziehe ihr nur aus, dann kann sie sprechen. Wenn du alle diese Dinge sammelst, hast du dann nicht, was du brauchst? Geh wieder.“ Danach verschwand der alte Mann, der Pavillon, der Berg, und der Jüngling machte zum Himmel empor eine Dankesverbeugung und ging zurück nach Osten.

Es verhielt sich wirklich so, wie der Mann gesagt hatte. Die Schlange wurde zu einem Drachen und stieg auf zum Himmel. Der Brunnen im Dorf wurde voll von Wasser. Im Tempel wurde ununterbrochen Weihrauch dargebracht und verbrannte, die Mönche waren gut gekleidet und hatten gut zu essen. Das neunzehnjährige Mädchen konnte mit einem Mal sprechen. So bekam der Krätzige auch all die Kostbarkeiten, die er dann zu Hause seinem Meister gab. Der Zimmermann brachte die Schätze zu dem Minister. Der empfand tiefe Reue, er sah, dass er dem jungen Zimmermann die Tochter geben muss. Alle Verwandten des Zimmermanns kamen ihn zu beglückwünschen und priesen die Tüchtigkeit des krätzigen Jungen.

In den Anmerkungen zu diesem Märchen sucht Eberhard die Quelle zum Motiv der Reise zu dem Buddha in einem älteren chinesischen Roman, aber dass ist schon

wegen der Verwandschaft mit der westlichen Märchenüberlieferung völlig unwahrscheinlich. Eberhard selbst kam später zu einem anderen Ergebniss. In der Abhandlung „Studies of Near Eastern and Chinese Folk-tales (The Journey to the West)“ behandelt er das Verhältnis des angeführten Märchens zur türkischen Parallelen, die er im Verzeichnis „Typen türkischer Volksmärchen“ (Wiesbaden 1953) zusammen mit P. N. Boratav bearbeitete.<sup>15</sup> Er kommt zum Schluss, dass die Ähnlichkeit der verglichenen chinesischer und türkischen Variante so gross ist, dass wir hier mit der Migration rechnen müssen, und zwar in der Richtung vom Westen nach Osten. Im Verzeichnis der türkischen Volksmärchen ist zu einer verwandten Erzählung folgende Motivkette angegeben:

1. Der Padischah trifft einen Alten, der Namen auf einen Zettel schreibt und die Zettel ins Wasser wirft; dies sind die Namen füreinander bestimmter Paare.
2. Auf Befragen erfährt der Padischah, dass seine Tochter einen Neger heiraten soll.
3. Der Padischah schickt den Neger zur Sonne, um von ihr Steuern einzukassieren.
4. Die Sonne schickt den Neger zurück und verweist auf den Schicksalsspruch.
5. Der Neger wird unterwegs durch ein Bad weiss, dazu durch gefundene Steine reich. Er wird Kaufmann.
6. Der Padischah verheiratet, ohne es zu wissen, seine Tochter an den Kaufmann (früheren Neger). Erst später klärt der Neger alles auf.<sup>16</sup>

Nähtere Verwandschaft mit dem chinesischen Märchen ist an anderen Varianten (darunter auch zur Nr. 125) zu sehen. Hier handelt sich hauptsächlich um folgende Zufügungen: Auf dem Wege zur Sonne trifft der Neger

- a) einen Scheich, der viel betet, aber geizig ist. Er bittet den Neger, den Himmel zu fragen, ob er bald in den Himmel komme;
- b) die vierzig Räuber fragen an, ob sie trotz vierzig Jahren Räubertums in den Himmel kommen könnten;
- c) warum hat ein Apfel so saure Früchte, eine Quelle daneben so bitteres Wasser?
- d) ein Fisch, der ihn über das Meer geleitet, lässt fragen, warum es ihm so schlecht gehe.

Die Antworten sind: a) die Räuber kommen in den Himmel, werden aber vor Freude über die Nachricht sterben; ihre Reichtümer gehören dem Neger; b) der Scheich kommt in die Hölle, denn er war scheinheilig; c) unter Apfelbaum und Quelle sind Schätze, die der Neger entfernen soll; d) der Fisch hat eine Kostbarkeit im Maul, die er abgeben muss. (Diese Fassung erklärt auch besser, wodurch der Neger so reich wird; die Entfärbung geschiet durch den Apfelbaum.<sup>17</sup>)

In einer türkischen Variante zum Typ Nr. 125 (Der Uriasbrief, AaTh 930) versucht ein Padischah, dessen Tochter nach der Schicksalsvorbestimmung einen armen

<sup>15</sup> Vergl. Sinologica, Zeitschrift für chinesische Kultur und Wissenschaft I, 1948, S. 144—151.

<sup>16</sup> Typen türkischer Volksmärchen. Wiesbaden 1953, S. 143, Nr. 126.

<sup>17</sup> Ebendorf, S. 144.

Jüngling heiraten soll, den unerwünschten Schwiegersohn aus dem Weg dadurch zu räumen, dass er ihm die drei goldenen Haare vom Kopf des Teufels holen lässt. Unterwegs gaben dem Jüngling drei Leute folgende Fragen: Warum läuft aus einer Quelle kein Wein mehr? Warum vertrocknet ein Baum, der Kostbarkeiten trug? Warum klebt man an einem Stuhl an? Mit Hilfe der Frau des Teufels bekommt der Junge die Haare und Antworten auf alle Fragen. Der Padischah bleibt auf besagtem Stuhl kleben.

In einer weiteren Variante kommen folgende Fragen vor: Warum trocknet eine Quelle aus? (Weil unter ihr eine Schildkröte steckt); warum trägt ein Apfelbaum nicht? (Weil unter ihm eine Ratte mit Jungen nistet); wann wird ein Wächter an einem See frei? (Wenn er seine Waffen an den ersten Reisenden gibt.) Der Junge kommt wohlbehalten heim.

Diese Varianten stehen schon näher der europäischen Überlieferung und auch zu den unechten Varianten aus West-China. Unter den westchinesischen Varianten haben wir aber auch eine gefunden, die nicht so eng mit der europäischen Überlieferung verknüpft und die somit auch nicht verdächtig ist. Es ist das Märchen „Wie der Hirt bei der Sonne drei Haare erworben hat.“<sup>18</sup>

Eberhard setzt voraus, wie schon gesagt, für die südostchinesische Variante die Entlehnung aus dem Westen, und zwar auf dem Küstenweg. Der Ursprung der chinesischen Variante ist nach ihm im Nahen Osten, wahrscheinlich in Iran, zu suchen. „As the Chinese folktale is told only in the coastal parts of China it cannot have been introduced by way of Turkestan; it must have come by sea. It seems brightly probable that it came to China during the 15th century, certainly not after the 17th century, since trade relations by sea between China and the Near East existed in the early Ming period (the expeditions of Cheng Ho!), but were soon interrupted, never to be resumed after the appearance of European merchants in China. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that this folktale is only one of a big set of folktales of the same character. These West-Eastern relations are only one link in a whole chain of medieval cultural relations between the Near East, including India, and the China coast“ (S. 149—150).

Ich halte aber mehrfache Entlehnung nicht nur für möglich, sondern für wahrscheinlich; somit wäre der Küstenweg nicht der einzige mögliche. Auch die neuere russische Vermittlung ist hier nicht ausgeschlossen. Die festgestellte Entlehnung auf dem literarischen Wege ist eigentlich auch ein Sonderfall der Entlehnung auf dem kontinentalen Wege.

Eine breitere vergleichende Grundlage zeigte sich besonders für die Unterscheidung zwischen den volkstümlichen und literarischen Varianten des Märchens von dem Schicksalskind unentbehrlich.

Das Hauptergebnis unserer Betrachtung ist, dass die chinesischen Märchen-

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<sup>18</sup> *Skazki narodov Kitaja*. Moskau 1961, 87—90.

sammlungen, aus denen die sovietischen Übersetzungen schöpfen, nicht immer verlässlich sind. Sie enthalten neben den volkstümlichen Aufzeichnungen auch literarische Bearbeitungen der Texte aus den klassischen europäischen Märchensammlungen.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN IDEAS ON CHINESE  
LITERARY CRITICISM (1898—1904)

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The year 1842 is a marked boundary in the history of relations between China and the Western world. China begins compulsorily to open up at first to England, then to USA, France, Russia, Germany, and lastly but not leastly, to some extent also to Japan. First of all it occurred only in the economical and political fields, and it was as late as the last two decades of the nineteenth century that scientific and cultural fields were covered, too. Of course, at that time there was a tendency to learn from the West only in the sphere of the natural, technical and military sciences (Western studies for practical use) (*Hsi hsüeh wei yung*) (1), whereas philosophy, the laws, institutions, and literature, too, had to be protected against the European influence (Chinese studies as the fundamental structure) (*Chung hsüeh wei t'i*) (2).

But already in 1898 after the suppression of the Hundred Day's Reform and in the following years, new tendencies appeared in Chinese literature which culminated in the 'twenties and 'thirties of this century: the Chinese literary workers began turning to both the Western and Japanese literature, studying it and looking in it for new stimuli. After the May Fourth Movement the new Chinese literature, a product of inland endeavours and foreign influence, a part of the world literature, came into existence.

In this paper we shall try to show the beginning of this process in the years mentioned above. We shall keep in view two outstanding personages of the literary life of that time, namely Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (3) (1874—1929) and Wang Kuo-wei (4) (1877—1927), and shall try to characterize those aspects of their literary critical activity which show some relationship with the European and Japanese literature.

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Liang Ch'i-ch'ao is known in the first place as a political reformer, cultural historian, propagator of the European science and of new philosophical trends, but he has a firm

and very important position in the history of the Chinese literary criticism as well.<sup>1</sup>

Here we take account only of his opinions in the sphere of the theory of novel, for in this the influence of foreign motives is most evident.

In 1902 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao wrote a very significant article *Lun hsiao-shuo yü ch'ünn-chich kuan-hsi* (8) *The Relations of the Novel to Politics*, which exerted a great influence on the forming of Chinese literary criticism and on the uncommonly rich novel production of that time.<sup>2</sup>

At the very beginning there are the following words:

„He who will create a new nation, must first create a new novel of that nation. He who will create new morals, must create a new novel, who will create a new religion, must create a new novel, who will create new politics, must create a new novel... Even he who will create a new human thinking, a new human nature must create a new novel. Why? The novel has an unimaginable power as to the effect upon the Way of Man.“<sup>3</sup>

Of all kinds of novels that were current in the creative practice of that time, he esteemed the political one most of all. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was the first among Chinese critics who showed the enormous effect of the political novel; it was in a short *I-yin cheng-chich hsiao-shuo hsü* (11) *Preface to the Translated Political Novel*: “The incessant political progress of America, England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy and Japan is mostly due to the political novel.“<sup>4</sup> This preface was written for the Chinese translation of the political novel by the Japanese writer Shiba Shiro (12) (1825—1922) *Kajin-no kigu* (13) *The Strange Adventures of the Beauty*, which was probably the first political novel translated into Chinese at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao—as the ideological leader of a certain group of Chinese intellectuals—decided to make use of the novel in propagating his political, philosophical and social opinions. This had been done before him in Japan by the above mentioned Shiba Shiro and by many other writers and politicians in one person, e.g. Toda Kindo (14) (1850—1890), Yano Ryukei (15) (1850—1931) and others.<sup>6</sup> Liang Ch'i-ch'ao also began to be interested in the political novel but only after his arrival to Japan, that is after the suppression of the Hundred Days' Reform. The mentioned *Preface to the Translated Political Novel* appeared at the end of 1898 in the newspaper Ch'ing-i-pao (18) which had been founded by him in Japan.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wu Wen-ch'i (5). *Chin pai-nien lai-ti Chung-kuo wen-i ssu-ch'ao* (6) *Chinese Literary Ideas in the Last Hundred Years*. Hsüeh-lin (7) 2, December 1940, p. 153—159.

<sup>2</sup> A Ying (9) ed., *Wan-Ch'ing wen-hsueh ts'ung-ch'ao. Hsiao shuo hsi-ch'ü yen-chiu chüan* (10) *Collection of Reprints of Late-Ch'ing Literature. Volume of Studies on Novel and Drama*, Peking 1960, p. 14—19.

<sup>3</sup> A Ying, o.c. p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Izu Toshihoko (16) and others, *Istoriia sovremennoi iaponskoi literatury (A History of Modern Japanese Literature)*, Moscow 1961, p. 29—30. This is the translation of *Nihon-no kendai bungakushi* (17) edited by the mentioned writer in 1954.

<sup>7</sup> See note of A Ying on p. 14.

What are the principal features of the theory of novel represented by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao?

The first feature: The novel is the „Greatest Conveyance” (tsui shang-ch'eng) (19) of literature.<sup>8</sup> It is nothing else than an assertion veiled in Buddhist garment that the novel has the highest position in the hierarchy of literary genres. In analogy with the original Buddhist term these words have to express the following: the novel has the function of a vehicle which conveys the truth of its creator to the readers and helps them to a general political and social orientation.

The second feature: The novel has an immense, effective might. This might manifest itself by means of four powers.<sup>9</sup>

Ha named the first hsün (21), i.e. scenting. This power acts like clouds or smoke when something penetrates therein, like Chinese-ink or vermillion when something touches them. It acts upon the reader without even realizing it.

He named the second chin (22), i.e. soaking. This power represents something similar, but has a stronger and longer action. „One reads a novel,” writes Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, „and sometimes after even days or weeks one cannot compose oneself. Longing and mourning remain in those who read *Hung-lou-meng* (23) *Dream of the Red Chamber*, pleasure and anger remain in those who read *Shui-hu-chuan* (24) *All Men Are Brothers*.<sup>10</sup>

He named the third tz'u (25), i.e. stimulating. This power acts upon the reader in the moment of highest emotional excitement.

He named the fourth t'i (26). The word is difficult to translate, but its meaning may be easily explained. This is the most effective. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao writes: „Usually all who read novels seem to be transformed (tzu-hua ch'i shen) (27), as if they entered the books and had become their heroes. Those who read *Yeh-sou pao-yen* (28) *A Rustic's Idle Talk* regard themselves as Wen Su-ch'en (29), those who read *Shih-tou-chi* (30) *Tale of a Rock* regard themselves as Chia Pao-yü (31). The readers of *Hua-yieh-hen* (32) *Traces of the Flower and the Moon* regard themselves as Han Ho-sheng (33) or Wei Ch'ih-chu (34)...“<sup>11</sup> It then means: „If Washington is the hero of the book being read, then the reader transforms himself into Washington, if the hero is Napoleon then the reader is being transformed into Napoleon, so if the heroes are Shakyamuni and Confucius then the reader transforms into Shakyamuni and Confucius...“<sup>12</sup> Probably Liang Ch'i-ch'ao is trying to express here the phenomenon which in Western literature is called imaginative identification or empathy (Einfühlung),<sup>13</sup> but he presents it in the same hyperbolical way as he presents his whole

<sup>8</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 15. The term tsui shang-ch'eng see *Shih-yung Fo-hsüeh tz'u-tien* (20) (*A Practical Buddhist Dictionary*), Shanghai (circa 1934), p. 1390.

<sup>9</sup> A Ying, o.c. p. 16—17.

<sup>10</sup> A Ying, o.c. p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> A Ying, o.c. p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Walter Jackson Bate, *Prefaces to Criticism*, New York 1959, p. 109—110 or. E. Nitchie, *The Criticism of Literature*, New York 1928, p. 37, 197—198, 201—202.

theory of novel. Here, the word „transform“ is not taken literally as meaning to „really become“. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao is convinced that the readers of novels imaginatively identify themselves with their heroes, try to imitate them, to follow them. Therefore, he writes about imaginative identification and about the mentioned four powers: „There is no more reliable truth than this one: these four powers may effect a whole generation, influence the moral relations of masses. Due to them, the founders of faith may found religions and the politicians may organize parties.“<sup>14</sup>

The third feature refers to the great political and social efficiency of the novel. It results from the two first ones. Besides social and political goals the novel has to serve also educational aims, above all to help to spread the knowledge of various technical branches, also of history, geography etc. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao himself translated Jules Verne's novel *Two Years Vacation* under the title *Shih-wu hsiao hao-chieh* (35).<sup>15</sup>

The fourth feature of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's theory of novel though last in order not least in importance is as follows: the novel should be written in an intelligible language, the best being the vernacular. This, of course, he demanded not only of the novel but of literature in general.<sup>16</sup>

Where is the origin of this theory which so energetically rejects the old Chinese tradition?

A partial answer was given above. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao followed the political novel of Japan. The Japanese political novel followed chiefly the English political novel of the 'forties to the 'seventies of the last century, especially its representatives Benjamin Disraeli (1804—1881) and Edward Earl Lytton Bulwer (1803—1873).<sup>17</sup> Disraeli's novel *Coningsby* was the first European work to have a great success in Japan.<sup>18</sup> His understanding of using the novel as an instrument of propagating an author's suggestion and the method offering the best chance of influencing opinion<sup>19</sup> was

<sup>14</sup> A Ying, o.c. p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> The Chinese translation of this novel was published first in instalments in the fortnightly *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao* (36) *The People's Magazine* founded by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in Yokohama. The first instalment was in No. 2 of this magazine on January 15, 1902, p. 93—100. A novel was translated into vernacular under the pseudonym Shao-nien Chung-kuo-chih shao-nien (37) *Youth of Young China*. Cf. also A Ying, *Wan-Ch'ing hsiao-shuo shih* (38) *A History of the Late-Ch'ing Novel*, Peking 1955, p. 78, and Cheng Chen-to (39), *Chung-kuo wen-hsieh yen-chiu* (40) *Studies in Chinese Literature*, vol. 3, Peking 1957, p. 1239—1240. Neither of these authors indicated either the original name of the novel or the name of its writer. That the novel *Two Years Vacation* was concerned in this case we learned from the translator's note on p. 100 of the 2nd number of the above mentioned *The People's Magazine*.

<sup>16</sup> A Ying, o.c. p. 17; c. f. also Wu Wen-ch'i, o.c. p. 156.

<sup>17</sup> See N. I. Konrad, *Pervyi etap iaponskoi burjoaznoi literatury* (*The First Stage of Japanese Bourgeois Literature*) in almanac *Problemy literatury Vostoka* (*Problems of Oriental Literature*), Leningrad 1932, p. 66—68.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. loc. cit.

<sup>19</sup> In the *Preface to the Fifth Edition* of this book Disraeli wrote: „It was not originally the intention of the writer to adopt the form of fiction as the instrument to scatter his suggestions, but after reflection he resolved to avail himself of a method which, in the temper of the times, offered the best chance of influencing opinion.“ See *Coningsby*, London 1948, p. 19. This *Preface* was written in 1849 and the Japanese translation of *Coningsby* appeared in 1884, see N. I. Konrad, o. c. p. 66. As far as we know, there is no Chinese translation of this novel.

quickly adopted by the Japanese writers.<sup>20</sup> This understanding became the basis of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's treatises as well. Of course, it does not mean that there was direct contact between Disraeli and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao nor between Disraeli's opinions, concerning the political novel, and the Japanese writers. This influence was probably exerted through the activity of the works of European political novels on the Japanese political novels and so through the activity of the Japanese political novels effecting Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's critical opinions.<sup>21</sup>

By the articles of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his adherents in China began, in the years mentioned above, to form a more systematical theory of novel. Heretofore we find only isolated notes uttered about this form by Li Chih (43) (1527—1602), Yüan Hung-tao (44) (1568—1610) and Chin Sheng-t'an (45) (?—1661).<sup>22</sup> The articles of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his adherents began to form a kind of literary criticism opposing the tradition represented by the T'ung-ch'eng (48) and Wen-hsüan (49) schools especially.<sup>23</sup> This kind of criticism tried to some extent to follow foreign literary criticism.<sup>24</sup>

Wang Kuo-wei was one of the most prominent propagators of European philosophy in China at the beginning of our century. He began to study Western philosophy in 1901. In the summer of 1903 he began to study Arthur Schopenhauer's (1788—1860) „great anthology of woe“, i.e. *The World as Will and Idea* (*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*) and in the summer of 1904 he wrote the study *Hung-lou-meng p'ing-lun* (58) *Contribution to a Discussion on a Dream of the Red Chamber*.<sup>25</sup> This study is the only serious attempt to apply Western (in this case essentially but not entirely

<sup>20</sup> E.g. the writer Ozaki Yukio (41) asserted: „To change into belletrist, to reveal one's heart and soul in flowers, in water, in the moon, and in this way to get one's voice into the ears of all people—that is the duty of our political authorities of these days.“ The writer Suehiro Tetcho (42) wrote: „Nowadays, there is in the world, much that compels agitation and indignation. Therefore, I have described the political situation in the form of a love-story.“ See N. I. Konrad, o.c. p. 75.

<sup>21</sup> There was no elaborate theory of the political novel of those times in Japan.

<sup>22</sup> See Liu Ta-chieh (46), *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh fa-chan shih* (47) *A History of the Development of Chinese Literature*, vol. 3, Shanghai 1958, p. 120—122 and 271.

<sup>23</sup> Wu Wen-ch'i writes in detail on the literary opinions of both schools in op. cit., Hsüeh-lin 1, November 1940, p. 3—22. Chien I-chih (50) deals shortly with the literary critical situation of this time in *Chung-kuo chin-tai lun-wen hsüan* (51) *Preface to a Selection of Essays on Chinese Literature Between 1842—1919*, vol. 1, Peking 1959, p. 4—8.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. T'ao Ts'eng-yu (52), *Lun wen-hsüeh-chih shih-li chi ch'i kuan-hsi* (53) *On the Power of Literature and Its Relations*, see *A Selection of Essays on Chinese Literature Between 1842—1919*, p. 240—244. His is also *Lun hsiao-shuo-chih shih-li chi ch'i yin-hsiang* (54) *On the Power of Novel and Its Influence*, ibid., p. 245—247. The same see A Ying, o.c. p. 39—41. Ti Ping-tzu (55), *Lun wen-hsüeh shang hsiao-shuo-chih wei-chih* (56) *On the Position of Novel in Literature. A Selection of Essays on Chinese Literature Between 1842—1919*, p. 228—231. Just the same A Ying, o.c. p. 27—31. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and others, *Hsiao-shuo ts'ung-hua* (57) *Collected Sayings on Novel*, A Ying, o.c. p. 308—351.

<sup>25</sup> See *Ching-an wen-chi hsü* (59) *Preface to the Writings of Mr. Ching-an* (Wang Kuo-wei's courtesy name); we know it from Kuo Chan-po (60), *Chin wu-shih nien Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang shih* (61) *A History of Chinese Philosophy in the Last Fifty Years*, 2nd ed., Peking 1936, p. 71. For Wang Kuo-wei's study see A Ying, o.c. p. 103—125, or *Selection of Essays on Chinese Literature Between 1842—1919*, p. 753—775.

Schopenhauer's) literary principles in the study of the old Chinese literature at the beginning of our century. Therefore, we shall take more account of it.

This study consists of four chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter entitled *Jen-sheng chi mei-shu-chih kai-kuan* (62) *Life and View on Art* Wang Kuo-wei explains the following conception of life and of the relation of life to art. "What is the essence of life?" asks Wang Kuo-wei, and answers: „Desires—and that is all.“ Then he continues: "The essence of desire is its unappeasability and its nature is unsatisfiability. The state of unsatisfiability is the basis of suffering. If one desire is satisfied, then all is right with it, but only the one that is satisfied, and there are hundreds of unsatisfied ones."<sup>26</sup>

Wang Kuo-wei sees a unity in desires, suffering and life: „...if human desires are inherent to life and life cannot be without suffering, then desires, life and suffering are one.“<sup>27</sup>

It is practically a Buddhist philosophy. Professor E. Zürcher in his article *Budhism in China* wrote: „Budhism starts from the basic assumption that suffering is an integral part of all transitory existence; that the motive power of existence (and hence of suffering) is desire in all its forms, including desire *to be*; and that the only way of escaping from suffering is the utter destruction of desire.“<sup>28</sup> Or: „The individual is merely a bundle of visible and invisible elements which is born, suffers, dies and after death is again integrated into a similar complex of material and psychic elements. It is held together by desire, the most deadly form of which is the desire to exist as an individual, i.e. the desperate belief in the reality of a permanent 'ego'.“<sup>29</sup>

From Schopenhauer Wang Kuo-wei takes the idea of Beauty (Das Schöne) and Sublime (Das Erhabene). The task of Beauty (Wang's term is yu-mei) (63) and Sublime (Wang's term is chuang-mei) (64) is to make consumers of art and literature capable of discharging vital desires.<sup>30</sup>

According to this idea the task of art and literature is to describe life, because desires are the basic attributes of life.<sup>31</sup>

The second chapter is called „*Hung-lou-meng*“ -chich ching-shen (65) *The Spirit of „Dream of the Red Chamber.“* Here, Wang Kuo-wei continues his discussions on the questions of desires. What is to be done in order to avoid the pitfalls of desires and thereafter also of superfluous suffering?

Wang Kuo-wei turns to the postulate chieh-t'o (66) in Sanskrit moksha which means release, of course, in a spiritual sense. This postulate has its philosophical meaning, too. Philosophically, this term may be interpreted in various ways, e.g.

<sup>26</sup> A Ying, o.c. p. 104.

<sup>27</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>28</sup> R. Dawson ed., *The Legacy of China*, Oxford 1964, p. 60.

<sup>29</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Inselverlag, Leipzig 1905, p. 275—283 and A Ying, o. c. p. 106—107.

<sup>31</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 107.

to dispose of everything that binds and to become a free man, to get rid of all secular fetters etc.<sup>32</sup> Schopenhauer under the influence of Indian thought turned to the same postulate but in his philosophical system he usually called it negation of will to live (die Verneinung des Willens zum Leben).<sup>33</sup> Wang Kuo-wei put an equation sign between release and negation of will to live, thus he recognized their identity.<sup>34</sup>

In what consists the philosophical essence of these postulates?

According to Schopenhauer the will is the alfa and omega of everything that exists. Everything that exists is only an objectified state or an act of the will. The will is the essence of life, the essence of man, the essence of all living and lifeless matter. The will is also the will to live (Willen zum Leben). But all life is suffering, because desires—objectified form of will—require more than is possible to give them. How is it possible to get rid of these desires, of this suffering, whereby is the way out? In death? No! The whole of mankind will not die at once and the death of an individual does not solve anything. In suicide? No! Not all people are ready to die and the death of an individual does not solve anything. But people may find an escape. The escape is in the negation of will to live, i.e. in a voluntary renunciation, in total chastity, in ascetism. Only for he who is able to suppress the will to live, to deride both desires and suffering will life pass further, will it be something which is not. The end and the aim of Schopenhauer's philosophy is hidden in the postulate of the negation of will to live.<sup>35</sup>

According to Wang Kuo-wei the desire is the alfa and omega of everything that exists, or as E. Zürcher said „the motive power of existence“. There is unity in desires, life (existence) and suffering. Life if suffering because desires require more than it is possible to give them. How is it possible to get rid of these desires, of this suffering, whereby is the way out? Philosophically he agreed with Schopenhauer first: he also supposed that the aim of philosophy is hidden in the postulate of release. But he began to disagree with him later as we shall see further.

<sup>32</sup> References concerning chieh-t'o are scattered almost all through the text. They begin in the second chapter. What does release exactly mean? E. J. Thomas in his book *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London 1953, wrote: „The prevalence in Indian religions of a doctrine of release (moksha, vimukti) from the ills of existence was a natural result of the conception of the universe as a world of change and rebirth. Each school had its own special teaching, and the Buddhist doctrine stands out in its originality and in the ethical character of the whole scheme. The disciple advances not by accumulating good deeds, but by quenching those tendencies which lead him to do evil... For Buddhism final release is brought about by a process of training of the self, in which it is released by stages from the bonds or fetters that hinder complete insight“ (p. 119—120). According to Buddhism all fetters of mind (belief in a permanent individuality, doubt, belief in mere morality and rites, sensual passion, malice etc.), three so-called āsavas (sensual desire, desire for existence, ignorance), and depravities (greed, hatred, stupidity, pride, false views, sloth, distraction, shamelessness and recklessness) must be destructed in order to achieve release. Cf. Thomas' book, p. 120—121.

<sup>33</sup> Schopenhauer devotees, to the postulate of negation of will to live, a part of the 4th book of the work *The World as Will and Idea* and the *Supplements* to this book. These *Supplements* form a part of the 2nd volume of the work *The World as Will and Idea*.

<sup>34</sup> See Wang Kuo-wei's translation in A Ying, o. c. p. 119.

<sup>35</sup> These thoughts are scattered all through his principal work *The World as Will and Idea*.

If we want to understand clearly the purpose of this postulate and its role in Wang Kuo-wei's philosophy of art and literature at the time when he wrote the first part of this study, we must read the third chapter entitled „*Hung-lou-meng*“-*chich mei-hsüeh shang-chich chia-chich* (67) *The Aesthetic Value of the „Dream of the Red Chamber“*.

Here, Wang Kuo-wei puts poetry in the first place in the hierarchy of artistic genres; in the sphere of poetry he puts, in the highest place, tragedy (just as Schopenhauer does)<sup>36</sup> and of tragedies he most esteems that kind which may arise out of mutual relations between the particular heroes of the work (this is also Schopenhauer's idea)<sup>37</sup> because this kind „shows the true image of life and the inevitability of release.“<sup>38</sup> *Dream of the Red Chamber* is, according to him, just that kind of tragedy.

Wang Kuo-wei, right from the first chapter, suggests that the aim of art is to describe life. In the second chapter he defines it as follows: „The task of art is to describe the suffering of human life and the forms of its release in such a way that we, the victims of the troubles of life, could in this world of cutters and handcuffs, retire from wrangles with vital desire and achieve temporary harmony.“ Then he adds the sentence: „This is the aim of all art.“<sup>39</sup>

The release is thus, according to Wang Kuo-wei, the most important measure of the value of a work of art. Upon this point he essentially differs from Schopenhauer. For Schopenhauer the negation of will to live is the important measure of artistic value only within the sphere of tragedy (above all the tragedy of the Christian era), e.g. it is not possible to use it in evaluating comedy which, according to Schopenhauer, is „an invitation to uninterrupted consent to will to live“ (*Die Bejahung des Willens zum Leben*).<sup>40</sup> Schopenhauer does not even mention it when discussing other artistic genres.

According to Wang Kuo-wei, the greatest work of modern times is Goethe's *Faust*, because it: „most skilfully describes the suffering of Dr. Faust and the form of his release.“<sup>41</sup> Therefore, he esteems *Dream of the Red Chamber* equally as Goethe's work: he says that the suffering and the way of release of Chia Pao-yü and Dr. Faust are similar.<sup>42</sup> Though Wang Kuo-wei does not assert it explicitly, he seems to esteem the *Dream of the Red Chamber* mostly because of the events described in the last twenty-two chapters where “the process of release and the way of spiritualization” of Chia Pao-yü is „clearly and truthfully“ demonstrated.<sup>43</sup>

Wang Kuo-wei applies release—as the most important measure of value—in investigating other novels and dramas of the old Chinese literature. He is most sorry

<sup>36</sup> See A Ying, o. c. p. 116 and Schopenhauer, o. c. p. 340.

<sup>37</sup> See A Ying, o. c. p. 114 and Schopenhauer, o. c. p. 340—343.

<sup>38</sup> See A Ying, o. c. p. 116.

<sup>39</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 111.

<sup>40</sup> Schopenhauer, o. c. p. 1211—1212.

<sup>41</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 111.

<sup>42</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>43</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 112.

that the Chinese are an optimistic and secular people and therefore their works begin in a sad mood and end with happy-ends; begin with farewells and end with meetings; begin in poverty and end in pavillions. Out of the whole of old Chinese literature he finds only two works that have „the spirit of pessimistic release“: *T'ao-hua-shan* (68) *The Peach Flower Fan* and the *Dream of the Red Chamber*. But *The Peach Flower Fan* does not show a „true release“. It is namely a work describing the Chinese past in the years of the patriotic struggle against Ch'ing conquerors and so the release of the heroes is nothing other than a sacrifice in the name of nation; it is not a release that could be explained in Buddhist or Schopenhauer's terms. True release is described only in a *Dream of the Red Chamber*. This work „turns its back to the Chinese national spirit“ it is „the tragedy of tragedies“. Therein sees Wang Kuo-wei its aesthetic value.<sup>44</sup>

The following conclusion may be drawn from what has been said above: The task of art lies chiefly in „describing the suffering of human life and forms of its release“. Wang Kuo-wei finds only one work in the whole of the old Chinese literature that is doing this quite perfectly. In other words: he finds there only one great work.

We ask: Is this not too few? Maybe Wang Kuo-wei also asked this question when he arrived at such a conclusion in the third chapter.

When reading this study we are witnesses of a paradoxical situation. In the first, second and third chapters we see that Wang Kuo-wei is accepting the ideas of Schopenhauer, when he distorts something, e.g. the role of release in art and literature, it is due more to misunderstanding than to conscious mistrust. But by the fourth chapter he has ceased to trust in Schopenhauer. Wang Kuo-wei himself wrote later that during work on the fourth chapter entitled „*Hung-lou-meng*“-*chih lun-li-hsüeh shang-chih chia-chich* (69) *Ethical Value of the „Dream of the Red Chamber“* he began to feel that Schopenhauer's doctrine is based partly on his subjective disposition, not taking into account objective knowledge and experience.<sup>45</sup> What did these doubts concern? It was Schopenhauer's conception of the negation of will to live. Wang Kuo-wei not only disagreed with him, he began to ask even more fundamental questions concerning the very essence of release, e.g. whether it is sufficient to postulate release in order to make of it the supreme ethic ideal (in the second chapter he has made the supreme aesthetic ideal out of it). He even asked whether release is possible at all!<sup>46</sup>

In the third line from the end of the fourth chapter he expressed a doubt, which is of great interest to us. He asked: „If it is so (i.e. if the questions about the essence of the true release, about its ethical value, about its possibility or impossibility are not

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<sup>44</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 112—113 and 114.

<sup>45</sup> See *Preface to the Writings of Mr. Ching-an* or Kuo Chan-po, o. c. p. 71.

<sup>46</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 120.

satisfactorily answered, M. G.) then will not the result be too poor when the release is rendered, to be the ideal of the Dream of the Red Chamber?"<sup>47</sup>

It is just these doubts (which were subsequently solved) that made Wang Kuo-wei an important discoverer of the great artistic values of the Chinese drama, especially of the Yüan Dynasty (1279—1368).

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At the beginning it was hinted that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Wang Kuo-wei are important representatives of the Chinese literary life at the turn of the century. Their articles which have been discussed above are products of those critical efforts that opposed the traditional literary criticism. They were first to express the aspirations which, around 1919, should give birth to the modern Chinese literary criticism. Therein lies their importance to the history of Chinese literary criticism.

Professor J. T. Shaw in his article *Literary Indebtedness and Comparative Literary Studies* wrote: „The seed of literary influence must fall on fallow land. The author and the tradition must be ready to accept, transmute, react to the influence. Many seeds from various possible influences may fall, but only the ones for which the soil is ready will germinate, and each will be affected by the particular quality of the soil and climate where it takes root, or, to shift the image, to the shoot to which it is grafted.”<sup>48</sup>

Only in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's case did the seed of foreign influence fall on fallow land. Not only Liang Ch'i-ch'ao but also his critical adherents and writers were ready to accept, transmute and react to this influence. A rich corp of novels of exposure (*ch'ien-tse hsiao-shuo*) (72) as Lu Hsün (73) (1881—1936) called them, was the chief result of the influence of the foreign political novel. These novels of exposure were indeed affected by the particular quality of the Chinese soil where they took root between 1900—1911.

In the case of Wang Kuo-wei we can not say that the seed fell on unfertile soil. The author and tradition were ready to accept this influence, but because of Wang Kuo-wei's misunderstanding of the role of Schopenhauer's postulate of negation of will to live in the realm of art and Wang Kuo-wei's final disagreement with Schopenhauer's interpretation of this postulate in the field of philosophy, the seed did not germinate.

The seed of the foreign literary influence of many sorts fell on the fallow land of Chinese literature during the May Fourth Movement. Modern Chinese literary criticism was created by the members of this generation: Lu Hsün, Ch'en Tu-hsiu (74) (1879—1942), Hu Shih (75) (1891—1962), Mao Tun (76) (born in 1896), Kuo Mo-jo

<sup>47</sup> A Ying, o. c. p. 121. There is a mistake in A Ying's text. Instead of fei (70) with grass ought to be fei (71) without grass. Cf. *Selection of Essays on Chinese Literature Between 1842—1919*, p. 771. Otherwise the sentence is meaningless in the context.

<sup>48</sup> N. P. Stallknecht and H. Frenz ed., *Comparative Literature. Method and Perspective*, Carbondale 1961, p. 66.

(77) (born in 1892), Ch'ü Ch'iui-pai (78) (1899—1934) and several others. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Wang Kuo-wei were the first pioniers of this lasting and fruitful effort. And as the pioniers they will be treated in the history of modern Chinese literary criticism.

1. 西學爲用
2. 中學爲骨體
3. 深啟起
4. 王國維
5. 袁文祺
6. 近百年來的中國文學思潮
7. 學林
8. 論小說與羣治之關係
9. 阿英
10. 晚清文學丛錄
11. 小說虛構研究卷
12. 譯印政治小說序
13. 柴四郎
14. 佳人奇遇
15. 戶田欽堂
16. 伊豆
17. 利嘉
18. 日本の現代文學史
19. 清議報
20. 最上乘
21. 佛學辭典
22. 売
23. 紅樓夢
24. 水滸傳
25. 刺
26. 提
27. 白化其身
28. 野叟曠言
29. 文素臣
30. 石頭記
31. 瓜寶玉
32. 花月痕
33. 韓荷生
34. 章璽珠
35. 十五小豪傑
36. 新民叢報
37. 少年中國之少年
38. 晚清小說史
39. 鄭振金鑑
40. 中國文學研究
41. 尾崎行雄
42. 末廣金鑑
43. 李贊
44. 袁宏道
45. 金聖歎
46. 劉大杰
47. 中國文學發展史
48. 桐城
49. 文選
50. 簡媯之
51. 中國近代文論選
52. 陶曾佑
53. 論文學之勢力及其關係
54. 論小說之勢力及其影響
55. 狄平子
56. 論文學上小說之位置
57. 小說叢話
58. 紅樓夢評書
59. 靜庵文集序
60. 鄭懋波
61. 近五十年中國思想史
62. 人生及美術之相觀
63. 優美
64. 牡美
65. 紅樓夢之精神
66. 解脫
67. 紅樓夢之美學上之價值
68. 桃花扇
69. 紅樓夢之倫理學上之價值
70. 菲
71. 非
72. 謹畫小說
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76. 第四
77. 鄭默若
78. 翼叔白

## QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR L'ÉVALUATION DE L'OEUVRE DE LU HSÜN

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Dans ma conférence, qui n'aspire qu'à être une note plutôt marginale au thème principal esquissé par le feu professeur E. Balazs,<sup>1</sup> je voudrais, pour commencer, rappeler les mots de cet auteur disant que „L'orientation d'une politique littéraire conforme à la conception idéologique actuelle, entrave souvent la juste appréciation de la valeur littéraire d'une oeuvre“, et documenter l'exactitude de cette affirmation par une brève analyse des différentes façons d'évaluation auxquelles l'oeuvre de Lu Hsün a prêté chez les critiques.

Il est, me semble-t-il, incontestable que la critique littéraire — en raison de son caractère tout particulier — ne saurait être considérée comme une science dans le sens exact du mot. Car, examinant des phénomènes uniques qui ne se répètent jamais, elle est privée de la possibilité de prouver la justesse de ses résultats par l'expérience, par une évidence „ad oculos“. Si l'on admet que la science ne peut traiter que du général (das Allgemeine), il s'ensuit qu'une discipline qui s'occupe du particulier (das Besondere) ne saurait être considérée comme une science véritable. C'est le sort de toutes les sciences sociales, et il faut bien se rendre à cette évidence. Cela ne signifie d'ailleurs nullement que la critique littéraire devrait renoncer aux méthodes exactes. Le but de la critique littéraire consiste, tout au contraire, à pénétrer par l'analyse critique, l'essence même du phénomène analysé, à démêler les lois intrinsèques qui le régissent et à aboutir ainsi à des conclusions objectives et d'une validité au moins relative.

Dans le cas de la littérature, dont la fonction est de nous communiquer certains faits d'une certaine façon au moyen d'une forme spécifique, cette tâche devient encore plus difficile. La raison en est dans le fait que la littérature réunit en elle l'élément cognitif, donc, le domaine rationnel, et l'élément esthétique, donc, la

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<sup>1</sup> Voir sa thèse préparée pour le Congrès sous le titre: *Qu'apporte la littérature chinoise à la littérature mondiale?*

sphère émotionnelle. Cette particularité ne manque pas d'influencer l'interprète: à côté d'une attitude objective et impartiale que lui imposent ses aspirations scientifiques, l'interprète doit être en contact intime avec l'œuvre, car ce contact purement personnel et, par conséquent, profondément subjectif, est d'ailleurs le seul à lui permettre de s'identifier avec l'auteur et de pénétrer jusqu'au fond de sa conception esthétique. Ici, un autre facteur intervient, que les sciences exactes peuvent se permettre d'ignorer entièrement, ou tout au moins en partie: l'aspect volontaire, je dirais, éthique. L'honnêteté avec laquelle l'interprète aborde le phénomène analysé devient alors d'une importance primordiale. Si, pour des raisons relevant de la nature même de la matière analysée, ou à la suite de l'ignorance des sources ou de leur inaccessibilité, ou, enfin, à cause de cet élément subjectif que représente l'attitude personnelle du critique vis-à-vis de la matière analysée — si, donc, pour ces raisons, l'interprète est dans l'impossibilité de fournir une image objective et fidèle de la réalité, ce qui importe énormément alors, c'est son attitude, car la déformation de la réalité qu'il nous présente peut être ou fortuite, ou bien voulue et prémeditée.

Etant donné cette bipolarité de la littérature, l'exégèse littéraire a jusqu'à présent adopté, en majeure partie, soit la méthode historique, voire bio-bibliographique, soit l'analyse purement esthétique de la forme.<sup>2</sup> Cette dualité découle de l'idée, fréquemment soutenue, selon laquelle l'unité de l'œuvre est constituée par deux composantes qui semblent diverger symétriquement pour former, d'un côté, le contenu et, de l'autre, la facture extérieure de l'œuvre. Cependant, l'œuvre littéraire existe en tant qu'une unité structurale du contenu et de la forme, unité dans laquelle chaque élément formel devient porteur d'une communication adressée au lecteur et où chaque communication revêt forcément une certaine forme pour s'extérioriser. C'est là une corrélation inséparable des deux catégories, catégories inimaginables du moment qu'elles seraient isolées, car c'est justement leur interdépendance mutuelle qui les conditionne et les détermine.

Dans le cas de Lu Hsün, dont l'œuvre apparaît si étroitement liée aux problèmes actuels de son époque, et qui va jusqu'à s'engager directement dans la lutte des idées, il sera sans doute beaucoup plus difficile de garder l'impossible objectivité scientifique et d'aborder son œuvre sans idées préconçues. Aussi, dans une œuvre si vigoureusement engagée au point de vue politique, idéologique et social, on ne saurait aboutir à une juste évaluation esthétique sans une étude approfondie de son contenu intellectuel. C'est là la seule voie qui nous permet de pénétrer la méthode de l'auteur, sa façon d'aborder les sujets littéraires, les idées qu'il se fait de la littérature, de sa fonction et de son but, bref, de comprendre pleinement les intentions de l'auteur.

L'œuvre de Lu Hsün remonte à une époque de transition où la littérature chinoise abandonne les schèmes et les conventions littéraires traditionnels et commence, sous l'influence des littératures étrangères, à s'adapter aux courants littéraires du

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

monde entier, auxquels elle cherche à assimiler ses propres œuvres. Historiquement, l'œuvre de Lu Hsün se place au seuil même de cette époque, mais par son art et par son audace intellectuelle, à tous points de vue incomparables, elle finit par la devancer. Son caractère exceptionnel, sinon unique, a sans doute également prêté à des critiques qui, parfois, sont contradictoires dans une mesure que l'histoire de la littérature a rarement connue. Pour le prouver, il suffit de rappeler deux critiques provenant des contemporains de Lu Hsün. Le critique renommé Ch'en Hsi-ying, connu plus largement sous le nom Ch'en Yüan, dit: „Tout en n'étant guère un admirateur de M. Lu Hsün, je ne peux pas méconnaître que ses contes sont bons. Cependant, même si j'apprécie la valeur de ceux-là, je ne peux pas reconnaître le reste de son œuvre littéraire...“<sup>3</sup> „... en ce qui concerne ses essais (tsa-kan), je les ai déposés là où ils appartiennent et, en toute confidence, je ne pense pas qu'il soit nécessaire de les sortir une fois de plus...“<sup>4</sup> Ch'en Yüan se range, comme le prouve le livre récemment paru de C. T. Hsia,<sup>5</sup> parmi „such liberal critics... who spoke out from the first on behalf of Lu Hsün's talent...“<sup>6</sup> De ce point de vue, l'opinion de Ch'en Yüan devrait être considérée comme une critique non négligeable. Un autre critique, Feng Hsüeh-feng, parle de l'œuvre de Lu Hsün en termes suivants: „Lu Hsün's essays form the bulk and the most important part of his literary work.“ „Almost every one of these essays bears the imprint of a brilliant mind, and each is clearly the handwork of a genius in the creation of types and a master of satirical writing...“<sup>7</sup>

Des critiques pareillement contradictoires réapparaissent même de nos jours. L'opinion de Ch'en Yüan a été presque littéralement adoptée par C. T. Hsia dans son ouvrage précité, et des critiques également négatives se rencontrent dans l'ouvrage de Jef Last „Lu Hsün, Dichter und Idol“.<sup>8</sup> Certains savants, par contre, considèrent Lu Hsün comme un des plus grands écrivains de la littérature chinoise moderne, ainsi p. ex. Wang Ch'eng-ju dans son travail „Lu Hsün, sein Leben und sein Werk“<sup>9</sup> de 1940, ou des critiques plus récents comme Huang Sung-k'an,<sup>10</sup> Pozdnêyeva,<sup>11</sup> Sorokin,<sup>12</sup> Petrov<sup>13</sup> et autres, dont, personnellement, je partage l'avis.

<sup>3</sup> Lu Hsün, *Oeuvres complètes*, Shanghai 1946, III, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction 1917—1957*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961.

<sup>6</sup> C. T. Hsia, op. cit. p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Feng Hsüeh-feng, *Lu Hsün, his Life and Work*, Préface à Selected Works of Lu Hsün, Peking Foreign Language Press, 1956, pp. XVII et XX.

<sup>8</sup> Jef Last, *Lu Hsün — Dichter und Idol — Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Neuen Chinas* (Band B der Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde in Hamburg). Frankfurt am Main—Berlin, A. Metzner Verlag, 1959.

<sup>9</sup> Wang Ch'eng-ju, *Lu Hsün, sein Leben und sein Werk*. Inauguraldissertation, Berlin 1940.

<sup>10</sup> Huang Sung-k'an, *Lu Hsün and the New Culture Movement of Modern China*. Djambatan—Amsterdam 1958.

<sup>11</sup> L. D. Pozdnêyeva, *Lu Sin, Zhizn i tvorchestvo* (La vie et l'œuvre). Moscou 1959.

<sup>12</sup> V. F. Sorokin, *Formirovaniye mirovozzreniya Lu Sinyi, Rannaya publitsistika i sbornik Klich* (Formation de la conception du monde de Lu Hsün. Ses premières œuvres et le recueil La Bagarre). Moscou 1958.

<sup>13</sup> V. Petrov, *Lu Sin, Ocherk zhiznyi i tvorchestva* (Profil de sa vie et de son œuvre). Moscou 1960.

Il y a certes très peu de grands artistes qui peuvent s'attendre à une appréciation générale et incontestée de leurs œuvres dès leur parution. Si, toutefois, une œuvre provoque des opinions diamétralement opposées non seulement durant la vie de son auteur, mais encore beaucoup plus tard, à une époque où l'ardeur des polémiques dictées par le moment s'apaise, pour céder à une appréciation réfléchie que l'élément personnel n'altère plus, on ne peut s'empêcher de soupçonner que les critiques aient été suscitées non par des raisons relevant de la valeur réelle de l'œuvre, mais plutôt par des motifs qui sont en dehors de l'œuvre littéraire. L'évaluation de l'œuvre de Lu Hsün devient encore plus compliquée par le fait que certains auteurs (dont Last ou C. T. Hsia) sont enclins à attribuer une certaine valeur aux contes de Lu Hsün, mais rejettent, intégralement ou partiellement, ses essais, qu'ils considèrent (surtout ceux de la période de 1927 ou 1929, où Lu Hsün, selon ces auteurs, se serait „soumis aux communistes“ et „engagé en politique“) comme des produits de sa décadence, de sa „stérilité créatrice“ que l'auteur cherche à dissimuler par son travail de journaliste. C. T. Hsia dit: „...after his capitulation, the writing of short essays became with him even more a consuming passion, in compensation for his creative sterility.“ Et plus loin: „... he disguised his loss of creative powers in the bustle of an endless series of personal and non-personal quarrels.“<sup>14</sup> Jef Last prend une position analogue, cependant, à la différence de C. T. Hsia, il place „das Versagen seiner schöpferischen Kraft“<sup>15</sup> après 1930 seulement. Selon lui, toute la „ gloire“ du Lu Hsün est due à la propagande politique ultérieure, car „weil er linientreu war, deshalb ist er für sie der grösste Schriftsteller, der tiefste Denker, der bedeutenste Wissenschaftler“.<sup>16</sup> L'opinion selon laquelle Lu Hsün est „le père de la littérature chinoise moderne“ est considérée, par Last, comme „posthumer Ehrentitel“, comme „bewusster Versuch von kommunistischer Seite, durch Aufbauschung seiner und nur seiner Persönlichkeit die anderen Kulturträger seiner Zeit vollkommen in den Schatten zu stellen und zu vergessen...“<sup>17</sup> Tous les travaux ainsi orientés sont considérées par Last comme un genre d'„hagiographies“, auxquelles il oppose sa conception individuelle d'après laquelle on peut caractériser Lu Hsün comme „den besten Übersetzer Chinas und vielleicht den Vater der neuen chinesischen Journalistik, aber gewiss nicht den grössten Schriftsteller oder gar Kulturschöpfer“.<sup>18</sup>

Je n'ai pas l'intention de polémiser ici avec ces affirmations. Les travaux que j'ai publiés sur Lu Hsün expriment mon opinion à ce sujet, et j'espère avoir très prochainement l'occasion d'examiner d'autres problèmes relatifs à l'œuvre de Lu Hsün dans un article sur ses essais que je suis en train de préparer. Je me bornerai à constater qu'en effet, il existe des travaux sur Lu Hsün qui ont une allure „hagiographique“. Beaucoup de travaux examinent l'œuvre de Lu Hsün en y appliquant exclusivement

<sup>14</sup> C. T. Hsia, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>15</sup> J. Last, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 15 et 19.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

des critères idéologiques ou politiques et négligeant le côté esthétique. Souvent, on accentue certaines idées de Lu Hsün pour en supprimer d'autres. Aussi on avait longtemps abordé avec embarras son recueil „L'herbe des champs“, accusant, pensait-on, un pessimisme trop poussé pour un révolutionnaire ardent. Cependant, dans tous les cas pareils, il me semble qu'il s'agisse là plutôt de fautes des interprétateurs que de celles de Lu Hsün. Vouloir défendre Lu Hsün du point de vue d'une polémique contre ses critiques serait commettre la même erreur, se rendre coupable de la même injustice à l'égard de Lu Hsün que ses apologistes trop enthousiastes qui, par leurs éloges et apothéoses outrés, effacent la valeur réelle de l'oeuvre.

Pour montrer combien la critique littéraire peut, parfois, altérer les critères esthétiques en les subordonnant aux thèses aprioristiques, permettez-moi d'invoquer un parallèle — entre Lu Hsün et l'écrivain tchèque Karel Čapek — car les œuvres des deux auteurs ont provoqué une réaction similaire à beaucoup d'égards. Le parallèle n'a guère été choisi au hasard. Les correspondances entre les œuvres des deux auteurs sont frappantes. Dans mon étude sur les contes historiques de Lu Hsün,<sup>19</sup> j'ai déjà signalé une ressemblance indéniable dans la méthode qu'adoptent les deux écrivains pour aborder un sujet historique. Cette ressemblance découle d'une même conception de l'histoire et se traduit par les mêmes traits caractérisant les contes pseudo-historiques et satiriques de ces deux auteurs. Je voudrais relever d'autres parallélismes encore. Čapek, à son tour, a partagé son activité littéraire entre les belles-lettres et les essais, et certains parmi ses critiques ont séparé ces deux parties de son activité, en les soumettant à une évaluation contradictoire. Cependant, le critique slovaque A. Matuška, un connaisseur de longue date de l'œuvre de Čapek, a démontré dans son étude publiée naguère<sup>20</sup> qu'il est impossible de traiter les deux genres littéraires séparément l'un de l'autre, car, dans l'œuvre de Čapek, ils forment une unité inséparable. Čapek, de même que Lu Hsün, appartient aux écrivains du type intellectuel pour lesquels la littérature, loin d'être une simple source de distraction, aspire plutôt à se faire l'interprète d'idées et de notions. Pour Lu Hsün — ainsi que j'ai essayé de le démontrer dans mes études précédentes — la littérature n'est pas un objet d'inspiration ou un domaine lui permettant d'exprimer son idéal esthétique, mais plutôt un moyen susceptible de stimuler la réforme de la société et des rapports entre les hommes. Par conséquent, toute son œuvre, y compris ses contes, se met volontiers au service d'un but nettement défini. L'essentiel est la pensée, que l'auteur essaie d'exprimer par une image esthétique. C'est pourquoi ses contes possèdent toujours certains traits caractéristiques des essais et se trouvent souvent à la limite de ce genre. Ses essais, à leur tour, loin de se borner à communiquer certaines idées, trahissent des aspirations esthétiques incontestables. Par leur

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Lu Hsün and his Old Tales Retold*. Archiv Orientální 1960, No 2, pp. 225—281, No 4, pp. 640—656, 1961, No 2, pp. 268—310.

<sup>20</sup> Alexander Matuška, *Člověk proti zkáze* (L'Homme contre la débâcle). Prague, Československý spisovatel, 1963.

composition, leur style, par la richesse des observations prises au vif, ils sont beaucoup plus proches d'une oeuvre d'art que de la journalistique. Il ne faut jamais oublier cette unité structurale qui réside dans l'oeuvre de Lu Hsün si l'on veut le comprendre pleinement et l'apprécier à sa juste valeur. Le cas de Karel Čapek est analogue. Pour Čapek, lui-aussi, le but principal de la littérature consiste à fournir au lecteur des notions nouvelles susceptibles d'influencer sa propre pensée. Cette mission de la littérature n'a rien d'une didactique moralisatrice. Čapek aspire à ce que la littérature exerce une ascendance sur le lecteur par son „influence créatrice“. Il dit: „La littérature doit former les hommes, elle doit s'efforcer d'influencer la réalité elle-même... C'est là que je vois une grande responsabilité morale des écrivains.“<sup>21</sup> A un autre endroit, il continue: „Je n'y peux rien, mais une littérature qui ne se soucie pas de la réalité et de ce qui se passe dans le monde, une littérature qui ne veut pas réagir à tout cela avec toute la force qu'un mot et une idée peuvent revêtir, une telle littérature n'est guère mon cas“.<sup>22</sup>

On voit combien une conception identique que deux auteurs se font de la fonction de la littérature, peut rapprocher leur méthode créatrice, même s'il s'agit (chez Čapek et Lu Hsün) de deux écrivains affiliés à deux idéologies différentes. Le credo philosophique de Čapek était, on le sait, le probabilisme pragmatique, donc, une philosophie très éloignée de Lu Hsün. La conviction de Čapek selon laquelle la vie ne peut être améliorée que lentement et successivement, se trouve également en contradiction flagrante avec le radicalisme de Lu Hsün, professant la nécessité d'un bouleversement révolutionnaire. Néanmoins, Čapek lui-aussi est prêt à tolérer le reproche, pourtant odieux, d'écrire des œuvres „à thèse“, genre littéraire tellement proscrit. Il dit: „En lisant des livres, je pense souvent à ce qu'ils ont encore un autre but, à part de celui de créer des personnages de romans: ils doivent former le lecteur. Mais alors, me voilà tout près de ce qu'on appelle littérature „à thèse“, et j'assume le risque qu'implique ce terme oddieux...“<sup>23</sup>

Revenons cependant à l'évaluation des œuvres des deux auteurs. A leur tour, les feuillets de Čapek étaient rejetés par certains critiques. A. Matuška dit à ce propos: „A vrai dire, même ceux qui faisaient semblant de considérer les feuillets de Čapek comme un simple supplément ou commentaire à son œuvre et qui prétendaient se concentrer sur sa prose artistique et ses drames, recourraient, d'une façon plus ou moins dissimulée, à ses feuillets, toutes les fois où ils trouvaient en Čapek-artiste des points peu clairs ou ambigus.“<sup>24</sup> Cependant „il serait injuste de vouloir rejeter les essais de Čapek sous le prétexte qu'ils ne présentent pas au lecteur l'image, la transformation artistique de la réalité, et qu'ils se bornent à rendre les opinions de l'auteur: les feuillets sont bien aussi une image. Et quant à ses opinions... Čapek

<sup>21</sup> Karel Čapek, *Poznámky o tvorbě* (Observations sur la littérature), Praha, Československý spisovatel, 1963, p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>24</sup> A. Matuška, op. cit., p. 45

ne les cache pas non plus dans ses contes, romans et drames“.<sup>25</sup> „L’art incomparable de Čapek rapproche ses feuilletons beaucoup plus d’une oeuvre d’art que du travail de journaliste de type courant“<sup>26</sup> „Ses feuilletons … forment une partie intégrante de son oeuvre, et ce n’est que pris comme un tout avec ses écrits et ses drames, qu’ils nous permettent de mesurer toute la complexité de Čapek.“<sup>27</sup> Il me semble que toutes les observations mentionnées peuvent sans réserve être appliquées au cas de Lu Hsün, de même que la conclusion à laquelle aboutit A. Matuška en disant: „Les activités multiples de Čapek, son travail de journaliste, la part remarquable qu’il prenait à la formation de l’opinion publique, son rôle de „proclamatrice“, tout ceci a contribué à nourrir la tendance de ne pas considérer Čapek, en tout premier lieu, comme un artiste, mais de parler plus souvent de Čapek-idéologue que de Čapek-artiste…“<sup>28</sup>

Avant de conclure, permettez-moi de signaler encore une autre correspondance qui me paraît intéressante: même dans le cas de K. Čapek — ainsi qu’on le lit dans l’étude de Matuška — „la période de son activité journalistique la plus intense… devient, pour certains critiques, la période de sa plus grande „décadence““. Ce qui est paradoxal, cependant, c’est que l’argument motivant cette critique négative est juste le contraire de ce qu’on reproche à Lu Hsün, à savoir „l’abandon des problèmes sociaux“.<sup>29</sup>

On se défend à peine d’un soupir sceptique à cette „objectivité“ des critères menant à de pareilles conclusions. On dirait que la critique est encore souvent incapable de se libérer de sympathies ou d’antipathies vis-à-vis des idées qu’exprime une oeuvre d’art. En effet, son „éloge“ ou son „blâme“ semblent viser l’idéologie de l’auteur plutôt que son art. Les idées d’un auteur peuvent sans doute être considérées comme progrès ou décadence dans son évolution intellectuelle, mais elles ne devraient jamais influencer d’une façon décisive la critique de la valeur esthétique de leur interprétation. Cet exemple d’une soi-disante „critique“ devrait servir d’avertissement aux critiques littéraires, pour leur faire renoncer, en définitive, à faire passer des impressions subjectives et des opinions personnelles pour des critères scientifiques, et s’efforcer, au contraire, d’aboutir à des conclusions par la voie d’une analyse critique et objective de l’oeuvre, donc — par des méthodes scientifiques.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 50—51.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

## QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR LA QUESTION DE L'AUTODESCRIPTION CHEZ YÜ TA-FU

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I. Dans mon bref rapport je veux seulement exprimer quelques traits concernant le reflet de l'autodescription de Yü Ta-fu qui apparaît dans ses œuvres théoriques aussi bien que dans ces créations artistiques, et c'est une des plus remarquables, une des plus intéressantes figures de la littérature chinoise moderne.

Sans égard à son œuvre particulière, il est impossible de former un portrait plus frappant de ses efforts artistiques et des résultats de la littérature chinoise à son époque novatrice des deux premières dizaines après le Mouvement du 4 Mai 1919.

Yü Ta-fu est né en 1896 à Fu-yang dans la province de Che-chiang. De 1911 à 1922 il fit ses études au Japon où il commença sa création littéraire. Dès le début de sa carrière il devient confondateur et un des membres les plus actifs de la société littéraire *Création* (Ch'uang — tsao she), qui est une partie indispensable de l'œuvre littéraire des années 1920—1930. La plus longue partie de sa vie créative se passe à Shanghai, où il revient toujours après de courts séjours en tant que professeur dans plusieurs universités chinoises. Il se trouve souvent sans engagement, dans la misère, déçu dans sa vie intime et tout cela se reflète dans son œuvre littéraire. Après l'invasion japonaise en Chine il part pour Fu-chien, puis pour Singapour et enfin sur l'île de Sumatra où il retrouve l'occupation japonaise. En 1945, après la capitulation du Japon, il est insidieusement assassiné par la police japonaise, probablement. C'est la vengeance pour son activité patriotique et anti-japonaise.

L'œuvre de Yü Ta-fu est infiniment variée. Elle encercle des courtes proses qui sont la prédominance de ses créations, des romans, de la poésie, journaux, rédits de voyages, lettres, mémoires littéraires, mais aussi une grande quantité d'œuvres littéraires-théoriques et critiques, des études sociales et politiques, ainsi que des traductions de la littérature étrangère. Pendant qu'au point de vue de la création artistique elle-même nous trouvons chez l'auteur un talent fortement créatif avec des opinions et intentions relativement bien déterminées, ses connaissances théoriques nous le présentent comme un penseur, extrêmement instruit aussi bien dans les

traditions littéraires de son pays que dans les anciennes et modernes littératures européennes, américaines et japonaises.

Dans l'oeuvre de Yü Ta-fu on peut observer les suites des Souffrances du jeune Werther de Goethe. L'auteur lui-même révèle que Turgenev l'avait le plus fortement influé.<sup>1</sup>

Le trait essentiel de l'oeuvre complète de Yü Ta-fu est son besoin constant de se décrire lui-même. C'est pour ainsi dire le point-clef pour pleine compréhension de son oeuvre. Une grande partie de la prose de Yü Ta-fu prouve la réaction subite aux impressions ressenties d'un évènement de sa vie. Les exemples les plus marquants sont les contes *Le 3 novembre* (Shih-i-yüeh ch'u-san), *L'homme isolé dans la rue* (I-ko jen tsai t'u shang) *L'ombre de la fumée* (Yen-ying) ou bien les contes-doubles *La nuit profonde* (Mang-mang yeh) et *Saules de l'automne* (Ch'iu-liu). Et naturellement beaucoup de journaux de l'auteur, de lettres, récits de voyages et divers mémoires littéraires où il révèle, ouvertement et sincèrement, ses destins, ses sentiments et ses états d'âme. La plus grande partie de sa prose est écrite à la première personne et son „moi“ en est le plus souvent le héros principal. Excessivement sensible, l'intellectuel impressionnable, rêveur et troublé, souffrant par sa solitude, mais incapable de s'incorporer à une société donnée. Il ne peut fuire cette solitude, même parmi les intellectuels [les contes *Noyage* (Ch'en-lun), *Le Passé* (Kuo-ch'ü)]. S'adressant au peuple, il sombre encore là. Il se brise devant son impuissance pour venir en aide, puis il se sentira inutile et humble devant une ouvrière [*Le cadeau faible* (Po-tien), *Le soir ivre de brise printanière* (Ch'un-feng ch'en-tsui ti wan-shang)]. Les proses écrites à la troisième personne sont pour la plupart également imprégnées du besoin de se répeindre soi-même (*La nuit profonde*, *Saules d'automne* etc.).<sup>2</sup>

En outre il est surprenant de comparer les dispositions et humeurs mélancoliques, souvent même destructives dans quelques proses artistiques, avec un esprit réaliste progressif, résolu dans ses articles sur la révolution, sur la décadence de la société chinoise de son temps, la littérature proléttaire, la lutte des classes dans la littérature et l'appel à la révolution etc. On en déduit que l'auteur a résolu théoriquement maintes questions d'une manière très constructive et progressive, mais dans la lourde atmosphère de la Chine de ses temps-là, c'est à dire les années entre 1920—1945, il n'eut pas de moyens pour les appliquer à sa propre vie.

II. Yü Ta-fu dans le septième volume de *l'Antologie complète de la nouvelle littérature chinoise* (Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi) dit: „En feuilletant seulement les volumes de proses d'écrivains contemporains, toujours nos yeux tout frappés de voir l'arbre généalogique de l'auteur, son caractère, ses goûts, ses opinions et même ses habitudes dans la vie... Que signifie ce coloris autobiographique? C'est l'image de

<sup>1</sup> Yü Ta-fu, *Hsien-shu*, Shanghai 1941, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Je décomposai en détails les parallèles entre la vie de Yü Ta-fu et ses œuvres dans l'étude *Remarks on the Life and Work of Yü Ta-fu up to 1930*, Asian and African Studies, Bratislava 1965, pp. 53—80.

l'individualité qui est la plus précieuse en littérature“.<sup>3</sup> Naturellement on ne peut pas attribuer à ce jugement une validité générale mais pour l'œuvre de l'auteur même celle-ci reste valable. C'est ici que nous trouvons face à la très appréciée autobiographisation, le principe de l'autodescription de l'auteur dans son œuvre. C'est l'avis qui a trait à tout son œuvre la moins connue peut-être, mais pourtant riche et précieuse, c'est son œuvre littéraire-théorique et littéraire-critique. Le 31 Août 1927 il écrit: „Ce que je pense de mon œuvre c'est que le monde peut-être rira de moi, mais je pense, que la phrase „l'œuvre littéraire est l'histoire de l'auteur par lui-même“, est absolument vraie. Attitude objective, description objective, que ton objectivité gravide à n'importe quel degré, si ton attitude est réellement et purement objective, il n'est plus nécessaire allors de talent de l'artiste et la raison d'être de celui-ci disparaît... Pour ce qui est de la création, mon point de vue restera le même qu'au commencement, comme de la maintiens maintenant, et, ne changera points dans l'avenir. Je pense que la vie de l'auteur doit être étroitement unie à son art. L'individualité dans son œuvre ne doit pas se perdre“.<sup>4</sup> Nous retrouvons de pareilles données dans l'article intitulé *Le sentimentalisme en littérature* (Wen-hsüeh shang ti hsün-ch'ing chu-i)<sup>5</sup> et aussi dans ses brochures séparées intitulées: *Essais sur la littérature* (Wen-hsüeh kai-shuo)<sup>6</sup> et *De la prose artistique* (Hsiao-shuo lun)<sup>7</sup> etc.

Les exigences touchant l'autodescription de la personnalité de l'auteur dans son œuvre le mènent quelquefois fort loin. Comme par exemple dans son article de juin 1927 *La littérature de Journal* (Jih-chi wen-hsüeh)<sup>8</sup> il commence avec ses mots: „Dans une œuvre de prose le genre, qui convient le mieux est le journal de mémoires ou l'épitre“. Plus loin, il motive que si l'œuvre, stylisée à la troisième personne, contiens, des descriptions détaillées de l'état d'âme des héros, le lecteur intrigué se demandera comment l'auteur pouvait connaître si parfaitement l'état d'esprit d'un autre être et il ressentira une grande désillusion, le sentiment d'avoir perdu la vérité dans la littérature. En outre la préférence de ces deux genres se révèle par exemple aussi chez Chou Tso-jen dans son article *Journal et lettre* (Jih-chi yü ch'ih-tu)<sup>9</sup> de l'année 1925 où il écrit qu'il considère que le journal et la lettre sont les modes de littérature extrêmement intéressants, car ils expriment l'individualité de l'auteur ne comportant pour ainsi dire aucune trace de métier et la lecture de journal de mémoirs ou de lettres lui cause une joie réelle. Avec l'article cité de Yü Ta-fu justement discute déjà dans l'année 1927 Lu Hsün dans son article *Comment écrire* (Tsen-mo hsieh).<sup>10</sup> Il dit: Au fond la forme de littérature n'est pas le plus important, surtout si le lecteur

<sup>3</sup> Shanghai 1935, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Reminiscences des dernières cinq-six années d'une vie créative* (Wu-liu nien lai ch'uang-tso sheng-huo ti hui-ku), Ta-fu ch'üan-chi III, Shanghai 1929, p. 10 et 12.

<sup>5</sup> Wen-hsüeh lun-chi, Shanghai 1936.

<sup>6</sup> Shanghai 1930.

<sup>7</sup> Shanghai 1926.

<sup>8</sup> Ta-fu ch'üen-chi IV, pp. 113—114.

<sup>9</sup> *L'Anthologie complète de la nouvelle littérature chinoise* VII, pp. 131—133.

<sup>10</sup> Lu Hsün tsa-kan hsüan-chi, Shanghai 1953, pp. 185—191.

se rend compte que l'auteur raconte aux autres de lui-même ou, à la base de ses expériences et impressions il s'efforce de pénétrer dans les impressions des autres alors il ne peut pas ressentir de déception. Si quelqu'un persiste à concentrer son attention au côté extérieur, il fera mieux de s'en tenir à la lecture des nouvelles dans les quotidiens et dans les belles-lettres de savourer tranquillement sa désillusion. Ce n'est qu'en Août 1935 que Yü Ta-fu réponds dans un article du journal *Littérature* (Wen-hsüeh) *De nouveau sur journal* (Tsai t'ang jih-chi),<sup>11</sup> mais dans sa réponse il ne fait aucune allusion aux questions mentionnées, il concentre son attention au genre „journal“ et répond ainsi à divers autres problèmes au sujet desquels Lu Hsün discute avec lui dans l'article cité. Ensuite, par exemple dans l'essai cité *Réminiscences des dernières cinque-six années d'une vie créative* il soutient qu'un homme d'origine non prolétaire ne peut créer une littérature prolétaire, tel, l'auteur qui n'a ni volé ni tué de sa vie peut par ces description des vols et des meurtres provoquer l'enthousiasme chez ses semblables, mais pour un véritable criminel l'œuvre paraîtrait ridicule. Il nous faut rejeter de telles opinions et la littérature elle-même les a maintes fois refusées. S'il n'était pas possible de créer à la base des recherches dans la vie de l'artiste sensible, si la fantaisie créatrice et l'instinct de l'écrivains cessaient d'exister, le cercle de thèmes où règne l'artiste se récierait excessivement. Nous ne voulons pourtant pas rejeter le point de vue, que dans chaque œuvre, dans une certaine mesure, l'auteur se reflète soit directement ou par auto-stylisation.

Il est intéressant que partout où Yü Ta-fu accentue la capture de l'individualité de l'auteur dans son œuvre, il exige en même temps la véracité unie à la vie de la société et une œuvre réaliste formelle. C'est l'idée principale dans *l'Essais sur la littérature* cité, où l'auteur exprime l'opinion que la véracité et la réalité est primaire dans l'art et il souligne la dépendance de l'art de la vie réelle et motive que chaque nouveau courant artistique a exigé des changements dans la situation sociale. Soit qu'il approuve le lieu des circonstances extérieures, „quelle que soit notre vie, elle n'échappe pas aux circonstances“<sup>12</sup> ou bien qu'il exige que l'œuvre artistique stimule l'homme<sup>13</sup> et l'éclaire, même dans la préface du septième volume de *l'Antologie complète de la nouvelle littérature chinoise*, parlant de l'individualité en littérature, il conclut: „L'individu ne peut jamais rejeter le monde et se rendre indépendant ... l'homme et la société furent toujours étroitement liés et conditionnés. La responsabilité envers cette société, clairement et vigoureusement montrée aux Chinois, c'est le sang versée par les combattants de Shanghai le 30 Mai sous le feu des fusils impérialistes“<sup>14</sup> (l'auteur y pense la fusillade dans la foule de manifestants à Shanghai

<sup>11</sup> pp. 384—386.

<sup>12</sup> *Sentimentalisme en littérature*, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> *Sur la prose artistique*, p. 37.

<sup>14</sup> p. 10.

le 30 Mai 1925). Je cite ce fait surtout parce que Yü Ta-fu dans son pays et à l'étranger est injustement désigné comme décadent incliné à la destructivité, homme indifférent au destin de son pays. Incomprises ou extraites du contexte, ses opinions sur l'autodescription en littérature pourraient présenter sous une lumière maléfique cette figure aussi compliquée que positive de la littérature chinoise moderne.

III. Une question se pose: Où est l'origine de l'inclination au principe de l'autodescription dans la création artistique qui, comme nous l'avons vu, a marqué son œuvre artistique aussi bien que son ouvrage théorique. Je pense qu'il y a trois courants dans lesquels il a puisé et où il a pris contact: les traditions de sa patrie, l'influence japonaise et le romantisme européen.

Bien que Yü Ta-fu n'a pas le coutume de recourir aux traditions de *la littérature chinoise classique*, nous savons qu'il les connaissait bien et le principe de la véracité et la présence constante du narrateur de la littérature chinoise ancienne ne pouvait que l'influencer profondément.

En même temps notons qu'au Japon justement pendant les années Yü Ta-fu y vit était créée la forme littéraire *watakushi shōsetsu* — narration à la première personne. Le trait principal de cette forme est l'autodescription, l'autenticité des événements enregistrés, qui pour la plupart de fois sont des faits de la vie de l'auteur de moindre importance et la thématique intime. Nous voyons que ce sont les principes qu'on peut appliquer à l'œuvre et aux opinions de Yü Ta-fu.

La plus forte sera probablement l'influence du *romantisme*. Nous savons qu'en Chine dans la première moitié de notre siècle régnait une atmosphère aussi étouffante qu'en Europe au XVIII et XIX siècle qui fût à l'origine de l'art romantique. La société littéraire Création dont Yü Ta-fu faisait partie fût fortement marquée justement par le romantisme. En parcourant ses articles sur des auteurs étrangers nous constatons que son attention et son admiration appartenaient avant tout à la pléiade d'auteurs romantiques de Rousseau à Turgenev. Des écrivains romantiques ont parlé d'aliénation et d'isolation de l'artiste, impression qui s'exhale de l'œuvre de Yü Ta-fu. Les romantiques ont chanté la vie simple dans la nature, dont Yü Ta-fu a si souvent rêvé par exemple dans son œuvre *Reminiscences sur le retour au pays natal* (Huan-hsiang-chi). P. ex. les romantiques disent: „La science nous fait connaître des notions abstraites quelconques, la science nous donne une pâle et faible imagination de la réalité. Pour reconnaître la véritable réalité ce n'est pas la science qui nous guide mais l'art.“<sup>15</sup> Et Yü Ta-fu: „Pour chercher la vérité la prose artistique et la science sont identiques. Là où elles diffèrent c'est la méthode de la figuration. La figuration scientifique et philosophique accentuent l'intellectualité et n'emploient que des preuves abstraites. La description dans la prose artistique repose sur des sentiments et n'emploie que la description concrète. C'est alors qu'il faut craindre d'avant-

<sup>15</sup> I. I. Sollertinskij, *Les maîtres et les œuvres*, chapitre „Le romantisme, son esthétique général et musicien“, traduction slovaque, Bratislava 1959, p. 113.

tage une spéculation spirituelle qui — pour peu qu'elle agisse fera disparaître toute trace de sentiments.“<sup>16</sup>

Si nous considérons le lien qui attache Yü Ta-fu au romantisme, nous comprendrons facilement l'un des grands problèmes dans les recherches de son œuvre: la nonchristianisation du genre qui est le propre de la littérature romantique.

IV. Le but de mon compte rendu était de démontrer les procédés autobiographiques dans les créations artistiques de Yü Ta-fu lesquelles ont si fortement marqué son œuvre entière, ils ne sont ni le fait du hasard, ni inconscients, mais au contraire, l'élément de l'autodescription de l'auteur dans son œuvre, une partie essentielle de ses opinions littéraires et l'aspiration vers la littérature. C'est aussi un auteur chez lequel on trouve les opinions théoriques et exigences en accord parfait avec sa création artistique. Puis j'ai voulu montrer que ses opinions ont influencé les circonstances dans lesquelles il a vécu et qui correspondaient parfairement son naturel.

L'appellation fréquente et automatique de „décadent“ pour Yü Ta-fu est une grave altération. S'il était possible classifier par quelque „isme“ un écrivain chinois au caractère contradictoire comme Yü Ta-fu et vivant à l'époque compliquée après 1919, me basant sur les études de son personnage et de son œuvre je le proclamerais le plus proche du romantisme.

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<sup>16</sup> Sur la prose artistique, p. 40.

## BINOMIAL INDEX OF EUPHONY FOR INDONESIAN POETRY

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The poetic text does not contain any such entities or combinations of entities which would not occur in the „nonpoetic“ text. Its specific character results from the fact that particular entities or combinations of entities occur therein either more frequently or more rarely than could be expected by chance. Actually, this probabilistic delimitation is valid for every style,<sup>1</sup> however, the most laborious problem is the determination of the entities concerned. This may be done either by comparing with or leaning against the probability of occurrence of every investigated entity in the population. The phenomena specific for the poetry are, on the phonological level, covered by the concept of euphony. It may be generally understood as a non-random occurrence of the same phonemes, groups of phonemes or patterns of phonemes in the given text or in the given place of the text. The text may be specified also as a section of a whole, e.g. a word, word group, parts of the line, strophe, poem, paragraph, etc. If some phonemes (combinations, patterns) occur more frequently than is expected by chance, then others necessarily occur significantly more rarely but from the euphonic point of view the latter ones are unimportant. The euphonic effect may be attached only to those phonemes (combinations, patterns) which are emphasized by their repeated occurrence.

The investigation of the euphony of a great formation considered an integral whole is suitable especially if we state a hypothesis on the relation of some phoneme or a class of phonemes to a particular mood, thought, etc. The same phonemes „tune“ the text in a certain way, the author may feel that the words with a particular phonic structure are more apt for the expression of some mood, thought, etc.<sup>2</sup> The euphonic utilization of a phoneme may also be bound to smaller sections, so that in

<sup>1</sup> S. R. Levin in *Linguistic Structures in Poetry*, 's-Gravenhage 1962, p. 16 is of the opinion that it is valid only for the style of an individual, whereas for the style of the genre it is only an approximation.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. mainly I. Fónagy, *A költöi nyelv hangtanából*. Budapest 1959.

the given section its occurrence will be significant, whereas in the whole formation it will be in good agreement with the frequency in the population. Therefore, small sections of the formation, e.g. lines, may be euphonically quite independent and, similarly, the euphonic function may be bound only to certain positions in the line, e.g. the beginning of the line, the end of the line, or the places which correlate with some other features of the line (e.g. with meter). In euphonic formations like rhyme, alliteration, assonance of phonemes within words etc. it may be mathematically proved that the probability of occurrence of the given phonemes in the given places is so small that their presence may not be considered accidental.<sup>3</sup> In case of random distribution of phonemes one would expect with greater probability the occurrence of other phonemes in such places.<sup>4</sup> It follows from the above-mentioned facts that the euphonic components of the text may be characterized mathematically and the measure of euphony of every formation may be computed. However, euphony is an intricate phenomenon which appears at the same time in several forms and therefore may not be covered by a single quantitative index. It may appear (1) as a total phonic composition of the text, whether of the whole text or of its particular parts (lines, strophes, etc.); (2) as emphasis laid on some phonemes in some formation, mainly in the line, regardless of their position; (3) by repeating the phonemes in some positions, and, finally, (4) in the form of various phonic patterns which may also show a tendency for some regularity. It does not manifest itself only through single phonemes but also through their combinations and sequences. Since the phonic composition of the text is directly apprehended and its „euphonicness“ is intuitively perceived, euphony is an objectively existing phenomenon and it must be evaluable by quantitative analysis of the phonic composition of the text according to the above-mentioned aspects.

In this study we try to introduce only one index which, being too tedious for computation, is suitable mainly for the determination of the euphonic value of the phonemes in shorter sections of the text (lines) (aspect 2) or for the computation of positional euphony (aspect 3). By euphonic value one may mean various things in various aspects. In our case only manifestations of emphasis through repetition are considered. We start from phonemes that occur in the line at least twice, since only in that case may they be considered as (euphonically) emphasized. For each such phoneme we must compute the probability that it will occur twice, three times,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. B. F. Skinner, *The Alliteration in Shakespeare's Sonnets: A study in Literary Behaviour*. The Psychological Record 3, 1939, 186—192; B. F. Skinner, *A Quantitative Estimate of Certain Types of Sound-Patterning in Poetry*. The American Journal of Psychology 54, 1941, 64—79; T. A. Sebeok—V. J. Zeps, *On Non-Random Distribution of Initial Phonemes in Cherenis Verse*. Lingua 8, 1959, 370—384; G. Altmann, *Phonic Structure of Malay Pantun*. Archiv orientální 32, 1963, 274—286; G. Altmann, *Kvantitatívne metódy v literárnej vede*, Slovenská literatúra 10, 1963, 432—441, § 5; G. Herdan, *The Calculus of Linguistic Observations*. 's Gravenhage 1962, p. 79—85.

<sup>4</sup> L. Hřebíček, *Euphony in Abay Kunanbayev's Poetry*. Asian and African Studies, 1, 123 to 130, 1965.

four times etc. If we divide the phonemes of the line into two classes, i.e. into the class of the phoneme concerned ( $A$ ) and into the class of all remaining phonemes ( $\bar{A}$ ), then in the  $\bar{A}$ -class we cancel all contrasts, so that only the contrast  $A : \bar{A}$  remains. Thereby, the distributional relations will be discomposed to such an extent that one may not operate with them any more. Further, we take the line as a whole not taking account of the position of the given phoneme within higher units, that is, we cancel the functional relations in all levels of the language; and finally, we do not take the meaning into account. After this adjustment we may automatically exclude the dependences among phonemes, since the transitional probabilities are, in fact, the relative frequencies of distributional (and functional) relations. Working with linguistic units one must mostly tract them as if they were independent, though in the text there are various sorts of dependences which as yet are not fully computed in any language. This approach will be, therefore, naturally, only an approximation. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether, in this case, taking all transitional probabilities into account would have any practical value. Therefore, we consider the phonemes of both  $A$  and  $\bar{A}$ -classes as independent and admit all their theoretically possible permutations. Now we may compute the probability of the occurrence of the given phoneme in the line from the common binomial distribution

$$b(k; n, p) = \binom{n}{k} p^k q^{n-k}$$

where  $n$  is the number of phonemes in the line,  $k$  is the number of the phoneme investigated in the line,  $p$  is the probability of the given phoneme computed from the population, and  $q$  is the probability of the class of all other phonemes, i.e.  $1 - p$ . The index which was termed the binomial index of euphony (BIE) may be obtained by subtracting the computed probability from the currently used 5 % level and multiplying by 100 in order to get at least one integral number. The formula will be

$$BIE = 100 \left[ 0.05 - \binom{n}{k} p^k q^{n-k} \right] \quad \text{for } b(k; n, p) < 0.05$$

After subtracting the  $b(k; n, p)$  from 0.05 the *BIE* will include only those occurrences of phonemes which may be considered euphonically significant and further, the smaller the probability of the observed number of the given phoneme in the line, i.e. the more expressive it is euphonically, the greater will be the *BIE*. After rounding off, the *BIE* for single phonemes will range within the interval  $\langle 0; 5 \rangle$ . By summing up the *BIE*'s and dividing by the number of lines we get the average *BIE* ( $\bar{BIE}$ ) for the given poem. The formula will be

$$\bar{BIE} = \frac{100}{N} \sum_{j=1}^N \sum_{i \in A} \left[ 0.05 - \binom{n}{k} p_i^k q_{ij}^{n-k} \right] \quad \text{for } b(k; n, p) < 0.05$$

where  $N$  is the number of lines of the poem,  $j$  is the index of the given line ranging

from 1 to  $N$  and  $i$  is the index of the given phoneme from the set  $A$  whose members fulfill the given condition. One may object that not only the single probability of  $k$  occurrences of the phoneme in the line should be computed but that of  $k$  or more. We may, however, refrain from computing the cumulative probability, as we are working with discrete quantity and we are interested exactly in the observed number of the given phoneme. We also save a lot of computational work.

The relative frequency of Indonesian phonemes has been computed from a selection of prosaic texts of Indonesian writers which included 23,000 phonemes. A sample of this size seemed to represent sufficiently the population.<sup>5</sup> The final digraphs *ai* and *au* have been interpreted as combinations of two phonemes (*ey*) and (*ow*) respectively; the graphemes *ch* and *sj*, i.e. the phonemes /x/ and /ʃ/ each occurred only once in the whole sample and were, for the sake of simplicity, added to the phonemes /h/ and /s/ respectively, with which they are mostly in free variation. This is, naturally, one of the possible interpretations of the Indonesian phonological system. The absolute and relative frequencies of Indonesian phonemes are as follows:

<i>a</i>	5121	0.2227	<i>k</i>	1040	0.0452	<i>ñ</i>	324	0.0141
<i>i</i>	1831	0.0796	<i>r</i>	1006	0.0437	<i>g</i>	305	0.0133
<i>ɛ</i>	1603	0.0697	<i>m</i>	954	0.0415	<i>q</i>	296	0.0129
<i>u</i>	1318	0.0573	<i>s</i>	913	0.0397	<i>y</i>	296	0.0129
<i>o</i>	332	0.0144	<i>l</i>	753	0.0327	<i>j</i>	252	0.0110
<i>e</i>	200	0.0087	<i>ŋ</i>	729	0.0317	<i>w</i>	160	0.0070
<i>n</i>	1293	0.0562	<i>b</i>	700	0.0304	<i>c</i>	109	0.0047
<i>t</i>	1154	0.0502	<i>p</i>	629	0.0273	<i>f</i>	15	0.0007
<i>d</i>	1077	0.0468	<i>h</i>	576	0.0250	<i>z</i>	14	0.0006

Let us carry out, for illustration, a detailed analysis of some lines of the poem *Bunda dan Anak* by Roestam Effendi.<sup>6</sup> We assign an euphonic effect, in principle, only to that phoneme which occurs in the line at least twice. In the first line /masaq jambaq/ only /m/, /a/ and /q/ come into consideration. The binomial index computed from single phonemes will, naturally, cover only that portion of the euphony which arises from the emphasizing of the phoneme, leaving out of the question the rhyme of the two words, the positional agreement of the /q/s, the two sequences /a—a/, etc. For the computation of these phenomena by means of the binomial index it would be necessary first to determine their relative frequencies in Indonesian (the frequency of /q/ at the end of the word, the frequency of the /a—a/ sequences, etc.).

The probability that among 11 phonemes of the first line two are /m/ is

$$\frac{11!}{2!9!} \cdot 0.0415^2 \cdot 0.9585^9 = 0.06480$$

<sup>5</sup> After counting 22,058 phonemes their relative frequencies have been computed. Completing the sample to 23,000 phonemes, the relative frequencies of this new sample have been stated and the differences of relative frequencies of both samples in absolute values computed. As their sum was only 0.0051 (0.5%), the sample was considered relatively stable.

which is greater than 0.05 and is therefore out of the question; similarly the probability of 4 /a/s:

$$\frac{11!}{4!7!} \cdot 0.2227^4 \cdot 0.7773^7 = 0.139162$$

The probability of 2 /q/s will be

$$\frac{11!}{219!} \cdot 0.0129^2 \cdot 0.9871^9 = 0.008143$$

which gives  $BIE_{\{q\}} = 100(0.05 - 0.008143) = 4.1857$ .

The analysis of the first strophe gives the following results:

	<i>n</i>	BIE
<i>Masak djambak</i>	11	4.1857
<i>buah sēbuah</i>	10	4.4551
<i>dipéram alam diudjung dahan.</i>	22	0.0000
<i>Merah darah</i>	10	2.7034
<i>bēruris uris</i>	11	4.0370
<i>bēndera masak bagi sēlera</i>	22	3.5316

The average euphony of the line in the whole poem containing 36 lines will be  $104.8489 : 36 = 2.9125$ . The poem *Rahsia alam* by the same author will have  $BIE = 3.4378$ , the poem *Pangkuan bunda* has  $BIE = 1.9695$ . The first three poems of the collection *Njanji Sunji* by Amir Hamzah<sup>7</sup> will have the following BIEs : *Padamu djua* = 0.8770, *Barangkali* = 2.4921, *Hanja satu* = 2.7955; etc. In the same way all the poetry of an author may be analyzed; it may be ascertained whether there are any euphonic trends in Indonesian poetry; by what means the euphony is compensated, if it is small; which phonemes are preferred by the author in the euphonic tuning of the text; etc.

In using this index it must not be forgotten that it covers only a special type of euphony. Its zero value does not mean that the poem entirely lacks euphony. The total evaluation of the euphony may be the sum or the average of all relevant indices which are to be elaborated in the future.

For mechanical determination of the BIE in Indonesian poetry tables have been prepared for  $n = 7$  till  $n = 50$  by an electronic computer. Here we may present only a specimen for  $n = 7$ :

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<sup>6</sup> Roestam Effendi, *Pertjikan Permenungan*. Djakarta 1953, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Amir Hamzah, *Njanji Sunji*. Djakarta 1954<sup>4</sup>.

$n = 7$

<i>k</i> Phoneme	2	3	4	5	6
<i>a</i>	0.00	0.00	0.96	4.30	4.93
<i>i</i>	0.00	3.73	4.89	4.99	5.00
<i>ɛ</i>	0.00	4.11	4.93	5.00	5.00
<i>u</i>	0.00	4.47	4.97	5.00	5.00
<i>o</i>	4.59	4.99	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>e</i>	4.85	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>n</i>	0.03	4.51	4.97	5.00	5.00
<i>t</i>	0.91	4.64	4.98	5.00	5.00
<i>d</i>	1.38	4.70	4.99	5.00	5.00
<i>k</i>	1.60	4.73	4.99	5.00	5.00
<i>r</i>	1.79	4.76	4.99	5.00	5.00
<i>m</i>	2.07	4.79	4.99	5.00	5.00
<i>s</i>	2.30	4.81	4.99	5.00	5.00
<i>l</i>	3.10	4.89	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>n̄</i>	3.20	4.90	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>b</i>	3.34	4.91	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>p</i>	3.64	4.94	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>h</i>	3.84	4.95	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>ñ</i>	4.61	4.99	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>g</i>	4.65	4.99	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>q</i>	4.67	4.99	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>y</i>	4.67	4.99	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>j</i>	4.76	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>w</i>	4.90	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>c</i>	4.95	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>f</i>	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
<i>z</i>	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00

## TWO ATTEMPTS AT THE NEUTRALIZATION OF LAOS (1954—1962)

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The Geneva Agreements concluded in 1954 concerning the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia constitute actually the first endeavour to achieve an international codification of the neutrality of the State of Laos in the framework of the neutralization of the Indochina peninsula.

However, several stipulations of the agreements remained in a number of important points only written on paper. True, the French colonial rule disappeared for ever; however, there was no cessation of intensive foreign interventions against the policy of neutrality built up in Laos spontaneously on the foundations of the Geneva Agreements. Thus it happened that tensions have occurred in the internal policy of the state, resulting in civil war implicating the danger of spreading to other states, and representing a serious threat to world peace.

The representatives of the world powers and of other interested countries decided therefore to convene again in Geneva in 1961—1962. This time there were no negotiations concerning the situation in entire Indochina, but only as far as Laos was concerned. The independence and neutrality of Laos was explicitly acknowledged and solemnly guaranteed by all the participants of the convention. The final document of the conference has become the basic international judicial foundation-stone of the second endeavour undertaken towards the neutralization of Laos.

The fate of this agreement was, however, not better than that of the agreements of 1954. The obligations stipulated by both these agreements were observed hesitatingly, inconsequently and incompletely. As a matter of fact, the internal schism in the country was not overcome even in the short period of the rule of the coalition government that—already long before its disintegration—was unable, due to rightist pressure and to its foreign instigators, to carry out the functions of a truly neutral government. Thus, the goals set by the Geneva Agreements were not attained. Neither the first nor the second attempt at the neutralization of Laos was able to bring about reliable and long-lasting results. True, in the periods immediately follow-

ing the conclusion of the agreements certain positive measures were taken and some cautious steps were made in order to bring together the different viewpoints, on the whole, however, an all-state peaceful arrangement, based on neutralistic policy, was never achieved.

The political scene in Laos was repeatedly ruled by rightist elements, but they were never able to bring about a stabilization of conditions in the state since they were lacking the moral political force necessary to stifle the political effort independence and neutrality, deeply rooted in this state.

Thus the development in the political life of Laos started to become similar to a pendulum, with a tendency of swinging out of its natural neutral position to the extremes of internal disturbances, later on, however, by the force of the physical law, returning into its original position. If it is requested to get it halted in this position, it is necessary to examine and eliminate the causes which by their impacts had occasioned those swingings out.

The events leading to the second Geneva convention, and the political and armed struggle for the realization of both the first and the second Geneva Agreement offers us a basis wide enough to be able to answer the question, why this mountainous country, situated on the crossroads of southeastern Asia was not capable for these last 20 years after World War II to achieve either a real internal peace or an effective international protection of its codified neutral position.

One of the factors influencing the fate of this state is its particular strategical situation. If we leave out of consideration the very small states in the world, there are only 17 countries in the world having no direct approach to the sea, Laos being one of them. Its international commerce can be carried through the big Mekong river, which, however, is disrupted by many rapids and flows into the South China Sea, and thus the slightest misunderstanding with the South-Vietnamese authorities is apt to cut off Laos from its foreign contacts. However, in spite of this handicap and also in view of the fact that Laos has no railway system at all, it remains a country of highest importance in the peninsula of Indochina. The possession of Laos enables the possessor to occupy a key position opening for him the way to the immense and up to the present by far unexploited treasures of raw materials in South-East Asia. The strategical value grew even more important after the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the People's Republic of China. Laos has a common frontier of 1500 kilometres with these countries. The long-shaped geographical form of Laos looks like an arrow aimed at the southern internal Chinese frontier. It depends, therefore, on any Laotian government what political sense will be given to this particular geographical shape of the country.

The question of the relation to China was already long back in the past a cardinal problem of the foreign policy of the countries situated in this region.

The Laotians themselves—who are a particular component of the Thai ethnographical group—started to penetrate into their present habitations from the south

Chinese Yunnan and Kwangsi provinces gradually, in several waves, beginning with the third century and during the following centuries of our era. They compelled the population of Indonesian origin living there to leave and to take to the mountains. In the midst of the 14th century the legendary 23rd King of Laos, Fa Ngum achieved to bring about a unification of the small territories into one state that was given the name Lan Xang, which means the kingdom of one million elephants. The elephant as a state symbol appears even today in the arms of the State of Laos. Later, in the 18th century, the State of Laos was divided into three rivalling kingdoms, Luang Prabang, Champassak and Vientiane. The first two of them were paying allegiance to Thailand; actually, Thailand was also ruling Vientiane even if the latter was formally dependent on the Vietnamese state of Annam. In 1826 Thailand suppressed a revolt lead by the Vientiane ruler and annexed his territory. Thailand became the main threat to Laotian independence, and even at present it keeps part of its that time booty.

In the 19th century a change took place. Two rivalling European colonial powers, England and France came to the scene; France was proceeding faster, it succeeded in several stages in getting rule over all the main territories, and its successful onslaught ended in the occupation of Laos. Thailand was compelled to agree with these changes, and according to an agreement with the French it ceded them in 1893 the Laotian territories situated east of the Mekong river. Some years later France, by virtue of an agreement with Annam, managed to obtain smaller territories on the Burmese frontier, and it also received a consistent zone of territory on the right bank of the Mekong river, based on a further agreement enforced upon Thailand obliged to content itself with the rest of Laotian territories.

Thus, in the course of four decades France has achieved the construction of its new colony in Asia, under the name of Indochina. Frenchized names were given also to other parts of the colonized country. The name Laos originates from this period, replacing the former domestic denomination Pathet Lao the meaning of which was Laotian Country.<sup>1</sup>

Because of its shape, Indochina was given the poetical attribute „the beautiful French balcony over the Pacific“. The nations of the country were ruled by a central administration represented by the French general governor; some parts of the country were administered as direct colonies, other ones were ruled in the form of a protectorate system. For Laos this was a period of lost years. In an official British publication<sup>2</sup> there is a statement as follows: „The French did not pursue a policy of developing

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<sup>1</sup> Katay D. Sasorith: *Historical Aspects of Laos*, in René de Berval (Ed.), *Kingdom of Laos*. Saigon—Limoges 1959, p. 29. In a talk with Mrs. A. L. Strong, Prince Souphanouvong confirmed that originally the French started during the Geneva conference to identify the expression Pathet Lao with Laotian resistance struggle. The leaders of the resistance have agreed with this new application of an old concept (A. L. Strong, *Cash and Violence in Laos*, Peking 1961, pp. 63—64). Nevertheless, the Laotian resistance continued to use its own designation.

<sup>2</sup> Central Office of Information, *Laos*, R. 5489, London 1963, p. 3.

the country, and in 1945 only 1 per cent of the population was receiving elementary education...“<sup>3</sup>

The role played by the European occupants in the history of the nations of Indochina has been evaluated, from a new aspect of their common interests, by the head of the State of Cambodia, Sihanuk who—in a conference of the nations of Indochina held in Phnom Penh—stated as follows: „French colonialism, having enslaved all of us, compelled us to feel solidarity...“<sup>3</sup>

In the early stage of the occupation, resistance was sporadic but extremely tough. One of the biggest revolts in Laos lasted for 27 years, until the eve of World War II. The Laotian people prepared themselves for the approaching turbulent events in the same way as the other nations of Indochina: founding secret organizations with the aim of fighting for liberation.<sup>4</sup>

Japan’s participation in World War II constituted a severe impact on the colonial empires of the European powers. The Japanese, in their lightning-like offensive into southeastern Asia left the representatives of Vichy France to keep on with the administration of Indochina, obliging them, however, not to undertake any anti-Japanese activity in collaboration with other powers.<sup>5</sup> In a further agreement, the French colonial administration declared its readiness to collaborate militarily with Japan.<sup>6</sup> This meant a direct implication of the territory of Indochina into the needs of the Japanese war. Thailand, readily collaborating with the Japanese, was given as reward two Laotian border provinces and the northwestern border-region of Cambodia; after the war, however, it was compelled to give back this booty.

In March 1945 the Japanese completely removed the French colonial administrative apparatus. By this belated and opportunistic measure they did not manage to gain over for themselves any important political force or personalities. Only King Sisavang Vong signed a declaration of independence, such as Japan, pressed into the defensive, needed for propagandistic reasons.<sup>7</sup> After the defeat of Japan, at the first suitable occasion, the King did not hesitate to declare the renewal of his loyalty towards the French government.

The patriotic forces of Laos joined up in the movement Lao Issara (Free Laos) which had been founded by Prince Phetsarath, the most revered personality of the reigning family in Luang Prabang. After the defeat of Japan he issued a proclamation to the effect that all bonds existing between Laos and France were severed since the

<sup>3</sup> *Réalités Cambodgiennes*, Supplément A, February 26, 1965.

<sup>4</sup> The Pathet Lao Propaganda Committee for World Peace, *The Liberation Struggle of Pathet Lao*, 1952, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> J. M. Maki (Ed.), *Conflict and Tension in the Far East, Key Documents 894—960*. No. 1. Protocol between France and Japan, Seattle 1961, p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> A. B. Cole (Ed.), *Conflict in Indo-China and International Repercussions, A Documentary History, 1945—1955*. A 1. Franco-Japanese Protocol Concerning the Joint Defence of Indo-China. New York 1956, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Charles-Henri Du prae, *Le problème politique laotien. Politique étrangère* 5, 1947, p. 539.

French had been unable to protect the country against foreign forces.<sup>8</sup> On 15th September 1945 Laos was declared by him to be an administratively united state.<sup>9</sup> A provisional constitution was declared on 12th October of the same year.<sup>10</sup> This day was also declared to be the Day of Independence and is considered as the culminating point of the October revolution.<sup>11</sup> An interim government was formed in Vientiane<sup>12</sup> which, however, was able to subsist only until the moment of the arrival of stronger French forces in Laos. At the beginning the French were concerned with the possibility of resistance by Chinese military units which were by virtue of inter-allied agreements stationed in Indochina north of the 16th parallel. In spring 1946 the French forcibly renewed their colonial administration and the original position of the king. The patriotic government was compelled—after having suffered defeat at Thakhek—to flee into emigration to Thailand. Laos became entangled with political happenings on an international level.

The intention of the French was to cope too easily with the desire for independence which had upsurged in Asia after World War II as an inextinguishable flame. Laos, as a relatively undeveloped and just newly occupied country was considered by them to be a suitable subject for an experiment of this policy, the French agreed with the unification of the disrupted administration and a French-Laotian treaty was signed to this effect on August 28th, 1946.<sup>13</sup> The French allowed a constitution to be declared which, of course, was obsolete since it was based on the principles of an undemocratic constitutional monarchy.

The French behaviour in this fallacious play was irresolute. Even in the correspondence of the President of the French Republic, Vincent Auriol, with the King in the years 1947 and 1948, Laos is mentioned as a „free country associated with the French Union“.<sup>14</sup> No earlier than in the convention dated July 19th., 1949, does there appear the conception „independence“ in connexion with Laos which the French so long have hesitated [to mention even if it should be an only fictitious independence].<sup>15</sup> The French were convinced that there were no forces existing in Laos which were capable of giving a living sense to this word.

<sup>8</sup> E. J. Hammer, *The Struggle for Indochina*, Stanford 1954, p. 134.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> Sisouk Na Champassak, *Storm over Laos*, New York 1961, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> *The Liberation Struggle of Pathet Lao*, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Shihchieh Chihshih, *A Chronicle of Principal Events Relating to the Indo-China Question 1940—1954*, Peking 1954, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> La documentation française, *Notes et Études Documentaires*, No. 3.011, Paris, 23 juillet 1963, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> La documentation française, *Notes et Études Documentaires*, No. 1.295, Paris, 14 mars 1950, p. 14. In his work, *The Emancipation of French Indo-China*, London 1961, p. 152, Donald Lancaster makes a mis-statement by saying that in the Preamble to Laotian Constitution of 10th May, 1947 Laos is described as an independent state in the framework of the French Union. Actually in this document mention is made only of the position of the autonomous state. Cf. *Conflict in Indo-China and International Repercussions*, I. Laos. Preamble of The Constitution of the Kingdom of Laos, p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> La documentation française, *Notes et Études Documentaires*, No. 1.295, 14 mars 1950, p. 15.

Regardless of the expressions used in the agreements, the actual power remained in the hands of the colonial administration and of the commander-in-chief of the French military forces. The reforms were too formalistic, too belated and insufficient; thus they have made no important effect on the Laotian patriotic forces. The movement of resistance was shifted to the countryside. A division took place in the group of the emigrants; part of them returned into French services, part of them joined the Laotian partisans; Prince Phetsarath remained for a long time abroad, and thus the original resistance organization of the Laotian patriots disintegrated. Prince Souphanouvong, however, has put himself at the head of the fighting units which never surrendered their arms.

The first people's congress in Laotian history convened as National Assembly on August 13th., 1950,<sup>16</sup> and it constituted a united national front under the name Neo Lao Issara (Laotian Liberation Front). The National Assembly elected a five-member government and issued a political manifesto to the effect that the French are to be defeated, all kind of imperialistic interventions are to be suppressed, and that the Laotian, Vietnamese and Khmer people are to be united into a common front against the French occupants.<sup>17</sup> In November a conference was held with the participation of the resistance organizations of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.<sup>18</sup> Preparatory measures were taken to establish a common front of all the nations of Indochina; this common front came into being in March 1951, based on principles of reciprocal respect and mutual assistance.<sup>19</sup>

Proportionally with the increasing activity of the forces of resistance, the French government has manifested its intention to increase artificially the authority of the colonial monarchies and to allow them to expand their autonomy sovereignty in a not very important measure, in order to create a counterweight against the popularity of the resistance governments. In this the French government acted partially under the pressure of public opinion all over the world, and also pressed by severe criticism from the side of the USA press which was heaping reproaches on the French for their rigid and unreasonable insistence on obsolete colonial positions.

This complexity of reasons, flowing from the actual development of the struggle for freedom, stood in the background of new arrangements and agreements in the years 1953 and 1954. The intention of the Laniel government was to avert in extremis the approaching military catastrophe by the „perfection of independence“ of the associated nations of Indochina. The Cambodian ruler Sihanuk, with his energetic demeanour, achieved to extricate the best possible advantages for his country, while the Vietnam of Bao Dai succeeded in obtaining nothing but further ineffectual conventions.

<sup>16</sup> *The Liberation Struggle of Pathet Lao*, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> The Viet-Nam Central Information Service, *Cambodia and Laos Fight Hand in Hand with Viet-Nam for Freedom*, April 1951, p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> *The Liberation Struggle of Pathet Lao*, op. cit., pp. 13—14.

Based on a pact of the year 1953,<sup>20</sup> Laos did not obtain anything but a repeated confirmation of a statute of independence and the right to appear also on international forums, being, however, declared as a state associated with the French Union; the French command was thus enabled to make unlimited use of the territories and sources of Laos in the fight against the patriotic forces in Laos and Vietnam.

Shortly before France felt the necessity to develop this play for the „perfection of independence“, the Laotian movement of resistance had achieved important military successes. Its military units undertook a bold action and succeeded—fighting alongside with Vietnamese partisans—in occupying the provincial capital cities of Sam Neaua and Xieng Khouang. The communiqué issued by the resistance government on May 17th., 1953 evaluates these actions as the „biggest victory ever scored by our army and people“.<sup>21</sup> Subsequently further surprisingly efficacious actions were taking place the consequence of which was that units of the Neo Lao Issara approached repeatedly the royal capital city Luang Prabang and later the Mekong river. This meant the liquidation of the colonial administration on half of the Laotian territory. A not unimportant role was played by the Laotian guerilla also in the famous battle of Dien Bien Phu. The French intended to relieve this fortress beleaguered by the Vietnamese People's Army; in order to achieve this goal, they dispatched an auxiliary detachment through Laotian territory; this detachment was liquidated by Laotian patriots. The mutual collaboration of Vietnamese and Laotian forces of liberation reached a culminating point on this occasion.<sup>22</sup> Dien Bien Phu became the symbol of the defeat of the French colonial expedition and of the entire French colonial policy in Indochina.

The situation was maturing for peace negotiations. France consented with the convocation of a conference on Indochina to be held in Geneva on April 26th, 1954 thus admitting its inability to suppress by force the resistance of the nations of Indochina. France was not eager to enter into direct negotiations with the representatives of its antagonists after an unsuccessful expedition lasting for eight years since this would have meant a further impairment of its prestige as a world colonial power. The settlement of the dispute on an international forum was considered by France to be the lesser evil. Nevertheless, what the organizers of French colonial policy had feared the most has come to pass. The question of the relation between a colonized nation and a colonizer became the subject of international diplomatic negotiations concerned not only with the military aspects but in which principal decisions were taken concerning the new political statute of fighting colonies. France, weakened by this fighting, renounced its monopolistic rights to interfere with the fate of the nations

<sup>20</sup> Notes et Études Documentaires, No. 1.811, Traité d'Amitié et d'Association et Conventions annexés entre la République française et le Royaume du Laos, 22 octobre 1953.

<sup>21</sup> The Pathet Lao Propaganda Committee for World Peace, *The Liberation Struggle of Pathet Lao* (Second enlarged edition), June 1953, Addendum, p. 21.

<sup>22</sup> At that time there were 24 French battalions pinned down in Laos. *Études Vietnamiennes* 3, 1965, p. 157.

of its empire, i.e., rights so jealously upheld by all colonial powers. After this test-case it became difficult to denounce resistance in the colonies as an „internal“ affair of the imperial powers.

In the conference, Laos was represented only by delegates of the royal government. The representatives of the Neo Lao Issara were not invited to take part though efforts were made by the socialistic countries to this effect.<sup>23</sup> Thus the composition of the delegations in Geneva did not fully reflect the military and political situation in Indochina.<sup>24</sup>

On July 21th, 1954 twelve documents were accepted by the conference<sup>25</sup> ensuing the cessation of military actions and the regrouping of fighting units; further, the principle of independence for all the three states of Indochina was stipulated, and agreements were reached concerning provisional regulations aiming at the arrangement of political questions. The positive value inherent in these documents caused the majority of the nations in the world to agree with them. However, this obviously positive character of the documents did not conceal the reality that the documents—resulting from the clash of antagonistic viewpoints—were containing certain unelucidated elements and have left open certain important questions to the detriment of the effectiveness of the entire complex of the Geneva Agreements. Just the case of Laos may serve as an example.

One of the fighting partners—the very Laotian patriots whose activity had so markedly influenced events in the country—was already from the beginning put by the conference into a disadvantageous position, and this attitude of the conference towards Laos became apparent in almost all of the important stipulations of the Agreements as far as Laos was concerned.<sup>26</sup>

The units of the resistance were only entitled to regroup into the two north-Laotian provinces Sam Neua and Phong Saly<sup>27</sup> where they were to await for a general political settlement based on the royal Laotian constitution. The Laotian resistance government was thus shoved into the position of a group obliged to carry out a partial demobilization of its military units, and to bring the rest of its units into positions unprotected from interventions from the side of the royal government, interventions which later actually took place.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Notes et Études Documentaires*, No. 3.011, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Represented in the conference where Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, France, Great Britain, Laos, the People's Republic of China, the State of Viet Nam, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States of America, under alternating co-chairmanship of the Soviet and British delegates.

<sup>25</sup> *La documentation française*, *Notes et Études documentaires*, No. 1.909, 18 août 1954.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., Accord sur la cessation des hostilités au Laos, 9—13.

<sup>27</sup> The original denomination is Houa Phan.

<sup>28</sup> Declaration by the Royal Government of Laos, confirmed by Article 3 of the Final Declaration contains only an indistinct promise concerning the integration of all citizens into the national community and mentions a special representation of the interests of the resistance movement in the framework of the royal administration in the two north-Laotian provinces. The resistance fighters are described only as „Laotian nationals who did not support the Royal forces during

This settlement was not adequate either to the military strength or the political authority of the Neo Lao Issara government. Though, it was accepted by this government in spite of its being an extremely heavy sacrifice to achieve peace in the country. A really good compromise, but also the well conceived needs of national reconciliation would have required the government of national resistance to obtain in the negotiations concerning the application of the Geneva Agreements positions of issue at least equal to those of the royal government. This did not happen. The western powers, taking part in the negotiations under the gloomy impression of the French debacle of Dien Bien Phu have felt that the requested and unjustified military-political advantages of their adherents are to be accompanied by a certain countervalue. A compensation of this kind was the principle of neutrality of the nations of Indochina which had represented all the same a settlement convenient for both parties. There was no official proclamation of this principle from any side; however, the stipulations of the Agreements intended to do so. The organs of resistance were able to agree with the cessation of hostilities under the condition, that the royal governments which existed during the period of the French occupation should occupy new, independent positions in the spirit of Geneva, that they should not join any military block, and that they should give the people the possibility of making valid their ambitions by the way of correct democratic elections. This is the reason why the final declarations contain terminated stipulations concerning elections to take place in the three states of Indochina; according to Article 3 elections in Laos were to be held in 1955.<sup>29</sup> The obligations of neutralization actually brought about a relaxation of the tension in the internal situation, so necessary for a normal winding up of the elections, and they simultaneously constituted the prerequisite for the reduction of the danger of foreign intervention.

The idea of neutralization constituted a good basis for a longer-lasting peaceful arrangement. In the Geneva Agreements it appears most markedly by interdicting the country to become a member of any military alliance; this interdiction appears in certain modifications in all the agreements which concern Indochina territories.<sup>30</sup>

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hostilities<sup>28</sup>. (*Further Documents relating to the discussion of Indo-China at the Geneva Conference*, Cmd. 9239, London 1954, p. 41.)

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 9—11. As far as Cambodia is concerned, this refers to military alliances inconsistent with the UN Charter, and in the case of Laos also to military alliances being not conform with the principles of the cease-fire agreement. These obligations belong to the main neutralization measures of the Geneva Agreements. However, particularly in the case of Cambodia, and partly also in the case of Laos, the stipulations are not so accurate as to exclude the possibility of an incorrect interpretation and misuse. Similar insufficient accurateness can be seen in the stipulation of the obligations of these two states according to which they are bound not to allow the establishment of military bases of foreign powers as long as the security of the two states is not endangered. The threat to security is not defined here. On the other hand, as far as Vietnam is concerned, the interdiction to enter military alliances is stipulated in an unambiguous wording. The interdiction applies to both parts of this state also for the case if the presumed unification should not take place by elections at the foreseen time. In their main aims the Geneva Agreements thus clearly intend to maintain neutrality, presuming normal peaceful conditions.

The independence leaning on neutrality was thus the great contribution of Geneva which would have been able and was due to help the nations of Indochina in overcoming their internal differences and in strengthening their international position. All what had been later undertaken against their interests and against peace in this region contravened simultaneously this basic thought of the Geneva Agreements.

The first international attempt at ensuring the neutral position of Laos was part of the peaceful settlement in entire Indochina, and was based on the results of exhaustive negotiations, lasting for three months, with the participation of the world powers.<sup>31</sup> For the protection of the complicated construction of the cease-fire a tripartite International Control and Supervisory Commission (ICSC) has been set up consisting of representatives of Poland and Canada under the chairmanship of the representative of neutral India.<sup>32</sup> The leaders of almost all the delegations, of the government and further important state representatives have expressed their satisfaction with the results attained. It seemed that this important act of peace would play a positive role in international politics.

However, the favourable prerequisites were not sufficient. After the hopeful start, difficulties and disappointments have arisen. The Geneva Agreements did not collapse at the first impact; nonetheless, they were gradually undermined and violated until—on their tenth anniversary—the fact was established that they had settled almost nothing and had not brought about consolidation. Vietnam remained disunited, Laos in a muddle, neutral Cambodia harassed by border incidents. In South Vietnam the Americans stepped into the place of the French.

The fault did not lie in the Geneva Agreements alone. Their essence and principles did not lose anything from their strength and actuality even at a time when they were most rudely trampled upon. This is best proved by the fact that always when the situation in Laos, in Vietnam and also on the frontiers of Cambodia became acutely dangerous, all the serious propositions to re-establish peace turned again towards the ideas of Geneva of 1954. This happened in 1961 when a second conference on Laos was under preparation, and again in 1964 when situation had changed for the worse. The goal of a consequent realization of the policy of independence and neutrality in Laos and southeastern Asia became even more important both from the viewpoint of the local situation and with respect to world peace.

No doubt, the texts of the Geneva Agreements contained certain juridical inexactitudes and inconsistencies which had arisen both because the problems to be solved were so complicated and also because it was unavoidable to make compromises. Weaknesses of this kind are to be found in a relatively great number just in the agreement concerning Laos. However, they alone could not have been the cause of the deterioration that has lead to the re-kindling of civil war.

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<sup>31</sup> Only the USA did not agree with the Geneva Agreements; however, it obliged itself not to apply „the threat or the use of force to disturb them“. Ibid., pp. 6—7.

<sup>32</sup> *Notes et Études documentaires*, No. 1.909, pp. 6, 7, 11 and 15.

In the controversies arising out of the application of the provisions of the cease-fire there was an insidious intention to deprive the Laotian resistance movement of the positions gained in the course of the struggle for liberation. The fruits of victory, i.e., the independence won from the defeated French, fell to the royal Loatian government which was on the side of the French, served as their instrument, and therefore did not deserve any credit for this victory. Hence, it had no moral right to claim the positions of the victor and to dictate the conditions.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the Laotian politicians from the camp of the royal government, for instance the minister Kou Voravong, were aware of this fact; they were desirous to come to a sincere agreement with the representatives of the resistance and they did not intend to search in the Geneva texts for pretences in order to misuse them. Other political personalities, such as Katay Don Sasorith and Phoumi Nosavan, accepted from the beginning foreign instigation against peaceful settlement, and were concentrating at distorting and sabotaging the conditions of the cease-fire and of the supplementary agreements concluded in Laos.

The rightist group deranged several times the relatively propitious auspices present for the calming down of the stormy political atmosphere. The stepping-stone of this activity of the rightists was the policy of the USA which decided to turn Laos into a „friendly Laos“, and, in the words of an American expert for Asian affairs, have „directed its influence as well as financial and other aid to this end“.<sup>34</sup>

The intention of the rightists was in the first line to attain the liquidation of the political character of the re-grouped territories in the North, and they started to dispatch paratroops into these regions. Already the first report of the ICSC contains a long list of complaints lodged by the Neo Lao Issara for infringements upon valid agreements.<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless, the delegation of Neo Lao Issara has shown extreme patience and declared itself to be ready to „recognize the Royal Government and that in principle the administration of »Pathet Lao« in the two provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Saly is classified under the Supreme Authority of the Royal Government“<sup>36</sup> connecting this question with the general political settlement in the state according to Article 14, and with the elections that were to take place. The ICSC supported this standpoint and recommended negotiations to be started.<sup>37</sup>

In the meantime, however, rightist forces had minister Kou Voravong assassinated; subsequently the government was taken over by the notoriously corrupt politician Katay Sasorith. After this change there was no more possibility of finding

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 13 and 15.

<sup>34</sup> V. Purcell: The Laos Conference of 1962, in *The Yearbook of World Affairs 1963*, London 1963, p. 49.

<sup>35</sup> Her Majesty's Stationery Office, *First Interim Report of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos*, London 1955, pp. 45 and 69.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., Appendix 1, p. 76.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., Resolution on 3rd December, p. 46.

a way to an agreement concerning a further basic problem, i.e., a righteous electoral system. Elections were arranged for by the government without any agreement with the representatives of the resistance, and they were based on false electoral lists. The Neo Lao Issara did not participate in the elections and did not acknowledge their results. They were so unconvincing that even the ICSC refused to accept them.

The ill-successes of the royal army in penetrating into the re-grouped regions of the Neo Lao Issara undermined Katay's position. In March 1956 Souvanna Phouma was again appointed Prime Minister; he has set his government the main task to reach an agreement with the resistance movement. Prince Souphanouvong answered with a letter in which he declared himself to be for an agreement based on five principles of peaceful coexistence. He pointed at the relaxation of the international tension and at the necessity to settle the problems of Laos in the spirit of the Geneva Agreements.<sup>38</sup>

Negotiations were started in Vientiane in August and a set of documents has been elaborated.<sup>39</sup> Their main points are contained in declarations issued jointly by Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong. From the viewpoint of the fight for neutralization—which is the main subject of our considerations—the most important moment of these documents lies in the fact that agreement was reached between the two parties on principles of foreign policy, stipulated in five points. The first of them contains the obligation „to follow the way of peace and neutrality“. This was the first time that representatives of both parties agreed upon the principle of neutrality in a common document. The further points represent obligations to heed the five principles of peaceful coexistence and to maintain good neighbourly relations with all the countries.<sup>40</sup> In the last two points there is essentially a repetition of measures to be taken in order to achieve neutralization, contained already in the cease-fire agreements of 1954. The conclusion of the first declaration is an appeal to the ICSC asking it to extend its help in solving all the pending questions in the spirit of the Geneva Agreements. Thus the agreements of Vientiane represent both with their contents and form a continuation of the endeavours for neutralization, started already in Geneva.

The Neo Lao Issara confirmed to agree in principle with the subjection of its provinces and military units to the highest responsibility of the respective central authorities. The government agreed with arranging for supplementary elections in righteous conditions and to turn to be a government of national unity with the participation of representatives of the Neo Lao Haksat,<sup>41</sup> a new political party which had come into being by the legalization and spreading of the Neo Lao Issara movement, known, particularly abroad, under the name Pathet Lao.

<sup>38</sup> Her Majesty's Stationery Office, *Third Interim Report of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos*, London 1957, Annexure 6. p. 54.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., Annexure 7, 8 and 13, pp. 54—56 and 66—67.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Annexure 11, pp. 60—61.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Annexure 8, pp. 56—57.

After having overcome the governmental crisis in summer 1957, detailed agreements were signed on the 22nd October; they were concerned with the creation of a government of national unity, with the juridical position of the northern provinces and with pledges of the rights of the citizens.<sup>42</sup> An important joint communiqué followed on November 3rd in which both princes confirmed the results of the political negotiations in Laos that had taken place in the previous year.<sup>43</sup> The administration of the provinces Sam Neua and Phong Saly was solemnly conveyed to the royal government on November 14th,<sup>44</sup> and the day after a coalition government was formed by Souvanna Phouma in which the Neo Lao Haksat was represented by two ministers.

In the framework of the preparations for the supplementary elections the decision was taken that the number of the members of parliament should be raised to 59. Further it was decided that 1500 combatants of the liberation units would be taken on to the active strength of the Royal Army while 10 battalions were due to demobilize; 4773 pieces of armament were subsequently delivered to the royal government.<sup>45</sup> Both princes confirmed in the communiqué mentioned above that „the integration will entail the de facto and de jure disappearance of the Fighting Units of the Pathet Lao“.<sup>46</sup> It appears, therefore, that the Neo Lao Haksat has come to meet the royal side more than half-way.

The same demeanour was exhibited by the Neo Lao Haksat also in the question of the supplementary elections which finally were arranged to take place on May 4th, 1958. They took place in the entire country but only 20 new seats and 1 vacant seat were to be occupied. The electoral preparations were taking place in an atmosphere of heaviest pressure exerted on the representatives of the resistance. A list delivered by Souphanouvong to the Prime Minister contains an exhaustive description of imprisonments, murders and attempted attacks on buildings of the Neo Lao Haksat.<sup>47</sup> No remedy came from the part of the government, but the prince did not renounce the participation of his party in the elections. They brought him a success not expected by his antagonists. In most of the constituencies the Left won victory, and in the district of the capital city the Santiphab (Party of Peace and Neutrality) improved its positions.<sup>48</sup> These two allied parties gained 13 seats out of the 21 that

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<sup>42</sup> Neo Lao Haksat, *Extrait des Accords de Genève 1954 pour le Laos et des Accords de Vientiane 1956—1957*, pp. 29—35.

<sup>43</sup> Her Majesty's Stationery Office, *Fourth Interim Report of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos*, London 1958, op. 57—59.

<sup>44</sup> The actual transfer was realized in the province Sam Neua on the 8th December and in Phong Saly on the 12th December 1957. (*Fourth Interim Report of the ICSC in Laos*, p. 13.) In publications of the Neo Lao Haksat the date 8th and 18th December are given. (*Extrait des Accords de Genève pour le Laos et des Accords de Vientiane 1956—1957*, p. 29).

<sup>45</sup> *Fourth Interim Report of the ICSC in Laos*, Annexure 60, p. 155.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Annexure 14, p. 58.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Annexure 33, pp. 90—95.

<sup>48</sup> *Hsinhua News Agency*, No. 3.309, May 18, 1958.

were contested in the political struggle while the party of Katay obtained only 3 mandates.

The victory of the Left in the elections became a fatal issue. A study made up by the general secretariate of the French government is not wrong in evaluating in this connexion the American standpoint as a policy governed by „the idea of roll-back and not the acceptation of the status quo. Neutralism is considered by the group representing the ideas of State Secretary Dulles to be immoral... From the beginning of June 1958 (i.e., after the May elections—note of the author) the United States embarked on a policy the aim of which was to transform Laos into a bastion of anti-communism“.<sup>49</sup> A similar opinion was uttered by E. H. Simmonds, an expert of problems of South-East Asia: „This result engendered strong Western, especially American, fears that full elections for a new Assembly, due in 1959, would give victory at the polls to NLHS, probably in association with other left-wing parties. The normal development of democratic procedures in Laos appeared, in this view, inimical to Western interests, and efforts to bring influence to bear in the opposite direction were thereupon intensified“.<sup>50</sup>

One of the first warning signals was the request for disbanding the ICSC in Laos by the day of the elections<sup>51</sup> sent to this organization by Souvanna Phouma under the pressure of his deputy in the office of the Prime Minister, Phoui Sananikone.<sup>52</sup> The main argument in this request is that the elections represent the fulfilment of the last conditions according to the Geneva Agreement. Actually, the task of the Commission consisted in supervising the obligations particularly in a situation that already at that time was critical and showing many symptoms of illegal rightist activity.

The view of the ICSC on this question was not unambiguous. In July the Commission accepted a decision of the majority against the vote of the Polish delegate<sup>53</sup> and adjourned its session sine die with the condition that it may be convoked again in case of necessity. India's view was that by proceeding this way, the existence of the Commission was at least theoretically saved; practically, however, this unjustified concession has meant the cessation of the activity of the Commission, and this was propitious for the antagonists of a legal development in Laos. The neighbouring State of Cambodia did not protest against the existence of the international commission acting in that country since it had nothing to conceal before it. Cambodia

<sup>49</sup> Notes et Études Documentaires, No. 3.011, p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> E. H. S. Simmonds: *A Cycle of Political Events in Laos. The World Today* 2, 1961. p. 59.

<sup>51</sup> The request was made by decision of the Laotian government, taken two months prior to the elections.

<sup>52</sup> This is alleged by R. N. Venky in *Some Awkward Questions on Laos*, New Delhi 1960, p. 19. Actually, however, Souvanna Phouma had in his mind the withdrawal of the ICSC already in his letter of 26th November, 1957. (*Fourth Interim Report of the ICSC in Laos*, Annexure 20, pp. 69—70).

<sup>53</sup> This was an infringement upon Article 39 of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos according to which decisions of this kind must be adopted unanimously.

did not regard the Commission as a threat to its sovereignty but on the contrary, as an instrument which was apt to serve in protecting its neutrality.

The ICSC in Laos has by its procedure violated its sublime mission as an unprejudiced organ. Apparently it was not sufficient to rely upon India's representative to be the permanent chairman of the Commission since any possible deviation of this great country to the right was more or less capable of automatically outbalancing the political equilibrium of the entire system of the ICSC in the states of Indochina. The experience shows that in order to apply the provisions of the Geneva Agreements a more stable and impartial organ was needed than was the ICSC in its Geneva composition.

The United States was applying also economic weapons against the policy of coalition in Laos. The rightist politician Sisouk Na Champassak writes about this form of pressure as follows: „By hesitation for months over the question of confirming U.S. dollar aid to Laos, Washington clearly indicated its lack of enthusiasm for an expensive program of aid to a nation dallying with its worst enemies“.<sup>54</sup>

Laotian rightist and centre parties united under American influence, and besides them an avenging arm of American policy was created in Laos in the form of the Committee for Defence of National Interest (CDIN), composed of the most militant groups of the so-called „young“ politicians and army officers. Souvanna Phouma yielded to their pressure without, however, being successful in remaining in position though he was ready to sacrifice even the principle of a coalition with the Left. A new government was formed by the opportunistic politician Phoui Sananikone. He refuted the principle of a coalition government; he leaned on the CDIN, and got rid of Souvanna Phouma by sending him as ambassador to Paris.

Apart from an uncertain step back to the policy of neutrality undertaken by Phoui Sananikone shortly before the debacle of his government, the whole period of his activity in the office of Prime Minister was concentrated at the demolition of all valid domestic and international agreements on Laotian neutrality. The Minister of Information of his government and member of the CDIN, Sisouk Na Champassak, characterized this procedure of Phoui Sananikone as „a ,tough‘ policy toward the Communist Pathet Lao“.<sup>55</sup>

The former members of resistance were put under terror. In many places this terror adopted the character of systematic extermination. On February 11th., 1959 Sananikone publicly announced that the government of Laos did not acknowledge any more any competence of the ICSC,<sup>56</sup> further, that it considered as fully accomplished the implementation of all the obligations undertaken at the Geneva Conference,<sup>57</sup> and that it does not feel to be bound by these obligations. He also ex-

<sup>54</sup> Sisouk Na Champassak, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>56</sup> Notes et Études Documentaires, No. 3.011, p. 14.

<sup>57</sup> Neo Lao Haksat, *Faits et Documents concernant l'exécution des Accords de Genève au Laos*, 1959, p. 52.

pressed his view that this rejection applies in the same way to the Vientiane agreements.<sup>58</sup> This rejection of the Geneva obligations was in perfect concordance with the intentions of the USA<sup>59</sup> but it did not heed the principles either of international right<sup>60</sup> or the situation in Laos.

The government refused to integrate the 1500 men of the armed units of Neo Lao Haksat into the Royal Army as agreed upon in the relevant agreement. The government wanted the officers of these units to be stripped of their ranks gained in the fight against French occupation and to liquidate the entire contingent. Units of the government, armed with weapons supplied by the Americans, surrounded the two battalions of the Neo Lao Haksat force stationed in Xieng Ngeun and Thong Hai Hin (in the provinces Luang Prabang and Xieng Khouang),<sup>61</sup> and eventually an ultimatum for surrender was presented to them. The second battalion managed to escape from this encirclement during night.<sup>62</sup> The first battalion, facing starvation and governmental superior force, subjected itself to the conditions of the government; later, however, a major part of its combatants rejoined the forces of resistance which were gradually renewing their positions in the countryside.

Prince Souphanouvong was arrested together with nine members of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat and with other collaborators. It is remarkable that in this period so gloomy for the Laotian resistance when political leadership was in the first place temporarily in the hands of the Headquarters of the 2nd battalion, there were no tendencies of military character prevailing though such tendencies might have been expected as a reaction to the treachery of the government. On the contrary, the declaration of the 2nd battalion confirms the previously declared principles of the Neo Lao Haksat; in Point 2 of this declaration it is stated that the goal of the movement remains the policy of peace and neutrality.<sup>63</sup>

General mobilization was ordered by the government<sup>64</sup> and it did not even hesitate to lodge a complaint on September 4th with the Security Council of the UN against an invasion from the side of the Vietnamese People's Republic. This action was in concordance with the plans aiming at shifting the international affairs of Laos from the sphere of the competence of the Geneva Agreements into the sphere of the UN, i.e., from a sphere the composition of which—in view of the presence of the People's

<sup>58</sup> Sisouk Na Champassak, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>59</sup> *New York Times*, February 13, 1959.

<sup>60</sup> Chen Yi, in the name of the Government of the People's Republic of China requested 18th February the renewal of the activity of the ICSC and the observance of the Geneva Agreements, violated by this decision of the Laotian government. (Foreign Languages Press, *Concerning the Situation in Laos*, Peking 1959, pp. 1—4).

<sup>61</sup> *Faits et Documents concernant l'exécution des Accords de Genève au Laos*, 1959, p. 53.

<sup>62</sup> Details on the action of liquidation are contained in a letter sent by the officers and men of the 2nd battalion to the Indian Chairman of the ICSC on Laos (*Letter du 2<sup>e</sup> Bataillon des Forces du Pathet Lao au Président de la Commission Internationale de Surveillance et du Contrôle au Laos*, 1959, 20 p.).

<sup>63</sup> 2<sup>e</sup> Bataillon du Pathet Lao, *Déclaration du 2<sup>e</sup> Bataillon du Pathet Lao*, 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1959, p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> *Faits et Documents concernant l'exécution des Accords de Genève au Laos*, 1959, p. 57.

Republic of China—was better reflecting the actual relationship of forces, into the official world organization which, however, contrarily to all reasonable causes, ignores the greatest Asian power, and which—as it was seen already in 1954—was thus unable to invalidate its good services in finding an issue from the crisis of Indochina. The rigidity of the UN in this point radically impaired both its power and its authority.

The complaint has developed into an international fiasco both for the government of Laos and for all the states, organizations and press organs which had taken it seriously and had supported it. The Security Council sent to Laos—against the vote of the Soviet delegate and thus against the Charter of the United Nations—a Fact-finding subcommittee<sup>65</sup> which—with reference to the essence of the complaint—reported that it „did not... clearly establish whether there were crossings of the frontier by regular troops of the DRV”<sup>66</sup>.

The Sub-committee did not find evidence of military intervention from the side of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic since such interventions were nothing but fabrication of the Laotian government. In the newspaper „The Times“ we can read in this connexion: „The United Nations, in particular the non-Communist elements, thus finds itself in a dilemma.“<sup>67</sup> The alarm, antecedent to the Laotian official complaint, was commented on by B. B. Fall as follows: „It can be said that with the laudable exception of the Wall Street Journal, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Time, the American press gave a completely distorted picture of what happened in Laos in the summer of 1959, with the Washington Post and the New York Times being the worst offenders.“<sup>68</sup>

In the field of international relations the government of Sananikone undertook also other illegal actions thus diverting Laos from the road of neutrality and causing increased tension also in domestic relations. The Secretary General of the UN, Hammarskjöld, paid a visit to Laos shortly after the Sub-committee's work being finished. Sananikone exerted great efforts in order to prompt the UN to allow its representatives to stay in the country. Hammarskjöld complied with this request at least in the form by appointing the Secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, Sakari Tuomioja, to be his deputy in Laos and entrusted him to elaborate a report on the possibilities of economic aid.

The government of Laos also readily accepted the increase of supplies of American military equipment although this represented an infringement upon Article 9 of the

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<sup>65</sup> Composed of representatives of Argentina, Japan, Tunisia and Italy. This composition demonstrates that the UN showed even less sense for impartiality than the ICSC did. The Laotian Right expected that „...the UN group would end the problem of the dreaded ICSC, the bastard fruit of the Geneva Conference...“. (Na Champassak, op. Kit., p. 98).

<sup>66</sup> *Laos R. 5489*, p. 17.

<sup>67</sup> *The Times*, November 7, 1959.

<sup>68</sup> B. B. Fall, *Street Without Joy*, London 1963, p. 324.

cease-fire agreement. Souphanouvong dispatched a protesting letter to the ICSC with detailed data on the quantities and types of arms, among them tanks.<sup>69</sup>

As far as the withdrawal of foreign military personnel was concerned, the Geneva Agreements contained one sole exception. According to their provisions two French garrisons were allowed to stay in Laos with the task of military training, with a maximum number of 5000 men.<sup>70</sup> This decision was rather of technical nature and as such it did not affect the liquidation of the French colonial system in Indochina. However, the presence of this group, which was insignificant in number, became harmful the moment the government of Sananikone misused it. The government did not make any secret of the presence of American military advisers and of American supplies of military equipment. Interventions of this kind had assumed such proportions that it was no more possible to keep them secret. This again was a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements.<sup>71</sup> In order to give this situation at least the appearance of legality, the Laotian government referred to the existence of the French military training mission accorded by the Agreements, and it concluded a treaty with the French government. In this treaty, made public on July 23rd, it is said: "The Laotian government decided to solicit for the technical co-operation of a certain number of American specialists who are to join the French mission as military instructors."<sup>72</sup>

This was an unconvincing manoeuvre since the illegal character of the presence of American military personnel could not be changed by a simple announcement saying that this personnel will be present as part of the legal French mission. This development demonstrated that even a small and originally harmless exception from the measures of neutralization was later apt to be used in actions directed against the spirit of the entire agreement.

Another means to circumvent the provisions of the cease-fire agreement were the bilateral pacts on military co-operation with South Vietnam, Thailand, with the government of Taiwan and with the Philippines.<sup>73</sup> Thailand was the most experienced in this regard since already in 1955 it had taken upon itself the military training of officers for the army of Laos and since the Thai group of instructors entrusted with this task had been prepared for it by American advisers.<sup>74</sup> Thailand became the main transhipping base of American military equipment to be supplied to Laos.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Letter, dated 11th January, 1959 (*Faits et Documents concernant l'exécution des Accords de Genève au Laos*, 1959, p. 41).

<sup>70</sup> Articles 6 and 8 of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos. The group never reached the allowed maximum.

<sup>71</sup> Article 6 of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities and Declaration by the Royal Government of Laos (reference Articles 4 and 5 of the Final Declaration) in *Further Documents relating to the discussion of Indo-China at the Geneva Conference*, pp. 20 and 41.

<sup>72</sup> *Faits et Documents concernant l'exécution des Accords de Genève au Laos*, p. 42.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 48—50.

<sup>74</sup> Special correspondent of *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 21 March, 1955.

<sup>75</sup> Quang Minh, *Au pays du million d'éléphants*, Hanoi 1961, p. 57.

Lead by the same intention, Sananikone wanted Laos to become integrated into SEATO. This military pact, involving South East Asia, has come into being by American instigation and was to serve as counterweight against the neutralization of the peninsula of Indochina. The text of this pact itself was directed already against the Geneva Agreements. It contains a supplementary protocol by virtue of which the member states<sup>76</sup> imply into the sphere of SEATO „the States of Cambodia and Laos and the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam“.<sup>77</sup> To these territories applies the interdiction to enter into military alliances incompatible with the cease-fire agreements.<sup>78</sup> The meaning of this SEATO protocol is that the relationship of SEATO to the said States acts as if they were regular members of the pact. The Cambodian ruler Sihanuk unambiguously refused any kind of protection by SEATO; Souvanna Phouma also stood aside from it, but Sananikone was ready to adjoin Laos also formally to the pact.<sup>79</sup>

The SEATO did not intend and the UN was not able to undertake effective measures to achieve peace. This time again it became obvious that the only way to peace lead through the Geneva Agreements.

The government of the Soviet Union,<sup>80</sup> the Chinese government,<sup>81</sup> the government of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic<sup>82</sup> and further important voices called for a new convention of the Geneva Conference. Sananikone became irresolute. The balance of his government was from every aspect negative. By his attempt to liquidate the military units of resistance prepared for integration into the Royal Army, he had committed a breach of the Vientiane agreements and rekindled civil war which developed to the detriment of the government.

The circumvention and open violation of the international stipulations of the Geneva Agreements had brought modern American arms; on the other hand, however, the foreign advisers and commanders arriving alongside with the arms constituted a troublesome burden and made public opinion turn against the Laotian government. Sananikone very often achieved just the contrary of what he has wanted to achieve. Eventually he became aware of the fact that this sharp course not only did not reduce but even increased the chances of the popular forces to attain full victory. These considerations may explain his decision to dismiss 7 ministers of the

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<sup>76</sup> Among the 8 member states only three are Asian countries, all situated at the periphery of South-East Asia.

<sup>77</sup> Department of State, *Southeast Asia Treaty Organization*, Washington 1956, Appendix 2, p. 27.

<sup>78</sup> Article 5 of the Final Declaration.

<sup>79</sup> Protest against this design and against other illegal actions of the government is contained in the letter of the Central Committee of the Neo Haksat (*Lettre du Comité Central du Parti Neo Lao Haksat aux Co-Présidents de la Conférence de Genève de 1954 sur l'Indochine*, Août 1959, p. 3 and ff.).

<sup>80</sup> *Pravda*, 15th September, 1959.

<sup>81</sup> *Concerning the Situation in Laos*, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>82</sup> Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, *Mémorandum II du Gouvernement de la République démocratique du Viet-Nam*, Hanoi 1959, p. 48.

rightist CDIN from his government by the end of the year. Anyway, this belated measure did not save his discredited government, neither could he refuse to accept responsibility since—serving foreign interests—he allowed the delicate construction of all-national peace to be demolished in its most sensitive points. The endeavour to return to peace became paralyzed owing to deep reciprocal distrust.

The Laotian Right reacted without hesitation already in the first days of 1960 by a military coup d'état. Western diplomatists undertook an intervention with the King, and enforced a formal renewal of a civil government<sup>83</sup> to be constituted by Kou Abhay, a henchman of the Right. Simultaneously they requested elections to be arranged for. The sense of these démarches was the typical intention to obtain supplementary apparent legalization of the results of the coup d'état by which the violation of the agreements became deepened.

General Phoumi Nosavan, a leading figure of the CDIN, was given the portfolio of National Defence. Elections of this kind had the character of a farce. The conditions set up for the designation of the candidates were made more complicated, taxes of candidature were elevated, and in order to be susceptible for election „a niveau of erudition or the equivalent of tax-paying capacity was requested which was high above the level of an ordinary citizen of Laos“.<sup>84</sup> Administrative instructions issued by the official organs were such as to ensure the election of government candidates.<sup>85</sup> The representatives of the opposition were put under terror and fourteen of them, being in fear for their lives, withdrew their candidature shortly before the elections.<sup>86</sup> The polling stations stood under military control;<sup>87</sup> a soldier, armed with a gun, was standing by the polling-box, with ink and paper in his hands. He was enabled to make notes about the voting of anybody since the envelopes used were deliberately transparent. Many voters were not given voting certificates while agents of the government voted several times. A review of further similar machinations is contained in the letter of the candidate No 1 in Vientiane, Bong Souvannavong.<sup>88</sup> The fraudulent character of these elections is seen from the fact that the strong parties of the Neo Lao Haksat, leaders of which were in prison, and the neutralistic Santiphab party did not gain one sole candidate though formally they were not banned. The delegates of the CDIN gained superiority and were, together with the delegates of the rightist centre, controlling the National Assembly which subsequently played a disgraceful role and regardless of its doubtful origin was posing as the guardian of legality in the kingdom.

The ambassadors of the Western powers again told the King about their being

<sup>83</sup> Notes et Études Documentaires, No. 3.011, p. 15.

<sup>84</sup> Neo Lao Haksat, *Vérités sur les élections générales d'avril 1960 au Laos*, 1960, p. 6.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., telegraph message of the Minister of Interior, Tiao Somsanith, pp. 7—8.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>87</sup> E. H. S. Simmonds: *A Cycle of Political Events in Laos*. The World Today, 2, 1961, p. 6.

<sup>88</sup> The letter was sent on 29th April, 1960 to the Chairman of the Central Election Committee at Vientiane (*Supplément du Premier Message du Neo Lao Haksat*, Mai 1960, pp. 3—4).

concerned with the army—which had played a decisive role in the elections<sup>89</sup>—standing too much in the foreground of state administration. According to Na Champassak they were assured to the effect that „whoever the head of the next government might be, there would be no question of his deviating from neutrality, the logical condition for a small, peaceful country of three million surrounded by powerful neighbors“. „The King also chose the theme of neutrality for his speech at the opening of the new Assembly“ Na Champassak goes on and adds that „after him the deputies took it up and repeated continually that Laos always had been and always would be neutral“.<sup>90</sup> The ideas of neutrality in Laos were apparently so consolidated that even the royal regime felt to be obliged to stick to it at least formally. The royal regime did not dare to admit openly that its political attitude was being formed according to the wishes of the powers from which it obtained financial and military aid.<sup>91</sup> Anyway, all those proclamations made in the name of a regime which had brutally excluded opposition from official political life are proofs of the perfidious tactics of the government. The suppression of the Left and the Neutralists cannot be considered to be consistent with a sincerely neutral international position. If a repressive state apparatus turns against important components of domestic political life, it must take into account that these suppressed elements will try to find help abroad as a weapon against the presence of interventors invited and tolerated by the Laotian government. This is not the way to achieve peace. Neutrality in general, and particularly in conditions such as were in Laos requires correct political conditions in the state itself as a prerequisite of a stabilized neutralistic foreign policy.

The new government formed by Somsanith in June 1960 has shifted governmental policy further to the right. In this period, Souvanna Phouma accepted the function of the Speaker of the National Assembly. However, he did not endeavour to make use of this new position of his in favour of the policy of national reconciliation for which he was pleading when he was Prime Minister. The initiative for a change came from an unexpected side. Discontentedness was spreading into new strata. The army started to interfere with all internal problems of the state. The Minister for National Defence, Nosavan became irritated because of the sympathies with which Buddhistic clergy—prompted by pure patriotic motivation—accepted the efforts of the Neo Lao Haksat to maintain neutrality and to attain peaceful conditions. Early in 1960 he issued an arbitrary order to depose the highest bonze A Chan Bouakham who was director of the Buddhistic High School in Vientiane. This order provoked a widespread movement of Buddhistic petitions and manifestations.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Admitted by Na Champassak, op. cit., pp. 144—145.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>91</sup> American expenditure in the years 1955—1959 on the Laotian army and military objects amounted to 225 million dollars. *U. S. News and World Report*, 7th September, 1959.

<sup>92</sup> Quang Minh, op. cit., pp. 60—61.

Several officers of the Royal Army started to take up contact with delegates of the Santiphab party.<sup>93</sup> A leading personality of this party, Quinim Pholsena, accompanied by lawyers, undertook a personal intervention at the Royal High Court and asked for the release of Souphanouvong and other causelessly imprisoned representatives of the Neo Lao Haksat.<sup>94</sup> In the April elections the country became convinced of the terroristic methods applied by the government. The consternation of the people turned against the government being dependent on American policy. Many military units only grudgingly and speciously obeyed commands in this fratricidal war. Thus it happened that the political leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat, headed by Souphanouvong and Colonel Singkao, managed with the help of their guards to escape from a heavily guarded special camp near Vientiane.<sup>95</sup> These men, weakened by their being prisoners for about one year, were able—helped by local population—to absolve a 500 kilometre march through the jungle and reach the partisan bases. Na Champassak admits that „this spectacular escape was likely to give new life to the rebellion“.<sup>96</sup>

Agitation in the camp of the royal government reached its climax by the revolt on August 9th, 1960. The second paratrooper battalion occupied during the night all strategically important points in Vientiane without firing one shot. This action was lead by the young captain Kong Le. In his first proclamation made in the name of the Revolutionary Committee<sup>97</sup> he spoke of the need of a national harmony: „We are disgusted with this civil war. It is against the moral principles of Buddhism. It is made by a handful of people for foreign money. If this killing of Lao by Lao goes on, there will be no more Laotians left... We will advance in the path of neutrality... We will accept aid from anyone who offers it without conditions, but not from those who use it to provoke war among Laotians.“<sup>98</sup>

Regardless to the subsequently altering political development of Kong Le, in these moments his proclamation represented the sentiments and mood prevailing in the capital. His words sounded convincingly and resolutely. The appeal for the cessation of fratricidal struggle and for neutrality coming from the mouth of the rebellant captain of elite paratrooper formations had a quite different and more hopeful meaning than the same or similar words uttered by representatives of a rightist royal government. Kong Le accused the Americans of inciting war in Laos; he requested them to leave the country, and he stopped operations against units of the Neo Lao Haksat.

The opportunistic members of the old National Assembly, under the impression

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>95</sup> A. L. Strong, op. cit., pp. 75—84.

<sup>96</sup> Na Champassak, op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>97</sup> Later the name of the committee was changed into *Coup d'état committee*.

<sup>98</sup> A. L. Strong, op. cit., p. 88.

of the first surprise, agreed with the demission of the deposed Somsanith,<sup>99</sup> and they even voted confidence the new government which--by the instigation of the Revolutionary Committee--was formed again by the representative of the Centre, Souvanna Phouma.<sup>100</sup> The King could not do anything but agree with the changes.

The national revolution has brought Laos again into a similar situation of internal policy as had existed after the signature of the Vientiane agreements.

The then following events again resulted in civil war just the same as in the past, with the difference, however, that this time the process went on in an accelerated pace.

In constituting his government, Souvanna Phouma followed the idea that also the Right is to be represented in it. The neutralist Quinim Pholsena, who was given originally the portfolio of Internal Affairs, was very soon shifted from this seat to become Minister of Information, and the Deputy Prime Minister Nosavan was appointed Minister of Interior. This was meant as the price for his return from the south-Laotian Savannakhet where he had established the Committee against the coup d'état. Nosavan accepted the appointment, but did not cease to develop his subversive activity. The Neo Lao Haksat was not represented. The government did not by far represent the actual state and force of political life in Laos.<sup>101</sup> True, the patriots imprisoned in the capital were set free<sup>102</sup> but this did not take place in other towns of the country.<sup>103</sup>

However, Phoumi Nosavan did not stay for a long time in the capital. He went back to Savannaketh where he allied himself with Boun Oum who reappeared on the political scene and was put at the head of the reactionary government. He only returned to the Neo Lao Haksat when it became obvious that the endeavours of Souvanna Phouma to bring the Right into the government in conditions better than could be expected were doomed to failure. The representatives of this party were conciliatory and presented a programme acceptable for all the peace-loving parties and groups.<sup>1</sup>

Their proposals, bearing the date of October 11th, contain seven points in which it is stated among others:

,,A National Union is to be realized, embracing all the ethnic groups, all social strata, all political parties and patriotic and peace-loving personalities in order to fight against the influence of American aggressive circles and against the rebellious activity of the clique of Phoumi Nosavan, thus to achieve harmony among the

<sup>99</sup> Le Comité Central du Neo Lao Haksat, *Faits et Documents sur les menées interventionnistes des États-Unis au Laos*. Royaume du Laos, 1961, p. 7.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> In this government there were five ministers from the Tiao Somsanith cabinet. *Hsinhua News Agency*, September 1, 1960.

<sup>102</sup> Chalermnit Press Correspondent. *Battle of Vientiane*. Bangkok 1961, p. 78.

<sup>103</sup> Even two months after the turn was the Neo Lao Haksat obliged to solicit the release of its functionaries and military personnel of its units. *Faits et Documents sur les menées interventionnistes des États-Unis au Laos*, op. cit., p. 11.

people of Laos, unification of our country in the spirit of the watchwords: Peace, Neutrality, Independence, Democracy, Unity and Prosperity...“

„To realize effectively the democratic liberties of the people in the sense of the stipulation of the Constitution ... and to prepare general elections based on democratic principles of universal suffrage, i.e., elections which are to be direct and secret, guaranteed by the electoral law of 1957 ...“

„To realize a policy of peace and real neutrality, in the spirit of the Agreements of Geneva and of the resolutions of the Conference of Bandung...“<sup>104</sup>

By this attitude it became possible to arrive at positively conclusive negotiations by issuing a joint declaration signed by Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong. In this declaration they have defined the basic political line in the following terms: „The country of Laos is decided to follow a policy of strict neutrality. At present the world is divided into two blocks; it is necessary to stay firmly between them; this is the best convenient way for our country in its present-time situation and the way which represents the desire of our people“.<sup>105</sup> They further expressed among others the necessity to take up diplomatic relations with countries which are inclined to render help without attaching political strings. They also expressed the inseparable relationship between foreign and internal policy by saying: „In order to be able to follow the way of strict neutrality... harmony between Lao's is a prerequisite of first importance.“<sup>106</sup>

The military units of the resistance obliged themselves to support the government against Nosavan, and to protect the homeland, religion, the monarchy and the Constitution. Both parties expressed their will to form a government of coalition with the participation of the ethnic groups and the national groups including the Neo Lao Haksat since this is unavoidably necessary „for the protection of integrity, independence, peace and harmony in the country of Laos“.<sup>107</sup> The declaration addressed itself conciliatory also to persons who had been collaborating with the rightist rebellion, on condition that they would respect the new government and adopt the principle of neutrality. In this case they may also be represented in the government. By signing a declaration of this kind, the Neo Lao Haksat gave expression of its highest possible benevolence towards Souvanna Phouma; likewise, both signatories jointly expressed placability towards the Right on the supposition of its loyalty.

This consequent attitude of the Left followed from its firm political line. Though western press organs describe the Neo Lao Haksat as being an extremist group, this cannot be proved either by its programme or its political activity. Mrs. A. L. Strong points out that the platform of the Neo Lao Haksat necessitates regular democratic

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

measures, a long-term plan of economic rebuilding, independent economy and „respect for private property and the right of all persons to invest in and operate enterprises of construction and production“. She evaluates this as a „mild welfare programme, milder than the Roosevelt New Deal.“<sup>108</sup>

The Indian publicist R. N. Venky writes: „Prince Souphanouvong and his supporters are not all communists. The biggest mistake the West has made in Laos is in banding all those who disagreed with them as communist or communist-sympathizers.“<sup>109</sup>

The Neo Lao Haksat was willing to participate in the build-up of a neutral Laos under the leadership of an independent royal government constituted from all the main political forces of the country. No such willingness could be seen in the ranks of the Right; they were mechanically following a line designed by foreign circles according to principles about which President Eisenhower informed journalists shortly after the neutralistic coup d'état in Vientiane. He said that his government is decided to undertake steps against the setting up of a neutralistic government in Laos.<sup>110</sup>

The deepest motivation of this standpoint of the USA government was the military attack of the Laotian Right against the Vientiane government. Thailand, one of the most active members of SEATO, undertook blocking of traffic on the Mekong river, thus isolating the government of Laos from supplies; at the same time Thailand allowed its territory to be used for undisturbed movements such as were carried out by Phoumi Nosavan in his march toward the capital, with military units organized in the South with American help. In this action Nosavan acted in the name of the illegal rightist government formed by Boun Oum in Savannakhet. The King did not deny official consent with this government since, this time again, he took part with the party which he considered to be the stronger one. The only difference in his action consisted in his being more zealous and faster when the Right was acceding to power, while with the neutralists he used to be more irresolute.

Still prior to the definitive deterioration of the situation in December, Souvanna Phouma has tried to obtain foreign aid from elsewhere, when American supplies had ceased to arrive. Diplomatic relations were taken up with the Soviet Union by which the most needed goods, particularly petrol, were supplied gratuitously to the Laotian government. The American State Department was surprised and displeased. Souvanna Phouma reacted by a declaration saying that „Laos is a neutral country and as such, entitled to accept aid from both blocks“.<sup>111</sup> This idea, though essentially correct, was in the given moment already unrealistic since the United States was

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<sup>108</sup> A. L. Strong, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>109</sup> R. N. Venky, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>110</sup> *New York Times*, August 18, 1960.

<sup>111</sup> Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de la République Démocratique du Viêt Nam, *Mémo-randum du Gouvernement de la République Démocratique du Viêt Nam sur les actes d'agression perpétrés par l'impérialisme américain et ses agents contre le Royaume du Laos*. Hanoi 1960. p. 8.

concentrating all its efforts at helping Nosavan's army. The government of Souvanna Phouma repeatedly protested by notes<sup>112</sup> against this procedure without, however, achieving anything in this way.

Governmental military units have put up stubborn resistance against the better equipped aggressors but were not successful in holding Vientiane which fell on the 16th December. In this fighting students and youth strongly supported the governmental units of Kong Le.<sup>113</sup> The defenders finally withdrew in the direction of the Plain of Jars while the Prime Minister with six ministers fled to Cambodia without, however, having tendered his demission. In the name of his government, Quinim Pholsena and as officiating Prime Minister Khamsouk Keola were in function in the temporary north-Laotian administrative centres. In a governmental proclamation, Pholsena denounced the treason of Boun Oum and confirmed that the government of Souvanna Phouma continues to insist on the validity of the Vientiane agreements and on the declaration of November 20th.<sup>114</sup>

However, the victory of the Right was questionable. The government of Boun Oum has been recognized only by the western powers while the socialistic countries continued to consider the government of Souvanna Phouma as the legal one. In this question the neutral countries proceeded conformly with the socialistic camp. But eventually also the French and English allies of the USA considered it a mistake not to have supported the policy of neutralism of Souvanna Phouma.<sup>115</sup> This view spread the more it became obvious that the army of Nosavan and the government of Boun Oum are not capable of extending their power outside the towns they held occupied and of invalidating their rule in the Laotian countryside. In the first months of 1961 they suffered a series of defeats which compelled Nosavan to go to Phnom Penh for negotiations with Souvanna Phouma and thus to achieve elevations of the authority of Boun Oum's government. Leaving out of consideration his intentions, this way equalled the admittance of military and political failure.

In western political circles disappointment came up and there were doubts in the military and moral value of the rightist army. A somewhat greater attention started to be paid to proposals concerning a diplomatic solution of the crisis dragging on in Laos.

Always when the Right was in the offensive and confirmed its positions by infringements upon valid obligations, the western powers ignored the protesting notes of the socialistic signatories of the Geneva Agreements. On the other hand, when the Right encountered resistance and was pressed into defensive, even the USA became reconciled with the idea of a new international conference.

The struggle for the realization of Laotian neutrality went on parallelly in the

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>113</sup> *Battle of Vientiane*, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>114</sup> Gouvernement Royal du Laos, *Pour un Laos Pacifique, indépendant et neutre*, 1961. Déclaration de son Excellence Quinim Pholsena, Ministre de l'Information, Annexes, p. 33.

<sup>115</sup> *Notes et Études Documentaires*, No. 3.011, p. 19.

sphere of domestic policy and on the international diplomatic scene. They were linked together. The USA government declared itself to be ready to negotiate on international guarantees of Laotian neutrality only after it became convinced that all the material, political and military aid it had given the Laotian Right had not brought about the results it expected.<sup>116</sup>

The forces of the Laotian Left and Centre were allowed to take into account a certain international respect and acknowledgment only as long as they were able to demonstrate their capability to put up efficacious resistance against the military pressure of the Right.

The Head of State of Cambodia foresaw the dangerous development in Laos and already in September 1960 he made a proposition concerning the creation of a neutral zone consisting of Cambodia and Laos.<sup>117</sup> However, just at that time the Right was sitting firmly in the saddle, and the proposition of Cambodia passed unnoticed. However, Sihanuk continued to stick to this idea and in a period of increased tension, when both parties were receiving foreign aid, he proposed on the 1st January, 1961 to convene a new, extended Geneva conference.<sup>118</sup>

His initiative was following a Soviet proposal concerning the resumption of the Geneva conference.<sup>119</sup> Representatives of the People's Republic of China also gave their consent on the occasion of a previous visit of Sihanuk in Peking. The motion was made in a suitable moment since it became apparent that neither of the two fighting parties is strong enough to achieve full victory. Another positive aspect of the motion was the concrete form in which it was presented by Sihanuk. The convocation of 14 states was taken into consideration, at variance with the conference of 1954 in which only 9 delegations had participated. The new participants considered were to be three member states of the ICSC and two countries bordering on Laos: neutral Burma and the SEATO-member Thailand. Even if this composition was not entirely well balanced from the viewpoint of the interested forces, it was more adequate to them than any commission sent to Laos by the UN. The deviation of the principle of equality was not such as to hinder the socialist states in giving their consent.

The political effectiveness of the motion has been increased by the circumstance that it was presented in the name of neighbouring Cambodia where neutrality based on the Geneva Agreements stood the test well and where it has brought about the most positive results. Cambodia is a concrete proof that the principles of Geneva are — in conditions of a consequent observance of the obligations — fully realizable and also

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<sup>116</sup> In these terms has been evaluated the demeanour of the USA by Norodom Sihanuk in a conversation with W. Burchett, author of the book *Schatten über dem Dschungel*, Berlin 1963, p. 269.

<sup>117</sup> La documentation française. *Articles et Documents*, Textes du Jour. No. 0.1028, 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1960.

<sup>118</sup> Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, London, March 11—18, 1961, p. 17 978.

<sup>119</sup> Note of the Soviet Government to Great Britain. *Pravda*, 23 December, 1960.

propitious for the respective country. What had become a reality in Cambodia could become a success in Laos, too; Sihanuk's initiative was based on this idea.

Among the western powers only the USA reacted negatively. After its first measures, the new Kennedy government was treading in the footsteps of Eisenhower. Its intention concerning the Cambodian initiative was to cross it by a diplomatic manoeuvre. The Laotian ruler, Savang Vatthana put forward a plan on 19th February, prepared on the basis of American instigations. According to this plan a declaration should have been made to the effect that Laos would be bound to pursue a policy of strict neutrality; in order to gain confirmation of this statute, he invited a commission consisting of representatives of Cambodia, Burma and Malaysia to come to Laos.<sup>120</sup>

This action was intended to thwart the Geneva conference and to make the Laotian rightist regime to appear as neutral which it never was. However, Cambodia refused to take part in this fallacious manoeuvre and in spite of American insistence rejected it immediately. Souvanna Phouma described the plan as light-minded and frivolous.<sup>121</sup>

The joint military forces of the neutralistic government and of the Neo Lao Haksat were holding under their power all strategically important regions, while the units of Nosavan were holding only the towns on the Mekong river and their nearest neighbourhood. Under the apparent influence of this development Great Britain, following diplomatic negotiations with the Soviet Union, showed willingness to accept the appeal for cease-fire and for the convocation of a new conference. Also President Kennedy expressed his view on the necessity to change American policy and he „swallowed the bitter pill“<sup>122</sup> of an international conference. He said that „the USA strongly and unreservedly supports the goal of a neutral and independent Laos“ and he added: „If in the past, there has been any possible ground for misunderstanding of our desire for a truly neutral Laos, there should be none now“.<sup>123</sup> His words were understood as an expression of American self-criticism and as a token of a new political trend towards Laos. This was something diametrically different from previous American goals in Laos. However, Kennedy's proclamation cannot be seen as a full volte-face of American policy since it contained earlier and never proven accusations, and it contained also an allusion to a possible intervention by SEATO. Hence, the principle of neutrality for Laos gained finally victory at least in theory also in Washington; on the Laotian front, however, nothing of the kind could be seen.

In any case, international diplomatic activity aiming at a new cease-fire in Laos was continuing.

The joint British-Soviet appeal of April 24th requesting cessation of hostilities

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<sup>120</sup> Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Marchll — 18, 1961, p. 17 979.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 17 979.

<sup>122</sup> B. B. Fall: *Reappraisal in Laos*, Current History 1, 1962, p. 10.

<sup>123</sup> New York Times, March 24, 1961

and renewal of the activity of ICSC was connected with an invitation to a new Geneva conference in a composition according to Sihanuk's proposal.<sup>124</sup> The King of Laos was against it and he described international negotiations as „unwarranted interference in Laotian affairs“; though, he was unable to hamper the preparations of the conference and eventually revoked his objections. At variance with the King's attitude, Souvanna Phouma endeavoured to render possible the negotiations. He returned from Cambodia to the north-Laotian town Xieng Khouang where he issued a declaration containing six points. In them he repeated the programme of reconciliation in which he took into account also the participation of the rebellious Savannaketh-group in the coalition government.<sup>125</sup>

On May 16th the first stage of the Geneva conference on Laos started under the alternating co-chairmanship of Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

This time the negotiations were more lengthy than in 1954. Already at the beginning difficulties were arising. One of them was the objection of the USA against the invitation of all the three Laotian political factions. However, the Americans were not successful in their intentions to limit the invitation only to the Vientiane government and thus to exclude the Laotian Left from the negotiations. There were significant divergences of opinion. They concerned also the competence of the ICSC which in the sense of the Soviet proposals was to pass its resolutions on the principle of unanimity. The western powers' view was that resolutions are to be adopted on the principle of majority voting, in spite of the bad experience gained from the disastrous majority decisions which already in 1958 had paralyzed the activity of the Commission.

Progress in the work of the conference was made only after the June meeting of the heads of the Soviet and USA governments in Vienna.

In the course of this meeting the two statesmen discussed a number of important international problems but only in one concrete point did they come to an agreement: in the problem of Laotian neutrality.<sup>126</sup> The American willingness to carry out a change in the original line and to accept what the Soviet Union had proposed right from the beginning, had two reasons. First, the anxiety that the unpopular rightist government in Laos was susceptible to break up under the effect of such a surprise impact as was the action of Kong Le. The second but at least as important a reason was the aspect of international relations. True, the strategic value of Laos situated in South-East Asia did not diminish, but Kennedy's government apparently took into account the fact that Laos — as it was expressed by B. B. Fall — does not possess the ideal situation for a policy which sooner or later would bring about a direct showdown between the two power blocks.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *KCA*, Jan. 27—Feb. 3., 1962, p. 18 562.

<sup>125</sup> *Pour un Laos pacifique, indépendant et neutre*, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>126</sup> Joint communiqué on the Vienna parleys, *The Times*, June 5, 1961.

<sup>127</sup> Reappraisal in Laos, article quoted, p. 27.

The Vienna agreement concluded between the two world powers on Laos was certainly not the only reason why the Geneva conference eventually arrived at a congruent viewpoint; but there is no doubt that the Vienna meeting represented a contribution to an improvement of the entire atmosphere and that it brought about a weakening of the forces hampering the neutralization of Laos.

In the strategically important Plain of Jars, in the heart of Laos, there were still incidents provoked by Vientiane rebels who had dispatched paratrooper groups to Ban Padong in the province Xieng Khouang, in the back of the army of the Souvanna Phouma government. This whole region was completely liberated prior to the ceasefire. The provocative intrusion of the paratrooper units took an end by their liquidation and by the liberation of Ban Padong. In the Geneva conference this typical incident was referred to by Quinim Pholsena<sup>128</sup> who openly revealed American responsibility. At the same time, however, he exerted efforts to attain a generally acceptable formulation of neutrality. He adhered to the opinion that neutrality is not to be imposed upon Laos from outside since this country, by its own will and in the possession of full sovereignty, binds itself to neutrality and simultaneously requests the other states to oblige themselves not to violate this neutrality.<sup>129</sup> He stated with satisfaction that reciprocal obligations of this kind are essentially contained in the two Soviet proposals which clearly differentiate the internal and international aspect of the problem of Laos.<sup>130</sup>

In Geneva also Souvanna Phouma made a declaration. He pointed at the number of American interferences with Laotian neutrality. He bitterly reminded of his government being twice thrown down, in 1955 and 1958.<sup>131</sup> He also declared to be ready to entrust the ICSC with the supervision over the next general elections, thus giving proof to his conviction that his neutralistic government is sufficiently well supported in the country.<sup>132</sup>

The Geneva negotiations made slow progress and the parallelly occurring parleys between the fighting parties in the Laotian town Ban Namon were not promising, either. Norodom Sihanuk again acted as mediator and he succeeded in preparing a meeting of the three Laotian Princes in Zürich, with the aim to elaborate a programme of joint policy of national concord.<sup>133</sup> This programme contains stipulations extending and defining the principles of the original Geneva Agreements. The second article is concerned with civic rights and with the renewal of the electoral law of 1957; the third article imposes the obligation to protect the unity, neutrality, independence and national sovereignty. Further stipulations are essentially nothing but repetitions of provisions from previous internal state agreements. Problems of foreign policy

<sup>128</sup> *Pour un Laos pacifique, indépendant et neutre*, op. cit., pp. 9—10.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., pp. 16—17.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., Annexes, Communiqué de Zurich, pp. 43—45.

are dealt with in five specific points. They contain the usual neutralizatory obligations. The last of them explicitly mentions the necessity to respect the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and the abrogation of all treaties and agreements which are contrary to the spirit of the Geneva Agreements. In the conclusion immediate tasks are set. Among them the obligation that in the transition period, pending new elections, the different regions of the country are to be left under the administration which had come into being during the fighting.

The provisional government of national unity, composed of representatives of three factions is to be approved by the King, without consulting the National Assembly.<sup>134</sup> This last article of the Zürich agreements signifies nothing but a joint expression of distrust towards the National Assembly which issued from irregular elections and actually was an executive organ of the Right.

The results of the Zürich negotiations can be considered a success of the policy of the Left and of the neutralistic Centre. The Prince Boun Oum, under the pressure of the local and international situation, gave by his signature his consent with principles which he previously had been showing contempt for, and against which the Right was formerly fighting with all means available. Quinim Pholsena was enabled to point with justified satisfaction at the fact that the Zürich communiqué had almost entirely accepted the programme set up by Souvanna Phouma's government in Xieng Khouang on 8th May.<sup>135</sup> The Left, after a tough armed and political fighting, has achieved that all parties eventually accepted the essential features of its ideas on the settlement of conditions in Laos. This was a moral victory for the Left and the confirmation of the righteousness of its programme.

However, these factors were not sufficient to bring about a definitive line of development of the events in Laos. Aid granted from abroad to the rival factions did not stop to come in; on the contrary, in summer 1961 there was an increased flow of supplies of this kind. In the negotiations taking place in Laos the question of the composition of a coalition government was discussed. The Right, compelled to consent in principle, intended to obtain an inadequately great number of ministerial portfolios. The co-chairmen of the Geneva conference repeatedly sent emphatic messages to the representatives of the Laotian factions asking them to come to an agreement as quickly as possible; they were unsuccessful in these their endeavours although by the end of 1961 the main issues of the Geneva conference were already prepared for their definitive formulation, and the conference was doing nothing but waiting for the arrival of the united Laotian delegation.<sup>136</sup> The western press started to express suspicion to the effect that American officers and American organizations in Laos instigate the Right to thwart the agreement.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>136</sup> KCA, Jan. 27—Feb. 3, 1962, p. 18 567.

<sup>137</sup> E.g. *Le Monde*, December 17, 1961.

In January 1962 the Vientiane government tried to frustrate the peace negotiations by spreading rumours about a direct Soviet military intervention in Laos. This was the third fallacious alarm from Laos, and therefore it remained effectless. In view of this ill-success, the General Phoumi Nosavan, endeavouring the renewal of civil war, violated the cease-fire and dispatched a military detachment to the town Nam Tha, situated near the Chinese border deep in a region controlled by soldiers of Souvanna Phouma's government and units of the Neo Lao Haksat. The military detachment of Nosavan was liquidated by a counterattack. Further rightist units in northwestern Laos broke into a rout without having been in any fighting contact with the ennemy.<sup>138</sup>

The military failures of the Right exerted the same convincing effect on the negotiations as did the capitulation of Dien Bien Phu on the first Geneva conference. In view of this connexion one cannot avoid to come to a conclusion such as that formulated by the Soviet publicist Yegorov who said: „The victory of the internal patriotic forces was the principal factor which determined the success of the Geneva Conference.“<sup>139</sup>

The USA at the same time dispatched relatively strong territorial and air forces to Thailand; in Laos, however, the representatives of the three factions again met in the constitution of an interim government. It was agreed upon that all decisions of the government concerning problems of national importance can be invalidated only by an unanimous consent of the three Laotian political factions.<sup>140</sup> Finally Laos was able to send to Geneva a united delegation headed by Quinim Pholsena. The conference reconvened after an interruption of five months and was concluded the 23rd July, 1962 by the signature of agreements consisting of three parts.<sup>141</sup>

The basis of them is a Statement of the Laotian coalition government on neutrality and a Declaration of the other 13 participants of the conference on the observance of the independence, neutrality and unity of the Kingdom of Laos; a Protocol is attached, dealing with the withdrawal of foreign armed units and with the competence of the ICSC.

All in all, this complexity of documents can be characterized as a new, substantially developed and more accurate edition of the Laotian parts of the original Geneva Agreements on the states of Indochina. The intention of Geneva 1954 was to ensure the independence of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam against the forces of French colonialism and to protect these countries by means of stipulations of neutralization

<sup>138</sup> The commander-in-chief of the rightist royal army fled, together with 2000 men, to Thailand. *Current History*, 7, 1962, p. 61.

<sup>139</sup> *International Affairs*, 7, 1962, p. 50.

<sup>140</sup> The government consisted of 12 ministers and 7 state secretaries. Seven of them were neutralists of the Souvanna Phouma orientation, four were rightist neutralists, four were representatives of the Right and finally four were representatives of the Neo Lao Haksat. Souphanouvong was appointed Minister of Economics, Nosavan Minister of Finances. Both were simultaneously Deputy Premiers. (*Hsinhua News Agency*, No. 4.796, June 13, 1962.)

<sup>141</sup> *Laos*, R. 5489, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 32—37.

against their becoming involved into a cold war, while Geneva 1962 was to guarantee the independence and neutrality of Laos against foreign interferences which came mainly from the side of the SEATO powers lead by the USA. The experiences gained in the 8-year struggle for the realization of Laotian neutrality compelled the participants of the conference to create more exact or even new formulations of questions which in 1954 were not unambiguously exact and sure.

One of the important differences between the two conferences is the degree of the co-responsibility of the USA. The USA was taking part in the negotiations and preparations of documents of the first conference but did not declare its consent with the definitive text of the final declaration.<sup>142</sup> It only charged itself in a separate declaration not to act against the agreements, and invalidated its obstruction mainly against consultations of the participants of the conference by virtue of Article 13 dealing with measures to be taken concerning the observance of the agreements. Thus it kept aloof from the agreements right from the moment of their birth. On the other hand, in 1962 the USA was not only among the participants but was also one of the signatories of the agreement, bound to it to the full extent. This difference has not only a juridical but also a political importance and demonstrates that the USA was by the development of events compelled to change its original standpoint.

The concept of neutrality was not explicit in the 1954 agreements but was expressed by the contents of the obligations. It became, however, the central concept of the Declaration of Laotian neutrality of 1962. Neutralization, which in the first case flowed automatically from the solutions of practical questions of the cease-fire, in its further development turned into a political principle of neutrality that was acknowledged to become the foundation of the international position of Laos.

The signatories of the conference obliged themselves in 10 points of Article 2 to refrain from any kind of interference with Laotian affairs, introduction of foreign military personnel in any form whatsoever, establishment of any foreign military bases and installations, and any infringement upon Laotian neutrality. The interdictions of disturbing activities, exhaustively enumerated in this Article look like a review of methods by which Laotian independence and neutrality had been consequently undermined in the period 1954—1962. They may serve also as a practical example for the explanation of the concept of neutrality in international jurisdiction and for the protection of neutrality in present-time circumstances.

Point f) of the said Article bears specific importance; according to this point, the participants of the conference oblige themselves to heed the Statement of the Laotian royal government to the effect that respect is to be paid to the wish of this government not to recognize the protection of any alliance or military coalition,

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<sup>142</sup> State Secretary Dulles declared in the name of the USA: ... „we did not become a party to the Conference results.“ Quoted in *Conflict in Indochina and International Repercussions, 1945—1955*, op. cit., 176 (See also Note 31).

including SEATO. The organizers and members states of SEATO were thus compelled to admit that the pact is undesirable for and detrimental to Laotian neutrality. This, too, was a step forward.

Article 5 of the Protocol also represents an improvement. It stipulates the transfer to the government of Laos of French military installations which have remained in the country in concordance with the 1954 agreements.<sup>143</sup>

The tasks of the ICSC are precisely stipulated. Their essential aim is to carry out supervision concerning military arrangements and obligations of neutrality. All the main resolutions and conclusions are to be sent to both co-chairmen of the conference,<sup>144</sup> and all its recommendations must be adopted unanimously.<sup>145</sup>

The 1962 Geneva Agreements did not interfere with Laotian internal affairs, and were concentrated at the international statute of its neutrality. However, into the main document — Declaration of neutrality — there was incorporated as an integrating part, a Declaration of neutrality of the Royal Government of Laos which in its introductory statement mentions the decision „to follow the path of peace and neutrality in conformity with ... the principles of the Joint Communiqué of Zürich dated June 22, 1961, and of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 ...”<sup>146</sup> Thus the Laotian foreign policy declaration is necessarily connected also with the basic agreement concluded between the Laotian political factions, presupposing the establishment of a neutral coalition government and a policy of an all-national reconciliation. Hence, the reciprocal obligations relating to Laotian internal policy were confirmed and ratified by an international conference.<sup>147</sup> Both aspects of Laotian neutrality — the domestic and the external ones — constitute a whole which can prove to be good only if all its components are given observance. Geneva did nothing but confirm what was already long before demonstrated by political practice.

In 1962, amidst the highest international tension, it was possible and necessary to return once more to the genuine Geneva idea on the future of Laos. No other acceptable solution has been found than the consolidation and development of the ideas of that time. It was confirmed that the platform of neutrality obviously suits the conditions and needs of Laos. However, the second Geneva conference, though it has achieved far more concrete results in this respect, has not been able to invalidate the principles agreed upon. This was the weakest point of both attempts undertaken to neutralize Laos.

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<sup>143</sup> By request of the Laotian government France is allowed to have left over only French instructors for the training of the Laotian army. This formulation excludes French functions to be transferred to citizens of other countries.

<sup>144</sup> After the conclusion of the conference, an appellate authority for the ICSC is constituted, consisting of the representatives of Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

<sup>145</sup> Article 14 of the Protocol.

<sup>146</sup> Laos, R. 5489, op. cit., Appendix, The Statement of Neutrality by the Royal Government of Laos, p. 32.

<sup>147</sup> A similar solution appears in the obligations of the Cambodian and Laotian Royal governments, confirmed by the Final Declaration of the conference in 1954.

The 1962 agreements never were consequently invalidated, and the coalition government has encountered systematic sabotage right from the beginning from the side of the rightist forces<sup>148</sup> which did not refrain even from murdering neutralist politicians. The collisions between the rivalling groups have again thwarted hopes for the conservation of peace. The strength of the Left was in its fighting moral and in the natural conditions of Laotian countryside, while the Right was getting its strength by means of American armament and supplies. The strength of the Centre lay in its leaning on the policy of neutralism. But this otherwise correct choice of its political programme was not sufficient to increase the fighting value of its armed forces which split into a neutralistic Left and a neutralistic Right. The neutral government never did achieve a position so strong as to enable it to prevent armed actions incited from abroad. Souvanna Phouma was aware of the weakness of the means of power he had at his disposal. He endeavoured to resolve this situation in a way which never had worked in Laos. By several occasions he took sides with the Right.<sup>149</sup> Consequently the coalition government did not fulfil its task and was existing in a certain measure only formally: it disintegrated after the first heavier impact dealt to it by the Right.

Owing to violations of the Geneva Agreements by foreign factors, and by misusing pretentious rightist politicians and army officers it happened that both attempts undertaken in order to achieve the neutralization of Laos, have failed just in the stage of the realization of the obligations attained. The reasons of the troubles in Laos are to be sought in the first line not in the conditions of the country but in the international conditions of the cold war and in the interferences of non-Asian powers with Asian problems.

If Laos is due to become a firmly neutral and internally strong state, it needs apart from international guarantees of its non-engagement also another real support; this it can find in good and truly amical relations with decisive Asian powers according to the example shown by its neighbour-state Cambodia.

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<sup>148</sup> Le comité central du Neo Lao Haksat, *Rapport présenté par le prince Souphanouvong Président du Neo Lao Haksat et Vice-premier ministre du gouvernement d'union nationale du Laos à l'occasion du premier anniversaire de la formation du gouvernement d'union nationale*. Khangkhay 1963, pp. 6—15.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 17—20.

## EINIGE DOKUMENTE ÜBER DIE VERPFLEGUNG DER TÜRKISCHEN ARMEE VOR DER FESTUNG NOVÉ ZÁMKY IM J. 1663

(Zum 300. Jahrestag der Türkenherrschaft in Nové Zámky)

JOSEF BLAŠKOVIČ, Praha

Die Festung *Nové Zámky*<sup>1</sup> wurde von 17. August bis zum 25. September 1663 von der osmanisch-türkischen Armee belagert. Der Kommandant der grossen und starken Armee<sup>2</sup> war der Grosswesir *Köprülüzâde Fâzîl Ahmed Paşa*. An diesem Feldzug nahm auch die tatarische Armee<sup>3</sup> unter dem Befehl des *Ahmed Gérey Sultân*,<sup>4</sup> und die leichte Kasakenreiterei unter dem Befehl seines Bruders<sup>5</sup> teil.

<sup>1</sup> *Nové Zámky* (ung. *Érsekújvár*, d. i. „Neue Burg des Erzbischofs“ deutsch *Neuhäusl*, türk. *Uyvâr*), ist ein Städtchen in der südlichen Slowakei. Diese Benennung entstand aus dem Grunde, weil die Festung im sumpfigen Gelände des Flusses *Nitra* (Neutra) erst *Pál Várdai*, der Erzbischof von Esztergom (slov. Ostrihom, deutsch Gran), sie zwecks Verteidigung seiner Güter, die in der Umgebung lagen, zu bauen begonnen hat. Mit der Erbauung dieser Festung wurde nach der Schlacht bei *Mohács* (1526) begonnen; nach der Eroberung von Esztergom durch die Türken i. J. 1543 hat sie *Miklós Oláh*, der Erzbischof von Esztergom, fertiggebaut. (Siehe *Matunák*.)

<sup>2</sup> Die Anzahl der Krieger der osmanisch-türkischen Armee geben die Quellen ganz verschieden an: *OT* 413 führt 100 000 an, *Acády* 170 schreibt, dass den Stand der Armee die derzeitigen Fachleute auf 70 000 Fusssoldaten, 80 000 Reiter und 225 Geschütze geschätzt haben; aber wirklicher Krieger wären bloss 45 000—50 000 gewesen, die Uebrigen wären nur Pack und zugelaufenes Gesindel gewesen; *MOT* p. 2113 gibt 100 000 an; *MT* p. 168 schreibt von 35 000; *Silâhdâr Târihi* Bd. 1, p. 272 und 287 gibt die übertriebene Zahl von 400 000 an.

<sup>3</sup> Den Stand der tatarischen Armee gibt *Silâhdâr* c. d. mit 150 000 und 10 000 kasakischen Reitern an; *MOT* führt 100 000 Tataren und 15 000 kasakische Reiter an.

<sup>4</sup> Der Sohn des Krimtatarenchans *Mehmed Gérey IV*. Der Name der Dynastie der Tatarenchane *Gerey* wird in der historischen Literatur mit *Giray* wiedergegeben. In den jetzigen Quellen, die mit Lateinschrift geschrieben sind, kommen diese Formen vor: *Keraï*, *Keraj*, *Kirej*, *Ghirai*, *Ghiray*, *Kerei*, *Gerej*. Dieser Name in der Form *Girei* ist der Name eines baschkirischen Stammes; *Kirai*, *Kerai* ist der Name eines krigisischen Stammes. Die Grundform des Namens ist das Wort *Kâr* (Radlov, *Opyt slovarja tjurkskich narečej*, Tom. II, p. 1083) mit der Bedeutung „ein Ungeheuer, ein sehr grosses Tier“, „riesig“. Die Form *Girey* (*Gérey*, *Giray*) ist ein Diminutivum mit dem Suffix *-ey*. Über die Ethymologie des Namens siehe Németh Gyula, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*, Budapest 1930, p. 265—268; Julius Németh, *Kereit, Kérey, Giray* in: *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, Vol. 36, Fasc. 3—4, pp. 360—365, Wiesbaden 1965.

<sup>5</sup> *OT* und *MOT* zit. pp. geben an, dass die Kasaken unter dem Befehl „des Bruders“ des Ahmed Gérey Sultans standen. Ahmed Gérey selbst gibt in seinem Schutzbefehl für die Einwohnerschaft von *Rimavská Sobota* (tür. *Rima Sonbot*, ung. *Rimaszombat*, deutsch *Gross-Steffelsdorf*), ausser seiner „prinzlichen“ Einheiten, auch die Einheiten, „der Akkirmâner Ağas“, an. (Siehe die Urkunde Nr. 6.) *Ak-kermen* (*Ak-kérmen*, *Ak-kérman*, *Ak-kirman*) = Weissenburg. (Siehe: Németh, *Kereit, Kérey, Giray* in *UAJ*.)

Während der Belagerung und Eroberung der Festung, sandte der Grosswesir die tatarische Armee und die leichte Reiterei in die Gegend der Flüsse *Nitra* (Neutra), *Váh* (Waag) und in das südöstliche Mähren aus, damit sie durch Verheerungen, Einbringung von Gefangenen, Furcht und Schrecken verbreiteten und dadurch jedweden Widerstand ersticken und unmöglich machten.

Durch den Fall der Festung *Nové Zámky* am 26. September 1663 geriet ein Grossteil der südlichen Slowakei<sup>6</sup> unter die Türkenherrschaft, die bis zum 16. August 1685 andauerte, an welchem Tage die Festung befreit wurde. Dieses Ereignis und die zweiundzwanzig Jahre währende Türkenherrschaft hinterliess in der Geschichte der südlichen Slowakei sehr tiefe Spuren.

Die Geschichte der Türkenfeldzüge, der Tatarenstreifungen, die Belagerung und Eroberung von *Nové Zámky* sind in unserer Historiographie gut bekannt und ausführlich beschrieben worden.<sup>7</sup> Was im türkischen Lager geschah und worüber beraten wurde, ist uns durch die Berichte von *Dávid Rozsnyai*,<sup>8</sup> dem türkischen Dolmetscher des siebenbürgischen Fürsten *Mihály Apafi I.*,<sup>9</sup> der mit seinem Herrn sich einige Wochen im Türkengläser nach Eroberung von *Nové Zámky*, aufgehalten hat, bekannt. Weitere Informationen bezüglich der türkischen Seite geben uns türkische Historiker.<sup>10</sup>

Von ihnen erfahren wir, weswegen und aus welchen Gründen es zu der Belagerung von *Nové Zámky* kam und warum der Grosswesir nicht lieber eine Expedition gegen Wien führte, wohin er den Weg vollkommen frei gefunden hätte.

Der Grosswesir war sehr eingehend durch sein gut organisiertes Netz von Kundschaftern über das Nichtvorbereitetsein der Habsburger Armee unterrichtet und wusste sehr gut, dass die strategische Situation führ ihn sehr günstig sei; er wollte deshalb daraus den grössten Nutzen ziehen. Wien war zur Verteidigung nicht vorbereitet und hätte einem stärkeren Ansturm und eine länger dauernde Belagerung schwerlich ausgehalten. Aber hiezu konnte sich der Grosswesir nicht entschliessen. Er wollte vielleicht eher einen leichten Sieg erringen, als einen entscheidenden Erfolg.<sup>11</sup> Er dachte wohl nicht daran, dass durch die Eroberung Wiens sämtliche Festungen, die im Wege standen (*Győr-Raab*, *Komárno-Komorn*, *Nové Zámky*), sich ohne Wider-

<sup>6</sup> Nach dem türkischen Konsignationsdeftter (*Tapu Defterleri* Nr. 653 aus dem Jahre 1074/1664) sind ungefähr 450 grössere und kleinere Ortschaften angeführt.

<sup>7</sup> *Acsády* 165—181; *MT* 165—168; *DS* 322—327; *Matunák* und weitere.

<sup>8</sup> Dávid Rozsnyai (1641—1718) war in Diensten Apafis vom Jahre 1663 an. Seine historischen Notizen und seine Autobiographie gab Szilágyi Sándor unter dem Titel: *Rozsnyai az utolsó török déák történeti maradványai* in: *Monumenta Hung. Hist. II Scriptores*, Bd. VIII., Pest 1867, heraus.

<sup>9</sup> *Apafi* gelangte mit seinem Gefolge am 18. Oktober 1663 nach *Nové Zámky*, hielt sich dort und in der nahen Umgebung bis zum 14. November auf.

<sup>10</sup> *Tárih-i Rásid*, Bd. I, p. 34—37. Den Bericht Rásids übersetzte Imre Karácson: *Az 1663-i török hadjárat*. Hadt. Közl. 1896, p. 76 und Thúry József: *Az 1663—1664 hadjárat Rásid effendi nyomán*. Hadt. Közl. 1890. Siehe weiters: *Evlia Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Bd. VI. und VII., die ungarische Uebersetzung von Imre Karácson: *Evlia cselebi magyarországi utazásainak folytatôlagos leírása az 1664—1666 közti évekbôl*. Budapest 1908.

<sup>11</sup> *Acsády*, p. 175.

stand ergeben hätten, wie es nach dem Fall von *Nové Zámky* geschah, als sich *Nitra*-*Neutra*, *Levice*, *Komjatice*, *Hlohovec*, *Szécsény*, *Nógrád*, *Buják* und weitere kleinere Festungen, den Türken ergeben hatten. *Nové Zámky* war zwar eine starke und bedeutende Festung, aber mit den Anstrengungen und Opfern, die zur Eroberung von *Nové Zámky* angewandt wurden, konnte der Grosswesir wohl auch Wien erobert haben.<sup>12</sup>

Die Tatsache, dass sich der Grosswesir entschloss, *Nové Zámky* zu erobern, anstatt Wien, erfolgte wohl infolge seiner nicht genügenden Informationen. Er war von seinen Kundschaftern dahin informiert worden, dass *Uyvár* eine bedeutende Festung sei, zu welcher reiche Dörfer und Städte gehören, die zur Verproviantierung der Armee ausreichten, und weiters, dass sie Gold- und Silberbergwerke habe.<sup>13</sup>

Nach dem Falle war die Festung *Nové Zámky* derart demoliert, dass *Ahmed Paşa* dort einige Wochen bleiben musste, um sie wieder instand zu setzen.<sup>14</sup>

Durch den Fall der Festungen von *Nové Zámky*, *Nitra*, *Levice* und *Hlohovec* mit reichem und grossem Gebiet, in türkische Hände, errang *Ahmed Paşa* einen glorreichen Sieg. Aber diesen Sieg wollte er noch durch einen diplomatischen Erfolg krönen. Er wollte ganz Ungarn, das zum Habsburger Reich gehörte, auffordern, den Schutz des Sultans anzunehmen, sich ihm anzuschliessen und sich gegen „den verfluchten deutschen Kaiser“<sup>15</sup> zu erheben.

Zu diesem Plan wollte er den *Mihály Apafi*, den siebenbürgischen Fürsten, benützen, der durch einen Sultansferman vom 12. Juni 1663 (siehe die Urkunde Nr. 3) aufgefordert wurde, sich der Armee des Grosswesirs *Ahmed Paşa* anzuschliessen. *Apafi* befürchtete, in eine Falle zu geraten und suchte daher Vorwände, die Expedition aufzuschieben. Aber er erfuhr von seinen Gesandten, dass er, falls er nicht Folge leisten werde, des Fürstentums enthoben werde.<sup>16</sup>

*Apafi* langte in *Nové Zámky* am 18. Oktober 1663<sup>17</sup> an. Der Grosswesir empfing ihn sehr feierlich und herzlich<sup>18</sup> und richtete ihm zu Ehren ein grosses Gastmahl und Feierlichkeiten aus.

*Apafi* richtete am 22. November an das ganze habsburgische Ungarn einen Aufruf und forderte die Bevölkerung auf, sich freiwillig an das Osmanische Reich anzuschliessen und sich unter den Schutz des Sultans zu begeben. Der Aufruf wurde in alle Gaeu verschickt, fand jedoch keinen Anklang. Der Grosswesir versprach allen möglichen Schutz, aber niemand hat sich in seinem Lager gemeldet.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Acsády*, p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> MOT 2113, OT 414; beide Werke zitieren aus *Rāṣid Tārihi*, Bd. p. 34. Es ist bekannt, dass *Nové Zámky* in einer sumpfigen Ebene liegt und keine Bergwerke besitzt.

<sup>14</sup> *Acsády*, 179.

<sup>15</sup> Worte des Janitscharendichters *Ahmed Üsküdarı*, der an der Belagerung und Erobergung von *Nové Zámky* teilnahm.

<sup>16</sup> ET. II. 309.

<sup>17</sup> MHH, 396.

<sup>18</sup> *Rozsnyai* 330—332 und 359—366.

<sup>19</sup> *Acsády* 181.

*Apafi* begab sich mit dem türkischen Lager am 14. November nach *Ofen* (Buda), wo sich der Grosswesir herzlich von ihm verabschiedete und am 1. Dezember kehrte er nach Siebenbürgen zurück. Die türkische Armee marschierte weiter nach Beograd (Belgrad) ins Winterlager; einen Teil der Armee und die Tataren liess der Grosswesir jedoch in Ungarn, damit sie bei der Expedition, die für den Frühling des nächsten Jahres geplant war, zur Hand seien.

Der Grosswesir empfing im Lager von *Nové Zámky* Delegationen verschiedener Städte, die sich an ihn meistens mit Beschwerden<sup>20</sup> gewandt hatten. Da die neubesetzten Gebiete verheert und verbrannt waren, schleppten die türkische Armee und die Tataren ungefähr zwölftausend Gefangene fort; es wurde nötig, die Verproviantierung der Armee sicherzustellen und Wachen in die Festungen aus den Gebieten, die bereits früher zum Osmanischen Reich angefügt wurden, zu legen.<sup>21</sup>

Über die Verproviantierung der Armee vor *Nové Zámky* haben sich einige interessante Dokumente erhalten.<sup>22</sup> Bereits am 22. August forderte *Muşlu*, der *Kâimmaķâm* von *Eger* (Erlau) die Einwohner von *Miskolc* auf, sich möchten nach *Nové Zámky* verschiedene Waren und alles was sie zu verkaufen haben, zuführen, wo es ihnen zu Normalpreisen<sup>23</sup> abgenommen würde; sie möchten auch 4000 kil<sup>24</sup> Gerste zum Verkauf mitführen. Am 31. Dezember 1663 ordnete *Halîl*, der Pascha von *Eger* (Erlau) den Einwohnern von *Miskolc* an, nach *Nové Zámky* 317 kil Gerste und 1990 kil Hirse<sup>25</sup> zuzuführen.

Zu diesen zwei Urkunden füge ich weitere drei Urkunden, die sich ebenfalls im Städt. Archiv zu *Miskolc* erhielten, bei:

Die Urkunde Nr. 5 vom 19. Oktober 1663, in der *Muşlu*, der *Kâimmaķâm* von *Eger* (Erlau) die Einwohner von *Miskolc* streng ermahnt, nach *Nové Zámky* die angeordnete Menge Hirse zu liefern.

Die Urkunde Nr. 7 vom 2. November, in welcher der Statthalter von *Eger* (Erlau) *Kâsim* Pascha, den Einwohnern von *Miskolc* anordnet, nach *Nové Zámky* 2000 kil Gerste zuzuführen.

Die Urkunde Nr. 8 vom 2. Januar 1664, in welcher *Halîl*, der Pascha von *Eger*

<sup>20</sup> *Gyöngyös*, Dokumente Nr. 141 und 142.

<sup>21</sup> Vergl. das Werk *Pilárik*.

<sup>22</sup> Siehe meinen Artikel in AUC, p. 49—56, wo ich zwei türkische Dokumente veröffentlichte, die sich im städtischen Archiv von *Miskolc* unter Nr. 24 und 26 erhalten haben.

<sup>23</sup> Im Dokument steht wörtlich: „...negi ezér kila arpat vigietök az *Hatalmas csaszarnak* *taboraba az taborban az arat meg adgiak es azon kívül az kinek mi eladni valo egiet masz czelbol vagon vigiek az *Hatalmas Csaszarnak* *taboraban* penzön arulni...“ („Führten viertausend kil Gerste in das Lager des mächtigen Kaisers. Im Lager wird euch der Preis ausbezahlt werden. Und außerdem mögen die, die etwas zu verkaufen haben, es zum Verkauf gegen Geld in das Lager des mächtigen Kaisers zuführen.“)*

<sup>24</sup> *Kile* oder *kejł* war ein Getreidemass, ung. *mérő*. Je nach Gebiet und Zeit war die Grösse verschieden. Am meisten wurde das *Istanbuler kile* angewandt, das 18—22 *Okka*(*Okka* oder *voķiya* ist 1283 Gramm)wog. Das in Ungarn verwendete kile war kleiner, wie es ein Steerdefter aus dem 17. Jahrhundert (*Leipzig, Städt. Bücherei, türk. Hs.* Nr. 136), betreffs der Gebiete *Szeged* und *Szentesz*, beweist, wo angeführt ist, dass das verwendete kile genau 8 *Okka*, d. i. 10.26 kg war. Siehe *Gyöngyös*, p. 51, Anm. 58 b. Die Bratislavaer Metze enthielt 62.498 Liter.

<sup>25</sup> Siehe *Miskolc*, Städt. Archiv, Török levelek Nr. 26; *Szendrei III*, 314. Nr. 203.

(Erlau) bei den Einwohnern von *Miskolc* die Lieferung von Gerste und Hirse nach *Nové Zámky* urgiert (d. i. 317 kil Gerste und 1990 kil Hirse, wie in der erwähnten Urkunde vom 31. Dezember 1663 erwähnt ist).

Die Einwohner von *Gyöngyös* lieferten in vier Raten nach *Nové Zámky* insgesamt 3333 Istanbuler kil Weizen und 2000 Istanbuler kil Hirse.<sup>26</sup> Die Einwohner von *Gyöngyös* lieferten sogar, anstatt der 190 Silberguruş (Taler) Steuer, die sie schuldig waren, Gerste und Hirse nach *Nové Zámky*.<sup>27</sup>

Da sich die Nachricht von der sich nähernden türkischen und tatarischen Armee schon im Mai und Juni verbreitet hatte, in welche Zeit die grösste landwirtschaftliche Saison fällt, drohte die Gefahr, dass die Einwohner von *Rimavská Sobota* (Gross-Steffelsdorf), *Miskolc* und *Gyöngyös*, als auch weiterer Städte, die zum Osmanischen Reich gehörten, nicht ruhig auf den Feldern arbeiten und die Ernte einbringen könnten; es wurde deshalb eine Delegation nach *Eger* (Erlau) gesandt, um Reisepässe anzusuchen, damit man zu *Ahmed Pascha* und zu *Ahmed Gérey* reisen könne, um von ihnen Schutzbriebe zu erbitten. Die Einwohner von *Miskolc*<sup>28</sup> und jene von *Rimavská Sobota* erhielten vom Statthalter von *Eger* eine Reisebewilligung am Anfang Juli (Siehe Dokument Nr. 2).

Für die Bewohner von *Miskolc* schrieb der Grosswesir *Ahmed* Pascha eigenhändig ein Schreiben, adressiert an *Ahmed Gérey*, in dem er ihn ersucht, er möge nicht erlauben, dass die Einwohner von *Miskolc* belästigt würden.<sup>29</sup> Die Einwohner von *Rimavská Sobota* überreichten ein Gesuch, in dem sie vom Grosswesir Schutz erbitten (Siehe Urkunde Nr. 4). Der Befehl des Grosswesirs ist auf dem obern Teil dieses Gesuches geschrieben.

*Ahmed Gérey* gab ebenfalls für die Bewohner von *Miskolc*<sup>30</sup> als auch für die von *Rimavská Sobota* Schutzbriebe aus (Siehe Dokument Nr. 5).

Ausser den angeführten Dokumenten lege ich noch ein Schreiben des Statthalters von *Eger*, *Kásim* Pascha bei, (siehe Urkunde Nr. 1), in welchem er die Schulzen von *Miskolc* ermahnt, sie mögen das ärarische Getreide nach *Szolnok* und *Eger* abliefern; ausserdem einen Ferman des Sultans (Siehe Urkunde Nr. 3), adressiert an den siebenbürgischen Fürsten *Mihály Apafi*, er möge sich der türkischen Armee anschliessen.

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<sup>26</sup> Siehe *Gyöngyös* p. 54, Nr. 150. Die Bestätigung stellte ihnen *Hızır*, der Defterdar von *Nové Zámky*, aus.

<sup>27</sup> Siehe *Gyöngyös*, p. 53, Nr. 148.

<sup>28</sup> Mit dem Datum des 7. Juli gab ihnen *Kásim* Pascha, der Statthalter von *Eger*, die Reisebewilligung. Siehe *AUC*, Dokument Nr. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Siehe *AUC*, Dokument Nr. 3.

<sup>30</sup> *Gyöngyös*, p. 53, Nr. 149.

*Schreiben des Statthalters von Eger, Kāsim Pascha, an die Einwohner  
von Miskolc*

*Eger, den 30. April (1663)*

Der Statthalter von Eger, *Kāsim* Pascha, ermahnt strenge die Schulzen und Bewohner von Miskolc, den ärarischen Weizen von Szolnok nach Eger zuzuführen.

Orig.: Miskolc, Städt. Archiv, Török levelek Nr. 14.

Vgl.: Szendrei, III, 311, Nr. 198.

My az Hatalmas es Gyözhétetlen csaszarnak veg Egér varanak (2) Tisza es Duna közöt valo Heleinek es hadainak gond viselő ura (3) es parancsolaja Tekintetös es Ngos vitezlö Kaszon pasa

(*Pençe und sahh*): *Aḥkar-i ībād Kāsim Paşa. Sahh.*

Ty megh nevezot Miskolcz tartomaniaban Szikszo tartoma (5) niaban levő minden falusi birak es polgarok az (6) kik magatokat jobbaginak mongiatok hitetlen hamis (7) kemeni fejü krux fiak haniszor mi czimörös (8) levelünk jut közzetök hogi Szolnokbol az csaszar (9) buzajat föl hozzatok, mi lehhet oka szo fogadat (10) lansagtoknak avagi veszödelmetöket variatok, igi (11) levén krux fiak ha feietök eletötök joszago-(12) tok szeretitök mingiárt sietsgel mennietök (13) Szolnokban az csaszar buzajat fel hozni. Ezt el (14) ne halgasatok es süketsegre ne vegietek mert (15) ha egi het alatt föl nem hozzatok az buzat (16) minden falubol ket ket embört njargaltokal (17) be hozatunk el hidjetök bizonyosan hogi körösz (18) tüli niarsban voniatunk az melliet el sem kerültök (19) es ugi meli az anjatok csöcsiböl teiet szoptatok (20) azis keserüre fordul ezert ugi nyssatok föl az (21) szömeitöket hogi meg ne baniatok.

Iratot vegh Egér (22) varaban die 30 aprilii.

Idem qui supra

(Tergum: *Der Befehl des Paschas über die Ausführung der Anordnung:*)

Miskolczi bironak adassek miskolczi biro hordoztassa az tartomanýtokban levő falukon es ismet küld be el ne mulasd mert nyarsban szurunk meg.

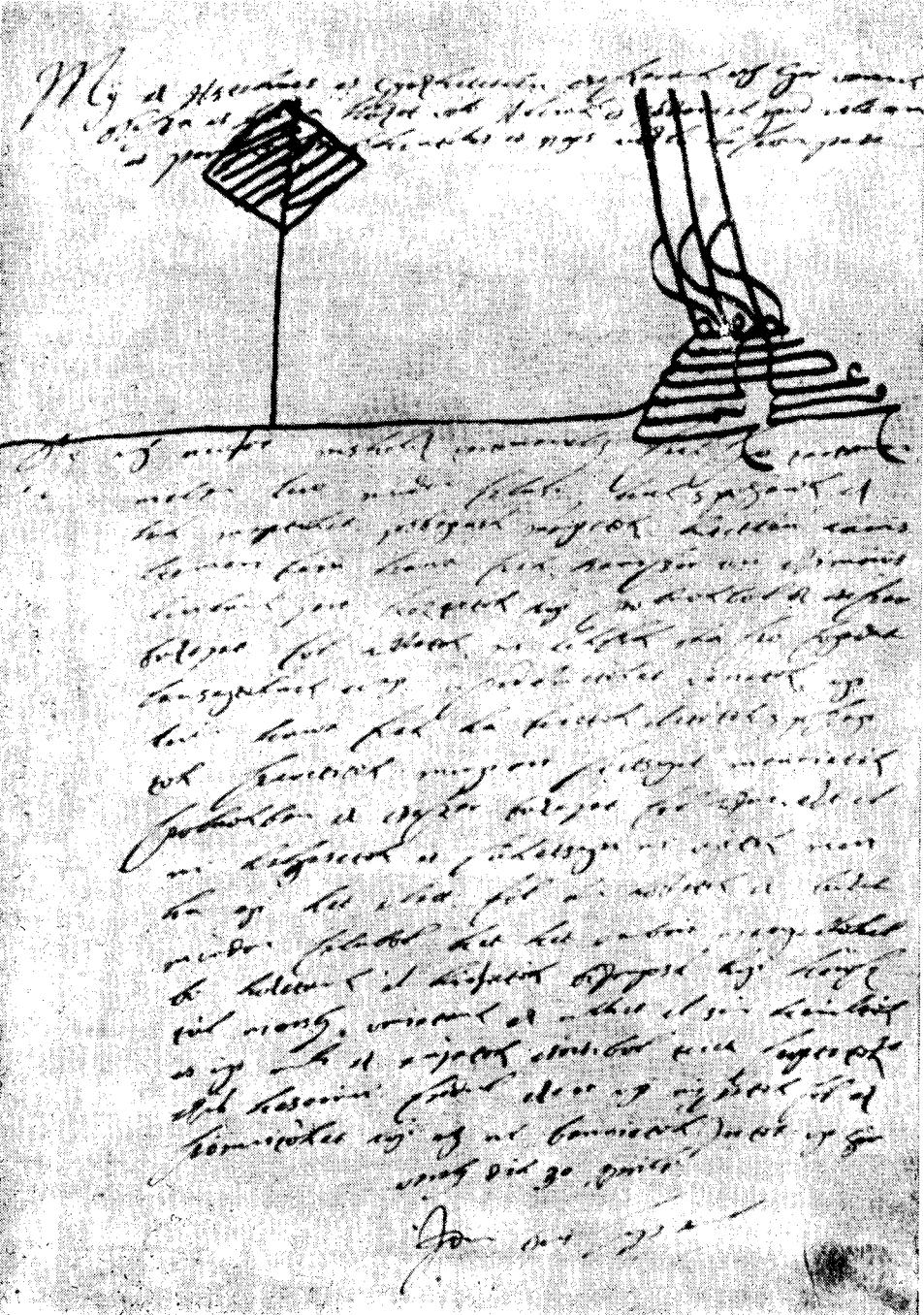
*Der Reisepass von Kāsim Pascha für die Bewohner von Rimarská Sobota*

Egre, 21.—30. zi'l-kwade 1073 — Eger, 27. Juni—6. Juli 1663.

Der Statthalter von Eger, *Kāsim* Pascha, stellt den Bewohnern von Rimavská Sobota Reisepässe aus, damit sie zur Audienz zum Grosswesir *Köprülizâde Fâżul Ahmed* Pascha nach Nové Zámky reisen können.

Orig.: Rimavská Sobota, Städt. Archiv, Türk. Urkunden, Nr. 32.

Vgl.: Türk. Urkunden Nr. 10. in Miskolc.



بَرْ تَحْرِير وَفِعْ لَوْدَرْ

خَدْ رَمَارْزَفَه بِصَفَرْوَطْ نَجَه دَرْرَه بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ  
وَنَجَه دَلْرَه دَلْرَه بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ  
لَوْدَرْ بَنْ  
وَبَسَرْ عَلَفَرْدَه مَنْكَرْه قَرْلَه كَلَه دَرْرَه دَرْرَه دَرْرَه  
وَبَنْتَه لَوْرَه لَوْرَه مَلِيَّه بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ بَنْ

بَسَرْ

Hüve.

Bā‘is-i tahrīr-i hurūf (!) oldurki (2) havâşşlarımızdan Rıma Şonbot nâm vâroşumuz bîrovları devletlü ve sa‘âdetlü şadr-ā’zam hâzretleriniñ mübârek hâkpây (3) devletlerine varup yüz sîrmek içün tarafımızdan icâzet taleb edüp ve yol kâğıdına dağı tâlib (ve) râjib (4) oldukları ecelden cânibimizden işbu memhûr yol kâğıdî tâhrîr olunup merkûm vâroşumuz bîrovi yeddine verildiği (5) vech-i meşrûh üzere devletlü ve ‘adâletlü şadr-ā’zam hâzretlerine varup gelince yollarda ve iskelelerde ve hânlerde ve ķulâ‘ (6) ve palankalarda râst gelen ġuzzât-i müslimin rençîde ve remîde eylemeyeler bâķî vesselâm.

(Unterschrift) Tâhrîren fi evâhîr-i zî'l-ka‘de sene 1073.

*Afkar el-ibād Kāsim Paşa-yı eyālet-i Egre.*

Tergum

(Stampiglie): *Kāsim*

(Seinerzeitige ungarische Anmerkung):

Anno 1673. Kaßon phaßa urunk ö nagißaga utravalο Levele mikor uy varba volt meneßunk.

3

*Ferman des Sultans Mehmed IV. an den Fürsten von Siebenbürgen  
Mihály Apafi*

S. l. 6 zi'lka'de (10) 73 — S. l. 12. Juni 1663.

Sultan Mehmed IV. forderte Mihály Apafi auf, er möge sich mit seiner Armee der Armee des Grosswesirs anschliessen.

Orig.: Göttingen, Turec. 29, p. 147b.

*Erdel hākimine yazılan nāme-yi hümāyundur*

*Hāliyā Nemçe tāyifesi hīlāf-i şulh ve şilāha Erdel kūlā'na Nemçe koyub ve Kanija kurbunda kāl'a binā eyledikten mā'adā hīlāf-i ahd eylediği i'mālin (2) inşā Allāh ta'ālā cesāsin bulmağ üzere sefer-i hümāyunum olmağ fermānum olmajın 'asākir-i islām-i zafer-irtisāmina serdār-i 'ālī va;ārum ta'yīn olunan (3) düstür-i ekrem-i īzam müşir-i ehem-i nizāmī'l-ā'lam nāzim-i menāzimī'l-ümmem ilā āhire vezir-i īzam Ahmed Paşa adāma Allāh ta'ālā iclāluhu ve zā'affa iktidāruhu Anadolu (4) ve Rum ili ve Şām ve Haleb 'askerleriyle ve 'umūmen ķapum kulları ve altı böyük ҳalķı ve sā'ir ciimle 'asker-tāyifesiyle hāliyā gelüb Belgrāda (5) vāşıl olub ve sendahi naşib-kerde-yi çırāj-i hāşsum olub şadāk ve 'ubūdiyetiñ ma'lūm-ü hümāyun-u şevketmağrūnum olmajın bu sefer-şı nuşret eserde (6) senden külli ҳidmet me'mül-ü hümāyunum olmağla derūnumda olan şadāk ve ihlāş ve istikāmet ve ihtişāsiñ muğtazāsına yarar boyarlarıñ (7) ve nāmdār atlubaşı ve ķapudānlarıñ mükemmel tüfenk endāz atlū ve piyāde ve bilcümle güzide 'askeriñ ile bir maḥalde dernek be cem'iyyet āmāde ve hazır ve (8) bi-'ināyet-i Allāh ta'ālā müşār ileyh serdār-i sipehsälārim tarafından saña mektüb ile adam vardıkta her sā'at aşlā tevakķuf (9) ve ārām etmeyib ve bir yerde durmayıb oturmayıb külli cem'iyyet ve vāfir ve müstevfî 'asker ile her ne maḥalde orduyu hümāyununa müläkkī ve müllâħ ve vech ü münāsebet görüb emr eylediği hidmet ve maşlahatda cān ve başınlâ sa'f ve diķķat (11) eylemek bābunda fermān-i 'ālişānum şādir olub ve ırsāl olunan harācın kuşurın bu güne degin gönderilmiş ise fiħā ve illā ber vech-i ta'cīl ve müsāra'at (12) tedārik ve bir gün evvel iśāl eyleyesiz ve hāliyā haķkuñda 'avāṭif-i 'aliye-yi hüsrevānem zuhūra getürüb saña iki şāvb hīl'at-i mevrusi'il-beħċet-i şāhib-ķurāni (13) 'ināyet ve erzāni kılınub iśbu nāme-yi hümāyun-i müllāṭafat mağrūnumuz ile ırsāl ve hidmet-i mezbūra xxxx ta'yīn olmuştur (14) buyurdumki inşā Allāh ta'ālā viisūlunda iħsān ve en-āmum olan hīl'-i fahire ve kesve-yi*

*bahiremi envā-i ta'zim ve tekrim ile istikbāl edüb (15) ve alub giyüb dahi cibillet-i şadāt-i itiyādīnūza olan 'ubūdiyet ve şadākat ve ihlāş mukteżasınca işbu sefer-i zafer rehberimde hīdmetde (16) ve eslāfiñ edegeldiğü üzere geregi gibi yoldaşlıkda bulunmak için cümle Erdel memleketinde olan boyārlar ve kapudānlar ve atlu ajası ve atlu ve piyāde vāfir ve müstevfī tūfenk endāz yarar ve tüvāna yigitlerinden hemen bir münnāsib ve ma'kūl mahalde dernek ve cem'iyyet ile āmāde va hazır olub (18) müşär ileyh vezir-i ā'zam-i celili 'l-i'tibār ve serdār-i sipehsālār-i 'āli vakārim tarafından habere muntazār olub her ne mahalde varduñ (19) fermān olunub saña adamıyla mektūbi vardıkta bir yerde tevakķuf ve ārām etmeyüb sur'at-i tām ile varub orduyu hīmāyunuma müläķi ve müllhäk (20) olub vech-i münnāsebet görüüb emr ve teklif eylediği cenc ve cidāl ve ḫarb ve ḫutāl ve taḥrīb-i bilād ve bilcümle Nemçe tāyifesiniñ il (21) ve memleketine her ne ṭariķle olur ise olsun īşāl hīdmetinde mecd va sa'i olasinki vücūde gelen hīdmetiñ muğabelesiñde (22) cānib-i ā'lāyi pādişāhānem envā-i viçūh ile mer'i ve muhterem ve islāfindan ziyāde mümtāz olmañi mukarrer bilesiz ve hāzineniñ kuşurin (23) ırsāl ve īsāliniñ dakiķa fərt etmeyüb anı dahi bir gün evvel gönderüb tekmil edüb mu'tād-i ḫadim üzere yarar boyārlar ve adamlarıñ (24) ve üç millet a'yānunuñ vekillerigle ăsitāne-yi devletime īşāl eyleyesiz ki şahrāh-i şadākatda sābit-kadem olan ķollarım hākkında birr ve (25) iħsānum bī-dirig olub ḥällerine göre ri'āyet olunub ḥällerine merhamet-i hü-māyunum mukarrer bilesiz.*

*Fī 6 zi'lka'de sene (10) 73.*

4

*Gesuch der Einwohner von Rimavská Sobota um einen Schutzbrief  
von Ahmed Pascha*

*Sonbot, rebī'uilevvel 1074 — Rimavská Sobota, Oktober 1663.*

Die Einwohner von Rimavská Sobota überreichten dem Befehlshaber der türkischen Armee, Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Ahmed Pascha, ein Gesuch, es möge nicht gestattet werden, sie zu belästigen. Über dem Text ist der Befehl des Grosswesirs schräg geschrieben.

Orig.: Rimavská Sobota, Städt. Archiv, Türk. Urkunden, Nr. 18.

*Hüve*

*Sa'ādetlü müriūvvetlü sultānum ḥażretleri şaq olsun!*

*Bu fiķarā Egre semtlerinde vāki' Rimā Sonbot nām vāroşuñ fiķarāsi olub, sa'ādetlü sultānum, ḥālā vāroşumuz etrāfında (3) harbi ḫal'elerden Filek ḫal'esinden gayri ḫal'e kalmayub taḥrīb olunmağla Tatar ve 'Osmānlu 'askerinden ḥavfımız olup (4) vāroş fiķarāsi perākende olmaķ üzere olmalarıyle bu bābda 'asker-i islāmdan bu fiķarā-yı kimesne rencide eylememek (5) içün yeddimize sultānum ḥażretlerinin fermān-i şerifleri ricā olunur. Bāki fermān sultānumuñdır.*

*Fiķarā-yı Sonbot.*

لارول حاکمه پریزیلند نام و مجموعه

سوزن و زنگنه  
ر فردانی خالان داره دم سوزن طم در در  
فرز قلچ از خاکش قلچ سمع خود رخی فالمیر  
در زر رخ فریاد که بر لفه دلیل اور زر ای  
لایوه پر غذا سلطان حضرت خواه نزدی

مختصر علائق درود

سخنی در قدر  
در قدر از خانه دار و قدر عزم دارد و نیز فرادر را درین ماذنی خواهد دارد شرط این است  
فرمایش دلکر قلعه سرخ خود را ب قالمه را کسر لعنه نهاد و غذانی بزرگ خواهد داشت  
در روش فرماندهی برای این دوین از درون از طلاق از نزد هر چند کسر مولده و فردا که بینه ای این  
ایده بیند از سلطان خفته باشد فراز بر زبان رهاز و فردا که این دلکر

## *Sâhh*

*Zikr olunan Şonbot vâroşı re'âyâsı harâc (!) güzâr (2) re'âyâ olmağla eger țavayif-i askerdir eger Tatardır ve sâirlерidir (3) min ba'd kendüllerine ve evlâdlaruna ve emvâl ve erzâklarına ta'arruz ve müdâhale (4) etmekden bijâyet ihtirâz edeler. Bundanşoñra şöyleki kendüllerine ve emvâl ve erzâklarına (5) ta'arruz eder olursa ahz olunup ordu-yi hüimâyunuma iħżâr oluna, deyii buyuruldu.*

*Fî 17 r(ebî'-ül)e(vvel) sene (10)7 4.*

Tergum

(Seinerzeitige ungarische Anmerkung:) A(nn)o 1663. Feniös Nagy Vezer Urunktol adatot Protectionalis Levelönk.

5

*Schreiben des kaimma:kâm Muşlı an die Schulzen und Bewohner von Miskolc*

(Eger), den 19. Oktober 1663.

*Muşlı, der kaimma:kâm von Eger, ermahnt die Bewohner von Miskolc streng, sie möchten ehestens die Hirse an den Bestimmungsort abliefern, da sie ansonst sehr bestreng bestraft werden.*

Orig.: Miskolc, Städt. Archiv, Török levelek Nr. 25. Vgl: Szendrei III, 313, Nr. 201.

*My az Tekintetös es Ngos vitezlö Kaszon passanak gondviseleo feo (2) kaimekanja es képibeli emböre vitezlö Muszli Beg.*

(Pençe): *Aħkar el-'ibâd Muşlı kaimma:kâm-i Egre hâlā. Sâhh.*

Ty meg nevezőt miskolczi birák es polgarok fejetök eletö (4) tök vesztese alatt parancesolloik se orat se napot ne (5) variatok mihelt ez parancsoló uri czimörös levelunket (6) lattiatok ottan hamar sietseggel az kölest szekerekre (7) rakvan induliatok vele. mivel az giöngiösiök immar (8) elindultak es az vezér csausza is el fog menni ti (9) veletök hani fejetök vagion hogi ennyt kestök azert (10) orat napot ne variatok hanem sietgl indulja (11) tok az kölesel mert nyarsban szúrattok meg es feje (12) töknek vesztese követközik azert jol föl nyssatok (13) az szömeitöket hogi meg ne baniatok az mi czimö (14) rös levelünket is meg be variok Iratot veg Egér varaban.

Die 19 octobris 1663.

Idem qui supra.

Tergum (Adresse): Miskolczi biraknak sietsegel adassk Falusi birak falurol falura sietsegel külgietök el hova szoll.

(Seinerzeitige türk. Anmerkung): *Miškoçilar fermâni.*

6

*Schutzbrev des Ahmed Gérey den Bewohnern von Rimavská Sobota*

Üyvâr, rebî'ülevvel 1074 — Nové Zámky, 3. Oktober — 1. November 1663.



*بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
الْحُكْمُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ  
إِنَّا نَعْلَمُ مَا تَعْمَلُونَ  
وَمَا أَنْتُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ  
إِنَّمَا يُنَزَّلُ إِلَيْكُمْ الْكِتَابُ  
دِرْجَاتٌ مُّتَّقِلَّاتٌ  
لَا يَنْزَلُ مِنْ آنِيَةٍ  
إِلَّا مَنْ أَنْشَأَهُ  
وَمَا أَنْتُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ  
إِنَّمَا يُنَزَّلُ إِلَيْكُمْ الْكِتَابُ  
دِرْجَاتٌ مُّتَّقِلَّاتٌ  
لَا يَنْزَلُ مِنْ آنِيَةٍ  
إِلَّا مَنْ أَنْشَأَهُ*

Ahmed Gerey, Sohn des Chans der Krimtataren verbietet den tatarischen Soldaten, die Bewohner von Rimavská Sobota zu beunruhigen.

Orig.: Rimavská Sobota, Städt. Archiv, türk. Urkunden, Nr. 104.

#### Hive

Bā'is-i tāhrlir-i yarlıj-i şerif (ve) fermān-i sultānī budurki dārende-yi emrim olan Egreye tābi' Rıma onboz (2) karye re'āyāsi sa'ādetlü pādişāhin re'āyālarından olmağın 'asker-i Tatardan bir ferd karye-yi (3) merküma re'āyālarına rençide ve remide etmemek bābinda yedlerine yarlıj-i şerifim verilmiştir. Mırzā (4) kollarımız olsun ve gerek Akkirman ajarları ve gayri olsun her kim karye-yi mezbūra re'āyālarına (5) rençide ve remide ederse kendüne eyü degildir başı kesiliüb ve koşu talanmak muğarrerdir. (6) Bu bābda şādir olan yarlıj-i şerifim mefhūmu ile 'āmil olasız.

Tahrīren fi māh rebī'ülevvel, sene 1074.

(Stampiglie): Sultān Ahmed Gerey ben Mehmed Gerey Hān: 1068. Şāhh.

### *Tergum*

(*Seinerzeitige ungarische Anmerkung*): Anno 1663. Az Hatalmas Tatar Chamnak nekünk adatot Patens Levele mellyet Ersek Uy Var alat adot eö Nagha, Rima Szombath Varossanak.

7

### *Schreiben des Statthalters von Eger (Erlau), Kāsim Pascha an die Schulzen und Einwohner von Miskolc*

Nógrad, den 2. November 1663.

Der Statthalter von Eger, *Kāsim Pascha*, ermahnt die Schulzen und Bewohner von Miskolc, ehestens 2000 kil Gerste nach Nové Zámky zuzuführen.

Orig.: Niskolc, Städt. Archiv, Török levelek Nr 23. Vgl. Szendrei, III, Nr. 202.

Mi az Hatalmas es gyeöszhetetlen Teörök Csaszar Urunk (2) Vegh eger Varanak Tisza Duna keözöt valo Heleinek (3) es Hadainak gond viselo Ura es parancoloia az (4) Tekentetes es Vitezlo Naghsagos Kaszon pasa.

(Pençe): *Aḥkar el-ibād Kāsim Paşa. Ṣahḥ.*

(Stampiglie): *Kāsim Paşa.*

Ty Miskóczy Birák polgarok es egiesz (6) tanaes sofogadatlion es kemin niaku rosz ebek edigh (7) valo parancolatot csak süketseghre hagiatok az Uy (8) Vari ala kévantatot ket ezer kila Arpa felöl hi (9) tetlien ebek im azon Vatok hogh feiemmel fize (10) sem mégh kurucok de mint hogh en fizesem megh (11) iob szeretem tik eghnehanion fizesetek megh hitetlen (12) ebek hitem szerint feietekre parancsolom egh orat na (13) pot ne variatok azon reatok rendeltetet ket (14) ezer kila Arpat ejiel napal minden kesedelem (15) nekiül viten vigietek UjVari ala se orat se (16) napot ne variatok ha feieteket eleteteket iosagoto (17) kat szeretitek ez parancsolatomban hiven el (18) iariatok ha feieteket szeretiket Költ ez (19) levelem Noghrad alat Szent Andras Havanak (20) masodik napian A. 1663.

(*Tergum Adresse*): Az Miskoczy Biraknak Adasék Eiel napal lohalalaban.

8

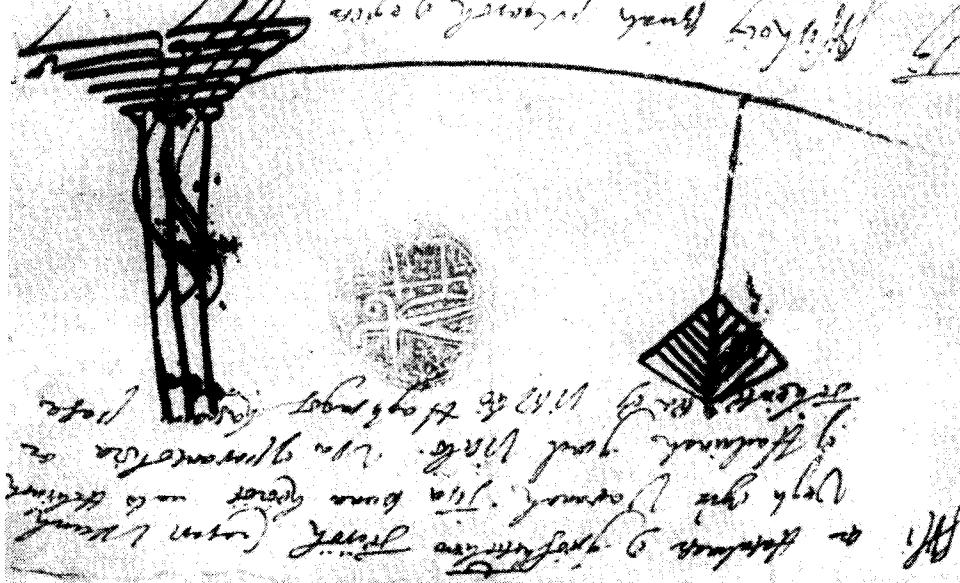
### *Schreiben des Statthalters von Eger (Erlau), Halil Pascha, an die Schulzen und Einwohner von Miskolc, ohne Verzug Gerste und Hirse nach Nové Zámky zuzuführen*

Orig.: Miskolc, Städt. Archiv, Török levelek Nr. 23, Vgl. Szendrei III, 316, Nr. 205.

My az Hatalmas es Gyözhétetlen esaszarnak veg Egér varanak (2) Tisza es Duna közöt valo Heleinek es Hadainak gond viselő ura (3) es parancsoloja Tekintetös es Nagos vitezlő Halil pasa.

(Pençe): *Aḥkar el-ibād, Halil Paşa. Ṣahḥ.*

18. 1. 1916 if another question  
comes up with respect to the present  
situation in the Balkans, you will  
have to make a statement in your  
own words. In view  
of the fact that you have been  
involved in this matter, it would be  
best if you could do so. You  
will be able to do so more easily  
if you can get in touch with  
the Foreign Office or the  
Ministry of War. I hope you  
will be able to do so.



Mig et gheleven es gjöfblæken en fand og gheleven  
veppa er fram leitt, vek hland af gheleven og gheleven  
gjennomligg rikematis et flagg utgått, gheleven

Etj og nulstid miðbæki bink es gefund  
et bækkar et gæravæl et liget  
engar es bækkar fægyl og indiwart sild  
fari kvarit, engi bækkar fægyl eldrikt  
engar et bækkar gæravæl frum tis  
vælset mið bækkar miðbæki og  
utan vigin indiwart et engar es bæ  
kell et fægyl, et et mið bækkar  
et fægyl og vigin over et hingrey  
engar et vigin framme og et tis  
vigin engar et vigin framme og et tis  
vigin framme og et vigin framme

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Görgi, Görgi

Ty meg nevezöt miskolczi birak es polgarok (5) itt lettötökben meg parancsoltok hogi az (6) arpat es kölest Sietsegel meg indicsatok ez ideig (7) semi hirötök. igi levén fejetök eletötök (8) vesztese alatt paranesoliok se orat se (9) napot ne variatok mihelt ez pa (10) rancesolo uri czimörös levelünket lattiatak (11) ottan mingiart indullianak az arpaval es kö (12) lessel az szekerek. ezt el ne halgasatok (13) es süketsegre ne vegjetök mert el hidgietek (14) körösztil nyarsban szurattok meg az szö (15) meitöket jol föl nysatok hogi meg ne ban (16) njatok Iratot veg Eger varaban Die 2 January 1664.

Idem qui supra.

(*Tergum Adresse*): Miskolczi biraknak sietsgel adasek falusi birak falurol falura sietsgel külgietök el hova szoll.

## Übersetzungen

### 1

Wir, Held *Kaszon Pascha*,<sup>31</sup> von edler Abkunft und hoher Geburt, Herr der Vorsehung und Kommandant der Grenzfestung Eger (Erlau), der Armee und der zwischen Theiss und Donau gelegenen Orte, die dem mächtigen und unüberwindlichen türkischen Kaiser (gehören).

(*Pençe*): Der Allergeringste der Diener (Allahs), *Käsim Pascha*. Richtig.

Ihr, alle genannten Schulzen und Einwohner jener Dörfer, die in der Provinz *Miskolc*<sup>32</sup> und in der Provinz *Szikszó*<sup>33</sup> liegen, (Ihr), die ihr euch mit dem Worte *jobbágy*<sup>34</sup> nennt, seid ungläubige, falsche (und) halsstarrige Nachkommen der Kuruzen<sup>35</sup>. Wie oft erhieltet ihr ein mit unserem Zeichen versehenes Schreiben, ihr möchtet den kaiserlichen Weizen aus Szolnok zuführen? Was kann der Grund eurer Ungehorsamkeit sein? Oder wartet ihr vielleicht auf euer eigenes Verderben? Da die Sache nun so steht, ihr Nachkommen der Kuruzen, (und) falls ihr Euer eigenes Haupt, Leben und Besitz liebet, gehet sofort eilends nach Szolnok und führt den kaiserlichen Weizen hieher! Verschweigt es nicht, stellet euch nicht taub; denn falls ihr binnen

<sup>31</sup> *Cerrâh Kâsim Paşa*, der Statthalter von *Eger* (Erlau), wurde das erstmal nach *Eger* am 19. Juni 1660 ernannt und war noch am 16. Januar 1662 dort. Zum zweitenmal wurde er im April 1663 ernannt und war dort bis Ende 1663. Er starb 1087 (1676–1677) als Statthalter von *Buda*. Siehe Gévay: *Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der türkischen Statthalter von Ofen*. Wien 1841, p. 34, Nr. 87. Weiters *Mehmed Süreyyâ: Sicill-i ‘Osmâni IV*, p. 49. Weiters OT p. 404, die türkischen Urkunden aus *Miskolc* Nr. 14, 15 und 19, die türk. Urkunden aus *Rimavská Sobota* Nr. 83, 84, 90, 104 und 105.

<sup>32</sup> *Miskolc*, Stadt in Nordostungarn.

<sup>33</sup> *Szikszó*, Städchen in der Nähe von *Miskolc*.

<sup>34</sup> Ein ungarisches Wort: *jobbágy* = Leibeigener.

<sup>35</sup> *Kuruz* = in türk. Urkunden *kurus*, *krus*, *krux* ist aus dem lat. *crux* = Kreuz; ursprünglich wurden so die Kreuzfahrer in Ungarn i. J. 1514, die gegen die Türken fochten, geheißen. Im 17. Jahrhundert entstand eine Befreiungsbewegung, deren Teilnehmer sich Kuruzen nannten.

<sup>36</sup> *Szolnok*, Stadt in Ungarn, an der Theiss gelegen.

einer Woche den Weizen nicht herführt, lasse ich aus jedem Dorfe zwei Menschen mit Reitern herführen und seid sicher, dass wir sie pfählen werden. Diesem (Schicksal) werdet ihr nicht entgehen und die Milch, die ihr aus der Brust eurer Mütter saugtet, wird bitter werden. Also gebet acht, damit ihr es nicht bereuen werdet!

Geschrieben in der Grenzfestung Eger, am 30. April (1663).

*Tergum:* Dies möge dem Schulzen von Miskolc übergeben werden. Der Schulze von Miskolc möge es in den Dörfern Euerer Provinz zirkulieren lassen und es (uns) abermals zurückgeben. Versäume es nicht, sonst lassen wir dich pfählen.

2

ER (d. i. Allah)

Der Grund zum Aufzeichnen (dieses) Schreibens ist dieser:

Die Schulzen (*bírov*) unserer Stadt (*város*) namens *Rimq Sonbot*<sup>37</sup> eines unseres *hăss*, suchten bei uns um Erlaubnis an, damit sie ihre Gesichter zum gesegneten Staube der Füsse seiner Exzellenz, des mächtigen und glücklichen Grosswesirs neigen könnten. Und aus diesem Grunde, da sie um einen Pass ansuchten und ihn wünschten, wurde unsererseits dieser gestempelte Pass geschrieben und in die Hände des Schulzen (*bírov*) unserer erwähnten Stadt ausgegeben, damit, wie bereits erklärt wurde, sie zu seiner Exzellenz, dem mächtigen und gerechten Grosswesir gehen und zurückkehren könne, und damit sie von den muslimischen Helden, die sie auf den Wegen, in Hafen (= *Furten*), *Hăns*, Festungen und *Palanken*<sup>38</sup> begegnen, nicht belästigt und beunruhigt werden.

Geschrieben 21.—30. (des Monats) *zi'lka'de* des Jahres 1073.

(Unterschrift): Der Allergeringste der Diener (Allahs), *Kăsim*, Pascha Statthalterei von Eger.

(*Tergum Stampiglie*): *Kăsim*.

(*Seinerzeitige ungarische Notiz*): Im Jahre 1663. Der Reisepass seiner Wohlgeborenen, unseres Herrn *Kăsim Pascha*, wo wir nach Nové Zámky gehen sollten.

3

*Kaiserliches Schreiben, an den Fürsten von Siebenbürgen gerichtet*

Jetzt hat die deutsche Partei gegen den Frieden in die siebenbürgischen Festungen Deutsche eingesetzt und hat ausserdem eine Festung<sup>39</sup> in der Nähe von *Kanizsa*

<sup>37</sup> *Rimavská Sobota* (deutsch: Gross-Steffelsdorf, ung.: Rima Szombat), aus dem die türkische Bezeichnung entstandt, Stadt in der südöstlichen Slovakei.

<sup>38</sup> *Palanka* ist eine kleinere Festung. Das türkische Wort entstand aus dem ungarischen *palánk* = Hürde aus Brettern und Balken.

<sup>39</sup> In Südungarn, in der Nähe der Stadt *Kanizsa* erbaute im J. 1661 der berühmte ungarische Heerführer Nikolaus Zrinyi (Zrinský) eine neue Festung und benannte sie *Zrinyiújvár*. Siehe Acsády 165.

erbaut; dadurch hat sie den Friedensvertrag verletzt. Ich habe den Befehl gegeben — falls es der allerhöchste Allah erlaubt — eine kaiserliche Expedition zu verwirklichen, damit diese Tätigkeit bestraft werde. Mein siegreiches islamisches Heer, (d. i.) die Armee aus *Rumili*, *Sām* und *Haleb* und alle Abteilungen meiner Pforte (*kapıkułu*), Leute der sechs Garden und alle anderen Soldatengattungen, gelangten jetzt nach Beograd unter (der Führung) meines ernannten Serdars hohen Ruhmes, des gnädigen, grossen Befehlshabers, des begabten Feldherrn der Weltenordnung, des Ordners der Angelegenheiten der Völker usw., des Grosswesirs *Ahmed Paschas* — möge der allerhöchste Allah seinen Ruhm verlängern und seine Macht verzweifachen. Und du, der du (bereits) erreicht hast, mein Sultansdiener zu sein, (so) habe ich gnädiges Wissen von deiner Aufrichtigkeit und Folgsamkeit, und die kaiserliche Hoffnung, dass du alle Dienste in diesem siegreichen Feldzuge gemäss der Aufrichtigkeit, Treue, Geradheit und Loyalität, die in deinem Herzen verborgen sind, ausführen wirst.

Versammle an einem Orte deine tapferen Bojaren, berühmte Befehlshaber der Reiterei und Kapitäne und perfekte Schützen und Fusssoldaten und alle ausgesuchten Soldaten, und seid bereit. Sobald Dir mit der Gunst des allerhöchsten Allah mein erwähnter Oberbefehlshaber einen Boten mit einem Schreiben sendet, zu welcher Stunde es immer sei, halte dich nicht auf und säume nicht, halte dich nirgends auf und ruhe dich nicht aus; mit der ganzen Versammlung und allen Soldaten, auf welchem Orte immer der Befehlt (erteilt wird), du mögest dich der kaiserlichen Armee anschliessen und es befohlen wird, an diesem Orte eine Weise und Gelegenheit zu finden dich anzuschliessen und sich mit meiner kaiserlichen Armee zu vereinigen, (tue es). Deshalb wurde mein Befehl von hohem Ruhm ausgegeben, du mögest ergeben deine Aufmerksamkeit (darauf) richten, und mit ganzer Seele und Haupt auf die Erfüllung der Dienste und Angelegenheiten acht haben.

Und falls bis zum heutigen Tage die Rückstände der Steuerzahlungen,<sup>40</sup> die gesandt werden sollten, nicht gesandt wurden, in diesem Falle besorget dies unverzüglich und bedingungslos und sendet es ehestens.

Und jetzt äussern sich unsere *husrever* hohe Gunsten dir gegenüber und wir zeichnen dich durch (ein Geschenk) von zwei äusserst schönen Herrschergewändern aus. Es wurde [X. Y] ernannt, damit er dir dieses mein kaiserliches Schreiben überbringe und den erwähnten Dienst (die Gewänder zu überbringen), vollziehe.

Ich befahl — falls es der allerhöchste Allah erlaubt — dass Du, sobald zu Dir meine wertvollen Gewänder und herrlichen Anzüge gelangen, sie mit Achtung empfängest, sie übernahmest und anzögest. Und gemäss der Aufrichtigkeit, Ergebenheit und Gehorsamkeit, die in deinem aufrichtigen Charakter eingewurzelt sind, wirst du dich an dieser siegreichen Expedition beteiligen, du wirst an ihr teilnehmen, wie es die Notwendigkeit erheischt und wie es deine Vorgänger getan haben. Aus

<sup>40</sup> Die Siebenbürger Fürsten zahlten jährlich eine Steuer von vierzigtausend Gulden an den Sultan. In diesem Jahre hatte Apafi Rückstände. Siehe meine Arbeit: *Listiny Vysokej party vo veci obsadenia Košic, košickej a sedmohradskej dane v rokoch 1644—1672*. Bratislava 1949, p. 68—70.

diesem Grund versammle sofort an einem geeigneten Ort alle Bojaren, Kapitäne, Befehlshaber der Reiterei, Fusssoldaten und in grosser Anzahl alle tapferen und starken Schützen und mit Gewehren ausgestatteten Jünglinge, die sich im Lande *Erdely* (Siebenbürgen) befinden und seid (alle) vorbereitet.

Erwarte den Bericht von dem erwähnten Grosswesir hohen Ruhmes und Oberbefehlshabers hoher Schätzung. Ob du nun auf welchen Ort immer gelangest, (sobald) der Ferman und das dir (gesandte) Schreiben mit seinem (d. h. des Grosswesirs) Boten (anlangt), halte dich nirgends auf, ruhe nicht aus, marschiere mit voller Schnelligkeit, schliesse dich an meine kaiserliche Armee an, finde eine Weise und Gelegenheit, damit du im Kriege, in der Schlacht und im Verheeren von Städten, in allen Gebieten und im ganzen Lande der deutschen Partei, auf alle Arten vollführen mögest, was dir befohlen und dir aufgebürdet wird.

Im Dienst der Absendung (von Steuern) sei eifrig; wisse, dass entschieden ist, dass du für deine erwiesenen Dienste von meiner hohen Padischah-Seite sehr geehrt und geschätzt werden wirst, bedeutend mehr als deine Vorgänger. Mit der Absendung des Rückstandes in die (Staats)-Kasse säume keine Minute, sende sie so schnell wie möglich, (damit) du die Zahlung beendigest. Nach alter Sitte sende sie (die Rückstände) zu meiner Schwelle des Glückes mit den Gesandten deiner tapferen Bojaren und Leuten und Notabeln dreier Nationen, damit ich meine Diener, die auf dem Hauptwege der Aufrichtigkeit stehen, freigebig belohnen, damit ich sie je nach ihrem Rang ehren kann, (denn) betreffs ihres Standes ist meine kaiserliche Barmherzigkeit fest entschlossen. (Dies) wisse.

(Am) 6. (des Monates) *zi'lka'de* des Jahres (10) 73.

4

ER (d. i. Allah)

Euere Exzellenz, glücklicher und leutseliger Herr, seid gesund!

Diese Armseligen sind Armselige aus dem Städtchen *Rima Sonbot* in der Umgebung von Eger.

Durchlauchtiger Herr! Da jetzt in der Umgebung unseres Städtchens keine kriegerische Festung, ausser der Festung von *Filek*<sup>41</sup> geblieben ist, (denn) sie wurden geschleift, haben wir vor dem osmanischen und tatarischen Militär Furcht. Die armseligen (Bewohner) des Städtchens (haben die Absicht) zu fliehen. Mit Rücksicht darauf wird um einen erhabenen Befehl gebeten, o Herr, von Euerer Exzellenz in unsere Hände (gegeben), damit seitens des muslimischen Militärs den Armseligen kein Leids getan werde. Schliesslich gehört der Befehl meinem Herrn (d. i. Euch).

(Unterschrift): Die Armseligen *Sonbats*.

(Über dem Text ist von anderer Hand schräg der Befehl des Grosswesirs geschrieben):

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<sup>41</sup> *Filákovo*, ung. Fülek, türk. Filek, in der südöstlichen Slovakei.

Da die Rajahs des erwähnten Städtchens Rajahs sind, (die) ihren Tribut (ordnungsmässig) zahlen, (wird angeordnet): sei es wer immer von der Armee oder den Tataren oder aus anderen (Abteilungen), möge er sich von jetztan vor einem Überfall auf sie selbst oder ihre Kinder oder ihr Gut oder ihre Nahrungsmittel, hüten. Sollte jemand auf sie selbst einen Überfall wagen, auf ihre Habe (oder) Nahrungsmittel, soll er gefangen genommen und in das kaiserliche Lager vorgeführt werden. So wurde anbefohlen.

(Am) 17. (des Monats) *rebi'iilevvel* des Jahres (10) 74.

(Seinerzeitige ungarische Notiz): Im Jahre 1663. Unser Schutzbrief, uns von unserem durchlauchtigen Herrn Grosswesir gegeben.

## 5

Wir, Held *Muszli Beg*,<sup>42</sup> der einsichtige Haupt-kaimekan<sup>43</sup> und Stellvertreter des wohlgeborenen und hochgeborenen Helden *Kaszon Pascha*.

(*Pençe*): Der Allergeringste der Diener (Allahs) *Muşlı*, derzeit *kāimmaḳām* von *Eger*. Richtig.

Ihr, genannten Schulzen und Bewohner von *Miskolc*! Unter Strafe des Verlustes des Hauptes und des Lebens befehlen wir, ihr möget keine Stunde und keinen Tag warten, sobald ihr dieses, mit unserem Zeichen versehenes herrschaftliches Befehlsschreiben ersehet, (sondern) sofort schnellst Hirse auf Wagen laden; begebet euch mit ihr auf den Weg, da die Bewohner von *Gyöngyös* bereits abgefahren sind. Der *csausz*<sup>44</sup> des Wesirs wird mit euch fahren. Wieviel Häupter habt ihr, dass ihr so lange gesäumt habet? Wartet deshalb keine Stunde und keinen Tag, aber röhrt euch eilist mit der Hirse, (sonst) werdet ihr gepfählt und (dann) erfolgt der Verlust des Kopfes! Öffnet deshalb gut euere Augen, damit ihr es nicht bedauert! Auf die (Ankunft) des mit unserem Zeichens versehenes Schreiben werden wir noch warten (d. i. bis es zu euch gelangt).

Geschrieben in der Grenzfestung *Eger*.

Am 19. Oktober 1663.

(*Tergum Adresse*): (Diese Schreibe) möge den Schulzen von *Miskolc* gegeben werden. Dorfschulzen, sendet es eilends aus einem Dorfe ins andere, dorthin, wohin es adressiert ist.

## 6

ER (d. i. Allah)

Der Grund zum Schreiben (dieses) erhabenen Befehls (und) des Sultansfermans ist dieser:

<sup>42</sup> *Muşlı Beg* wurde später Statthalter von *Eger* (von Juli 1675 bis 19. April 1676) Vgl. die türk. Urkunden aus *Rim. Sobota* Nr. 231 und aus *Miskolc* Nr. 16, 18, 34, und 35.

<sup>43</sup> *Kāimmaḳām*.

<sup>44</sup> *Çavuş*. Diese übergaben die Befehle und Schreiben der türkischen Behörden.

Da die Besitzer (dieses) meines Befehles, die Rajahs aus dem Dorf *Rimq Şonbot*, das zu Eger gehört, zu den Rajahs des glücklichen Padischahs gehören, wird in ihre Hände mein erhabener Befehl ausgefolgt, damit niemand aus dem tatarischen Militär sie behelligen und beunruhigen möge. Falls die Rajahs des erwähnten Dorfes jemand von unseren prinzlichen Abteilungen oder (aus den Abteilungen) der *aķkirmanischen Ağas* oder aus anderen (Abteilungen) behelligen oder beunruhigen sollte, dann wird es für ihn nicht gut (ausgehen), denn, wie entschieden wurde, wird sein Kopf abgeschlagen und sein Haus (Familie und Habe) verheert. Handelt gemäss dem Inhalt meines erhabenen Befehles, (der) in dieser Angelegenheit ausgefolgt wurde.

Geschrieben im Monate *rebi'ülevvel* des Jahres 1074.

(Stampiglie): *Ahmed Gérey Sultān*, Sohn des Mehmed Gérey Chan. 1068.

Richtig.

*Tergum*

(*Seinerzeitige ungarische Notiz*): Im Jahre 1663. Schutzbefehl des mächtigen Tarentchans,<sup>45</sup> den uns, Stadt Rimavská Sobota, seiner Wohlgeborenen vor Nové Zámky ausstellte.

## 7

Wir, wohlgeborener, heldenhafter und hochgeborener *Kasszon*<sup>46</sup> *Pascha*, der einsichtige Herr und Kommandant der Grenzfestung *Eger*, der Truppen und der Orte, die zwischen Theiss und Donau liegen, (die) unserem mächtigen und unüberwindlichen Herrn, dem türkischen Kaiser, (gehören).

(Pençe) Der Allergeringste der Diener (Allahs) *Kāsim Pascha*. Richtig. (Stampiglie): *Kāsim Paşa*.

Ihr, Schulzen und Bewohner und der ganze (städtische) Rat von *Miskole* (seid) ungehorsame und hartnäckige Hunde. Zu dem bisher ausgegebenen Befehl bezüglich zweier Tausend kil Gerste, die geboten wurden, nach *Ujvar* (zuzuführen), stellt ihr euch taub. Ihr ungläubigen Hunde, ihr bemüht euch darum, damit ich es mit meinem Kopfe bezahlen soll. Kuruzen! Aber es wäre mir lieber, anstatt dass ich es bezahlen soll, wenn es jemand von euch bezahlen sollte. Ungläubige Hunde, ich befehle euch gemäss meines Glaubens, auf euere Köpfe, ihr möget keine Stunde und keinen Tag warten (und) die euch aufgetragenen zweitausend kil Gerste ohne Säumen Tag und Nachts nach *Ujvar* zuführen. Wartet nicht einen Tag, falls ihr Euere Köpfe lieb habet (und) euer Leben und Gut. Handelt getreu gemäss diesem Befehl, falls ihr euere Köpf lieb habt!

Dieses mein Schreiben wurde vor *Nógrad*<sup>47</sup> am 2. Tag des Monates des Heil. Andreas<sup>48</sup> im Jahre 1663 geschrieben.

<sup>45</sup> Irrtum des Schreibers, denn *Ahmed Gérey*, Befehlshaber des tatarischen Heeres war der Sohn des Krimtarentchans *Mehmed Gérey*.

<sup>46</sup> *Kāsim Pascha*.

<sup>47</sup> *Nógrád* = Städtchen mit Festung in Nordwestungarn, in der Nähe der Donau.

<sup>48</sup> November.

Wir, der wohlgeborene und hochgeborene Held *Halil Pascha*,<sup>49</sup> der einsichtige Herr und Kommandant der Grenzfestung Eger, der Truppen und Orte, dich sich zwischen Theiss und Donau befinden, (und) die dem mächtigen und unüberwindlichen Kaiser gehören.

(*Pençe*): Der Allergeringste der Diener (Allahs), *Halil Paşa*. Richtig.

Ihre, genannten Schulzen und Bewohner von *Miskolc!* Als ihr hier waret, haben wir euch befohlen, eiligst Gerste und Hirse zuzuführen. (Trotzdem haben wir) bisher keine Nachricht von euch. Wenn dem so ist, so befehlen wir (unter Strafe) des Verlustes eueres Kopfes und eueres Lebens, nicht eine Stunde und einen Tag zu warten. Sobald ihr dieses, mit unserem Zeichen versehenes, herrschaftliches Befehlsschreiben ersehet, setzt sofort die Wagen mit Gerste und Hirse in Bewegung. Verschweiget dies nicht und stellt euch nicht taub, denn seid versichert, dass ihr gepfählt werdet. Öffnet gut die Augen, damit ihr es nicht bereuet!

Geschrieben in der Grenzfestung *Eger*, den 2. Januar 1664.

(*Tergum Adresse*): (Dieses Schreiben) möge den Schulzen von *Miskolc* übergeben werden. Dorfshulzen, sendet es eilends von Dorf zu Dorf, wohin er geschickt ist.

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<sup>49</sup> *Koca Halil Pascha* war Statthalter von *Eger* von Dezember 1663 bis in die erste Hälfte des Jahres 1664. Siehe die Urkunden aus *Rimavská Sobota* Nr. 113, aus *Miskolc* Nr. 20 und 21. Vgl. *Sicill-i Osmâni* II, 277. Laut der letzten Quelle war er noch i. J. 1665 Statthalter von *Eger*.

## **REPORTS AND BOOK REVIEWS**

TAGUNG DES VII. INTERNATIONALEN KONGRESSES  
DER ANTHROPOLOGISCHEN UND ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN  
WISSENSCHAFTEN IN MOSKAU (3. 8. — 10. 8. 1964)

Kongresse, die alle vier Jahre tagen, organisiert die Internationale Union der anthropologischen und ethnographischen Wissenschaften bei der UNESCO (l'UISAE). Die Notwendigkeit des gemeinsamen Weges dieser Wissenschaften wurde im Jahre 1936 in der Schweiz zum Ausdruck gebracht und die Union begann im Jahre 1948 zu arbeiten. Der erste Kongress fand in London, der vorletzte in Paris, statt. Der konkrete Inhalt der Kongresse und die notwendigen Angelegenheiten organisatorischen Charakters werden von dem Ständigen Rat der Union, der immer zwei Jahre vor der Stattfindung des Kongresses tagt, vorbereitet; die letzte Sitzung war im Jahre 1962 in Prag. Der ständige Rat besteht aus den Vertretern von 58 Ländern und hat jetzt 262 Mitglieder. Die Funktion des Vorsitzenden der Union ist mit der Funktion des Präsidenten des nächsten Kongresses vereinigt. Der Präsident wird am Ende des Kongresses für die nächsten vier Jahre aus den Mitgliedern des Nationalkomitees des Ständigen Rates dieses Landes gewählt, in welchem der nächste Kongress stattfinden wird. Da der nächste Kongress in Tokio sein soll, wurde Prof. M. Oka, aus dem Anthropologischen Institut der Universität in Tokio, zum Präsidenten des Kongresses und zugleich auch zum Vorsitzenden der Union gewählt. Ausser der Veranstaltung der Kongresse hat die Union auch andere Funktionen, besonders die, welche Stipendien betreffen.

Wie wir bereits bemerkt haben, geht es in der Union um die Vereinigung von zwei grossen wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen, die in vielen Ländern schon seit längerer Zeit als selbstständige Disziplinen arbeiten. Merkwürdig scheint diese Vereinigung besonders von unserem Gesichtspunkt aus, da bei uns die Anthropologie als eine biologische und die Ethnographie als eine historische nämlich Gesellschaftswissenschaft, betrachtet wird. In vielen Ländern, sowohl in westlichen als auch in östlichen (USA, Grossbritannien, Italien, SSSR, Indien, Japan u. a.) geht es aber um eine Tradition der komplexen Betrachtung aller Fragen, die den Menschen und seine Kultur anlangen (Anthropogenesis, ethnische Anthropologie, Ethnogenesis, Ethnographie u.s.w.), und um eine lange Tradition der gemeinsamen anthropologisch-ethnographischen Forschungen. Auch wenn die Differenzierung der Wissenschaften allgemein fortschreitet, bleibt die Vereinigung für einige Fragen beider Wissenschaften (z. B. die Fragen des Zusammenlebens der Urgesellschaft, ihrer Periodizität) vorteilhaft. Der Aufschwung der Wissenschaft in der Welt, die Bildung der wissenschaftlichen Zentren in Ländern, die bisher nur ein Objekt der Forschung

beider Disziplinen waren, als auch die allgemeine thematische Erweiterung ihrer Interessen, besonders der Ethnographie, verursachen dann bei den Verhandlungen auf dem Kongress gewisse Schwierigkeiten. Während auf der ersten gemeinsamen Welttagung auf dem Gebiet der Anthropologie und Ethnographie in der Schweiz 150 Wissenschaftler teilgenommen haben, gab es auf dem VI. internationalen Kongress in Paris schon 1200 und auf dem letzten in Moskau 2200 Teilnehmer. So einen riesigen Körper zu bewältigen und dabei die wissenschaftlichen Diskussionen maximal schöpferisch auszunutzen, ist praktisch unmöglich. Das kommt besonders auf dem Gebiet der Ethnographie zum Ausdruck, die ihr Interesse für weitere Themen von einem zum anderen Kongress erweitert und auf dem Kongress volle zwei Drittel einnimmt. In Paris waren vier anthropologische Sektionen, wobei die Ethnographen 11 Sektionen und 9 Untersektionen hatten. In Moskau hatten die Anthropologen 5 Sektionen, 3 Untersektionen, 3 Symposien und die Ethnographen 22 Sektionen und 14 Symposien. Es wurden 256 Referate auf anthropologische und 748 auf ethnographische Themen vorgetragen.

Nun gelangen wir zum Charakter des Moskauer Kongresses. In der Einschätzung darf man den Vergleich vom Gesichtspunkt ähnlicher Kongresstagungen der übrigen Gesellschaftswissenschaften nicht ausser Acht lassen. Wir wissen, dass die Wissenschaft schon lange Jahre in ihren Kenntnissen auch durch die Form der thematischen oder monothematischen gemeinsamen internationalen Arbeitstagungen vorrückt. Sowohl der Moskauer als auch der Pariser Kongress waren leider keine thematischen Kongresse. Viele Teilnehmer der früheren Kongresse trugen ihre Forderungen, die Kongresse auf ähnliche Art und Weise zu organisieren, vor. Ihren Standpunkt stützen sie vor allem auf die komplizierte Situation der Ethnographie, die im Ganzem nicht befriedigend ist und auf einen gewissen Krisenzustand einiger methodologischen besonders traditionellen Vorgänge. Da so eine Situation in der Theorie der gegebenen wissenschaftlichen Disziplin diese nicht nur in einzelnen Ländern sondern im gesamten Weltmaßstab betrifft, verlangten die Teilnehmer, dass sich der Kongress auf so eine gemeinsame Lösung der schwierigsten Seiten theoretischen Charakters schon zielbewusst vorbereiten möge. Das Organisationskomitee des Moskauer Kongresses rechnete mit einer solchen Kongresstagung, aber im Laufe der Vorbereitungen kam es aus Furcht vor einer kleinen Teilnahme an dem Kongress von dem ursprünglichen Standpunkt ab. Es wurde wieder die grosse Breite der Thematik und Problematik eingehalten, aber in die bisherige Struktur trat eine gewisse Veränderung ein. Einige Sektionen wurden aufgelöst (z. B. die Ethnopsychologie und Medizin sowie die Sektion der Rechtsethnographie), einige, die vorher zu Sektionen mit einer breiteren thematischen Einstellung gehörten, wurden selbstständig: Sektion der sozialen Formen und Institutionen, Sektion der bildenden Volkskunst, Sektion für Volksdichtung. Es wurden selbstständige regionale Sektionen und zwar Europa, Afrika, Australien und Ozeanien, Ost- und Südasien, Westasien, Arktis und Subarktis, Nordamerika, Süd- und Mittelamerika gebildet. Gegen die ursprüngliche Entscheidung des Organisationsausschusses des Moskauer Kongresses, einige wichtige gemeinsame Aufgaben als reif für die Lösung auf dem Kongress hervorzuheben, wurde die Lösung der Aufgaben auf einen ganzen Kreis von monothematischen Symposien verschoben. Die Bildung der Symposien, sowohl wegen ihres konkreten Inhaltes als auch wegen der Form der Verhandlungen (ein Symposium hat eher einen Arbeitscharakter, als eine Sektion, strebt um Beschlüsse, bezw. zeigt weitere auch gemeinsame Aufgaben und Methoden) muss als ein grosser Beitrag dieses Kongresses zu den bisherigen Formen der Kongressverhandlungen betrachtet werden. Am Ende des

Kongresses haben die Teilnehmer den Wunsch ausgesprochen, es mögen für den nächsten Kongress weitere neuen Symposien gebildet werden, sie empfohlen, diese Form weiter zu belassen, sie hervorzuheben und ihr mehr Zeit zu widmen. Wie wir schon erwähnten, dauerte der Kongress insgesamt 8 Tage; vom zweiten bis zum vierten Tag verlief die Arbeit in allen Sektionen parallel, den Symposien wurden nur eineinhalb Tage gewidmet.

Aus der Übersicht, die wir zur besseren Information beifügen, ist zu ersehen, auf welche thematischen Gebiete sich die Aufmerksamkeit der Teilnehmer des Kongresses konzentrierte. Die Kongresse werden stets in einem anderen Land veranstaltet und gewinnen in einem gewissen Sinne den Charakter der wissenschaftlichen Richtung und der wissenschaftlichen Vorgänge dieses Landes, in dem sie stattfinden, natürlich auch deshalb, weil eine grosse Teilnahme der Fachleute des gastgeberischen Landes ermöglicht wird. So war es in Paris wie auch in Moskau. Es hat sich diesmal besonders in der Konzentrierung der einheimischen Teilnehmer auf einige Sektionen gezeigt (was auch aus der nachstehenden Übersicht zu entnehmen ist) und war sowohl in der gesamten Atmosphäre als auch im theoretischen Ergebnis des Kongresses als Ganzes zu spüren. Das war besonders aus der Auswahl der Themen zu ersehen. Es wurden anspruchsvollere Themen vom Gesichtspunkt der Kenntnisse der Kultur der Menschheit und nicht nur vom Gesichtspunkt der Bedürfnisse der Volkskunde gewählt, wie es z. B. in einer grossen Anzahl von Referaten auf dem vorletzten Kongress der Fall war. Bei den einheimischen, aber auch bei den ausländischen Teilnehmern, kam ausserdem eine sehr positive Bestrebung zum Ausdruck, die Referate schon vom synthetischen Gesichtspunkt aus zu bauen, wobei die betreffenden Beschlüsse zusammengefasst und die stets problematischen Dinge angedeutet wurden. Dadurch ist es gelungen, in einigen thematischen Sektionen zu neuen Ergebnissen zu gelangen, die durch die vorgetragenen Referate und die betreffende Diskussion begläubigt wurden. Die Tagungen einiger Sektionen mit engerer und konkreter Einstellung, sowie die Symposialsitzungen mit einer freieren Diskussion, bildeten eigentlich gewisse kleine selbstständige Kongresstagungen.

Um sich einen Begriff von dem Inhalt und der thematischen Schichtung des Kongresses machen zu können, lassen wir die Gesamteinschätzungen für den weiteren Teil unseres Berichtes, nachdem wir über die Kenntnis der Struktur des Kongresses verfügen. Nachstehend bringen wir eine Information, in der wir uns auf den ethnographischen Teil der Kongresstagungen beschränken.

#### Symposien:

1. Lehre Morgans über die Periodizität der Urgesellschaft im Licht der gegenwärtigen Ethnographie
2. Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Nomaden- und Ansiedlerbevölkerung
3. Ethnographie der Stadt und der Industriegemeinde
4. Agrarethnographie (landwirtschaftliche Werkzeuge, Technik u.s.w.)
5. Probleme der Ethnogenesis der ältesten und der gegenwärtigen Völker
6. Probleme der Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Arktiszone
7. Probleme der Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Wüstenzonen.
8. Die Methodik der Zusammenstellung der ethnographischen Atlassse
9. Historisch-kulturelle Beziehungen des Pazifischen Raumes
10. Historisch-ethnographische Beziehungen (*communauté*) im Karpatengebiet
11. Methodik der Sammelerarbeit in der Volkskunst, Bearbeitung von Materialien
12. Klassifikation des Genres der Volksdichtung

Benennung der Sektion	Anzahl der vorgetragenen Referate	
	insgesamt	aus der UdSSR
Theorie und Methodologie	41	10
Sozialformen und Institutionen	35	16
Materielle Kultur	23	7
Paleoethnographie	49	21
Ethnobotanik und Ethnozoologie	21	12
Ethnolinguistik	22	16
Volksdichtung	48	14
Volksmusik	34	15
Volkstheater und Tanz	22	19
Bildende Volkskunst	36	22
Volksglaube und Mythologie	28	11
Applizierte Ethnographie	42	8
Ethnische Geographie	30	17
Afrika	33	8
Australien und Ozeanien	23	4
Ost- und Sudasien	47	19
Westasien	42	34
Arktis und Subarktis	38	17
Nordamerika	19	7
Süd- und Mittelamerika	33	5
Europa	52	19
Museologie	30	11

### 13. Volksmusikinstrumente

### 14. Arbeiterfolklor

Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird auch eine Übersicht (obzwar nur eine beiläufige) über die Vertretung der Ethnographen aus den einzelnen Staaten interessant sein. Die Menge der Teilnehmer aus den einzelnen Ländern (inbegriffen der Delegationen der gegebenen Länder auch mit touristischen Gruppen) setzte nach der einheimischen sowjetischen Delegation in dieser Reihenfolge fort: USA (165) Frankreich (87), Polen (70), Rumänien (67), DDR (61), ČSSR (54), Ungarn (48), Japan (47), Westdeutschland (46), Jugoslawien (40), Dänemark (38), Italien (37), England (23) u.s.w.

Ausser der Einzelheiten, die wir schon erwähnten, ist es wichtig, die breiteren Beschlüsse, die so ein internationales wissenschaftliches Forum bringen kann, zu begreifen und wahrzunehmen und den theoretischen Beitrag des Kongresses richtig zu erkennen. Es muss wiederholt werden, dass solange die Kongresse nicht monothematisch, sondern im Gegenteil, thematisch umfangreich organisiert werden, ihr thematisches Ergebnis infolge der vielseitigen Interessen zersplittert und so auch schwerer wahrnehmbar wird.

Die grösste Aufmerksamkeit und Konzentration der Teilnehmer auf dem Kongress, aber auch schon vorher, wurde auf zwei Sektionen gerichtet, die durch ihr Thema chronologisch ganz extrem sind: Auf die Problematik der Periodizität der Urgesellschaft, deren Lösung dann in ein spezielles nur diesem Problem gewidmetes Symposium

übertragen wurde, ferner auf die Problematik der ethnographischen Forschung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Volkskulturen, die auf die Sektion der applizierten Ethnographie und ebenso auf dem speziellen Symposium für ethnographische Forschung der Stadt und der Industriegemeinden durchgenommen wurde. Das bedeutet aber nicht, dass eine andere Problematik vielleicht vernachlässigt wurde oder ein geringeres Interesse vorwies. Beim ersten Thema war es die langjährige konzentrierte Aufmerksamkeit der Ethnographie auf diese Frage und im zweiten Falle war es sowohl die Neuheit und die ungenügende methodische Ausarbeitung, als auch die Wichtigkeit der ganzen Sphäre des Interesses für die Ethnographie als Ganzes, die sich ein grösseres und regeres Interesse erzwangen. In anderen Sektionen und Symposialsitzungen, auch wenn ihre thematische Richtung sehr umfangreich und verschiedlich war, wurde ein gemeinsames Bestreben für Teilbeschlüsse und für ein gründlicheres Erkennen der benützten Methoden bemerkbar. Im Vergleich mit dem vorherigen Kongress, wo in einem grösseren Masse Referate mit Volkskundecharakter und Tragweite vorgetragen wurden, kam auf diesem Kongress die Bemühung um eine komplexere Einreihung und Qualifizierung der Kenntnisse deutlicher zum Ausdruck. Auch wenn diese Kenntnisse auf engeren Territorien mehr für die Bedürfnisse der einheimischen wissenschaftlichen Disziplin gewonnen wurden, können und sollen sie auch für den Komplex des Erkennens der Kultur der Menschheit überhaupt eine Bedeutung haben. Dieses Bestreben hat sich nicht so im Vorrecht der allgemeinen Vergleichungsmethode gezeigt, sondern mehr in einer erfolgreichen Applizierung der historischen Methode, d. h. in der Einreihung der Vorgänge in einen Kenntnis Kreis über die Entwicklung der Kultur der Menschheit, im allgemein und bei einzelnen Völkern. Es scheint, dass auf den Kongresstagungen der historische Charakter der ethnographischen Wissenschaft in einem breiteren Weltmaßstab verteidigt wurde. Auch wenn es die einheimischen Teilnehmer waren, die diesen Eindruck besonders angelegt hatten, wurde dies schon viel intensiver als bisher auch von fremden Ethnographen (italienischen, französischen, japanischen, indischen u. a.) bestätigt.

Wie aus der angeführten Übersicht der Sektionen zu ersehen ist, wurden viele von ihnen so gewählt, dass es möglich war, die Verbindung und die Zusammenarbeit der Ethnographie mit einigen Disziplinen sowohl der gesellschaftlichen als auch anderer Wissenschaften zu überprüfen. Es ist dies schon eine ältere Tradition dieser Wissenschaften und auch der ethnographischen Kongresse. Vom Gesichtspunkt des Kongresses aus bedeutet sie zwar einerseits eine Zersplitterung der Aufmerksamkeit auf eine Menge von Problemen, andererseits fasst sie von einem Kongress zum andern klarer die Zusammenarbeit mehrerer Disziplinen bei Themen, wo die Ethnographie allein mit ihren speziellen Methoden nicht hinreichen würde. Sehr nützlich scheint die Verbindung bei der klassischen Paläoethnographie, Ethnolinguistik, aber auch die Zusammenarbeit der Ethnographie mit der Geographie wird neu belebt, es scheint, als ob die auf einige Zeit unterbrochenen Traditionen dieser Zusammenarbeit erneut würden. Am stürmischsten wurde das Bestreben um neue Methoden mit der event. Verwendung einiger Methoden anderer wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen im thematischen Kreis, die zu der sogenannten applizierten Ethnographie gehören, zum Ausdruck gebracht. Bei den Tagungen dieser Sektionen und des zuständigen Symposiums wurden wirklich mehrere Versuche mit Verwendung von neuen Methoden überprüft, es wurde mehrmals die Forderung nach gegenseitiger Informierung der Ethnographen, die sich mit diesen Problemen befassen, ebenso wie die Notwendigkeit der Kontakte und des Erfahrungsaustausches, angedeutet. In diesen Sektionen wurde konkret und sachlich gearbeitet, da ihre Thematik ausser auf ethnographischen Kongressen auch

auf anderen internationalen wissenschaftlichen Tagungen (z. B. slowakische Folkloristik, Ethnomusikologie, Problematik Afrikas, Museologie u. a.) regelmässig ventiliert wird.

Das höhere fachliche und theoretische Niveau des Moskauer Kongresses zeugt von einem anwachsenden theoretischen Niveau der Weltethnographie, wie auch von der Überwindung des schwersten Punktes, der Krise der Theorie, in der sich, wie bereits erwähnt wurde, die Ethnographie in den letzten Jahren befand. Zur vollständigen Überwindung dieser Krise ist auch weiterhin nur ein gemeinsamer und kein isolierter Weg notwendig. Die internationale Zusammenarbeit ist für einen weiteren Fortschritt dieser Wissenschaft sehr nötig, auch wenn sie auf jedem Gebiet der Tätigkeit nicht den einzigen Weg, bezw. eine vollkommene Vereinigung der Grundansichten, besonders der ideologischen, daher auch der methodologischen, bedeuten wird. Am Schluss des Kongresses hat der sowjetische Delegierte den konkreten Beitrag des Moskauer Kongresse zusammengefasst und mit folgender Formel zum Ausdruck gebracht: Es wurde nicht die Annäherung, sondern das gegenseitige Kennenlernen erreicht.

Božena Filová

SEKTION AUSTRALIEN UND OZEANIEN AUF DEM  
VII. INTERNATIONALEN KONGRESS  
DER ANTHROPOLOGISCHEN UND ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN  
WISSENSCHAFTEN IN MOSKAU (3. 8.—10. 8. 1964)

Die Sitzungen einer der vielen Sektionen des letzten internationalen anthropologischen und ethnographischen Kongresses in Moskau wurden der Problematik der Forschung der Völker Australiens und Ozeaniens gewidmet. In das Programm der vom bedeutenden sowjetischen Anthropologen, S. A. Tokarev, geleiteten Sektion waren ursprünglich 23 Referate angemeldet. Trotz einer gewissen Verschiedenheit gehörten einzelne Werke zu einigen thematischen Kreisen.

Eine der dominanten Fragen war die Frage des Ursprungs und der Migration der Bewohner Ozeaniens. Obzwar die archeologischen und linguistischen Angaben die allgemein angenommene These über die Migrationsbewegung von Westen nach Osten bestätigen, erschienen Versuche zu einer teilweisen Modifikation dieser allgemein verbreiteten Ansicht. Prof. I. Dyen betrachtet in seiner Arbeit „Migration der Austronesier“, die er auf dem Kongress vorgetragen hat, das Gebiet des östlichen Neuguinea und/oder Melanesien immer wieder für die Urheimat der austronesischen Sprachfamilie. Dabei hat sich seiner Meinung nach die östliche Untergruppe der austronesischen Familie im Gebiet der Neuen Hebriden gestaltet. Zu seiner Vermutung fügt er lexikostatistische Beweise hinzu, wobei er von der Hypothese ausgeht, dass die Urheimat einer Sprachfamilie dort gesucht werden soll, wo heute die grösste Anzahl der Sprachen, die zu dieser Familie gehören, vorkommt. Es wäre aber erforderlich, die Verlässlichkeit dieser Hypothese auch in anderen Teilen der Welt zu prüfen (z. B. an der dravidischen Sprachfamilie) und die Argumentation auch durch nicht-linguistische Fakten zu ergänzen. Wenn die Richtigkeit der Ansicht Dyens bestätigt wird, wird a) mit der Migration aus dem Gebiet Südost-Asiens in das Gebiet Neuguineas und Melanesiens, wo die uraustronesische Sprachgruppe gebildet werden sollte, b) mit den rückgängigen Migrationen nach Westen, d. h. nach Indonesien und den Philippinen, und mit den Migrationen nach Norden, d. h. nach Mikronesien und nach Osten, d. h. nach Polynesien, zu rechnen sein. Es wird auch notwendig sein, die heutige Anwesenheit der grossen Anzahl der nichtaustronesischen Sprachen gerade im Zentrum des angenommenen uraustronesischen Gebietes zu erklären.

Zwei Forscher aus Hawaii, K. P. Emory und Y. H. Sinoto, die das Problem der Besiedlung Ozeaniens berühren, gehen vor allem von den archeologischen Angaben aus. Nach ihnen war der Kern des östlichen Polynesiens, d. h. Marquesas- und Gesellschaftsinseln, schon um den Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung bewohnt; die übrigen Hauptinseln Polynesiens wurden spätestens um das Jahr 1000 besiedelt. Emory und

Sinoto weisen darauf hin, dass die west- und ostpolynesischen Kulturen im Grunde genommen übereinstimmen. Das Durchdringen der Kultur nach Ozeanien ging in westostlicher Richtung vor. Die Kontakte mit der amerikanischen indianischen Kultur werden nicht ausgeschlossen, besonders was die Osterinsel anbelangt. Da die Osterinsulaner die Süßkartoffeln gemeinsam mit der polynesischen Sprache, mit der indonesischen Henne und einige Pflanzen malaischen Ursprungs auf die Osterinsel gebracht haben, müsste sie der südamerikanische Einfluss schon in dem Gebiet, von welchem sie herauskamen, wahrscheinlich auf den Marquesas-Inseln, erreichen. Mit den amerikanischen Einflüssen auf den östlichen Teil Polynesiens und namentlich auf die Osterinsel, befasste sich T. Heyerdahl in dem Vortrag „Wie weit die Osterinselkultur polynesisch ist“. Sein Referat hat keine so lebendige Polemik hervorgerufen wie erwartet wurde.

So gelangten wir zu dem zweiten bedeutenden Thema, über das auf den Sitzungen der Sektion diskutiert wurde: zu dem Problem der Osterinsel. Ausser T. Heyerdahl sprach zu diesem Thema vor allem die sowjetische Polynesistin, I. K. Fedorova. In ihrem Vortrag „Über die Legenden, die mit den Kohau Rongorongo zusammenhängen“, hat sie eine schwere Aufgabe auf sich genommen. Auf Grund einiger Foklordenkmäler, von denen man annimmt, dass sie etwa ein treues Bild der Osterinselsprache des älteren Zeitabschnittes sind, versucht sie eine Charakteristik der altrapanuischen Sprache zu geben. Von dieser Sprache kann man annehmen, dass sie die Sprache der rapanuischen Schriftdenkmäler, genannt Kohau Rongorongo, ist. Wenn wir aber die rapanuische Schrift für ideographisch halten, dann würde vielleicht zu ihrer Lösung der Vergleich der Frequenz und der Dispersion der einzelnen Zeichen in verschiedenen Denkmälern mit der Frequenz und der Dispersion der einzelnen Wörter, bzw. Morphemen in den Texten, die der altrapanuischer Sprache am nächsten stehen, beitragen. Fedorova kam zu dem Beschluss, dass die heutige Sprache der Osterinsel mit der Sprache der Schriftdenkmäler nicht identifiziert werden kann. Eine analoge Stellungnahme haben auch andere Teilnehmer der Diskussion angenommen, u. a. A. Koskinen. Der finnische Ethnologe hat ein Referat über die Ortsnamen auf der Osterinsel vorgetragen. In seiner gut belegten Arbeit wies er auf eine wichtige Tatsache hin, dass die Ortsnamen auf der Osterinsel von sehr engen Beziehungen der Insel mit anderen Gebieten Polynesiens zeugen.

Gerade die Frage des Ursprungs der Kultur der Osterinsel gab den Anlass zur archäologischen Forschung Polynesiens, die keinenfalls für beendet betrachtet werden kann. Man muss deshalb die Ausgrabungen begrüßen, die von der Abteilung der Anthropologie der Otago University in Dunedin (Neuseeland) auf der Insel Pitcairn unternommen wurden. Der neuseeländische Anthropologe, P. Gathercole, trug ein interessantes Referat vor, in dem er nicht nur die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen beschrieb, sondern zu erklären versuchte, weshalb die Bevölkerung diese Insel verlassen hat; er wies auch auf die Beziehungen der vorhistorischen pitcairnischen Kultur zu den ostpolynesischen Kulturen, besonders der Osterinsel, Marquesas, Chathaminseln und zu Neuseeland hin.

Der letzte grosse thematische Kreis waren die Probleme der Gesellschaftsorganisation und der ethnischen Zusammensetzung der heutigen Bevölkerung Ozeaniens. J. B. Watson aus USA zeigte an einem konkreten neuguineischen Beispiel, dass auch in diesen Gemeinschaften, wo der Häuptling nur primus inter pares ist, eine Tyrannie vorkommen kann — eine gewisse Analogie der modernen Diktatur. L. L. Langness, ebenfalls aus USA, wies auf die Ursachen hin, die es bis heute nicht gestatten, die soziale Struktur vieler neuguineischen Stämme adäquat zu begreifen und zu be-

schreiben. Die neuguineischen Gesellschaftssysteme können wir nur dann begreifen, wenn wir auch psychologische und soziologische Fakten in Betracht ziehen. Trotz des ständig anwachsenden Interesses für Neuguinea bleiben die Kenntnisse der Gesellschaftsstrukturen des neuguineischen Hochlandgebietes noch immer ziemlich beschränkt. Ein anderer amerikanischer Anthropologe, B. Finney, hat einen Vortrag über die Korrelationen zwischen der Rassen- und Klassenangehörigkeit in den Gesellschaftsinseln gehalten. Auf dem Gipfel der Gesellschaftspyramide befinden sich 3000 Europäer, die im Staatsapparat arbeiten und Unternehmer sind. Ihnen folgen 9000 Chinesen, die sich meistens mit Handel beschäftigen und 8000 Mischlinge, die entweder im Handel oder als qualifizierte Arbeiter tätig sind, während den Grund der Pyramide 48 000 Eingeborene bilden, die als unqualifizierte Arbeiter oder Bauern arbeiten. Es ist nur selbstverständlich, dass so eine eindeutige Korrelation zwischen Rassen- und Klassenangehörigkeit früher oder später zu scharfen Krisen in den Beziehungen der einzelnen Schichten der Bevölkerung führen kann. Genügend Beweise, die uns berechtigen eine solche Entwicklung vorauszusetzen, bietet uns die neueste Geschichte Afrikas.

Der sowjetische Polynesist, D. D. Tumarkin, analysierte in seinem Vortrag die Ursachen des Aussterbens der einheimischen Bevölkerung der Insel Hawaii an der Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, während ein anderer sowjetischer Ozeanist, P. I. Putschkov, sich vor allem mit der heutigen ethnischen Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung Ozeaniens befasste. Er kam zu dem Beschluss, dass die heutige Entwicklung zu einer grösseren Homogenität führen wird. Man kann aber schwer mit seiner Ansicht übereinstimmen, die er in der Diskussion äusserte, nämlich, dass sich in der Gegenwart ein einheitliches polynesisches Volk zu bilden beginnt. Die Diskussion zu diesen zwei Referaten zeigte, dass die osteuropäischen Ozeanisten dadurch benachteiligt sind, dass sie zum Unterschied von den amerikanischen und englischen Kollegen bisher keine Möglichkeit hatten, an der Arbeit im Terrain direkt in Ozeanien teilzunehmen.

Viktor Krupa

#### CONFERENCE ON LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS OF THE INDO-PACIFIC AREA. LONDON, 5—8 JANUARY, 1965.

The interest in languages of South-East Asia and Oceania has a long history but many basic problems concerning this vast linguistic area have not been solved in a satisfactory way until now. That is why one has to welcome the initiative of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London which organized a short-termed but high-powered conference on the linguistic investigation of the Indo-Pacific area.

More than fifty linguists were invited by the Organizational Committee to take part in the Conference. It is a pity that such personalities as C. F. Hockett, A. Capell and G. W. Grace could not, for some reason or another, participate in the sessions of the Conference.

The sessions were devoted to the following topics:

1. Problems and purposes of typological studies,
2. Mathematical methods in linguistics,
3. Criteria for historico-genetic classification,
4. Problems and methods of grammatical statement,
5. Language and dialect; language boundaries; styles and standards; affective language,
6. Borrowing and contact between languages.

The Conference was opened by a session on the problems of typology. Here, it is thought, the discussion missed its aim as the individual debaters, instead of trying to give a positive formulation of the goals of typology, called attention to the points in which typology differs from historicogenetic investigation. I. Dyen's demand that typology should investigate changing systems and look for universal characteristics of languages, has remained rather isolated. Another up-to-date definition of the task of typology was given by B. Biggs. According to him, typology should look for universal features in languages and at the same time try to find what is specific for the individual languages. Unfortunately, the question of methods applicable to typology did not attract the attention of the participants of the Conference.

The author of this report felt slightly disappointed when it turned out that mathematical methods mean lexicostatistics in Austronesian linguistics.

The meeting devoted to the historicogenetic classification concentrated on two chief questions:

1. Which is more suitable to the purposes of the historicogenetic classification: living dialects or historical data?

2. What is reconstructed in the course of the historicogenetic comparison: Real features of an extinct language or just a system of sound correspondences among the living languages concerned?

Another controversy arose about the supposed comparability of grammatical categories established for various languages. The present author sees no reason why the grammatical categories used in description of various languages should be incomparable. It is typology that is based on the existence of the comparable (i.e., universally defined) grammatical categories.

The debate on the social setting of language arrived at the interesting conclusion that all languages of South-East Asia are under the heavy (and recent) influence of European languages. Facts indicating the reality of this influence are reported not only for Tagalog, Bahasa Indonesia, and Vietnamese but also for Chinese and Japanese.

The discussion on the contact of languages was especially fruitful. S. Egerod proposed a highly probable hypothesis which can be summarized as follows: If two materially differing languages are (almost) identical as to their grammatical structures, these structural similarities must be of a relatively recent origin.

As far as the question of loan-word naturalization is concerned, the present author thinks that its degree depends not only on when and in which way a word was borrowed but also on the resemblance of the phonic structure of the word-to-be-borrowed to the phonic structure of words of the recipient language. The time of borrowing is only one of several factors that affect the naturalization of the loan-word. A word tends to be more naturalized if it has been borrowed in oral contact and if its phonic shape is strange to the recipient language.

On the whole, the Conference showed that the balance of methodology in present-day Austronesian and South-East Asian linguistic studies can be characterized as a quantitative preponderance of traditional methods over exact ones.

Nowadays, it is no longer sufficient just to confirm the usefulness of the mathematical and logistic methods; they should be applied by the linguists chiefly in typological investigation and in synchronic linguistics. J. Greenberg has shown that the most important features of morphological systems are amenable to an exact formulation in the form of morphological indices. V. Skalička has succeeded in proving that typology has to concentrate on morphology because morphology is, in a sense,

redundant in language. The author of this report thinks that the further step in developing typology must consist of looking for interrelations among the individual morphological features. One can accomplish this task only if the morphological features are expressed numerically, i.e. as typological quantitative indices. An attempt to correlate the morphological features of language has been recently undertaken by G. Altmann and by the present author in a paper which is to be published in *Linguistics*, The Hague.

The absence of the East European linguists in the Conference was no doubt caused by an almost complete lack of personal contacts. The author of this report feels much obliged to the Organizational Committee of the Conference for having made it possible to him to attend the sessions as a guest. It is to be hoped that the next conference on linguistic problems of the Indo-Pacific area, which is to be held some time in the future, will be attended also by linguists from East Europe.

Viktor Krupa

G. Herdan, *The structuralistic approach to Chinese grammar and vocabulary* (= *Janua Linguarum*, Series Practica, 6). The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1964. 56 pp.

G. Herdan's enormous contribution to the quantitative linguistics has not been as yet appropriately appreciated. As distinct from other mathematicians concerned with language (whose number is, unfortunately, very small) G. Herdan does not restrict himself to answering the question "how"? which, being given by numbers, is in quantitative linguistics always unequivocal. He tries, however, very frequently to answer also the question "why?". In qualitative linguistics there is usually no unambiguous answer to either of them. As the first question lies beyond the control of linguists, they may specialize only in criticizing Herdan's answer to the second question. This is, of course, much easier, since here we are not operating with exact notions, but usually only with opinions. However, the linguists blunder when at the same time as rejecting Herdan's opinion or interpretation they reject also his quantitative solution, which is the mathematician's most valuable contribution to linguistics. Herdan has brought a series of new views of particular phenomena, for others he has found nonlinguistic analogies, and has elucidated many aspects of the mechanism of language.

The present booklet was originally part of his *Calculus of Linguistic Observations* (The Hague, Mouton Co. 1962), but the amount of Chinese ideograms required a separate publication. Nevertheless, it is worth notice. The title is somewhat misleading, because it is not a current grammatical analysis, but a mathematical description of some special features of the Chinese script. This script serves to an analytic language where the laws of combinability of morphemes are similar to those of phonemes. If we do not take the tones into account, there is not only an isomorphy between English and Chinese on various levels (12), but also in Chinese itself between the phonological and the syntactic level (the combinability of phonemes and morphemes). In analytic languages, morphology is replaced by syntax; this gives evidence for the redundancy of the former.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Skalička, *Typologie a komparatistika*. Československé přednášky pro V. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů v Sofii. Praha 1963, p. 42.

The author finds three isomorphies between Western languages and Chinese: (1) binary units—strokes (of ideograms), (2) phonemes (letters)—ideograms, (3) morphemes—syntax (12). The first two exist, naturally, also between spoken and written Chinese. The author considers only written Chinese and in some places (24, 47) he explicitly declares it as a primary language against spoken Chinese. In fact, every natural (and living) language is primarily spoken and only secondarily written. This holds both historically and synchronically. Historically it is obvious. Synchronically, there are various arguments in favor of this fact, but it is quite sufficient to consider that the set of people using a given language as their mother tongue in its spoken form is always greater than, or at most equal to, the set of people using it in its written form. The written form is always more conservative than the spoken one, the language develops on principle through its sound form. The sound form of a language may never become unintelligible, though the author admits this event (46) in the history of Chinese. If, in consequence of particular changes (reduction of the number of phonemes), a great number of homonyms comes into existence, the language automatically finds remedies for removing the misunderstanding (tones, compounding, lengthening the words, etc.). The differentiation of meanings by sound is never placed in such an awkward situation that it must look for a way out in the script and, on the other hand, the written language may never raise such changes in the sound form which would eventuate unintelligibility of the spoken language. The conservatism of the written form may, however, be helpful in communicating between diverging dialects of a language. The author's assertion that "in Chinese it is not the sound which directly leads to the sense of the word, i.e. the concept behind it, but the written symbol, the ideogram" (47) may be accepted with such a native speaker who is, firstly, literate and, secondly, his visual associations are the most developed ones. Both conditions are far from being fulfilled with all Chinese. Finally, we come to the paradoxical fact that the Chinese script—though it came into existence in connection with Chinese—is, in reality, not Chinese, but a kind of written lingua franca. It served and continues serving not only Chinese, but other languages as well (analytism was not the condition), in fact even in China itself it serves mutually unintelligible dialects.

Let us now consider the correspondences (isomorphies) mentioned which, according to the author, must be taken cum grano salis (13). The isomorphy is, as a matter of fact, not always perfect. The discriminativeness of binary units consists in their quality and combinations (variations with repetition). When the number of binary units is  $n$  and in the phoneme one of the two poles or none may be present, then the phoneme may represent a choice from  $3^n - 1$  theoretical possibilities (one is subtracted because of theoretically impossible phoneme without any component.) The discriminativeness of strokes consists in their quality (shape), number, and position in the ideogram (i.e. three features against the two of binary units); the computation of theoretical possibilities would be more difficult, but their number is obviously greater than that of binary units. The differences between phoneme and ideogram combinability have been mentioned by the author: here, there is also a great difference in the size of the two inventories and consequently in the number of possible combinations, too; further, different sentences which are variations of a group of ideograms "must stand in some sort of semantic relation to each other" (14), whereas different words formed from the given group of phonemes are only "random variations of the same basic units" (14). The third isomorphy holds in one direction only. It is a matter of fact that in Chinese the function of grammatical morphemes is taken

over mainly by syntax; in the other direction the correspondence holds only if order is also recognized as morpheme (which is not unknown in linguistics).

The first essay (11—41) aims to show that the combinability of ideograms has its parallel in projective geometry. The author expounds Desargues', Pappus', and Pascal's theorems on combinations of points and lines and illustrates them by sentences from Chinese. This feature of Chinese has been exploited in poetry where it gave rise to poems which were meaningful when read in various directions. This Language Game—in its isomorph form—is known and very much developed e.g. in Slovak or Czech, where special popular magazines for its cultivation are being published. There is a great number of puzzles which exploit the combinability of phonemes or syllables in various ways. G. Herdan was the first who referred to the mathematical parallel of this game in projective geometry and the theory of groups.

The second essay (45—54) shows the evolution of Chinese script from pictures of natural objects to a symbolic writing which became “a sort of code of strokes of different number and position” (50). It was observed that “the greater the number of a certain class of phonetics, the greater the number of the ideograms using phonetics of that particular class” (53). As given by the author, the theory which tries to explain this fact was developed by him in another place<sup>2</sup>.

Herdan's parallels and mathematical models are, no doubt, not only interesting but also useful. Though he is sometimes very bold in his linguistic interpretations—this is, perhaps, the only serious objection of linguists against him—his works are valuable contributions to linguistics.

G. Altmann

Ho Ch'i-fang, *Wen-hsüeh-i-shu te ch'un-t'ien* (The spring of literature and art.) Peking, 1964. 39 + 385 pp.

More than one and half a dozen writings of larger and smaller extent have been collected in his latest volume under the above title by the well-known Chinese poet and essayist, Ho Ch'i-fang, director of the Literary Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. He selected the material of his volume almost entirely from among the products of the period of 5 years between 1958—1962, only one of his writings dates from 1956. Various occasions made him write these studies at that time, so their character is rather varied, too: there are, among them, more intensive studies of great extent, literary-political essays, ad hoc polemical articles, as well as prefaces and art criticism. They have, however, one common feature: all of them deal with up-to-date questions of principles and with the practical problems of literary theory and literary policy. In addition to this, the writings of different character and specific weight are connected by the writer's ideological conception manifested in the explication of each topic. Thus, the volume is an integral whole and renders an inside view of not only the problems of Chinese literary life of our days, but gives a good intellectual portrait of Ho Ch'i-fang, analytical writer, literary historian, as well as literary politician.

Ho Ch'i-fang does not belong to the group of highly productive writers, regularly publishing. After his first volume of essays published in 1936 (*Hua meng lü* “Recollec-

<sup>2</sup> G. Herdan, *The mathematical analysis of linguistic behaviour*. Thesis, Library of the Imperial College of Sciences (London 1940).

tions of Dreamland") hardly a dozen books of his have been published in the last three decades, and these,—except one or two books of poems,—also contain essays and studies, most of them written before the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Prior to this present volume, it was in 1957 for the last time that he made his voice heard in the collection of his later writings (*Kuan-yü hsieh shih ho tu shih* "About writing and reading of poetry" Peking, 1956).<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is also from this point of view that the publication of his recent work deserves attention.

As regards the contents of this volume, the major part of it consists of literary-historical essays of more or less professional interest, as well as literary-political writings, with a more popular appeal. The first piece of the volume e.g. is a study dealing with A—Q, the immortal hero of Lu Hsün's short story (pp. 1—14). It was not only the 20th anniversary of Lu Hsün's death that afforded an occasion for the writing of this study but the more and more lively discussions in Chinese literary life about the problem of literary rendering, and in particular about the question of typification. In this study, and in his reflections added to it in the introduction of the book, Ho Ch'i-fang adds some new standpoints to the interpretation of the A—Q type, especially to what is called "A—Q spirit" (*A—Q ching-shen*), at the same time he refuses to accept oversimplifying views like those according to which the typical is nothing but class character directly personified, etc.

Undoubtedly one of the most important questions of the new Chinese literature, moreover that of modern Chinese literature as a whole, is the development of the national character of literature in particular, the creation of the national metrical form of the "new verse". This question has again and again aroused the interest of literary scientists, writers and poets for the last decades. (The problem has not been solved as yet, but it is well-known from the histories of European literatures that, even there, it was a process lasting for several decades.) Most recently the question was taken up in 1958—1959, and the debate crystallized just round the views of Ho Ch'i-fang. He was the first to fight most consistently for a new form to take the place of the obsolete prosody of classical Chinese poetry, for the elaboration of prosody of classical Chinese poetry, for the elaboration of a modern standard rhythmic system, for the new national metrical form. In his volume there are three essays, or polemics respectively dealing with these problems (pp. 25—31; 32—71; 85—123.), partly reproducing, partly developing his views expounded in his book published in 1956 (s. above). Among his partners discussing this problem, his ideas are undoubtedly the best established, his suggestions, however, for the technical-rhythmic scheme of a metrical poetry of a new type are not, in every respect, satisfactory. Making proper use of the literary heritage of the past (pp. 174—197), his studies concerning recent Chinese literary histories published in 1958, as well as his writings dealing with the history of literature of several nationalities published at the same time (pp. 124—195; 299—332),—on the basis of their direct message, bear a relation to literary history, considering their intention have, however, a higher demand for principles and are of greater interest. It is especially the concise history of literature compiled by a collective of undergraduates of Peking University (*Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih. A History of Chinese Literature*. Peking, 1958.) that is carefully analysed by him. Ho, most convincingly, reveals the deficiencies in its conception (the rigid oversimplifying use of the scheme of realism, the vulgar conception of what is called

<sup>1</sup> His two books: *San-wen hsüan-chi* „Selected Prosaic Writings“, as well as his collection of poems: *Yü-yen* „Prophecy“, both published in 1957, are re-editions of his works written before 1949.

political standard, the presentation of folk literature as the main stream in classical Chinese literature, etc.), though sometimes he himself, tends to be satisfied with oversimplifying explanations and suggestions. That is how we feel about his interpretation of realism-romanticism: "realism is the reflection of life according to its form existing in reality"; "romanticism does not reflect life exactly according to its form existing in reality" (p. 131). He attaches too great an importance to romanticism, almost equal to that of realism. ("Realism and romanticism came to life simultaneously with the origin of literature and art", p. 132; "realism and romanticism are fundamental methods of literature as art", p. 135 etc.).

In examining the phenomena and regularity of Chinese literature, he, too,—similarly to the authors of the criticised work—on the whole, contents himself with ideological-political criteria, aesthetic principles do not play an important role in his standpoints of investigation either.

The literary-political writings of the volume are represented by two studies of greater extent and of concise demand. One of them reviews Mao Tse-tung's manifestations concerning literature and art, appreciating them as the ideological guide for the development of the new Chinese literary movement (pp. 256—298). The other one was written on occasion of the 20th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature". In this, again applying Mao Tse-tung's thoughts to modern Chinese literature, he depicts its ideological evolution and sums up the moral that he thinks valid for Chinese literature both of the present and the future (pp. 342—385.). In the former study the author again goes deeply into the questions of the methods of artistic work, expressing this time his positive opinion of the formula: revolutionary romanticism + revolutionary realism. In China this formula is being now suggested as the most adequate—though not the only—artistic rendering of socialist literature. Ho illustrates, with examples taken from world literature, the historical truth of the integration of realism and romanticism: in his opinion, for instance, Shakespeare's art is also an example of such an integration (p. 286).

In the subject-matter of his study written on the 20th anniversary of the "Talks at the Jenan Forum on Art and Literature" he does not say anything substantially new, he summarizes and points to the most important milestones in the progress of modern Chinese literature up to the present, and does so from the point of view of the fight between the "two roads": that of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat, as well as from the standpoint of the "two front fight". The author, this time too, warns against the simplifying, vulgarizing endeavours, touching—though in an abstract and general way—par excellence aesthetic questions as well (e.g. he deals with the problem of "beauty" in literature and art) trying, in the meantime, to catch—in several points—the main regularities of literature and art.

The other writings of the volume are, in their majority, occasional reviews, minor publicistic writings, etc. each taking into consideration one particular phenomenon or event in present day literary life: a new novel, or drama etc. Thus, involuntarily, they become the practical criteria of the author's attitude and those of his theoretical ascertainments. These tests are very often made at the expence of principles: in the everyday life of literature the theoretician, as a critic is liable to become unpretentious. In some novels published in 1957—1958, (Chü'Po, Tracks in the Snowy Forest; Wu Chiang, Red Sun; Feng Teh-ying, Bitter Herbs) Ho Ch'i-fang believes to find "a rising tendency in the standard of our literature" (p. 15), though, taking into consideration only one or two of Ho Ch'i-fang's criteria (typicality, reality) even

a most benevolent critic cannot qualify them higher than mediocre works. Ho, too, is compelled to deal with the deficiencies of these works, still he thinks to discover in them novelty, "rising tendency in the standard", and all this, on the basis of characteristics which could well be found in many Chinese literary works written 10—15 years ago ("their writers know the life depicted by them," "their writers all have thorough grounding in literature", "the characters of the novels all have their own individuality", etc., p. 18 and elsewhere). Similar concessions for principles can be detected in his article defending the novel entitled "The Song of Youth" (pp. 72—83). In his review of the new folk-opera "The Third Sister Liu" he appreciates it as "an uncommonly successful play" (p. 198.) which, in his appreciation—from a certain respect—can be considered an adequate work of the method of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism (p. 201). After this evaluation, doubts may arise as for the artistic pretensions and efficiency of this method.

In this short review it is not possible nor did I intend to deal with all the studies of the volume, or even to touch all the major problems in them. It meant to be but a foretaste,—just as Ho's volume only gives hints and no full picture of the problems of present Chinese literature. These hints, however, stimulate us to more intensive interest, since, the problems of present-day Chinese literary life, literary history and literary criticism may differ, in several peculiar aspects, from those of European or other socialist countries, at the same time they are—in many respects—common.

E. Galla

Yü Kuan-ying (Ed.), *Chung-kuo wen-hsiieh shih* (*A history of Chinese literature*), 3 volumes. Peking, Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1962. 1142 pp.

In this review we want to introduce to readers, the collective work of the members of the Literary Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Peking. Eighteen literary scientists worked on it under the leadership of Professor Yü Kuan-ying, the very same who led the group of four that worked on the initial period of Chinese literature up to Sui period. The periods of T'ang and Sung, together with that of Liao and Chin, were worked on by a group of seven under the leadership of Ch'ien Chung-shu, and another group, also of seven, working on Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods were led by Fan Ning.

Many volumes have been written on the history of old Chinese literature during the past twenty or thirty years. Some of them, time—a ruthless critic—has already condemned; one no longer reaches for them, no longer gives heed to them. The others are awaiting for this fate.

Of the earlier volumes—twenty or more years old—two especially, are outstanding and these are constantly being read by students of Chinese literature and will be for still a long time. They are *Ch'a-t'u-pen Chung-kuo wen-hsiieh shih* (*An Illustrated History of Chinese Literature*) which came out in the early 'thirties and was written by Professor Cheng Chen-to, and *Chung-kuo wen-hsiieh fa-chan shih* (*A History of the Development of Chinese Literature*), by Professor Liu Ta-chieh written towards the end of the 'thirties and the beginning of the 'forties.

In the years 1958 and 1959 there was published in China a book, first in two volumes and later in four, with just the same title as this one, now being reviewed. The authors were undergraduates of the Peking University; they were students of Chinese

literature who had started their studies in the year 1955—1956. At the time of writing this history they were third and fourth year students. This work is mentioned now, along with that of Cheng Chen-to and Liu Ta-chieh, because in China it made an impression and, to a certain extent, it became a model for the elaboration of the history of old Chinese literature.

Soon after the publication of the just mentioned history in two volumes in 1958, members of the Union of the Chinese Writers, students and teachers of the Peking University, of Peking Pedagogical Institute and other notably scientists had wide discussions on the basic questions of literary history and methodology, naturally with view to its usage in contemporary China (see *Preface to Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih*, Peking 1959, p. 1—2).

In the *Introduction (Hsü-lun)* to the history in four volumes just mentioned, can be read the results of these discussions. Among others, are given three criteria which served as guides in the writing of this history, as well as, one can say, in the elaboration of this work, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih*, which is being reviewed.

The criteria are:

1. The literature of the class society has its class character and therefore it is one of the instruments in the class struggle.

2. In the study of the history of literature, it is necessary to keep to the theorems of historical materialism. Literature is a reflection of social reality. In analysing literary phenomena one must take a given historical condition into account.

3. The evaluation of ancient writers should be carried out from the “platform” of the people, especially one must take notice whether the writers and their works reflect sufficiently the life of the people, express their desires and emotions and whether they are in favour of the people.

There is no particular need to emphasize that in writing the history of literature, whether the writers are students at the Peking University or workers at the Literary Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences the generally accepted basic principle of aesthetics of today China is adhered to: the political standard is the primary one, the artistic a secondary one.

The criteria which served as guides to the history written by Cheng Chen-to and Liu Ta-chieh were, naturally, different.

Cheng Chen-to (1898—1958) was probably the most erudite Chinese literary historian. The material for the above mentioned work was being collected over a period of more than ten years. He wanted to create—as he himself said—“a complete, and truthful picture of Chinese literature and a history of its development” (op. cit. *Preface*, Peking 1958, p. 2).

This book of Cheng Chen-to's has also an *Introduction (Hsü-lun)* and in its first part the author presents his opinions on history and also on the literary history. As far history is concerned he agrees with the opinions of L. Tolstoy who considers that the masses are the dominant factor in the whole evolutionary process and not great political personalities. As regards the history of literature, he is an adherent of H. Taine (1828—1873). Literature is a product of the race, of the milieu and of the moment. Its impact, however, surpasses the boundaries of these “primary forces”. Literature, itself, is universal, it is a “product of the most noble, immortal emotions and ideas of mankind” (p. 4). The main goal of the history of literature is then “to represent literature, this most noble product of mankind, in a certain changing and developing milieu, moment and race” (p. 5).

According to Cheng Chen-to, the history of literature should not be only the

history of great literary personalities and great literary works. Naturally, attention cannot be paid to every literary work but it should be to each chosen "noble and immortal masterpiece". There are exceptions, of course. Often, less important works have a great influence on subsequent developments, so notice must also be taken of these works. Influential schools and groups also call for attention, although sometimes they have not created any masterpieces. Popular literature is considered to have played an important role in the history of Chinese literature and this kind of literature is given a considerable amount of space in his book.

Liu Ta-chieh (born in 1904) also spent several years working on his history of literature. From his *Introduction* to his above mentioned work we can judge that, to some extent, he was influenced by the well known French literary historian Gustave Lanson (1857—1934). Liu Ta-chieh became acquainted with Lanson's study *La méthode de l'histoire littéraire*, and he accepted some of the ideas expressed there as, for instance, that literature is one side of the life of a nation; in its development recorded various ideological (spiritual) and emotional movements which reflected themselves in political and social events and also in internal, secret life of dolor and dreams which cannot show themselves in a world of action. Liu Ta-chieh does not accept Lanson entirely. He associates himself with the popular ideas of Chinese literary criticism of the 'twenties. For instance, according to him, literature is "the soul of mankind, the history of the development of literature is the history of mankind's emotion and thought" (p. 1), or that the literary development has an evolutional character and the task of a literary historian is to discourse upon the trends and the nature of this evolution, on the changes of forms and the ideas and emotions expressed in the works (loc. cit.). He nears Lanson in his assertion that a literary historian must pay attention to the peculiarities of the literary thoughts of the epoch that he is investigating; further, to the political, economical and social life; to scientific thought and to various situations; to everything that is associated with literature and has an influence on it (loc. cit.). Regarding the evaluation of literary works, he fully agrees with Lanson. He has no wish to be an infallible judge nor does he attribute to his own opinions an absolute validity. He holds to Lanson's idea that an objective and truthful evaluation of an artistic work can be only reached by investigating the impressions of the largest amount of readers, past and present. These individual impressions will help to regulate the historian's own subjective opinion.

It is evident that the platforms of Cheng Chen-to and Liu Ta-chieh are near each to other. From the methodological point of view they differ only in singularities. Liu Ta-chieh assigns more space to the political, economical and social life of the epoch whilst Cheng Chen-to tries to comprehend, in his history, the largest amount of writers and works as possible, to write an integral history, as Mornet did in France and Nadler in Germany, wherein also lesser authors have their place. Liu Ta-chieh has a greater tendency to eliminate superfluous literary material and to expose it very systematically.

The platform of *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh-shih*, which is now being reviewed is quite different: it is (on the whole) a class platform whereas, in the case of Cheng Chen-to and Liu Ta-chieh, it is, national and all-human platform. The method of treatment is also different, especially as compared to Cheng Chen-to's. Likewise contrary to the latter's conception, much more attention is paid to distinguished literary personalities and works, in this history. For example, Li Po is discussed on four pages of Cheng Chen-to's book whereas, in this book, he is conceded twenty pages; Po Chü-i is

analysed by Cheng Chen-to on just over three pages and in this book on nearly eighteen pages. The discourse on the novel *Shui-hu-chuan* (*All Men Are Brothers*) fills up three pages of the former's book while in this one it covers over twenty pages, and the novel *Hsi-yu-chi* (*Pilgrimage to the West*) respectively covered four pages as compared to seventeen pages. At the same time it should be noted that Cheng Chen-to's history is relatively more comprehensive than *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih*.

The material is also, to some extent, differently evaluated. Thus Cheng Chen-to states that out of fifty poems by Po Chü-i *Hsin yüeh-fu* (*New yüeh-fu*) there are not even ten good poems and that the best are those which the poet himself called leisure poems (hsien-shih) or sentimental poems (kan-shang). Contrawise, in this book the highest appraisal is given to the poet's satirical and allegorical poems (feng-yü-shih) including *Hsin yüeh-fu*. The novel *Chin P'ing Mei* (*The Golden Lotus*) is considered, by Cheng Chen-to, to be the best masterpiece among Chinese novels and is regarded as a better work than such excellent pieces as, for instance, *Shui-hu-chuan*, and as far as descriptions of real life are concerned, he evaluates this work even higher than *Hung-lou-meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*). In this book *Chin P'ing Mei*, from the artistic point of view, is not evaluated directly but in the first part of the chapter dealing with the period in which *Chin P'ing Mei* originated, we can find the statement that, at this time no great works appeared in Chinese literature. There are only four pages given to this novel in *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih*.

If we compare the merits of this *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih* with the other *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih*, which came out at the end of the last decade in Peking University and Futan University (in Shanghai), we can say that it surpasses the latter books, especially as to the analysis of the literary critical material and the evaluation of some poets who appeared as problematic in the Chinese literary histories written in the 'fifties: these are T'ao Yüan-ming, Li Po, Su Tung-p'o and Li Ch'ing-chao. The evaluations of these are far more objective here than they have been in the recent past.

We hope that people who are interested in the history of Chinese literature will, out of the little that has been said, be able to obtain some idea of the book under review and also about the books preceding it.

Personally, we assume that the Liu Ta-chieh's book has not been surpassed up to now. At least not for those who wish, without great loss of time to acquaint themselves with the contribution of the Chinese into the treasury of world literature. It is not too factual, it is really systematic and out of various books devoted to the history of Chinese literature is most useful and lucid.

Marián Gálik

James J. Y. Liu, *The art of Chinese poetry*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1962, 165 pp.

In our times translations of old Chinese poetry—the most important part of the literary heritage of the Chinese—are well known all over the whole cultural world. During the last tenfold years tens of anthologies of this poetry have been translated into occidental languages, into Russian as well as many others.

The large amount of translations into English of this old poetry was the stimulus to write the book now being reviewed.

The book, by Professor Liu, is composed of three parts:

1. The Chinese language as a medium of poetic expression.

## 2. Some traditional Chinese views on poetry.

### 3. Towards a synthesis.

We think that to many thousands of readers of old Chinese poetry, including perhaps experts, the second part will be of greatest interest. It, especially, will receive our further consideration.

Professor Liu very truly states that to write a „complete history of the criticism of Chinese poetry would require a volume probably several times the size of the present one and would involve long and intricate discussions on abstruse concepts and technical details“ (p. 63).

To devote barely 25 pages to this problem seems too little but we should be thankful to the autor even for this. In this field of research Professor Liu has posed two questions: firstly, how the Chinese poets and literary critics, themselves, contemplated the question of what poetry is or should be; secondly, how poetry should be written and what is of most importance in poetry writing.

The Chinese poets and critics occupied with the writing of poetry are classified of into four groups, depending on their literary views.

In the first group are those who adhere to the didactic view: poetry as moral instruction and social comment. In the social and spiritual life of the old Chinese society politics played a very significant role. Philosophy—especially the Confucian one—which for practically the last 2000 years has been forming the foundation of the old Chinese *Weltanschauung*, was, it can be said, a political philosophy served up in an ethical guise. The role of poetry, which, together with history and philosophy formed literature, especially in ancient times, was to comment a social and political events and to guide people to lead a moral life. In this book there is no mention of the philosopher Hsün-tzu (circa 298—238 B.C.), but the following statement of his is very typical of Chinese traditional views on literature—and so also on poetry: „Man is to literature what jade is to its handicraft“ (See Kuo Shao-yü, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing shih*, Shanghai 1955, p. 16). Very graphically he thereby expressed the spiritual dependence of man on literature.

In the second group are those who adhere to the individualist view: poetry as self-expression. We do not know whether the term individualist is correct. We feel that the terms personal, individual or subjective would be more correct because it is rather dubious whether individualism (as we comprehend it) existed in the old Chinese society (especially from the era of Han to Ch'ing). Professor Liu with conviction expresses the opinion that poetry as „an expression of personal emotions is at least as old as the didactic one, if not older“ (p. 70). This is probably true. But how was this view reflected in the case of individual Chinese poets and critics? The book quotes only the words traditionally attributed to the legendary sage Emperor Shun, the part of the Preface to *The Book of Poetry* (*Shih-ching*), and some sentences by Liu Hsieh (465—522), who „may be taken as an example of the attempt to reconcile the two views“ (p. 70—71). There are then quotation from Chin Sheng-T'an (?—1661) and Yüan Mei (1716—1797), not taking into account the development of the twelve or thirteen centuries in between. There is no doubt that the personal view of poetry was the basis of the literary credo of quite many poets (e.g. during the period of Six Dynasties), and so it would be interesting to know how this reality effected the literary criticism. It would give an insight into the specificity of the art of Chinese poetry and so precious material for comparison would be accumulated.

The Greek, Roman and later the classical literary criticism was similar to the Chinese literary criticism of the didactic type in being persuaded that „art is formative

in the most valuable sense by assisting man to fulfil his own end. For man's end is to complete himself, to carry out, to the fullest extent, what is best and most distinctive in him" (W. J. Bate, *Prefaces to Criticism*, New York 1959, p. 8—9). The word „similar“ is accentuated since, even in this main point do the Chinese traditional didactic view and the European classical view differ to some extent. In the classical literary criticism the emphasis is laid on the cognitive and didactic function of poetry, but the cognitive function is the primary one and only through it is the didactic function realized. „And what is best in him (i.e. in man, M.G.), as an aware creature, is the capacity to realize what is without, to profit and grow by means of this knowledge, and to react and desire in accordance with the awareness that has informed him. Freedom and self-fulfilment arise, in Samuel Johnson's noble phrase, only as the mind can 'repose on the stability of truth'. This, greatest of Greek premises, is the end; this is the crucial and all-important goal" (Bate, o.c. p. 9). In the old Chinese literary criticism the situation is somewhat different: the primary function being the didactic one. Confucius had already emphasized the need of utilitarianism of literature (*shan yung*). And it was just this utilitarianism that was conceived by later generations as unity of artistic and moral aspect (*wen tao ho i*). Confucius laid stress on the cognitive function too, but later it fell into oblivion. It started to be very much emphasized again in modern times—in the twentieth century.

It is just this personal, subjective tradition in the development of Chinese poetry that seems to be so unlike the classical literary tradition. According to Aristotle, art is an imitation of nature. This premise is the basis of all classical ponderings on art. „To say that art is an imitation of nature at once implies the existence of something outside the artist's own mind which he is trying to imitate. This external reality is the primary concern; the classical attitude has always meant a comparative lack of interest, therefore, in the artist himself—in the psychological character of his imagination, for example, and in his subjective feelings. In judging an imitation of something, the first and last consideration is the success with which the imitation is able to duplicate what is most essential and important in its original model. Hence art should seek to be objective" (Bate, o.c. p. 1—2).

The Chinese philosophy, up to the time of the rapid development of Buddhism (4th—5th century A.D.) was not conscious of the difference between the subjective ego and the objective non-ego (See Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. I, Princeton University Press 1952, p. 3). This evidently had also its influence on the creators of Chinese literature and on its critics, too.

The classical ideal expects art to be objective (this naturally holds good also for poetry). Since the Chinese, even under the influence of Buddhism, had not started to realize sufficiently the difference between the subject and the object, it is possible to say that they would not have even been able to create the classical ideal of art, as it presupposes the consciousness of this difference. Their ideal appears to be bipolar. The didactic view is directed more towards art (and likewise poetry) tinted objectively, the personal view is directed more towards art (and likewise poetry) tinted subjectively.

In the third group are the Chinese poets and critics who adhere to the technical view: poetry as literary exercise. This view has much in common with the didactic view on poetry.

In the fourth group are the Chinese literary critics and authors who adhere to the intuitionist view: poetry as contemplation. This view would require a much more profound elaboration and explanation than the other views. Nevertheless, it is the

most remarkable and most elaborated theory of Chinese poetry. To the European reader this intuitionist view is of the greatest interest. It leans towards the personal, subjective view on poetry.

The first important theoretician to hold this view was the critic Yen Yü, who lived in the time of the Southern Sung Dynasty (about 1200). Yen Yü and his followers did not consider poetry as a „teacher of life“, nor as a form of „literary training“ but they saw in it the form of a reflection of the outer world and of themselves through the prism of their own consciousness; their own consciousness being such as described for instance in *The Prajnāpāramitā-hṛidaya Sūtra*, which is most read in Ch'an (see D. T. Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, Kyoto 1935, p. 28—32), the reflection in this consciousness is then (if we have to express it illustratively) like a drawing in Indian ink a few strokes of the brush, reality expressed in thinner or thicker lines, behind them a mood or a thought, slowly but surely with the passing of time space is disappearing into the misty distance; in time and space a single human being, a bird or a tree... Like the Buddhist doctrine in general, many Chinese poems, it would be better to say Chinese poets, deal with emptiness (*śūnyatā*).

Yen Yü points very clearly to the importance of suggestiveness in poetry. His well known sentence we quote from the translation of Professor G. Debon: „Die Worte (of a poem, M. G.) haben ein Ende, aber der Gedanke bleibt unausgeschöpft“ (see *Ts'an-lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung*, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 61). It is just this very prominent aspect of Chinese poetry and of the theory of Yen Yü that Professor Liu fails to take sufficiently into account. In Chinese poetry the art of suggestiveness started to be used at the very beginning of its development—already in *The Book of Poetry*. Of these poems Professor B. Watson wrote: „...the songs of the Odes are often pure vignettes of feeling. Sometimes they describe a scene, sometimes they tell a story, but more often the scene and the story are outside the poem, or merely hinted at within it, the body of a poem being given up to an expression of the emotions they arise. For this reason it is often possible to say with assurance that such and such a poem is about love or anguish or desertion, but not exactly what kind of love or anguish, whose or why“ (See *Early Chinese Literature*, New York and London 1962, p. 215). The art of suggestiveness is directly programmed with the most cultivated and briefest Chinese poetical form—the quatrain. The quatrain is marked for its great verbal economy; due to the brevity the effect cannot be attained by a massing of details. The quatrain must consist of only the most important substance, so only the most significant details are indicated to the reader. The art of quatrain is the art of suggestiveness (Cf. J. R. Hightower, *Topics in Chinese Literature*, Harvard University Press 1962, p. 69).

In Europe, it was not until the nineteenth century that suggestiveness, in the sphere of art, started to be emphasized. It is true that already at the beginning of the eighteenth century attention was drawn to it by the English critic J. Addison (1672—1719): „...the romantic interest in psychology led to a shift in the qualities desired in art. Perhaps the most pervasive result is the romantic and generally modern prizes of suggestiveness... ‘Nothing more powerfully excites any affection,’ said Hume, ‘than to conceal some part of its object, by throwing it into a kind of shade, which... leaves still some work for the imagination’. Hence the power of poetry, as Coleridge added, is not attained through detailed description, but by instilling ‘energy into the mind, which compels imagination to produce the picture’“ (Bate, o.c. p. 111—112).

However, suggestiveness had already been used in European art sooner. As early

as in Servius (c. 400 A.D.) we read the sentence: „Artis poeticae est non omnia dicere.“ Nevertheless, it is probable that the suggestiveness in old European poetry was not effective to such an extent as it was in old Chinese poetry.

All that has been said up to now shows that the old Chinese poetry, apart from being the most important part of the Chinese literary heritage, represents also an important and specific part of the world's treasure of poetical art. Its frequent inclination towards a personal, subjective view and its use of the art of suggestiveness is a specificity in comparison with the old literature of the European cultural sphere.

For those who are interested in this book as a whole, we add some words about the first and third parts.

The first part includes these chapters:

1. The structure of Chinese characters.
2. Implications and associations of words and characters.
3. Auditory effects of Chinese and the bases of versification.
4. Some grammatical aspects of the language of poetry.
5. Some Chinese concepts and ways of thinking and feeling.

The sinologue would probably be the most interested in the fifth chapter. Here Professor Liu writes about „a few typically Chinese concepts and ways of thinking and feeling which often form the actual themes or underlying frameworks of Chinese poetry and which might be misunderstood by Western readers“ (p. 48). The following are the concepts: nature, time, history, leisure, nostalgia, love and rapture with wine. We feel that the author should have paid more attention to nature. Nature is not the most frequent in old Chinese poetry, but in some respects it is its common denominator. One of the ideals of the Chinese educated man was to be politically or socially active. Likewise, to be a poet, a thing that went without saying in the old Chinese society—but a poet especially of the didactic-political direction. This was the Confucian ideal. The second ideal was to pay no attention to any activity but to devote oneself to poetry, to calligraphy, to painting, to studying and to enjoying the beauties of nature. This was the Buddhist and Taoist ideals. There is no doubt that the Confucian ideal had, in China, the greatest number of followers (not taking into account the years of disorder and anarchy). But, likewise doubtless, is the fact that all adherents of the Confucian ideal were from time to time longing to throw off its yoke. The Chinese society was absolutistic. The individual was not free in the sphere of the social and family life. Therefore, the followers of the Confucian ideal were attracted especially to the Taoist philosophy. The central point of this philosophy is the man, man as an individual, and as a free individual. That is why they loved to read the Taoist works for in studying them they could lose themselves in the idea of freedom, and for that reason they often went into the mountains for a while because only there could they make use of personal freedom. Both objectively and subjectively orientated poets liked to describe nature. The theme of nature is closely associated with the theme of time and, more or less, also with some other themes of Chinese poetry.

Wine is often a theme of Chinese poetry and drunkenness is often written about. However, it is rather difficult (for the time being) to agree with the opinion of Professor Liu who says that to be drunk „in Chinese poetry is largely a matter of convention, and it would be as wise to take literally a Chinese poet's professed 'drunkenness' as to accept at their face value an Elizabethan sonneteer's compliments of his mistress's cruelty“ (p. 59).

The fourth chapter is also interesting as it points to the grammatical properties

of the Chinese language and shows its suitability for lyrical poetry. The third part gives the layman a good grounding on the various Chinese verse forms, but even the specialist can gain something from it.

The third part is composed of the following chapters:

1. Poetry as exploration of worlds and of language.
2. Imagery and symbolism.
3. Allusions, quotations, and derivations.
4. Antithesis.

The first chapter deals with the Chinese views of poetry, which were described in the second part, and the author gives his own opinion of poetry.

The other chapters will interest those who want to know something essential about old Chinese poetics.

The book of Professor Liu is a work that has been awaited a long time by sinologues as well as a wider range of readers. There only remains to recommend it warmly to all those who are interested in old Chinese poetry.

Marián Gálik

M. E. Shneider, *Tvorcheskii put Ciuči Ciu-bo* (*The creative road of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po*). Moskva, Izdatelstvo „Nauka“, 1964. 227 pp.

The study of the Soviet sinologist M. E. Shneider on Ch'ü Ch'iu-po (1899—1935) is the first individual European work dedicated to this eminent Chinese revolutionary, publicist, literary theoretician, critic and translator. The work is divided into three main parts: 1. Revolutionary, author, publicist. 2. Theoretician of literature. 3. Educator of revolutionary authors. The concluding part of the work is a bibliography of original works and translations of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po.

In his study the author leans first of all on the four-volume *Collection of Writings of Ch'u Ch'iu-po* (Peking 1953—1954), further on the *Chronological Bibliography of original works and translations of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po* published in 1959, compiled by the Shanghai researchers Ting Ching-t'ang and Wen Ts'ao, and finally on Chinese and Soviet works dealing with Chinese literature of the period between the two World Wars. Besides these sources the author became acquainted with several Chinese and Soviet periodicals and unknown literary material from which he derived valuable and often genuine data. The compilation, classification and evaluation of such a rich material makes the book of Shneider a very thorough cumulative work.

The work presents a good and exhaustive review of the life, work and merits of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po connected with the penetration of Marxist literary theories into China, and of the ideological situation in the contemporary Chinese literary circles. Great and exacting attention is paid by the author also to the intensive translating and publicistic activity of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po aiming at the popularization of Russian and Soviet literature and literary views in China.

In his works Ch'ü Ch'iu-po — the first Marxist literary critic in China — dealt with questions of Marxist aesthetics, with problems of realism and proletarian literature, he was ideologically struggling against non-Marxist conceptions and became a leading figure of the movement for mass literature early in the thirties. He was very much concerned with the problem of latinization of Chinese scripture. Shneider gives these problems the attention they deserve; he deals in a highly de-

tailed way with and informs extensively on this so-to-say most important part of the work of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po. The author points out that Ch'ü Ch'iu-po, in spite of his being a pioneer in the application of Marxist literary theories in Chinese literary science, was nevertheless able to warn against vulgarizing Marxism in a number of literary problems. So for instance he cautioned against mechanical application of the laws of social development on processes of literature (Shneider, pp. 97—98), further against inanimate characters in literature which are nothing but the incarnation of abstract conceptions (Shneider, p. 106); he also warned against the identification of scientific and creative methods, against the identification of the creative method of the author with his ideology („Weltanschauung“); he avoided the thesis of Marxist „Weltanschauung“ being the exclusive prerequisite of genuine artistic creation (Schneider, p. 116), and the like.

In his relation to the literary inheritance of his country, he emphasized that revolutionary authors must learn from realistic authors such as were Shih Nai-an and Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'm. He highly appreciated the narrative literature of the T'ang, Sung and Ming dynasties, and he revealed the later confirmed influence of oral tradition on the many-chaptered Chinese novel (Shneider, p. 102). Of course, the author critically evaluates the errors of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po in viewing Chinese classical literature, asserting for instance, that *Shih-ching* was a cultural inheritance of the ruling classes, and considering literature written in wen-yen (i.e., also the poems fu, shih, tz'u, historical records and histories of the dynasties) as being aristocratic literature which did not represent an appropriate object of research (Schneider, pp. 102—103).

As already said above, the book of M. E. Shneider on Ch'ü Ch'iu-po is an issue of the gathering and elaboration of a great amount of material from the literary work of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po. As far as the material is concerned, the book is written very carefully and exactingly. The author convincingly demonstrates the richness of the work of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po, the comprehensiveness of the branches elaborated, his great erudition in literary problems and his strong engagement in the literary events of his time. The author sees the works of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po in wider relationships, and thus he presents a very good review on the beginnings of Marxist literary criticism in China, and on the most important happenings in the literary life of China in the 'twenties and 'thirties of our century.

It appears from all what was said above, that the book of Shneider „The Creative Road of Ch'ü Ch'iu-po“ can be considered as a highly valuable contribution to enriching our knowledge of modern Chinese literature. In view of the present time, still insufficient, situation of the European sinological research in this field, the book of Shneider is a big contribution to a detailed elaboration of one of the most interesting stages in the history of Chinese literature.

Anna Doležalová

*Chinesische Dichter der Tang-Zeit. Übersetzungen, Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Günther Debon.* Stuttgart, Philipp Reclam Jun., 1964, 86 Seiten.

Das besprochene Buch ist eine Arbeit aus der Serie der Übersetzungen aus den asiatischen Literaturen, die durch die United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) im Rahmen ihres Hauptprogrammes zur Weiterverständigung zwischen Ost und West gefördert wird.

Prof. Günther Debon ist unter den Sinologen-Literaten als Übersetzer des sehr

wichtigen literarästhetischen Werkes des Schriftstellers Yen Yü (ca 1200) *Ts'ang-lang shih-hua* (*Ts'ang-lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung*) bekannt, das 1962 in Wiesbaden erschien. Diese Übersetzung wird als ein sehr kostbarer wissenschaftlicher Beitrag betrachtet; auf dem XVI. internationalen Kongress der Sinologen im Jahre 1964 wurde er besonders von dem bekannten französischen Sinologen P. Demieville hervorgehoben.

*Ts'ang-lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung* ist eine Art Schlüssel. Er ist im Stande, den richtigen Sinn des grossen (oder wenigstens eines beträchtlichen) Teiles der chinesischen Poesie zu öffnen und zu entdecken. Ohne die Kenntnis dieses Werkes wäre es viel schwerer, die chinesische Poesie so wahrhaftig und intim zu erkennen.

Hier werden wir die *Ts'ang-lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung* nicht sehr ausführlich erwähnen. Über die theoretischen Ansichten des Herrn Yen Yü haben wir in den Rezensionen über das Buch *The Art of Chinese Poetry* geschrieben, die in diesem Jahrbuch enthalten ist.

Es scheint uns, dass es die intime Kenntnis der Werke Yen Yüs, Ao T'ao-suns und anderer Schöpfer der „shih-hua“ war, die Prof. Debon bei der Übersetzung der Gedichte der Periode T'ang geholfen hat. Z. B. Wang Weis Gedicht: „Über dem Fährplatz hingen die Weiden; (wenige Menschen am Stege). Dem fern-zerklüfteten Ufen zu (hoben die Ruder sich rege). Nur noch gedenken, das mir bleibt, (so gleich dem Frühlingsweben). Stromsüd, stromnord — es wird dich treu (geleiten auf deinem Wege“. Oder die Gedichte von Chu Kuang-hsi: „Einsame Wildgans quert des Legers Zeilen); Ein alter Burgwall, dicht von Reif bedeckt. (Wo tönt das Hunnenhorn, das mitternächtig) Der Wüste Stimmen aus dem Schlafe schreckt?“

Der Auswahl kann man eine ungenügende Balance vorwerfen. Z. B. dem Dichter Li Po ist nur für ein Gedicht, Tu Fu für drei Gedichte, aber dagegen dem weniger wichtigen Dichter Li Ho für acht und Han Shan für sechs Gedichte Raum gelassen. Vielleicht ist es durch die gegenwärtige Übersetzungslage in Westdeutschland verursacht.

Die Auswahl ist mit einer Einleitung versehen und im Text findet man zahlreiche Anmerkungen, die sehr interessant sind und von denen auch ein Fachmann lernen kann.

Die Übersetzung des Professors Debon ist das erste Buch der obenerwähnten Serie. Wir hoffen, dass diese Serie den deutsch sprechenden Menschen helfen wird, sich mit zahlreichen hervorragenden literarischen Werken des alten und neuen Asiens vertraut zu machen.

Marián Gálik

C. F. Voegelin—F. M. Voegelin, *Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific. Fascicle one* (= *Anthropological Linguistics* 6, No. 4, 1964). Bloomington, Archives of Languages of the World, Anthropology Department of the Indiana University, 1964. 106 pp.

The Oceanic linguistic area has attracted a growing attention in the past years. Five great efforts may be mentioned which endeavour to progress in this area: (1) The project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in New Guinea, (2) the same in the Philippines, (3) the publishing of the journal *Oceanic Linguistics* (now in Honolulu), (4) the Bibliographical Series of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (in The Hague), and (5) the present project of the Anthropology Department of the Indiana University. The first two signalize the beginning of the era of an inten-

sive field work which, this time, is being carried on already by trained linguists. Oceanic Linguistics is an extremely useful journal associating all oceanists and providing many-sided information on the activity in this area. The last two have a recapitulative character. They aim at showing the existing results, try to indicate what may be further made use of and what is already surmounted. The present volume—after which synchronic descriptions of some Oceanic languages will follow—shows the evolution of the opinions on the linguistic division of this area, the opinions on the origin of these languages and their genetic relations, the opinions on the question of dialect, etc. The confrontation of diverging opinions demonstrates that, in these questions, speculation was more often included, than solid investigation, the criteria used were ambiguous or insufficient and the premature judgements pronounced upon them were efforts to give an original, rather than to give the right, solution. Comparative studies, grouping efforts and the study of the off-Austronesian genetic relations far outstripped the synchronic investigation which, in fact, should be their basis, and until now there has been a heated discussion about these questions, though each participant of the discussion must be necessarily aware of the insufficiency of the linguistic data we have at our disposal (cf. e.g. Current Anthropology 3, No. 4, 1962, and 5, No. 5, 1964). Instead of creating new theories and defending one's own convictions it would be, for example, more useful to enlarge Dempwolff's Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis with further languages. It would give answers to a series of problematic questions.

Another problem, a very frequent one in this area, is the determination of dialects. The criterion here is the percentage of the shared basic vocabulary. One may ask three questions: (1) Whether the percentage has been stated correctly and whether it is the deciding factor in all cases; (2) whether the basic vocabulary is a sufficient base for the estimation, and (3) whether it is possible to determine the dialect-status on the basis of linguistic data only.

The authors do not assume an attitude towards the above mentioned problems, they only archive the existing opinions in an objective way. The book has six chapters; in the first two (Scope of the Indo-Pacific Languages; History of Austronesian Research) the investigated area is determined in its internal and external relations and the opinions of its internal genetic division is expounded; in the following four chapters (Polynesia; Melanesia; Indonesia; Micronesia) the settlement of its particular parts and the inventory of languages is given. It is a pity that in the Indonesian and Melanesian parts often only the groups without the names of individual languages are given. Further questions, e.g. those of typology, synchronic description, lexicography, etc., will probably be set forth in the forthcoming volumes; in this we wish the authors much success.

G. Altmann

Floribert van Lier, *Let us speak Maori. Ka tuatua Maori tatou*. The Catholic Mission of Rarotonga, 1962, 2nd Ed. 53 pp.

The booklet reviewed is the first printed guide to the language of Rarotonga, Cook Islands. The author, who is not a linguist by profession, intends his textbook to be for all those standing in need of a working knowledge of Rarotongan.

The textbook is divided into 23 short chapters dealing with various aspects of Rarotongan phonetics and grammar. Numerous chapters are overburdened with

new lexical items; the author is aware of this fact himself but he does not regard it as a shortcoming. Often, only whole sentences are translated into English while meanings of the individual words are not always indicated. Thus, the student has to learn whole sentences and expressions, which is not always advantageous. It is to be appreciated, however, that obsolete and infrequent words are omitted.

Unfortunately, the author indicates neither the so-called long vowels nor the glottal stop ( $P$ ), though he is aware of their distinctive value. Traditional concepts and categories are used in explaining the grammatical phenomena (e.g. plural, tenses, imperative), which makes the explanation more intelligible to a certain type of European students but at the same time gives a distorted picture of the language described. E.g., instead of talking about tenses (present, past, and future, cf. p. 15), it would have been better to introduce the category of aspect into the grammatical description of Rarotongan. A specific feature of Rarotongan (and of all Polynesian languages) as reduplication is, would no doubt require a more exhaustive explanation than that given on page 16. One feels that the chapter on the possessive categories (pp. 47—50) should have preceded that on the possessive pronouns (pp. 39—40).

It is to be appreciated that the author has included a variety of drawings which illustrate various artifacts used in Rarotonga at present.

As the present publication is destined to the layman, the linguistic public has to wait until J. E. Buse's Rarotongan Grammar and Dictionary appears.

Viktor Krupa

A. Capell, *The Polynesian language of Mae (Emwae), New Hebrides*. Linguistic Society of New Zealand, Auckland 1962. 55 pp. Price 9s.

Capell's sketch of Mae grammar appears as No. 2 of the Series Te Reo Monographs which was started by publishing K. J. Hollyman's *Checklist of Oceanic Languages* in 1960.

The booklet under review is the first description of an almost unknown Polynesian language spoken on Three Hills Island (called also Mae) in the central New Hebrides. When writing his paper, Capell had no printed sources but a small hymnal published by Presbyterian Mission in 1912. The author had to supplement this insufficient corpus of data during his own visit to the New Hebrides.

The book consists of three parts. They are as follows: Part A: Descriptive (pp. 5—30), Part B: Mae As a Polynesian Language (pp. 31—46), and Appendix: Specimen Texts in Mae (pp. 47—55).

Part A comprises a brief sketch of phonology and morphology of Mae. The author gives a list of phonemes of Mae and states that description given by A. Pawley<sup>1</sup> for Samoan is applicable also to Mae (p. 5). Mae deviates from most Polynesian languages in two respects: 1. it has two prenasalized stops, i.e. /mb/ and /nd/, 2. besides, /l/ and /r/ occur as separate phonemes. /h/ is said to occur frequently as a free allophone of /f/ and sometimes of /s/. Capell does not regard so-called long vowels as sequences of two identical vowels although he states that „in many instances lengthening results from the meeting of two similar vowels“ (p. 5).

What we sometimes call syntax is briefly dealt with on pp. 6—7. Unlike other

<sup>1</sup> A. Pawley, *Aspects of Samoan Phonemics*. Te Reo 3 (1960), pp. 47—50.

Polynesian languages, the sentence structure of Mae is normally patterned as subject + verb + object and not as verb + subject + object (p. 6). Interrogative sentences are marked by a particle *wi* which signals the end of the sentence. Description of Mae phrases represents a modified application of B. Biggs' methods.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, Capell's approach is less consistent than that of Biggs. This is partly due to the limited size of corpus which the author had at his disposal when writing this paper.

Words are classified into nuclei and satellites. The nuclei are subclassified into nouns (the author does not use this term) including pronouns (called N-substitute class), and into predicatives (called V-nuclei). Capell's classes are overlapping as to membership (cf. p. 9). A classification which yields overlapping classes may be called superficial because it assigns a word to a certain class merely on its occurrence in text but not on the sum of its occurrences, i.e. on its distribution. Satellites are grouped into several classes according to their compatibility with the classes of nuclei.

The author's interpretation of satellites is not quite consistent. On p. 8 he regards satellites as words but on p. 21—26 he divides satellites of V-nuclei into inseparable affixes and separable satellites.

Part B: *Mae As a Polynesian Language* comprises a short dictionary of Mae (consisting of 400 items) and a historico-comparative characteristics of word stock of Mae.

Besides, the author characterizes briefly morphemic and syntactic structure of Mae in comparison with those of other Polynesian languages as well as with Melanesian.

Appendix contains a few pages of Mae texts and their translations into English.

A. Capell's book on Mae does not pretend to be an exhaustive description. Despite that, it supplies us with a highly valuable information on this unknown Polynesian language which can be made use of not only in comparative work but also in typological investigations.

Viktor Krupa

J. Frank Stimson with the collaboration of Donald Stanley Marshall, *A dictionary of some Tuamotuan dialects of the Polynesian language*. Published by the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts and Het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. 623 pp.

This dictionary is based upon data gathered and recorded by F. Stimson in 1929—1938. F. Stimson had an intimate knowledge of Tuamotuan but his training did not enable him to produce a dictionary which would meet modern lexicographic standards. It is D. Marshall who revised F. Stimson's data and shaped them into the form of this dictionary.

The title indicates that F. Stimson regards Polynesian as a single language of a unified culture. Nowadays, this view does not enjoy wide popularity, especially in linguistic circles. Structural and lexical divergences of, e.g. Eastern and Western Polynesian languages are considerable and, besides, the natives themselves lack what could be called Polynesian national consciousness.

<sup>2</sup> B. Biggs, *The Structure of New Zealand Māori*. Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 3, No. 3.

F. Stimson's hypothesis on monosyllabic roots (pp. 28—29) in Tuamotuan seems to be unacceptable to the reviewer in the light of his own morphemic analysis of Maori. F. Stimson interprets forms consisting of two identical syllables as reduplicated monosyllabic roots. E.g., he interprets *koko* as reduplication of *ko*. The reviewer regards *koko* as an unanalyzable root. The latter view is supported by existence of the reduplicated form *kokokoko* (p. 240). Would F. Stimson regard this form as quadruplication of *ko*?

Objections could be raised against the interpretation of vocalic length in Tuamotuan proposed by the authors. To the reviewer's mind, examples as *kapi* ~ *kapi-ηa* ~ *kapi-a*, *kuo* ~ *kuō-ηa*, *rapu* ~ *rapū-a*, etc. indicate that in certain instances the vocalic length must be connected with stress or with other phonological phenomena.

D. Marshall has contributed to the present shape of the dictionary in several important respects. He has phonemicized Stimson's data, defined particles, affixes, and word classes. He has divided Tuamotuan word stock into two classes only; into full words and particles (p. 35). This implies that categories of noun, adjective, verb, etc. are utterly modifiable in Tuamotuan. But modern descriptions of Polynesian languages<sup>1</sup> show that conversion is not absolute in the Polynesian languages and that there is a difference between subject and noun, predicate and verb, etc.

In one important respect, the dictionary under review is unprecedented: It is, in fact, a sound and exhaustive morphemic analysis of Tuamotuan word stock arranged in the form of a dictionary. The present work is, actually, a base (root, in our terminology) dictionary, which means that the definitions are to be looked for under the base form from which the words concerned have been derived (p. 34). All Tuamotuan words, however, are shown as main entries in alphabetical order, regardless of whether they are simple, compound, complex, or are affixes or postulated reconstructions. In other words, bi- and polymorphemic words can be found in two places; both under the full form and under the presumed base.

The entries are arranged so as to enable distinguishing compound words from affixal words without any indexical device: All complex forms preceding reduplicated forms are compounds while all those which follow them are affixal forms.

F. Stimson's and D. Marshall's morphemic analysis of Tuamotuan proves that the morphemic analysis of Maori carried out by the reviewer is plausible and that morphemic structures of Tuamotuan and Maori words are very similar. The reviewer appreciates the attempt to define meanings of Tuamotuan derivative affixes which is extremely difficult in the case of Maori.

The authors explicitly state that their dictionary contains only a small part of the linguistic data which could be gathered from the Tuamotus (p. 37).

In addition to the dictionary proper, the volume contains Preface by D. Marshall (pp. 7—12), Introduction by J. F. Stimson (pp. 15—26), a chapter on Technical Details (pp. 27—40), and three appendices: 1. A System of Analytical Recording (pp. 612—616), 2. Translation of Tuamotuan Texts (pp. 617—621), and 3. Bibliography of the Publications of J. Frank Stimson that Relate to Polynesia (pp. 622 to 623).

Martinus Nijhoff should be congratulated on having published this valuable dictionary which is bound to be of great importance to all linguists dealing with the Polynesian languages.

Viktor Krupa

<sup>1</sup> B. Biggs, *The Structure of New Zealand Maaori*. Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1961, 1—54.

E. Wolfenden, Jr.—R. Alejandro (Eds.), *Intensive Tagalog Conversation Course*. The Summer Institute of Linguistics of The University of North Dakota and The Institute of National Language of The Department of Education, Philippines, 1959. LXVIII + 109 pp.

The text-book is compiled in an up-to-date way and is intended for those who have the possibility of learning with a teacher. Lectures are given in the form of grammar with examples commencing from simpler phenomena to more complicated ones. The lessons are illustrated with about 10 sentences, the drill is left mainly to the lecturer. It is a certain handicap of such text-books, because an autodidact can use it, in the best cases, only for a passive mastering of the language. Unfortunately, as in the European countries Tagalog lecturers are badly lacking, the utilization of the text-book is further restricted to the U.S.A. A text-book on a language is a certain type of generative grammar the validity of which can be verified only by practice; therefore, every language should definitely be studied with the help of an instructor but, for the time being, this ideal state is quite illusory.

The text-book consists of two parallel sections, the conversational and the grammatical. It has 90 lessons with over 1100 words and 30 grammatical lectures. It is impossible to judge whether the words included are the most frequented ones — which should be contained in any text-book of a language — because frequency count of Tagalog words has not yet been elaborated. The English translation of Tagalog sentences in the conversational section is only literary, however, in the grammatical section almost all sentences are furnished also with a word-by-word translation. Without doubt it is useful because it gives a clear picture of the word order in Tagalog. Each lesson contains an average of 12 new words and sentences of everyday life. For the sake of criticism we can point out at least two small drawbacks of this text-book. Usually, it does not make part of the text-book of a language, however, if there had been a short sketch concerning the historical, social, and cultural background of the country it would certainly be welcomed with pleasure by every interested party. Further, in the text-book, the accents are not marked on the words, which is usually done in other teaching aids of Tagalog. Consequently, the glottal stop has been also omitted in certain cases and the student must complete it himself. As the student has a tendency to transfer the accent (and not only the accent) from his mother tongue into every foreign language, the marking of accents in Tagalog would help to overcome any errors committed automatically which are difficult to remove once having acquired the habit.

In general, the present text-book can be said to be a good guide for those who are interested in learning Tagalog (now called Pilipino) — one of the official languages of the Philippines Republic.

Jozef Genzor

Iih Abdurachim, *Dasar-dasar anthropologi Indonesia* (Fundamentals of the anthropology of Indonesia). Bandung, Penerbit Widjaja, 1962. 180 pp.

This book is one of the first publications in anthropology written in Indonesian. The author presents therein an introduction to physical anthropology, sociology, specific characteristics of the development of contemporary Indonesian society and the ethnography of Indonesia.

In the „Physical Anthropology“ the author gives a short history of the anthropological classification from Linné until now. He tries to define the terms „stock“, „race“ and „breed“ proposed by R. Linton. Then a list of various „stocks“ and „breeds“ follows with their essential morphological characteristics and geographical spread. The author pays special attention to the anthropological structure of Indonesia. He divides the Indonesian population into the Negrito, Weddoid, Proto- and Deutero-Malayan, and Neo-Melanesoid groups, which, in my opinion, is a careless mixture of two different classifications.

The chapter „Human Evolution“ comprises of a survey of the most important discoveries of the fossil Hominidae as well as their short characteristics and a scheme of the evolution of mankind. Most anthropologists will, perhaps, be surprised by the fact that the author regards the, up till now well-known Dawson's fake of the „Eoanthropus“ as authentic. In addition, objections can be brought against regarding the Neanderthal and Crô-Magnon Man as mutually contemporary and extinct blind evolution branches. It is necessary to distinguish between the extinct „classical“ Neanderthal Man and the „progressive“ one which was a phase in the evolution of mankind. As to the Crô-Magnon Man, it would be much more exact to call him in this connexion „Homo sapiens fossilis“, since the term „Cromagnonoid“ is reserved for an archaic type of the recent Europoid race.

The author includes archaeology, ethnography and ethnolinguistics into the cultural anthropology, which seems to be correct, despite the fact that it is not generally usual. He presents, without any commentary, an outline of the most important tendencies in cultural anthropology (evolutionism, diffusionism, environmentalism, functionalism and the theory of „culture areas“) and characterizes the development of the human society in South-East Asia up to the Bronze epoch.

The recent social relations within the South-East Asian societies are described in the chapter on social structure. It comprises of the system and the type of relationship, of the various types of marriage, religion, customs and art of primitive society. The author explains, quite appropriately, the origin of science from magics and its further development. One paragraph of this chapter deals with the types of languages and fixes the spread of the Austronesian family.

The chapter „The Development of the Modern Socialist Indonesian Society“ is for all European or American anthropologists of extreme importance. It describes the process of acculturation from the point of view of an Indonesian. The author confronts the primitive and the „civilized“ way of thinking and brings numerous examples for the social symbiosis, process of desacralization, survival and the other social phenomena in contemporary Indonesia. In two paragraphs he tries to prove the genetic equivalence of all races and resolutely refuses any kind of discrimination and racism.

The last chapter is a survey of the most important nations in Indonesia with their short anthropological and ethnographic outlines.

The book under review is the first attempt of an Indonesian scholar to give a general explanation of anthropology. Despite all the errors mentioned above, the book can be regarded as an important achievement in the field of Indonesian anthropological science.

R. Raczyński

E. J. Esser, *De Uma-taal (West-Midden Celebes)*. Spraakkunstige schets en teksten (= Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, deel 43). Uitgegeven en van een woordenlijst voorzien door J. Noorduyn. 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. XIV + 144 pp.

Uma belongs to the West-Toraja languages spoken in the West-Middle Celebes. The reviewed book is „the first reliable description“ (Noorduyn, VI) of the given language and made up part of the manuscript of the late E. J. Esser, the further parts of which have probably been lost. J. Noorduyn prepared the manuscript for publication, provided it with a preface (V — X) and added a dictionary (103—128) including all words from the grammatical part (1—45) and texts (46—102) together with a Dutch-Uma finder list (129—144). Though the grammatical exposé has many imperfections which we shall not enumerate here, every publication of this kind must be welcomed, because it brings information about an entirely unknown language and gives us texts which make its further analysis possible. Indeed, only a prophet would have been able to answer the question, when would we, in the present-day state of affairs, have got the first description of Uma, if this publication had not appeared.

Let us consider at least some points of the phonological description. The phonological system has 5 vowels and 17 consonants (1). There is no mention of their phonetic features, it is obviously presupposed that their pronunciation is similar to that of Dutch sounds. All consonants occur initially and medially; finally only -q. Though we have no doubts about the author's meticulousness, some of his statements are rather uncertain, e.g.: „Aan het eind van een woord dat niet op een hamza eindigt hoort men meermalen in pauza een zeer zachte *h* uitspreken. Ook wel eens een zeer zachte *ng*...“ (3) at least is unexplained. Does it concern particular words or a particular condition under which these final consonants appear? Similarly uncertain, is the description of consonant clusters (*/ŋk, ŋc, nt, mp/*) which may also be pronounced with respective mediae (*/ŋc/* also as *[ns]*). The rules of alternation are not given. Their biphonemic status is a bit suspicious: they are the only clusters of the language, occur both initially and medially, and since finally only the glottal stop occurs, they do not conform to any structural pattern in the language, i.e. they are „marginal“.<sup>1</sup> One may ponder whether their monophonemic interpretation would not be more advantageous. The number of phonemes would increase thereby, but, on the other hand, the structure of the syllable would be simplified. There are, naturally, arguments against such a solution, too. Many similar cases may be found in the book. Here, not only the author's older conception of the phoneme is involved, to which Dr. Noorduyn calls attention in the Preface (VI), but the over-all way of description which is current in older Dutch works. Synchronic statements combine here with historical and comparative ones, phonological statements are mixed with morphological and morphonological ones, etc. Almost each paragraph may be quoted as an example.

The morphology is, in fact, a list of dependent morphemes with their meanings and illustrations. The author does not operate with the concept of morpheme and therefore, there are here no definitions of Uma morpheme classes and types of words, the inflection is not differentiated from the derivation, the grammatical categories are not given, etc. It would be superfluous to give examples, we may state on the whole that the book does not solve the problems, but rather imposes them.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Vogt, *Phoneme classes and phoneme classification*. Word 10, 1954. 28—34.

upon linguists. Esser's work on West-Toraja languages in general is best characterized by Dr. Noorduyn's words: „De veelheid van talen en dialecten in dit gebied noopte de onderzoeker een werkwijs te zoeken waarbij hij de voornaamste verschijnselementen van de belangrijkste dezer talen in betrekkelijk korte tijd zou kunnen verzamelen en bekend maken“ (VI). And further: „Zonder naar volledigheid te streven en met vermindering van theoretische problemen beperkte hij zich er daarom toe een schets van het grammaticale geraamte van de taal te geven... Om dezelfde redenen vormen, naast dit spraakkunstige gedeelte, de originele teksten, die authentiek materiaal voor voortgezette studie leveren, een hoofddee van het werk“ (VI). The texts are really valuable and, by means of the added vocabulary (including about 1500 items) and the explained grammar, may be comfortably read. They will for many a year remain the only source of Uma. The publication would surely achieve its goal if it stimulated the students of Indonesian languages to a further investigation of Uma.

G. Altmann

E. M. Uhlenbeck, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura* (= Bibliographical series, 7). 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. VIII + 207 pp. With 3 plates and 1 map.

The present book is the seventh member of the bibliographical series which is being edited by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that it could be best elaborated in Holland, where the Indonesian materials, especially the older ones, are best accessible, and that Professor Uhlenbeck was the most pertinent person that could be put in charge of this task. Naturally, the importance of his personal contribution to the study of Javanese cannot be emphasized here, but it is known that his studies opened a new era in Javanese linguistics, in the same way as those of R. H. Robins in Sundanese linguistics. The book is divided according to the current pattern, into the critical text and the bibliography and contains the following main parts: Sundanese (9—23), Sundanese Bibliography (24—41), Javanese (42—79), Javanese Bibliography (80—107), Old Javanese and Javanese Literature (108—144), Bibliography of Old Javanese and Javanese Literature (145—175), Madurese (174—180), Madurese Bibliography (181—197), Index (199—207). In the critical text the author pays attention rather to persons or to particular branches (Bible translation, inscriptions, edition of manuscripts, etc.) than to the evolution of the opinions of a certain problem, which would also have been very useful. Every reader would surely like to know which solution of a problem is considered best by Professor Uhlenbeck. In the Sundanese and Javanese parts only a selection from the bibliography has been made, whereas in the Madurese part, which otherwise would have contained only 64 items, also publications of Balai Pustaka, schoolbooks, Bible translations and publications used in the campaign against illiteracy, have been included. Nowadays, in Indonesian

<sup>1</sup> The first 6 books were: (1) Voorhoeve, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Sumatra*. 1955. (2) A. A. Cense and E. M. Uhlenbeck, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo*. 1958. (3) P. Suzuki, *Critical survey of studies on the anthropology of Nias, Mentawai and Enggano*. 1958. (4) W. Ph. Coolhaas, *A critical survey of studies on Dutch colonial history*. 1960. (5) A. Teeuw, *A critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*. 1961. (6) J. Voorhoeve and A. Donicie, *Bibliographie du Négro-Anglais du Suriname. Avec une appendice sur les langues Créoles parlées à l'intérieur du pays*. 1963.

linguistics a peculiar situation has set in: for certain disciplines there are possibilities only in Holland or in Indonesia, but in Holland the extent of the investigations has been essentially reduced, whilst in Indonesia they have not yet acquired appropriate dimensions. Therefore, we must especially appreciate the fact that, inspite of the unfavourable situation in Holland, this series is being published (with the financial aid of The Netherlands Institute for International Cultural Relations) which may be considered as a critical recapitulation mainly of what has been done until now in the Dutch Indonesian studies. It is to be hoped that further studies in Holland will follow the direction indicated by the author of the reviewed book.

G. Altmann

M. A. Jaspan, *Redjang Ka-ga-nga texts* (Folk Literature of South Sumatra). Canberra, The Australian National University, 1964. 92 pp.

The author collected the Redjang texts during his field work of almost two years in South Sumatra (1961—1963). They are written in Redjang script on bamboo, rattan, buffalo horn, barkcloth, copper and paper. For the sake of comparison there are tables of Lampung, Batak, Kerintji, Lembak, Pasemah, and Serawai alphabets. The language of the texts is old Malay with sporadically inserted Redjang words. As may be observed in the facsimile, the use of diacritic signs is not consequent in the original texts. The author has completed them in some places of the transcribed texts while in the transliteration he has, naturally, always brought the appropriate forms. The book contains a short introduction on the origin and nature of texts, their transcription in typescript, transliteration in romanized Malay and the English translation. One may learn from the outside rear cover that an edition of other Redjang texts will follow.

The fact that a new edition of Indonesian folklore texts has been started is of great importance. After the decrease in activity of Dutch scholars along these lines, the publication of Indonesian texts developed very slowly both in Indonesia and abroad. This applies not only to the publication of manuscripts but to any specimens of Indonesian languages as well. They are published mostly in journals; the present series is really a pioneering act of the Australian National University. However, the majority of Indonesian languages escapes notice, as here — as far as I know — there is no project similar to that of the Summer Institute of Linguistics which is in action in the Philippines and in New Guinea. The gradual integration being caused by the spreading of Bahasa Indonesia, not only accelerates the development (change) of these languages but actually represents a serious danger to their existence. The recording of their present state will be, already in the near future, appropriately appreciated.

G. Altmann

V. D. Arakin, *Malgashskii iazyk* (The Malagasy language). Moskva, Izdatelstvo vostochnoi literatury, 1963. 64 pp.

This book is the first survey of the Malagasy grammar in Russian. The author presents herewith in 5 chapters the most important facts about this interesting language. The publication appeared in the well-known series „The Asian and African Languages“ by The East Book Publishing House.

Chapter 1 (Introduction, 6—10) is a short survey of the Malagasy studies in Europe, containing a map of the Malagasy dialects.

The „Phonetics“ (10—16) comprises a description of the Malagasy vocalism, consonantism, sound change, structure of syllables and the stress. The book is one of few Malagasy grammars where the pronunciation of the consonants /s/, /z/, /tr/, and /dr/ is correctly characterized. On the other hand, it is necessary to correct the author's characteristics of the graphem „ng“. In the Malagasy „standard language“ there is no phoneme /ŋ/. The [ŋ] is only an allophone of /n/ before gutturals. The graphem „ng“ is pronounced in Malagasy always as [ŋg].

The history of the Malagasy writing system is described on half a page (16) in the chapter „Writing“.

The chapter „Lexic“ (Etymology, Derivation of Words and Semantics, 17—24) contains many examples of the comparison with cognate languages (Hawaiian, Indonesian, Maori, Tagalog and Tsow) and with languages which influenced the Malagasy word stock (Arabic, English, French and Swahili). Unfortunately, the author does not use the PMP forms which is the reason of serious etymological errors I found in the text. I cannot agree with the author's etymologizing of the Malagasy word *vary*, „rice“. This word is a cognate of the Ngadju *bari* < PMP. \*ba[ɿ]i, „rice, food of rice“ (Cf. O. Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes*. Berlin 1934, Band II, p. 108), and not of the Indonesian *padi* < PMP. \*pag'ai, „rice (plant)“ which corresponds to the Malagasy *fary*, „cane“ or to *tsimparifary*, „wild rice“. The same concerns the Malagasy *aho*, which is a cognate of the Maori *taku*, „I, me“ (< *ta* + *aku*) and not of *ahau* as it is in this book. The citation of Hawaiian words is also not always exact, e.g. *kolu* instead of *ekolu* (*e* + *kolu*) etc. A serious defect of this chapter is that the author does not even mention the numerous Sanskrit and Tamil borrowings which are of extreme importance for the dating of Indonesian migrations to Madagascar (Cf. e.g. J. B. Razafintsalama, *La langue malgache et les origines malgaches*, Vol. 1/2, Tananarive 1928 to 1929, P. Meillet, *Histoire des littératures*, Vol. 1, *Littératures anciennes, orientales et orales*, Paris 1956, p. 1046). Unfortunately, the author also does not distinguish between the basic forms of affixes and their allomorphs (see p. 21). The only productive infix *-in-*, the so called „pseudo-infixes“ *-amp-*, *-if-* and *-p-*, and numerous suffixes (*-ana*, *-ena*, *-ina*, *-a*, *-o*, *-y*) are missing from the survey.

The Morphology (24—56) contains a general view of word classes. The author takes into account the specific features of Austronesian languages. In the first place it is necessary to appreciate the author's approach to the word derivation but he would have spared us many explications, if he had presented, in the former chapter, a good tabular survey of affixes.

The Syntax (56—59) comprises of quite an appropriate description of the Malagasy simple sentence construction. The author is right in thinking that the compound sentence is not sufficiently explored. But in spite of this he could at least have mentioned the sequence of tenses which is still well known from the Aristide Marre's *Grammaire Malgache* (Paris 1898). In my opinion it would be very useful to confront this chapter with the results of O. Chr. Dahl in his work *Malgache et Maanjan* (Oslo 1951), „La Phrase“ (121—125).

The quality of the book is rather diminished by the numerous printer's errors in the text. It is a pity that the first Malagasy grammar in Russian has not been edited with such care as it would merit.

R. Raczyński

G. Coedès, *Les peuples de la péninsule indochinoise. Histoire — civilisations* (= Collection Sigma, 2). Paris, Dunod, 1962. 228 pp. + XVI tables des planches.

L'Indochine fait partie de cette zone de l'Asie du Sud-Est, dont la population est extrêmement mêlée quant aux langues et types anthropologiques. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui il n'y a pas d'unanimité parmi les linguistes sur la classification des langues de l'Indochine, malgré que les études du Sud-Estasiatique ont la tradition déjà plus de 150 ans. Au moins la même situation est dans les études anthropologiques de cet espace. Qui est-ce qui étaient les premiers habitants de l'Indochine? D'où vindrent-ils? Est-ce que les relations linguistiques, anthropologiques et culturelles parmi les populations indochinoises sont génétiques, ou elles ne résultent que d'un contact prolongé entre elles? Ces sont les questions, qui ne peuvent pas être répondues par une seule branche de science. Il faut comparer les résultats de l'anthropologie, l'archéologie, l'éthnologie, la linguistique comparative et la sociologie, il faut rechercher les sources historiques de l'Asie du Sud-Est, de l'Inde, de la Chine, analyser et apprécier, et faire une synthèse de tous. À mon égard, l'ouvrage de G. Coedès est une telle synthèse, qui était attendue déjà longtemps par tous, qui s'intéressent pour l'Asie du Sud-Est. La structure du livre est bien instructive. Il y a tous ce qu'est nécessaire pour comprendre la dynamique de l'évolution de la société humaine du Sud-Estasiatique.

*Le peuplement de l'Indochine* (7—40) est une revue des conditions géographiques et des derniers recherches de l'anthropologie préhistorique et archéologie de l'Indochine. Selon l'auteur, les premiers habitants de l'Indochine étaient les Proto-Australiens, qui par leur situation géographique pourraient être intermédiaires entre le Pithécanthrope de Java et le Sinanthrope du Nord de la Chine (20). Ici, une telle comparaison est bien problématique, car il s'agit des types qui ne sont pas mutuellement contemporaines. Le Proto-Australien est sans doute une type archaïque de l'*Homo sapiens* fossiles, dont l'antiquité ne dépasse guère que 75 000 ans, tandis que les excavations du Pithécanthrope et ces du Sinanthrope sont datées plus que 1 000 000 ans. Il est douteux, d'où vinrent les peuples, appartenants selon l'auteur au type négroïde „Papouasiens“, qui sont, à l'égard de la plupart des anthropologues récents en l'Asie du Sud-Est. Il est probable, que les deux types mélanodermes de cette région, c'est à dire les Weddo-Australoïdes et les négroïdes „Papouasiens“ sont les deux, les descendants de Proto-Australiens.

Quant à la culture *Bắc-sôn-Hoa-binh*, G. Coedès affirme, que „l'étude des très nombreux crânes ou débris des crânes trouvés dans le *Bắc-sôn* fournit quelques indices sur les races qui cohabitent en Tonkin à cette époque. Il y a en effet, à côté de crânes australoïdes, des restes des individus proches des habitants de la Mélanésie actuelle, Papous et Mélanésiens proprement dits, ainsi que des Indonésiens“ (21), naturellement que les Indonésiens de type mongoloïde représentent l'élément relativement récent. Selon l'auteur il y avaient lieu 6 migrations néolithiques dans l'Asie du Sud-Est, dont la plupart sont originaires de la Chine.

Ici, serait intéressant à confronter les dates anthropologiques avec ces linguistiques. L'auteur est juste, en constatant qu'il y a des affinités indiscutables entre les familles linguistiques t'ai et indonésienne. De plus, à mon égard, one peut supposer les affinités génétiques des langues de tous peuples originaires de la Chine, c'est à dire entre la famille sinique (tibéto-birmanaise, t'ai-chinoise et miao-man) et cette austroïque (austriasiatique, austronésienne et kadaïe). Ce point de vue est supporté par les dates anthropologiques et archéologiques (v. par ex.: „Movement of the Malayo-Polynesian: 1000 B.C. to A.D. 500, par Kwang-chih Chang, Wilhelm Solheim II et

George W. Grace, Current Anthropology, Dec. 1964, pp. 359—406), malgré les affirmations de certains linguistes, qui regardent telles affinités trop hasardeuses. Il faut citer en cette connexion l'article „K voprosu o meste khmerskogo iazyka sredi iazykov iugo-vostochnoi Azii“ (*Iazyki Kitaya i iugo-vostochnoi Azii*, Moskva 1963, pp. 115—135), par V. A. Gorgoniev, où l'on présente nombreux exemples (78 mots) des affinités khméro-chinoises dans le stock basique de deux langues.

*La Formation des Etats Indochnois* (41—74) comprit une description de l'implantation de deux grandes cultures voisines, c'est-à-dire l'indienne et chinoise, en l'Asie du Sud-Est. L'auteur analyse le procès de la formation de la nation vietnamienne en conséquence de la fusion mutuelle de deux éléments ethniques, l'un, méridionale et l'autre, septentrionale. Selon l'auteur, ce sont les peuples Lo (*Lác*) et Yue (*Viêt*) qui contribuèrent le plus à l'ethnogenèse des Viétnameis et des Müöng actuels. Ce problème est assez compliqué pour être résolu ici. Nos connaissances de la linguistique comparative de cette région, même comme ces de l'anthropologie et l'archéologie, ne sont pas suffisantes encore. Mais la plupart des savants peuvent être en général d'accord avec les conclusions de G. Coedès sur ce point. Je voudrais ajouter seulement, qu'à mon égard, dans l'ethnogenèse des Viétnameis prirent part sans doute aussi les élément Kadais et Miao, comment l'on peut documenter du vocabulaire vietnamien.

Tandis que la sinisation du Yue et les régions voisines passa en conséquence d'un conquête militaire, colonisation indienne de l'Asie du Sud-Est était plus moins pacifique. Les pays conquis par la culture, provenant de l'Inde méridionale, n'étaient jamais une partie intégrale de métropole. L'auteur présente deux hypothèses sur la fondation des Etats hindouisés dans l'Asie du Sud-Est:

1° Un Indien s'imposait comme chef à la population, en contrahant mariage avec une femme du pays.

2° Un chef indigène instaurant pour son propre compte avec l'appui d'un brahmane, une monarchie de type indien.

Les deux cas sont connus par la tradition, bien que le second est, selon l'auteur, plus courant.

Mon point de vue est en général identique avec ce de l'auteur, mais il a oublié peut-être à expliquer la raison, pourquoi les deux cultures étaient adoptées sans difficultés sérieuses par la plupart des peuples Sud-Estasiatiques.

L'Inde, l'Indochine, l'Indonésie, même comme la Chine méridionale étaient peuplées vers la fin du paléolithique par les populations primitives et relativement homogènes quant à la culture et la composition anthropologique. Ces étaient les peuples mélanodermes mêlés, appartenant aux types Weddo-Australoïdes (Weddoïdes, Australoïdes et Ainuoïdes) et Austro-Africains (Papouasiens et Pygmées), dont leurs langues rassemblaient probablement aux langues australiens, papous ou andamanaises. Puis, invadèrent l'Inde, même comme l'Asie du Sud-Est, les peuples mongoloïdes, à parler proto-austroasiatique originaires de la Chine, très rapprochés quant aux langues et la culture aux peuples proto-chinois. Ils introduisirent la tradition culturelle d'Extrême Orient dans cette région (culture de l'hache à tenon, la seconde migration selon G. Coedès). Bien que la culture proto-austroasiatique fut y modifiée par substrat local, et plus tard par superstrates différentes (Dravidien et Indo-Arien dans l'Inde, Paléosibérien et proto-Altaïque dans la Chine), elle servait de base pour la formation des cultures classiques de l'Inde et de la Chine. Ressemblance du tantrisme indien et le taoïsme en est une de plusieurs preuves. En résulte, que les deux cultures, bien que spécifiques, n'étaient guère éloignées de la culture locale du

Sudestasiatique. Elles étaient plus développées et spécialisées, mais la plupart de ses traditions avaient été déjà connues en territoire de leur expansion. Elles étaient plutôt une précision et modification qu'une changement complet des traditions natives. Le fait, que la culture indienne est actuellement plus étendue que celle de la chinoise, résulte de la manière de leur implantation. L'extension de la seconde était accompagnée par l'occupation militaire d'un pays et par la destruction totale des institutions natives. Les indigènes s'opposaient contre ce traitement de la part de l'administration impériale chinoise en révoltant, la sinisation planifiée provoquait la résistance des tribus, à quoi existence nationale elle menaçait (v. par ex. Yue, Champa ou Nanchao), ainsi que sa pénétration s'allégit.

*Les Etats Indochinois du VII<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (75—115)* comprit l'histoire des Etats indigènes, étendus au territoire du Viêt-nam, Cambodge et Birmanie actuelle. L'auteur y décrit le procès de l'évolution des formations politiques indochinoises pendant l'âge moyenne. Tandis que le Viêt-nam était soumis par la Chine jusqu'à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Etats austroasiatiques (Tchen-la, successeur du Founan, Dvaravati et Criksetra acquièrent son apogée et l'extension maximale. Le problème principal de cet époque était la lutte des peuples natives indochinois contre la pénétration de leurs voisins septentrionaux, les Birmanais, et les T'ais au Sud de la péninsule. Vers la fin de cette époque, après une éclosion merveilleuse, disparaissent, malgré une résistance vaillante, les Etats mōns en Haute Birmanie, et l'empire Angkorien, successeur du Tchenla, perdut la plupart de son territoire au Nord en conséquence des attaques t'ais. À la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les deux derniers Etats austroasiatiques, Dvaravati et l'empire Angkorien, démolisés par la fusion continue des tribus barbares en leurs territoires étaient réduits au fragments insignifiants, en comparaison avec l'époque de leur éclosion. Les guerres continues causaient la centralisation de pouvoir en mains d'un Seigneur fort et contribuaient à la consolidation de conscience nationale de la population assez hétérogène. La vie se concentrerait plus en plus aux grandes villes, qui étaient centres naturels des arts et des sciences. Vers la fin du I<sup>e</sup> millénaire l'hindouisme fut remplacé par le bouddhisme *Mahayana* à travers de toute péninsule. Mais les forces naturelles des peuples indochinois furent déjà en déclin définitif. Nous verrons, qu'excepté Champā, dont pouvoir militaire et politique acquit son apogée vers la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, ni l'un des Etats hindouisés indochinois ne réussit pas à restaurer ses forces pour jouer une rôle dirigeante dans cette région après XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

*La crise du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le déclin de la civilisation indienne (117—129)*, furent causés, selon l'auteur, par plusieurs facteurs politiques et sociaux. En premier lieu, c'était la manière de l'adoption de la civilisation indienne. C'étaient les grands féudataires, qui gardaient la langue sanskrit et les cultes officiels d'hindouisme ou bouddhisme *Mahayana*, tandis que les masses conservaient, à travers le siècles, les traditions locales. En conséquence de la centralisation politique, la classe des féudataires perdait peu à peu son pouvoir, et naturellement aussi l'intérêt pour la culture. Puis, l'expansion mongole causa la chute d'ancien royaume t'ai Nan-chao en poussant les t'ais vers Sud. Les formations politiques indochinoises furent regroupées et les centres de la vie culturelle se déplaçaient au Nord, aux territoires occupés par t'ais et birmanais.

*Les Etats indochinois après le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. (131—202). Siam, Laos, Birmanie, Cambodge, Viêt-nam.*

Développement historique de l'Indochine après le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est caractérisé, selon l'auteur, par les événements suivantes:

1° La chute finale des anciens Etats de la péninsule (*Dvarāvatī*, *Champā*), ou leur réduction aux vassaux du Viêt-nam ou Siam (Cambodge).

2° Remplacement d'ancien hindouisme ou bouddhisme *Mahāyāna* par le bouddhisme singhalais et pénétration de l'Islam aux territoires, occupés par les peuples austronésiens.

3° Déplacement des centres politiques vers Nord, et en conséquence la formation des nouveaux centres de la culture indienne en Ava, Pagan, Sukhodaya et Ayodhia.

4° Penetration des Viêtnamiens et de la culture chinoise à travers du Champā jusqu'à la delte de Mékong.

5° Premiers contacts des habitants de la péninsule avec la civilisation européenne.

L'auteur présente un image plastique de tous événements politiques et culturels de cet époque jusqu'au commencement de la colonisation européenne de la péninsule.

Le livre est fourni par nombreuses références bibliographiques sur les problèmes, qui ne pouvaient être traités dans cette ouvrage. G. Coedès a couronné ses études indochinois et ses recherches historiques par une œuvre, qui est digne de l'attention du monde scientifique, qui s'intéresse pour l'Asie du Sud-Est.

R. Raczyński

V. S. Rudnev, *Malaya 1945—1963*. Moskva, Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1963. 206 pp.

V. S. Rudnev's book is the first large publication on Malaya after World War II, written in Russian. The book comprises of a survey of the political and economic development of Malaya and Singapore until the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia. The contents of the book are divided into 5 chapters which correspond roughly with the generally recognized periods of the modern history of Malaya:

1. The political development of Malaya from the end of World War II until the Proclamation of Independence (September 1945—August 1957).

2. The social and economic situation in Malaya up to the autumn 1957.

3. The political development of Malaya from the autumn of 1957 up to the parliamentary elections of the Federation of Malaya. Proclamation of the State of Singapore.

4. The political development from the autumn of 1957 until the Proclamation of the Federation of Malaysia (September 1963)

5. Social and economic changes in Malaya up to the autumn of 1963.

I am not going to deal here with the contents of this book because the interpretation of modern history is too dependent on the personal Weltanschauung of an author. V. S. Rudnev's book is written from the Marxist point of view, and in my opinion, it explains in quite appropriate form the present official attitude of Soviet science to the problems of neocolonialism in South-East Asia. A detailed analysis of the social composition of the Malaysian population has an incontestable importance for the explanation of many political phenomena in this area.

Unfortunately, the transcription of Chinese proper names is very confused, which might in many cases cause misunderstanding. The author transcribes these names everywhere directly from the Chinese characters, according to the P'u-t'ung-hua pronunciation, which, in this case is useless. As the majority of the Malaysian Chinese come from South China (Canton, Fu-kien, Hakka etc.), their names should be pro-

nounced in corresponding dialects. Also, in Malaysian press and official records, the Malaysian Chinese proper names are transcribed into the current English orthography according to their phonetic value in the dialects, which is very aberrant from both Russian and English scientific transcriptions of Chinese, so that the orientation in the present book is problematic to the reader, especially to a non-sinologist, to say the least of it. I quote three examples:

<i>Current English Phonetic Transcription:</i>	<i>English Scientific Transcription:</i>	<i>Russian Scientific Transcription:</i>
Lim Yew Hock	Ling Yu-fu	Лин Ю-фу
Lee Kuan Yew	Li Kuang-yao	Ли Гуан-яо
Ong Eng Guan	Wang Yung-yüan	Ван Юн-юань

A further shortage is the lack of citations of bibliography. There is no systematical list of bibliographical references at the end of the book as is usual in scientific literature throughout the world; the bibliographical items are given as footnotes only. Furthermore, many scholars would object to the fact that the author refers too often to some newspapers (*The Daily Worker*, *The Malayan Monitor*, *The Malay Mail*, *The Malaya Tribune*, *The Singapore Free Press*, *The Strait Times* etc.), which can hardly be taken as a serious source for any scientific work.

R. Raczyński

J. M. Gullick, *Malaya*. London, Ernest Benn Ltd., 1964, 2nd Edition. 271 pp., 1 map.

J. M. Gullick's book on Malaya appeared two years ago in "The Nation of the Modern World Series" in its second revised edition. The fact that this book was edited twice during 18 months is the best recommendation for the author's work and does not request any commentary.

The author explains, in 22 chapters, the history of Malaya from the establishment of the Malacca Sultanate (in 1400 A.D.) up to the summer of 1964. Of course, the greatest part of this book is dedicated to modern history, mostly after World War II. The book is written with a deep comprehension for the political and economic situation in South-East Asia and comprises a great number of very important materials about the British policy in this area. The particular merit of J. M. Gullick's work is the dynamic and complex interpretation of the subject, no easy matter as the process of stabilisation in South-East Asia has not yet been completed and many essential documents have already been taken to the safe-deposits of the governmental archives of engaged countries.

In my opinion, one has to disagree only with Chapter 10, entitled "The Communist Revolt" (96—108), in which the author pays tribute to his active participation in the anti-communist campaign of the British Colonial Administration in Malaya. He regards, a common thing in the West, every manifestation of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist movement as a "Communist terrorism" or a "Global policy of Moscow". Here, it would have been much more objective to have had a more unaligned point of view and to use less strong words. In addition, it would have been more useful to have explained clearer the reason why "Brunei refused at the last

moment to join Malaysia" (225) and to tell something about the interior political and economic barriers within the Federation of Malaysia.

The book contains two important appendices (Citizenship and Nationality in Malaya, and Statistical Tables) and a list of the most important historical, economic and ethnographic literature, journals, newspapers, and official records concerning Malaya with their short characteristics. The above-mentioned shortcomings cannot diminish the great scientific value of the present work.

R. Raczyński

M. Guboglu (Ed.), *Studia et Acta Orientalia III*. Bucarest, Société des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques de la R. P. R., Section d'Études Orientales, 1960. 350 + 6 pp.

Le volume III. des *Studia et Acta Orientalia* contient des études de haute valeur scientifique des différentes sections des études orientales.

Le premier article de Tancred Bănăteanu, *Notes ethnographiques sur les Ouïgours de l'oasis de Tourfan*, donne une description de la province de Sin-Kiang (République Populaire Chinoise), où des Ouïgours forment presque deux tiers de la population, surtout au sud du massif du Tien Chan. Une région caractéristique est l'oasis très isolée de Tourfan. Grâce à la situation géographique de cette oasis les habitants s'occupent de l'agriculture sur des terres irriguées, on y trouve non seulement des champs de blé, mais aussi des vignobles et des cultures de melons. Dans l'oasis isolée les anciens éléments des formes ethnographiques se sont conservées. L'auteur, qui a visité la région, donne une description des maisons, des outils, des costumes, des travaux artistiques (céramique, tapisserie, broderie), des coutumes maritales, des danses et chansons populaires. Une carte et 32 photographies sont ajoutées.

Dans l'article *Sur l'origine et la provenance des papyrus gnostiques coptes de Nag-Hammandi* Constantine Daniel s'occupe du problème de l'origine des livres manuscrits découverts en 1945. Il s'agit de 13 volumes bien conservés. L'auteur est d'avis, que ces livres ne pouvaient pas appartenir à une communauté gnostique. Ces livres traitent de la morale, de la cosmologie, de l'eschatologie etc. des différentes sectes gnostiques, même des Barbelognostiques, une secte considérée comme maudite. Il ne s'agit pas des livres liturgiques. L'auteur est d'avis, que ces livres appartenaient à une communauté des moines, laquelle s'occupait de l'étude des différentes sectes gnostiques. Il est probable, que les livres fussent cachés au V<sup>e</sup> siècle, à l'époque des grandes polémiques contre la hérésie, avec l'intention de les sauver de la destruction. La publication complète des livres-manuscrits pourrait contribuer dans une mesure considérable à nos connaissances sur les sectes gnostiques des premiers siècles.

R. I. Bigaev, P. A. Danilov et M. U. Umarov (Tachkent) traitent des aspects du folklore des Gagaouzes de l'Asie Centrale dans la région de Kazachstan et de Tachkent. Les colons venus de la Bessarabie ont largement conservés leurs coutumes. Leur langue montre déjà certaines différences.

David Ghijirighian s'occupe d'un manuscrit arménien de la Bibliothèque de l'Academie de la RPR, contenant le code des lois de Mekhitar Goch ainsi qu'un recueil de canons ecclésiastiques du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il semble, que ce code fût utilisé par les tribunaux arméniens en Moldavie.

L'étude de Glia Bănăteanu, *L'art Ourartou révélé par les fouilles archéologiques*

*effectuées en Arménie Sovietique* s'occupe des résultats des fouilles entreprises par l'académicien B. B. Petrovski aux environs de Carmin Blour. Une édifice de grandes proportions comprenant environ 120 pièces fût découverte ainsi que des magazins de céréales et de vin. Une description détaillée des sculptures, des fresques, des ornements et de l'art décoratif est donnée. Les découvertes prouvent, que l'art de l'Ourartou avait une grande influence sur l'art des peuples de la Transcaucasie et plus tard sur l'art des Arméniens.

M. Guboglu donne un rapport de son voyage d'étude en Bulgarie, en attirant l'attention sur la richesse des matériaux turco-orientaux, qui font partie de la Bibliothèque Nationale, surtout dans la collection Orientalske Archivna Kasa, où se trouvent des pièces originales, des firmans, des registres de cadis, des documents qui sont dûs aux vezirs etc. M. Guboglu donne une courte description d'un grand nombre de documents militaires et administratifs, donnants des renseignements sur l'administration exercée par des autorités turques, sur les préparatifs d'actions militaires et sur les relations internationales. Douze documents sont reproduits en photographies.

G. Ivanescu cherche à expliquer du point de vue étymologique les noms des divinités comme Indra, Varma, Mitra etc., la migration des Aryens et à parvenir à des conclusions sur la patrie d'origine des Aryens.

L'article de Mihail Guboglu *Dimitri Cantemir — orientaliste* est une communication présentée à la session scientifique de la Société des Sciences historiques et philologiques de la RPR en Mai 1960. Dimitri Cantemir a vécu 22 ans à Constantinople pour monter en 1710 sur le trône des princes de la Moldavie. Il orienta sa politique vers la Russie et conclut en 1711 une traitée avec le tsar Pierre le Grand. Après la bataille de Stanilesti il s'est réfugié en Russie, où il s'occupait de la politique et il a aussi écrit des œuvres historiques, comme *L'histoire de la grandeur et de la décadence de l'Empire ottoman*, *L'examen physique des monarchies* (cette œuvre fut traduite en anglais déjà en 1734), *Le livre du système de la religion mahométane*. L'article passe en revue le contenu de cette œuvre. Les livres de Dimitri Cantemir constituent une riche source d'informations sur l'histoire du Proche Orient, et il semble que jusqu'ici ils n'aient pas été proprement évalués.

H. Dj. Siruni traite dans son article *Le nom de la ville de Constantinople dans les textes arméniens et turcs* des différentes noms donnés dans la littérature arménienne, dans la *Lamentation sur la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs* d'Abraham d'Angora, dans l'œuvre de Judjidjian etc. L'article est complété par une longue liste d'épithètes arméniennes et turques.

H. Stănescu s'occupe des monuments d'art conservés de l'époque turque en Dobrudja. L'histoire et la description de quelques monuments disparus et existants est donnée (Babadag, Medjidia, Mangalia, Karasu-Bazar). L'auteur trouve, que le style des monuments turcs fût influencé à partir du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle par l'art populaire roumain.

Dans l'article *Catlabouga, toponyme Arméno-Tatar* Vlad. Bănăteanu traite le toponyme Catlabouga, composé de mots d'origine tatare (chutlu et bugha). L'existence des personnes portantes ce nom et aussi prouvée.

Octavian Iliescu donne des explications qui concerne le nom d'une pièce de monnaie d'or otoman, frappée par Selim du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

*Une découverte relative à l'église de Zwarthnots en Arménie* est le titre d'un article de H. Dj. Siruni. Il s'agit d'un bas-relief dans une église de Paris, montrant l'église de Zwarthnots, érigée dans la VII<sup>e</sup> siècle près de l'Ararat. L'auteur souligne l'im-

portant rôle joué par l'architecture arménienne dans l'évolution de l'architecture européenne. La découverte démontre, que les idées de l'architecte T. Toramanian sur le plan et la construction de l'église de Zwarthnots étaient justes.

Le volume contient des comptes-rendus et des notes bibliographiques, notamment sur la revue Problemy Vostokovedeniia, sur l'étude de N. M. Postovskaja de la détermination des monuments de la Ière dynastie, sur le livre *La langue égyptienne* de N. S. Petrovsky etc.

Des comptes-rendus détaillés sont donnés des livres que voici: John Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B.*; *The Mycenae Tablets II*, Edited by Emmet L. Bennett, Philadelphia, 1958; Byren Roy, *The Mahabharata*, Calcutta, 1958. On y trouve également d'autres études et recueils d'articles en matière d'études orientales publiés en Union Sovietique, au Japon et en France.

Une revue détaillée est consacrée à l'œuvre de l'orientaliste polonais Jan Reychman *Zycie Polskie w Stambule w XVIII wieku* et à l'œuvre de Gyula Moravesik *Byzantinoturcica*.

Mihail Goboglu, rédacteur en chef de *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, a publié un *Catalogue des documents turcs*, contenant les résumés de plus de 3000 documents des années 1558—1913. Il s'agit surtout des documents ayant trait à l'administration de la Valachie.

*Studia et Acta Orientalia III*. contient enfin un rapport très détaillé du XXV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu à Moscou avec une liste complète de toutes les communications présentées.

Pour terminer, le volume donne des informations sur l'activité de la Section d'Études orientales de la Société des sciences historiques et philologiques de la République Populaire Roumaine de 1958 à 1959.

En effet, le troisième volume de *Studia et Acta Orientalia* nous montre le travail fécond des orientalistes roumains et témoigne de la haute tenue scientifique des leurs recherches.

J. Blaskovics

V. S. Rastorgueva, *A short sketch of Tajik grammar*. Translated and edited by H. H. Paper. The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1963. XI + 110 pp. Rotaprint.

The reviewed short sketch of Tajik grammar which appeared originally in 1954 as a supplement to the Tajik-Russian dictionary<sup>1</sup> is a part of the series of grammars of Iranian languages written in Russian and translated into English (the publisher is the Indiana University, Research Center in Anthropology, Foklore, and Linguistics). The aim of this undertaking is—according to the editor's preface—to get these works and their methods better known in the West, especially to get specialists and the students acquainted with some languages whose description had not yet been accessible to western literature. This is just the case with Tajik: the translation is the first grammatical exposition of this language in English. The fact that Soviet linguists have the possibility of an immediate access to the language is a certain guarantee of giving first-class information.

The inclusion of Tajik among the other members of the series (Osetian, Pashto,

<sup>1</sup> *Tadzhiksko-russkii slovar'*; edited by M. V. Rakhimi and L. V. Uspenskaia. Chief editor Ie. E. Bertel's; 40 000 words. Moscow 1954.

Persian) gives an evidence that it is recognized as an independent language with specific features, which has produced an independent modern literature. In spite of differences from the otherwise closely related Persian, as for instance in the vocabulary, phonetics, and also in morphology and syntax, especially as regards the many verbal forms and their combinations (including constructions with auxiliary modifying verbs) with abundant modal and aspectual differentiation,<sup>2</sup> one may, on the other hand, compare analogous phenomena and confront their treatment in particular grammars. V. S. Rastorgueva seems to have kept this aspect partly in view when treating—apart from some direct comparisons with Persian—the more essential characteristics (e.g. a general characteristic of parts of speech, p. 14—17) on a general level including implicitly the main features of both languages.

It should be stressed that the work is relatively comprehensive, in spite of the necessity of brevity, which is in agreement with the character of the handbook, i.e. to give basic information on grammar in a supplement to the vocabulary, and certainly it is the main criterion of the choice and of the compilation of the material. Though it was not possible to give a more detailed description of some facts due to this restriction, the author at least indicated some tendencies of the language and the intricacy of some problems. The arrangement of the material is clear and sufficiently proportional in treating the same phenomena from various views, the most difficult parts in this respect were those on the verb forms and their usage. The chapter on the word-formation of nouns and adjectives (composition and derivation), wherein a number of forms constituted by means of verb stems is included, precedes, however, the exposition of the verb (as distinct from the Persian grammar by the same author where the word-formation is placed at the end of the study, see V. S. Rastorgueva, "Kratkii ocherk grammatiki persidskogo iazyka", in *Persidsko-russkii slovar'* by B. V. Miller. Moscow 1960, p. 661—667). The enumeration of the functions of conjunctions is included in syntax (coordinating and subordinating conjunctions), the meanings of prepositions in the section on methods of expressing case relations; this section belongs in fact, within the framework of an analytic language, to syntax but for the convenience of the Russian reader it was included under morphology.

In some places the author presents also the specialities of the present-day colloquial language and dialects<sup>3</sup> and the differences of the classical language, and refers to the older stages of the language.

It would be possible to raise a number of interesting points and to comment upon the interpretation of some phenomena. In the section on phonetics the quantitative character of the vowels is treated only from the point of view of their degree of stability in certain positions; this is explained by the author in greater detail in her work on phonetics.<sup>4</sup>—The formulation that certain inanimate nouns form their plural with the suffix *-on* (17) is not precise, because the suffix *-ho* can be added to these nouns as well.<sup>5</sup>—Two functions of the unstressed suffix *-e* at the end of nouns are distinguished: that of the indefinite article and, in relative clauses, the selective one (19—20). It is interesting to compare the opinion of Iu. A. Rubinchik

<sup>2</sup> See the papers: Jiří Cejpek, *Die verbale Periphrase als ein wichtiges Unterscheidungsmerkmal zwischen Neopersisch und Tägikisch*. Archiv orientální XXIV, 1956, p. 171—182; Manfred Lorenz, *Participle Constructions as a Characteristic Distinguishing the Tajik Language from the Persian* (XXVIth Congress of Oriental Studies in Delhi 1964).

<sup>3</sup> She is the author of *Ocherki po tadzhikskoi dialektologii*. Moscow 1952—1961 (in four volumes).

<sup>4</sup> V. S. Rastorgujeva, *Kratkii ocherk fonetiki tadzhikskogo iazyka*. Stalinabad 1955, p. 33—36.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. R. L. Nemenova, *Kratkii ocherk grammatiki tadzhikskogo iazyka* in *Kratkii tadzhiksko-russkii slovar'* by Ia. I. Kalontarov. Moscow 1955, p. 534—535.

who, in his Persian grammar, includes both functions of this element (in Persian: *-i*) in the more comprehensive category of selection ("kategoriiia vydelennosti").<sup>6</sup>—The Arabic suffix *-iya*, *-iyat* occurring with words of Arabic origin is classed with derivational suffixes (34), however, the author does not quote any data for its independent usage or its shifted meaning in the system of the Tajik language (as distinct from the Arabic feminine plural ending *-āt*).—The modal construction with the present subjunctive, as *mekhoham...khonam* is considered an example of "the conjunctionless subordination of object-clauses" (107).<sup>7</sup>

The translation by H. H. Paper was prepared with great care; in most cases the translator could adequately make use of current English linguistic terminology, in more special cases he added an explanatory note to the translation of the Russian term (the terms "unifocal" and "bifocal", p. 7). Some proper names in the specimens of Tajik texts (taken mostly from modern literature) are persianized, i.e. instead of "o" they have "a" (e.g. *Shadi, Baraat*, p. 74).

The print is also very good, though not without several misprints in the Tajik text, which has been left in azbuka.

Eva Štolbová

Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur* (= Iranische Texte und Hilfsbücher, 5). Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1964. 254 pp.

Recently a new textbook by Alavi on the history of contemporary Persian literature was added to those of Brown, Rypka, and Bertels. Although Véra Kubíčková devoted a considerable chapter to contemporary Iranian literature in Rypka's work (*Jan Rypka: Iranische Literaturgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1959, pp. 339—398; Véra Kubíčková, "Die neopersische Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts"), and also Komissarov dealt with modern Persian prose in an original study (*Komissarov, D. S., Ocherki sovremennoi persidskoi prozy*. Moskva, 1960, pp. 212), Alavi's work is nevertheless a remarkable one. Not only has the author given us an overall, practically full, picture of the 20th century Persian literature, but also has provided us with rich details. The work's value is enhanced, to a large extent, by the fact that Alavi himself is a superb master of modern Persian prose who, as a result of his literary and political activities, lives in the literature itself: forms and shapes it from within, not as an outsider. The same applies to the evaluation of the social-political background: Alavi has an advantage which could be given only by the knowledge of fatherland.

Armed with the mastery of the vernacular and an Arabic education along with the thorough knowledge of the conditions and the literary life of his fatherland, and with a literary routine, Alavi treats the subject in the following manner:

By way of introduction he gives us a detailed information of the social, political and economic situation of Iran at the turn of the century, then the material's exposed in four parts according to the historical events, or rather periods: 1) From the turn of the century to the end of the Iranian revolution; 2) The age of the World War I (cca 1912—1920); 3) The dictatorship of the Shah Reza (1920—1941); 4) The age of the rise of national movements (from cca 1941 onwards).

<sup>6</sup> Iu. A. Rubinchik, *Sovremennyi persidskii iazyk*. Moscow 1960, p. 53—56.

<sup>7</sup> For a different opinion concerning analogous constructions in Persian see L. S. Pešikov, *Voprosy sintaksisa persidskogo iazyka*. Moscow 1959, p. 313—316.

It was not until the turn of the century that Persian literature started germinating. Persian book printing was begun in the middle of the 19th century. Traditional forms of classical poetry had received a new content, then this new content created a new form for itself. In the field of prose the first travel books, on European journeys of politicians or on pilgrimages, were published at the end of the last century. Political struggles, revolutions as well as patriotism leave their mark on both poetry and prose. Various dialects gained ground in prose.

Within the respective periods, Alavi gives a brief outline of the actual social and political problems, then divides the material according to literary genres. The most considerable was the development of modern literature, more and more new genres were born on the European model. Thus, in the first two periods distinction was made between poetry and prose only, while in the period of Shah Reza separate chapters were already devoted, within the prose, to the historical novel as well as to the short story and to literary studies. Modern literature was in its full bloom in the 'forties: journalism had come into being, theatrical arts were taking shape, though to a small extent and progressive representatives of the literary life had embraced the cause of folk poetry, etc.

Alavi's work abounds in selections from poetic works and besides being a literary history, it may be considered as an anthology of poetry of the period in question. Quotations are published in the original Persian and in German translation. It is understandable that there are no prosaic selections in the book, although the analysis of stylistic and content elements is comprehensive. Analysing a poet or a writer, the author reviews the whole literary activity of the respective writer or poet, enumerating the full list of his published works not only in transcription, but also in Persian.

The material is completed by a remarkable bibliography and made easy to handle by the index.

Alavi's book offers us a detailed survey of the Persian literature of the 20th century. It is regretted, however, that the author left his own works out of this literary history.

Eva Apor

B. Spuler (Ed.), *Turkologie* (= Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, Band V: Altaistik, 1. Abschnitt). Leiden/Köln, E. J. Brill, 1963. X + 468 pp.

This book can well serve as a genuine propædeutics of Turkology, and that is why each of its chapters has been written by a famous specialist from different countries. The whole book is divided into two main parts, one of which is „Linguistics“ (in 8 chapters), the other is „Literature“ (in 7 chapters).

Having been compiled by A. v. Gabain, the first chapter of Linguistics on the characterization of the Turkic languages (pp. 3—25), shows us a brilliant scheme of scientific work. The author begins with a concise introductory preface on the characterization of each language in this group from the stand-point of chronology, which itself is interesting, since these problems are not worked out and examined only descriptively (i.e. not only from the mere geographical point of view). Afterwards, based on modern observations, the problems of phonology are well solved. Then the authoress continues with her treatise into the forms of words, with the

aid of which she tries to distinguish all the main features of the Turkic words. She finishes her chapter with syntax. At the very end a satisfactory bibliography is added (p. 26). The chapter on the Turkic languages of the Central Asia (pp. 139—169) (i.e. the sixth chapter of Linguistics) is of the similar style. One of the most important and interesting parts of this chapter is paragraph 37 on the structure of verbs, where the verbal forms of the descriptive verbs are explained in quite an exciting way (154). A. v. Gabain also writes the last chapter of Linguistics (pp. 174—206), where she goes into the problems of Turkic dialects in South-West of Asia. She opens her treatise with an introduction, discussing the problems of Azerbaijani. Thus, she brings an explanatory light into this scope of science. She explains that in that area there lived the natives of Albany. Since the 11th century they have been gradually getting naturalized and Turkisized. Having described the word-morphology and the sentence-construction she closes this chapter with the main fundamental bibliography in a concise survey which is then followed by a list of abbreviations and signs used in the chapter. They are very simple and perhaps they could even be generally used, too.

The second chapter of Linguistics on the Ancient Turkic languages by Omelyan Pritsak (pp. 27—52) is a treatise of the most ancient Turkic languages, the knowledge of which has been based on modern sources. The author opens his work with a definition of the term "The Ancient Turkic", afterwards, he goes into the problems of phonology and morphology and finishes his work with the construction and structure of Turkish sentences. All this work is quite clear and well-arranged. Nevertheless, the author may have been strongly influenced by Gabain's perfect work on this subject (the "Alttürkische Grammatik", the 2nd edition, Leipzig 1950). On the other hand, we may also be rather discontented not to find here any concise survey of the bibliography at the end, as it is usual with all works by A. v. Gabain.

The 3rd chapter of Linguistics by N. Poppe (pp. 53—60) on the Yakut language is very interesting. It is all the more interesting because of the considerable lack of sources. Only a few grammarbooks have been written lately. The main one is the „Uchebnaia grammatika iakutskogo iazyka“ Moskva 1926, by the author himself. No doubt there was still another grammar-book, published in 1936, by S. V. Iastremski. But it was only the re-edition of the first, which had been published just in 1900. Neither of the editions was fully up-to-date. Into the bargain, this chapter holds the survey of the fundamental bibliography.

The chapter on the Chuvash language by J. Benzing (pp. 61—71) may well be taken as the fundamental work for all who want to study this language. At the end the well-arranged survey of bibliography is divided into several groups, i.e. into the sources of grammar, the group of dictionaries, then the group of texts and last but not least the group of general sources.

The chapter on the Siberian Turkic languages (pp. 72—138) by K. H. Menge goes into the problematical and moot question, because, till the 18th century, the Turkic peoples in that area had none of their own alphabets and owing to that fact there are no historical sources written in their own language to be had from those days. And the sources of other foreign countries referring to this subject were very sporadic. Then, the most interesting part of this chapter explains the problems of syntax (pp. 136—137), in case the subject of the sentence is to be the last in the sentence. This chapter belongs to one of the very instructive parts of this book.

In the last but one chapter of Linguistics (pp. 161—173) Ahmed Temir went into the problem of the Turkic languages of the North-West group. In a concise but

quite satisfactory way he gives a full description and into the bargain, at the end, he added a short survey of the useful sources.

The treatise into the Turkic literature is divided into 7 chapters. The development of the Turkic literature in Central Asia is still divided into two periods, the first of which (referring to the pre-Islamic era) was, in one chapter, reported on by A. v. Gabain (pp. 207—228). It is the first complete work on this topic. The following chapter (pp. 229—249) went into the development of the Islamic period. It is compiled by Z. V. Togan. It is short but unique, even though it rather lacks the clear break-down form. Perhaps, the chapter could do with a concise survey of sources at its end. Then, several parts are written from the respect of the only chapter, i.e. from the stand-point of the literature of Central Asia only, though, for instance, the great Mir 'Ali Sir Neva-i was not only the central, exalted intellectual power, which was, for centuries, influencing the southern Turkic literatures (as it is mentioned by the author), but his greatness went far beyond this scope, e.g. he played the most important role in the Ottoman literature<sup>1</sup> or else all other Turkic or even non-Turkic literatures, regardless of whether it is in the West or the East.

The topic of the following chapter on the Ottoman literature (pp. 250—335) by F. Taeschner had already been compiled several times before. The importance of this work is mainly in its form, then also in its own structure and correct merit-rate of all the eras of development, for the author was using the latest and reliable sources. There are also some interesting new concepts, such as that of the Bektashi poetry (pp. 290—291) or else the concepts on Bāqī. All are well supported by excellent sources, having been well worked out and observed by such experts as J. V. Hammers and J. Rypka. Unfortunately, the end of this chapter rather overlaps the following one.<sup>2</sup>

The two following chapters, on Modern Turkish literature (pp. 336—382), and on Turkish Folk-lore (pp. 382—417) by O. Spies are the unique contributions. It is only a great pity that, when compiling this important work, O. Spies was not in connection also with J. Blaskovics and so he was not at all aware of the existence of his excellent work on this subject.<sup>3</sup> In spite of this, his chapters are very interesting and it is surprising, too, that both scientists (O. Spies and J. Blaskovics), quite independent of each other, quite unaware of each other's opinions and observations, came to the same or nearly the same conclusions. Still another great pity is the fact that O. Spies was not aware of the existence of Soviet sources of Folk-lore. And there is still another question in O. Spies' second chapter on Folk-lore, which arguably has yet to be answered. It is the problem of classic destans in connection with the development of Folk-books, as well as their connection with the developing changes of their forms. This problem has been long observed in our country, though not yet completed.

The chapter on modern Azerbaijani literature (pp. 418—426) by Ahmed Caferoğlu and the last chapter (pp. 427—414) on modern Bashkir and Kazan-and-Turkish literature by Abdullah Battal Taymas are both original and rich with a splendid supply of bibliography.

Afterwards, there are still the special index and the general index. On the whole we can go to the length of saying that all authors have fulfilled their duties perfectly

<sup>1</sup> Vide pp. 235, 294.

<sup>2</sup> Vide pp. 327, 336 on Shināsi.

<sup>3</sup> Vide J. Blaskovics, *Dějiny nové turecké literatury*. Praha 1953 (translated also into English, Russian, German and French).

well so that one may only mention several little hindrances that the reader of this book may meet with. One of these, for instance, is the insufficient fundamental terms of the German language, in which the book was written, and so some parts can be understood only by the highly specialized experts<sup>4</sup> and then only after having read the whole chapter. Perhaps this book needs also a short preface with some introductory notes about all the authors and their works. We can also see that this co-operative work is considerably precious to Turkology. There may be only some very minor objections against the fact that probably several chapters were not thoroughly discussed before among the authors and they may seem rather separate, or, on the other hand, rather overlapping one another. It is a matter of fact that there ought to have been more co-operative consultations before. From the technical point of view of all the set-up, there can be no serious objections, apart from rare misprints.<sup>5</sup> On the whole we may say that this book is a precious contribution and genuine fundamental bases for turkology and that the needs and duties were here fully granted.

Zbyněk Šebík

S. T. Kliashtornyj, *Drevneturkskie runicheskie pamiatniki kak istochnik po istorii Srednei Azii*. Moskva, Izdatelstvo „Nauka“, 1964. 215 pp.

When studying the history of the steppes, no geographic frontier helps us to make clear distinctions between certain peoples, the information obtained from archaeological findings are often rather problematic from this point of view, and even well-known phenomena and events can be connected with definite peoples or groups of peoples only with serious difficulties. That is why we have to esteem really highly each date preserved by the records of the peoples themselves as they can be connected with those who had spoken the language of the records and are able to give direct information of a people. So it is understandable that since the end of the 17th century, when travellers first mentioned the Inner-Asian documents written in a so-called „runic“ script, a great number of scholars has studied them in order to decipher the script, discover the language and explain the text of the documents. This rich material, a legacy from the Turks ruling in the 6th—8th centuries between China and the shores of the Black Sea, proved to be a very important source to the history of Asia, especially of Central Asia. All the researches, concerning the documents in runic script of the Turks, are summarized and completed by exploiting these texts in respect of historical content and value of their information in S. G. Kliashtornyj's interesting and thorough book: “Old Turk documents in runic script as a source for the history of Central Asia”.

This book, after having sketched the history of researches in this field, gives a many-sided picture of the two centuries, when the Turks played a leading role on the steppes of Asia. The author does not restrict his sphere of researches to the Turk material, but collates it with the data of Chinese, Persian, Arab, Soghdian etc. sources as well as with the results of archeology. From the data he has compiled the chronological order of events, follows it up with an account of the documents and evaluates the related studies. But his main aim is in disclosing the motives of the historical

<sup>4</sup> Vide p. 203 „Türkeitürkisch“ in the meaning „Turkic-Turkish“.

<sup>5</sup> Vide p. 254 instead of „arastirmalar“, right „araştırmalar“.

events, recorded by these documents, in clearing up the economic processes which formed the history of the period in question. His main interest is attracted by the Inner-Asian and North-Chinese trade routes, the background of the Turk-Soghdian relations and the problems of Soghdian settlements in North-China; he traces the relation between trade, livestock-breeding and agriculture on these territories. Apart from this he has studied numerous other problems, too — of a geographic, ethnic, etc. character,—in connection with the history of Central Asian Turks, and has given a substantial account of the problems of their history. It is to be regretted, however, that not every people and territory attracted the author's interest to the same extent, —although this can be understood, due to the large quantity of the material,—and instead of some of the summary notices we should have preferred the author's more detailed instructions, his opinion, criticism, even his doubts, as they might have thrown some light on the complicated, partly unsolved problems of Central Asian history.

The book closes with a bibliography of the literature used. What we miss are the indexes and maps, which would have facilitated the use of this work for all those interested in the questions of Central Asia; nevertheless, they will find a substantial help in this book to further researches in this field.

Hilda Ecsedy

Fehim Bajraktarević, *Osnovi turske gramatike*. Beograd, Naučna knjiga, 1962. 107 S.

In den letzten Jahren erschienen mehrere Hochschullehrbücher oder Grammatiken des Türkischen, die die Universitäten für ihre Studenten herausgegeben haben (z. B. L. Rásónyi, A török nyelvtan. Budapest 1960; J. Blaskovics, Učebnice turečtiny. Praha 1964). Zu diesen gehört auch das besprochene Buch, das von dem bekannten Turkologen Professor F. Bajraktarević geschrieben wurde.

Das Ziel des Buches ist, wie der Verfasser in der Einleitung schreibt, die Studierenden mit den Grundlagen der türkischen Grammatik bekannt zu machen; deshalb enthält es nur die Hauptregeln der Grammatik. Das Buch macht sich keine Ansprüche neue Ansichten über die türkische Grammatik zu bringen, sondern bleibt bei der genauen Beschreibung ihrer Erscheinungen auf Grund theoretisch und materiell reicherer Grammatiken.

In der Einleitung wird die arabische Schrift, die die Türken bis zur Reform in 1928 benutzt haben, das vokalische System der arabischen Schrift, der phonetische Wert einzelner Buchstaben, die Aussprache und Orthographie des mit arabischer Schrift geschriebenen Türkischen, erläutert. In den weiteren grammatischen Teilen des Buches werden nämlich Beispiele mit lateinischer sowie auch arabischer Schrift angeführt. Der Autor geht dabei von der richtigen Voraussetzung aus, dass es beim Lernen des Türkischen zweckmässiger und auch ökonomischer ist, schon vom Anfang mit den graphischen Formen einzelner Wörter in arabischer Schrift bekannt zu werden. Beim Übergang zur Lektüre älterer Texte kommt dann zu keiner überflüssigen Verzögerung.

Die weitere Partie, die Grammatik, ist in 26 Teile verteilt. Hier ist das ganze grammatische System des Türkischen erklärt. Die grammatischen Erscheinungen sind, besonders in den letzten Teilen, durch kurze Sätze, die oft für die Konversation eine praktische Bedeutung haben, und auch durch Sprichwörter, erläutert.

Die Postpositionen und ihre Verbindungen sind alle angeführt, auch die, welche sich in modernem Türkischen nicht mehr befinden. Sie sollen die Lektüre der älteren Texte ermöglichen. Ein grosser Teil — fast eine Hälfte des Buches — ist dem kompliziertesten Gebiet der türkischen Grammatik, dem Zeitwort, gewidmet. Das türkische Zeitwort wird zuerst allgemein charakterisiert, dann werden die einzelnen Zeiten und Modi erörtert. Die Partizipien und Gerundien sind zwar kurz aber gut erklärt. Am Schluss des grammatischen Teiles wird die Bildung der Deverbativa, weiter die Adverbien und Bindewörter, die der grammatischen Funktion nach nacheinander geordnet sind, beschrieben. Am Ende des Buches ist ein Register der grammatischen Fachausdrücke zugefügt.

Diese „Grundlagen der türkischen Grammatik“ kann man als eine gute Übersicht der Paradigmatik werten. Es zeigt, dass in Jugoslawien das Studium der türkischen Sprache auf den Hochschulen vielmehr auf die älteren Formen der Sprache und auf die Geschichte eingestellt ist, was mit dem Bedürfnis die eigene Geschichte in der Zeit der osmanischen Herrschaft kennenzulernen, zusammenhängt.

Vojtech Kopčan

Nada Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire* (= Recherches Méditerranéennes: Textes et Études Linguistiques, III). Paris — La Haye, Mouton et Co., 1964. 236 pp.

Le livre de N. Tomiche présente une synthèse attendue impatiemment par les arabisants, surtout ceux qui se spécialisent en dialectologie. L'apparition d'un ouvrage pareil est due à une série de travaux préparatoires accomplis par l'auteur<sup>1</sup> de même comme à la tradition sémitologique établie par le Groupe linguistique d'études chamito — sémitique (= GLECS).

L'ouvrage est divisé en deux parties: (1) analyse phonologique, (2) morphologie et syntaxe.

Dans les pages traitant le consonantisme, à part une corrélation de sonorité qui traverse le système à partir des labiales (l'opposition entre *f*—*b* étant considérée, dans ce contexte, équivalente à celle de *t*—*d*, *k*—*g*, etc.) jusqu'aux pharyngales, la corrélation de vélarisation emphatique est étudiée. Cette corrélation est établie pour la totalité des phonèmes consonantiques, même pour une variante combinatoire ([η] — [ŋ]). Outre les emphatiques étymologiques l'auteur est bien juste de considérer *r*, pour le Caire, bien-entendu, comme une emphatique „par nature“ (pour s'en tenir à la terminologie employée par l'auteur) ce qui lui permet de dessiner un tableau phonologique bien plus réaliste qu'on ne l'est accoutumé de rencontrer d'ordinaire. La constatation d'une fréquence plus élevée du *r* (195 cas enregistrés) que celle du *r* (182 cas enregistrés sur un total de 6052 consonnes) nous paraît une des plus méritoires de toutes les données statistiques fournies par le livre analysé.

Le *r*, bien qu'étant considéré comme le seul emphatisateur possible dans un nombre de mots ne contenant pas d'autres emphatiques „par nature“, laisse voir plusieurs

<sup>1</sup> Tomiche (N.), *Morphologie du pluriel des substantifs dans le dialecte arabe du Caire*, GLECS VII (1955), p. 49—56.

— *Notes sur le dialecte de la Manūfiyya (Égypte)*, GLECS VIII (1957), p. 3—5.

— *L'accent de mot dans le dialecte arabe du Caire*, GLECS VIII (1958), p. 33—36.

— *Les parlers arabes d'Égypte. Matériaux pour une étude de géographie dialectale*, Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal, 2 vol., Paris 1962, II, p. 767—779.

transcriptions équivoques qui semblent contrarier cet état de choses, p. ex. *'erəf* (105)/*'eref* (ib.), „il a su“, etc.

Parfois il en est de même en ce qui concerne l'effet emphatisant du *r* (à moins qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'errata d'imprimerie), ex. *kâssâr* (24)/*kâssâr* (127). Nous considérons, d'une façon pareille, comme peu claires des transcriptions suivantes:

*darabûk 'awi* (96), „ils t'ont beaucoup frappé“, comparé par exemple avec un *dârâb* (97), „il a frappé“;

*darabnâk* (103) à côté d'un *dârâbnâk* (59), „nous t'avons frappé“;

*darabnâki* (103) comparé avec *dârâbnâki* (59), „nous t'avons frappée“;

*dârâbtâha* (50) à côté de *dârâbtâha* (98), „je l'ai (tu l'as) frappée“, etc., qui ne peuvent être, semble-t-il, expliquées par l'effet d'un contexte désemphatisant comme ce serait possible dans p. ex. *dârâb/dârâbak*, etc. (cf. p. 17).

L'auteur prête parfois attention aux différences basées sur l'inégalité du niveau culturel des sujets parlants, p. ex.: *'ed'ašša/'ef'ašša* (22), „dîne“ dont la dernière est indiquée comme une variante „élégante“ par rapport à la première. Ou bien, la conservation de la diphtongue *-aw-* dans le mot *ṣawra*, „révolution“ doit être expliquée, à l'avis de l'auteur, par le fait que ce mot reste peu populaire (24). Une telle distinction une fois envisagée, on serait autorisé de supposer qu'une emphatisation, dépassant par si trop l'état étymologique comme c'est le cas des enregistrements dans le présent ouvrage, peut être, à son tour, ressentie comme propre à un niveau culturel particulier loin d'être généralement reconnue par la totalité de ceux qui se font comprendre au moyen du parler du Caire. Nous croyons possible de soutenir qu'à côté d'un p. ex. *hâmâṣṭîšâr* (227), „quinze“ (pour un niveau culturel ne dépassant pas la moyenne), il y a également un *hamâṣṭâšâr* (pour un niveau plus élevé), etc., etc. La distinction entre *sams/šams* (23) pourrait être, à notre avis, envisagée de ce point de vue.

La prononciation féminine, comme l'auteur l'a souligné plus d'une fois, opère en facteur désemphatisant, ex. *rabbi* (18), „éduque“, *'ârđi* (98), „ma terre“, etc. Il serait, peut-être, possible d'aller encore plus loin et de parler même d'une palatalisation, p. ex. *enti* „toi (fém.)“, *katabti*, „tu as écrit (fém.)“, etc. Dans ces cas, la prononciation du *t* paraît être très proche de celui dans les mots français „tiers“, „moitié“, etc. Il en est de même avec *d* dans ex. *il-hâga-di*, „cette chose, ceci“ où le *d* se voit très proche du *dy* de Haute-Égypte.

L'auteur examine avec une précision et clarté incomparables la syllabe et l'accentuation dont la description pour le parler du Caire est des plus valables. Il en est de même avec la brève mais non moins intéressante partie consacrée à la morphonologie du parler du Caire (traits démarcatifs).

La morphologie du verbe est immédiatement liée à un exposé syntaxique ce qui a, sans doute, ses avantages incontestables. En ce qui concerne l'inchoatif, nous préférions ne pas ranger *'a'ad* parmi les verbes auxiliaires indiquant le début de l'action et, par la suite, nous traduirions l'exemple donné *'a'ad yer'os*, „il s'est mis à danser“ (108) plutôt par „il était en train de danser“.

Les thèmes aux radicales semi-consonantiques sont, contrairement à l'usage adopté par la plupart de manuels, confrontés par les formes correspondantes de l'Arabe Classique ce qui facilitera la lecture du livre aux étudiants initiés à l'Arabe Classique.

Les formes dérivées du verbe semblent confirmer notre suggestion de définir plus explicitement le niveau culturel particulier des sujets parlants par rapport auquel le présent ouvrage était écrit. La IVe forme, par ex., bien qu'extrêmement

rare dans un milieu illettré ou semi-lettré devient beaucoup plus fréquente chez les individus d'une culture dépassant la moyenne. L'apparition de la IVe forme est souvent stimulée, comme l'auteur l'a très justement indiqué (133), par le fait que la IIe forme est lexicalement liée, p. ex. *'awwam* (factitive de *'ām*) „il a fait lever“. L'inaccompli de la IIe forme *ye'awwem* ne peut, par la suite, remplacer celui de *ye'im* dans le sens de „il dresse, il bâtit, il construit“, etc. Il n'est pas même rare, considérant notre exemple, d'entendre même *um kāf* étymologique, ce qui, envisagé d'un point de vue d'une différenciation culturelle, ne doit pas nécessairement mettre notre exemple hors du système.

Nous trouvons un peu surprenant qu'à côté des hamzas disparus en position intervocalique, p. ex. *y-ahl'*, „ô parents“; *yaħī!*, „mà chère“; *yahī!*, „mon cher“ (206—207), nous n'avons réussi [exception faite pour *laħsan*, „parce que“ (211)] à trouver pas un exemple d'un hamza élidé, étant précédé de l'article défini, avec une élision simultanée du hamza de l'article, ce qui présente, à notre avis, un des traits les plus spécifiques du parler du Caire, p. ex. *yōm letnēn* (pour s'en tenir aux règles de transcription en valeur dans le livre analysé) à côté de *yōm 'el-l-etnēn* (232), „lundi“; *yōm larba'* à côté de *yōm 'el-'āṛba'* (ib.), „mercredi“, etc.

Nos remarques portent, naturellement, sur le côté technique du livre sans vouloir toucher ses hautes qualités intérieures. Le livre de N. Tomiche est une importante contribution pour l'étude scientifique de l'Arabe d'Égypte. Le mérite de ce savant ouvrage est souligné par les données statistiques concernant les aspects phonologiques les plus divers du parler du Caire qui sont d'une valeur inappréciable. Grâce à une multitude d'exemples si finement choisis et classés, surtout dans la partie syntaxique, le livre de N. Tomiche doit être, à son tour, chaleureusement recommandé à tous ceux qui sont désireux d'acquérir de solides connaissances pratiques.

L. Drozdík

Vincent Monteil, *L'Arabe moderne* (Études arabes et islamiques, Études et documents, III). Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1960. 386 pp.

L'Arabe moderne de V. Monteil complète la série bien modeste de travaux européens concernant ce sujet. Cet ouvrage, à beaucoup d'égards, apporte un nombre d'innovations importantes à l'exposition traditionnelle du sujet abordé qu'est l'arabe de nos jours. C'est surtout (1) l'importance accordée aux néologismes créés par le progrès scientifique dans des pays arabophones (dans les pages concacrées aux particularités spécifiques de la constitution des termes techniques l'ouvrage s'inspire plus d'une fois de l'importante contribution de Bielawski<sup>1</sup> dont il constitue, en même temps, une extension valable) de même comme (2) l'étude approfondie des problèmes sémantiques, phraséologiques et même, bien que traités d'une manière plus concise, des faits stylistiques, négligés par la plupart des manuels.

Dans les pages préliminaires l'auteur passe en revue les opinions les plus diverses sur l'état actuel de ce qu'il appelle néo-arabe qu'il situe dans un cadre historique et culturel. Après une exposition des faits phonétiques [où il place un peu mal à propos,

<sup>1</sup> J. Bielawski, *Deux périodes dans la formation de la terminologie scientifique arabe* (Rocznik Orientalistyczny, XX, pp. 263—320).

à notre avis, aussi *l'i'rāb* (p. 57)], l'auteur aborde un des problèmes les plus discutés à l'époque actuelle, celui de la diglossie arabe.

En ce qui concerne l'exposé morphologique, donné dans le chapitre V, il y a vraiment très peu à être ajouté. Nous croyons tout de même utile de préciser la constatation de l'auteur portant sur l'interchangeabilité des noms d'action des IIe et Ve formes. L'auteur situe ce phénomène dans le dialecte libano-syrien (p. 111). Une telle localisation nous paraît excessivement restrictive à plusieurs raisons: (1) la forme *tafīl* est, dans beaucoup de cas, capable d'exprimer la valeur grammaticale d'un *tafa'ul* aussi dans l'arabe littéraire moderne, p. ex. *at-tajjirāt* (*at-tagajjurāt*) *al-hamma*; *at-taṭwīrāt* (*at-tatawwurāt*) *al-ahīra*, etc., etc. (dans la langue des journaux); (2) ce phénomène se fait voir bien souvent même dans l'usage scientifique, p. ex. *takwīn al-ğalṭa min ad-dam* (définition du terme *tağallūt*, „coagulation“ (Ac., 2, 128)<sup>2</sup>, comparé avec p. ex. *takawwun al-ḥasā fi'l-masālik al-lu'ābiya* [définition du terme *at-taħassī al-lu'ābi*, „sialolithiasis“ (Ac., 2, 85)], etc. Toutes les deux formes expriment la même idée de spontanéité bien que ce ne soit que celle de notre deuxième exemple qui l'exprime conformément aux règles grammaticales en valeur aujourd'hui.

La partie syntaxique du livre de V. Monteil apporte une collection très intéressante de déterminations vicieuses (p. 230) qui sont dues, suivant les mots de H. Wehr, à „une surprenante incohérence de construction“, par ex. *kā'id āmm al-asāṭil al-ğawwīja* „commandant en chef des flottes aériennes“, etc. Par ces exemples l'auteur enregistre les tendances les plus récentes de l'évolution linguistique dans le domaine arabe. De l'autre côté, le livre de Monteil passe sous silence une autre sorte de déterminations vicieuses (du point de vue d'une grammaire d'allure traditionnelle), notamment ce qu'on appelle en France suivant R. Blachère l'état d'annexion de qualification (p. 232). Il faut noter qu'à côté des constructions du type *ar-rāja al-mutallat al-alwān* „le drapeau tricolore“, il existe un nombre considérable de constructions dont les „relatives participiales“ étymologiques se voient être dépourvues de l'article *al* [qui équivaut alors, suivant R. Blachère, à un démonstratif-relatif (GAC, 325, 430)], p. ex. *nabātāt al-bī'a al-mutawassiṭat ar-rutūba* [Mesophytes, bot., ('IA, 47)]<sup>3</sup> à côté de *nabātāt al-bī'a mutawassiṭat ar-rutūba* [id., (ibid., 54)]; *as-sukkarijāt at-tunā'ijs at-taskīr* [di-saccharides ('AHT, 204)]<sup>4</sup> à côté de *as-sukkarijāt wahidat at-taskīr* [monosaccharides (ib., 203, 204)], etc., etc.

L'auteur a bien réussi à exposer d'une manière synthétique l'état actuel de l'arabe moderne et son livre présente un instrument de travail précieux pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux tendances de développement les plus récentes de la langue arabe.

Ladislav Drozdík

D. Tsereteli, Sovremennyi assiriiskii iazyk. Moskva, Izdatel'stvo, „Nauka“, 1964. 104 pp.

The major works on the dialects of the Semitic population of the regions adjacent to the upper Euphrates and Tigris, speaking Neo-Syriac dialects and calling them-

<sup>2</sup> Ac. — *Mağma'* *al-luja al-'arabiya* — *Mağmū'at al-mustalahāt al-'ilmīja wa'l-fannīja'llatī akarrāhā'l-mağma'* (Académie de langue arabe du Caire, Les termes scientifiques et techniques approuvés par l'Académie) I, II, III, IV, V, Le Caire 1957—1963.

<sup>3</sup> 'IA — *'Ilm al-ahjā*, II (Ministry of Education), Le Caire s. d.

<sup>4</sup> 'AHT — *Sulaimān 'Azmi*, 'Alā hāmiš at-tibb, Le Caire 1961.

selves mostly "Assyrians", were compiled before World War I. The number of scholars now working in this field is very small: Professor Polotsky in Jerusalem has published relevant studies, Professor Friedrich in Berlin has dealt with the texts printed in Roman characters. Professor Constantin Tsereteli in Tbilisi makes use of the extraordinary favourable conditions in his country: in Tbilisi itself and especially in some villages around, several thousand Neo-Syriac-speaking peoples have been living since World War I. The dialects spoken by them in their homeland on the territory of Eastern Turkey were hundreds of kilometres away; now the speakers are living in homogenous communities not far from Tbilisi.

Constantin Tsereteli has published many articles on different aspects of these dialects as well as a chrestomathy with a very good glossary which appeared in 1958 (Cf. the review in ArOr 27, 1959, pp. 702—703).

On the basis of his preliminary studies, Constantin Tsereteli began a thorough synthetical treatment of these dialects. In 1958 he published the comparative phonology of contemporary „Assyrian“ dialects, written in Georgian with a comprehensive résumé in Russian (cf. the review in ArOr 29, 1961, pp. 96—105); Tsereteli has also published the substance of his results in German, in F. Altheim's „Geschichte der Hunen“ (vol. 3, Berlin 1961, pp. 218—266). A further volume, on comparative morphology is being prepared, and the work is to be completed by a comparative syntax. To the articles quoted in the bibliography of the book under review (pp. 99—100) should be added „Über die Reflexivformen in den modernen aramäischen Dialekten“, Rivista degli Studi Orientali 1964.

The short book under review appeared in a series devoted to the languages of the Asian and African peoples, edited by Professor G. P. Serdiutchenko. They are arranged according to a uniform scheme, to serve as an introduction to the external history and different aspects of the language. They are not intended as a substitute for grammars or textbooks, but in their way they give a good insight into the language. They provide specialists with a convenient survey, and are a source of reliable information for general linguists, literary historians etc.

In the introduction (pp. 7—15) Professor Tsereteli gives an account of the remains of the Aramaean language which was spoken centuries ago over a great territory from the Nile to the Caucasus. He also mentions the Western Aramaic dialect surviving in *Ma'lūla* and other three villages on Antilibanon, but he concentrates mainly on the Eastern Aramaic dialects, showing the closest affinity to the Jewish dialect represented in the Babylonian Talmud, to the language of the Mandaeans and also to classical Syriac.

Of the different names of this surviving Eastern Aramean language dialect Tsereteli prefers the designation "Assyrian"; it is current in the Soviet Union, it was attested in the Georgian documents as early as the 18th century, and it respects the name used by the speakers of these dialects themselves: *'assurā'*, *assorzi* etc. (cf. p. 8).

The ancient settlements of this people are now in the territories of Iran, Iraq and Turkey, but in the last decades they have also settled in Syria. The number of "Assyrians" in the Soviet Union was 21,800 in 1959. Altogether there are approximately 300,000 Assyrians, including those living in the USA.

The Neo-Syriac dialects can be classified in two principal groups: the dialect of *Tūr-Abdīn* in Northern Iraq, spoken by the members of the Syriac orthodox church (the so-called Jacobites) as the Western dialect has some relevant differences in respect to the other dialects, classified as eastern: the dialect of Urmia; the dialect of

the Jews at Salamas, differing from the dialect of the Christians in this region; Botani in Western Kurdistan; Tiari in Central Kurdistan; the dialects of Turkish Kurdistan; the dialects spoken around the lake Van; the dialect used in the region of Mosul (*Felîhî*).

Only in the middle of the 19th century was a literary language formed, especially for religious instruction. American missionaries also started the linguistic study of the Neo-Syriac dialects, and later outstanding scholars such as Th. Nöldeke dealt with these dialects. Russian scholars have occupied themselves with the Neo-Syriac dialects since the end of the 19th century, but the most relevant studies on them were published by N. V. Yushmanov in 1933—1938. For the Neo-Syriac dialects, all three types of the Syriac alphabet are used: the Nestorian by the Nestorians, *serto* by the Jacobites, and sometimes also *estrangelo*. In the thirties, books and journals for the “Assyrians” living in the Soviet Union were printed in Roman characters, with some special letters, but this innovation was not accepted by the Assyrians themselves who preferred the traditional Syrian alphabet (pp. 15—18).

The phonetics of the Neo-Syriac dialects (pp. 18—32) contains many phenomena infrequent or unknown in other Semitic languages; they can for the greater part be explained through the influence of the Non-Semitic languages in the neighbourhood, like Persian, Kurdish, Turkish, Georgian, Armenian and Russian. Among the consonants, there are also ž, č and the abruptives p, t, k and č (pp. 18—20). The vowels can be classified into three series, front vowels with soft timbre, back vowels with hard timbre and middle vowels with middle timbre. As the full vowels a, e, i, o, u can be either short and long, and are also distinguished according to the timbre, there are 30 full vowels, and beside these in some dialects four ultra short vowels have also been attested. There are also the semi-vowels ū and ī and 9 diphthongs containing one of them (pp. 20—24).

Phonetic phenomena like assimilation, palatalisation and spirantisation of the consonants, dissimilation and elision are known from the other Aramaic dialects, but the vowel harmony, called by Tsereteli (after Iushmanov) “synharmonism”, is characteristic for the Neo-Syriac dialects, especially for that of Urmia. The timbre of the vowels is determined by the consonants, the vowels in the word must belong to one of three series according to their timbre; the pharyngal ‘ain and the formerly emphatic consonants—now of course pronounced without the emphasis—require the hard timbre, the laryngals, velars and abruptives middle timbre and the other soft timbre. The timbre is also a distinctive feature of words, e.g. *tälä* with swift timbre means “trap”, *tälä* with hard timbre “fox”. The expiratory accent is regularly placed on the penultimate, in some cases also on the antepenultimate and the ultimate. The accent on the ultimate is found in words which have lost their last syllable or some words of foreign origin (cf. pp. 24—30).

Morphology occupies more than half the book (pp. 30—81). The system of the pronouns (pp. 31—34) shows some relevant differences from the older Aramaic languages: the grammatical genera are not distinguished in the plural; e.g. the pronoun of the 2. person plur. is *ahtun* (ah- perhaps by analogy with the first person *ahnan*).

The formation of nouns (pp. 34—38) is based on genuine Semitic types, but these have very often undergone vigorous phonetical changes. The proportion of compound words is very great. Nominal declension (pp. 38—45) uses the endings for genus, number and status represented already in the older East Aramaic dialects. Status *absolutus* and *constructus* are preserved only on some fixed constructions.

The numerals (pp. 45—47) differ at first sight from those of other Semitic languages, but the changes follow the laws operating in the Neo-Syriac dialects.

While the nominal system remains in principle the same as in the older Aramaic dialects, the verbal system has been totally transformed (pp. 47—78). Tsereteli first treats the so-called verbum existentiae and verbum substantivum, as peculiar representatives of the verb (pp. 48—50). The first of them is the old particle of existence *it* with the preposition *l-* and the personal suffix, e.g. *itlič* (< *it-l-ič*) “I will be”; as these elements were used also in the conjugation of other verbs, this particle was transferred into the verbal system. The past tense is formed by the “infixion” of the element *-vā-*, derived apparently from the old perfect 3. sing. masc. of *hwyl* “to be”. The so-called verbum substantivum is not used separately, but only joined to the substantive functioning as complement, e.g. *āna studentivin* “I am a student”.

The intensive and causative (with the prefix *'a-*) verbal stems are represented in the modern „Assyrian“ dialects only by the nominal forms used as basic elements in the conjugation (pp. 50—52).

The old personal endings are preserved only in the imperative, while the old forms of verbum finitum were replaced by innovations formed on the active participle, passive participle and infinitive. The endings of the third person are of nominal origin; 3. sing. masc. zero, 3 sing. fem. *-a*, 3 plur. comm. *-i* (pp. 52—54).

The personal endings of the first and second person are formed with the help of pronominal elements: 1. sing. *-n*, 2. sing. *-t*, 1. plur. *-ah* (from *ahnān*), 2 plur. *-tun*. The differentiation of the grammatical genus in the singular is expressed by the form of participle used: *pathin* (from *pātih + n*) for masculine, *pathan* (from *patha + n*) for feminine; the meaning is “I open” (pp. 54—56).

The forms known from the older East Aramean dialects as passive are used in the modern dialects as constructive elements, but the difference is no more generic but rather temporal: the old passive participle serves to express past time: *ktiv* “written” — *ktivli*, literally “it was written for me”, the actual meaning is “he has written”. As the future is expressed with the help of the old active participle, the difference between these two forms is now temporal (pp. 56).

The personal suffixes joined to the verb are used in the modern East Aramaic dialects to express the object, but this use is of course adapted to the totally altered verbal system; therefore the pronominal elements are not directly joined to the verbal form, but have the praepositional element *l-* in between (pp. 56—57).

As the old verbal nomina were incorporated into the verbal system as basic forms for the conjugation of finite verbs, it was necessary to build a new nomen actionis, from the infinitive with the ending *-ta*. The nomen agentis is formed from the participle with the ending *-ān* (pp. 57—58).

The paradigms of the conjugation of the regular triconsonantal verb (pp. 58—62) show clearly the peculiar Neo-Syriac system; there are two conjugations, one simple, the second consisting of the intensive and the causative. In each of them, there are three tenses: the future formed from the active participle (*bit pātih* “he will open”), the past (perfect) formed from the passive participle (*ptihli* “he has opened”), the present, formed from the infinitive (*biptāheli* “he opens”). As the negative form of the present joins the negation to the pronominal element, it gives *lēli biptāha* “he does not open”. The paradigms also contain the imperative, infinitive, nomen actionis, nomen agentis and the passive participle.

The conjugation of the weak (pp. 63—75) and quadriliteral (pp. 75—78) verbs shows many interesting phenomena, especially in the phonetical changes and

tendencies to maintain the unity of the paradigms, but the system is of course unchanged.

Of the particles Tsereteli gives a substantial selection of adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections (pp. 78—81); it is interesting that even many of the conjunctions are borrowed from foreign languages, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and Arab.

The treatment of the syntax (pp. 81—92) is short, but it shows the peculiarities of the Neo-Syriac dialects, in a clear survey of the syntactical system. The order of the words (pp. 87—88) is not bound by strong rules; the subject is in the most cases at the beginning of the sentence. Asyndetic sentences are very often found in Neo-Syriac languages.

In the short chapter on the lexicon (pp. 92—93) some samples of the loan words from Persian, Kurdish, Azerbeidjanian, Turkish and Arabic are quoted. Imitations of typical constructions from these languages are also used by the “Assyrians”. In the literary language there are also words of Greek origin, borrowed into the Aramaic in remote times; the Akkadian loan words are of course even much older. In modern times many English words, often with American pronunciation and meaning have been incorporated into the Neo-Syriac languages. The “Assyrians” living in the Soviet Union have borrowed many Russian words, some of them through the intermediary of Georgian and Armenian.

As in the other monographs in this series, there is an appendix (pp. 94—99), containing a sample text. The complicated situation of Neo-Syriac is demonstrated through the different kinds of presentation: the fable of the lion and the fox is given in a consonantal text in Nestorian writing, then in the same writing with vocalization, then in a transliteration and finally in a phonetic transcription. The Russian translation and a glossary with explanations help the understanding of the grammatical phenomena in the text.

In accordance with the character of the series, the monograph by Professor Constantin Tsereteli is limited to the presentation of the linguistic facts and does not compare it with the older East Aramaic dialects and other Semitic languages. We may expect this from the more extensive grammar of the Neo-Syriac dialects being prepared, which is to appear in German. The short book under review fulfils completely and competently the aim of the series: to give a short account of the language from all the relevant points of view.

Neo-Syriac material should be used for the purposes of comparative Semitic grammar more than it has been so far. Similar methods should be used to those used for some modern Ethiopic dialects the study of which has given relevant suggestions for Semitic linguistics. The results of immanent tendencies should be distinguished from the impact of non Semitic languages spoken in the neighbourhood. Even the relation between these two factors deserves to be studied very thoroughly, in order to obtain certain results, which could be then used to trace such relations in remote antiquity, where it is necessary to supplement the lack of material by hypothetical reconstructions.

The reviewer has already tried to show the relevance of the Neo-Syriac material, as presented and classified according to the modern linguistic methods by Constantin Tsereteli, for the phonology of the Semitic languages (cf. *ArOr* 29, 1961, pp. 96—105); below he will deal shortly with some characteristic morphological traits of the Neo-Syriac verbal system.

The transformation of the system of verbal aspects (so-called perfect and imperfect)

into a temporal system, in which the perfect became the past tense and the imperfect the future, while the present tense was supplied by the present active participle with the personal pronoun, can be traced back to the last phases of the Old Aramaic stage. Of the three ways of indicating tense in this phase or in the phase attested by classical Syriac and the language of the Babylonian Talmud, only the use of the active participle is attested in Neo-Syriac. But its function is not present, it serves to express the future. This future character is signalized by the element *bit*, consisting of the preposition *b-* and the particle of existence *it*. In the forms of 1. and 2. person the participle is followed by the pronominal element, directly derived from the personal pronoun, while in the third person the nominal endings of the participle remain. The passive participle is used to form the past tense, as it expresses a completed action. The personal element in this Neo-Syriac past tense is expressed by the personal pronoun suffixed to the preposition *l-*. The present is formed by the infinitive preceded by the preposition *b-*; the pronominal element is contained in the form of verbum substantivum attached to the infinitive.

The process seen in the formation of the verb tenses in Neo-Syriac can be compared to the rise of corresponding verbal forms in the prehistoric stage of the evolution of the Semitic languages. The combination of the infinitive with secondary pronominal elements not identical with the personal pronouns in the Neo-Syriac present has its parallel in the West Semitic imperfect, where the verbal element shows its affinity to the infinitive and the prefixes and affixes are certainly of pronominal origin, but from another series than the personal pronoun. The formation of the Neo-Syriac future from a verbo-nominal element—the active participle—corresponds to the formation of the West Semitic perfect, as the affixes of the third person are derived from the endings for genera and numeri of the noun, while the forms of the second and first persons use the pronominal elements represented also in the independent personal pronoun.

On the other hand, the use of the so-called verbum substantivum, attached to a substantive noun, recalls the Akkadian stative (permansive); the Akkadian pronominal element is expressed in the stative ending, while the pronominal element contained in the verbum substantivum is not considered sufficient to express person and number in the predicative position, and it is necessary to put the independent personal pronoun before it.

The affirmative form of the future and both affirmative and negative forms of the present in the Neo-Syriac simple stem begin with the element *b-*, originally the preposition “in”. The original meaning of this element is better preserved in the present forms, whose basis can be understood as some kind of gerundium *bi-ptāh* “in aperiendo”, while the verbum substantivum determines the person and number. The obvious affinity with the use of *b-* in the modern Arabic dialects of Syria, where it is put before the finite forms of the imperfect to express present or future meaning, should be further studied.

The intensive and causative which are not so frequent in the Neo-Syriac dialects as in older Aramaic, are formed according to the same principles as the forms of the simple stem, but the element *b-* does not appear in the present forms.

The use of the prefix *m-* in all the finite and nominal forms of the causative is perhaps to be explained by the phonetic lability of the original causative prefix *'-*. The exigencies of the system have caused the expansion of *m-* into all the forms. This nominal praefix was introduced even into the imperative, which is the most conservative form of the Neo-Syriac verb. The theories explaining the rise of the causative

stem in the Semitic languages reckon with the purely verbal character of the basis of this stem; perhaps it would be fruitful also to examine — as suggested by the Neo-Syriac causative—the possibility of verbo-nominal character for the causative basis.

This consideration concerns only the morphological means of the Neo-Syriac verb; research on the function of the forms quoted by Tsereteli and of some other forms attested in different dialects, will be more rewarding; cf. H. J. Polotsky, Studies in Modern Syriac, Journal of Semitic Studies 6, 1961, pp. 1—32 especially pp. 20—23.

There are many other interesting features in the Neo-Syriac verbal system. The connection between the verbal stem is often relaxed, as some stems coincide for phonetic reasons; e.g. the majority of forms of the verba tertiae infirmae, among which not only those with *i* as third radical but also those with the third radical *'ain* must be considered, are the same in both simple and intensive stem.

The preceding remarks are limited only to some morphological features of the Neo-Syriac verb, but perhaps they could help to demonstrate the relevance of Neo-Syriac material for many open problems of Semitic linguistics. The material presented by Constantin Tsereteli gives a reliable basis for further work, as it is collected and fixed according to precise methods, which are the same for material from different dialects.

Both the gathering of material from surviving Aramaic dialects and its grammatical and lexical synthesis are an urgent task of Semitic linguistics today. The intensification of social, economic and cultural contacts affects more and more the small Aramaic speaking communities living amid populations speaking other languages. The following remarks are based on observations made in Syria, but the situation in other countries where the Aramaic speaking peoples are living will be not too different.

The territory in which the last remnants of West Aramaic survive covers only three villages in Antilibanon some 60 kilometres north of Damascus. The largest of the communities, *Ma'lūla* is now joined with the capital of Syria by a bus service three times a day. The good highway encourages traffic, and many taxis and private cars come to *Ma'lūla*, which thanks to its favourable climate at 1500—1600 m above sea-level is becoming a holiday centre. As there is no local industry, most of the men work in Damascus, Zahle and Beirut, and come home only for weekends or at even longer intervals. On the other hand, Arabic speaking Moslem newcomers to *Ma'lūla* who have recently built a new mosque whence the recorded voice of the muezzin calls several times a day, are also strengthening the position of the Arab language in *Ma'lūla*. But even in the Christian communities of which nearly all inhabitants of *Ma'lūla* belong the Arab language is being used more and more as the clergy are Arabs and they use the Arab language exclusively, because nearly all the members of their communities understand this language. The language used in the schools is also Arabic.

Aramaic is spoken also in the Moslem villages *Bah'ā* and *Ǧubb'adīn*, which have not so close a contact with the neighbourhood, as they do not attract visitors and are accessible only by primitive roads. But the influence of Arabic schools and of broadcasting, which thanks to the very cheap Japan transistors can be heard by practically all the people, can be observed even there.

The language of the Aramaeans on Antilibanon, whose number is actually about 5000, can be studied from the very precise records published by G. Bergsträsser, F. Reich (Rice) and A. Spitaler; the glossary by Bergsträsser and the grammar by

Spitaler are very satisfying, but a further study of the language, especially in the two minor villages, seems to be necessary. A study of the subsequent Arabisation of the Aramaic dialects will also be rewarding for linguists.

The Eastern Aramean dialects are spoken by people living in North East Syria, in the *muhāfazat* of Hasseke. The Aramaean inhabitants of the greatest and ever growing city in this region, Kamishlie, use their language very intensively; the fact that besides the dialect of the Nestorians that of the Jacobites is used is of course not favourable to the further survival of Neo-Syriac.

The Neo-Syriac population on the banks of the river Khabur has as its center Tell Tamr, half way between Hasseke and Ras al-'Ain. The "Assyrians", members of the Nestorian church, were settled here only in the thirties, after living some twenty years in Iraq, but their homeland, which they left during World War I, was the region of Mardin (in East Turkey). They now live in some compact villages and number approximately 15,000. They preserve their Neo-Syriac dialect. As the language used in the schools for some years has been Arabic, the younger children do not know the songs and narratives, as well as the young people who were still taught in Neo-Syriac. Canals taking the water from Khabur to irrigate the cotton fields are contributing to the economic recovery of the agricultural population. The highway connecting Hasseke with Ras al-'Ain, which is being built, as well as other roads and bridges, will provide a better contact with the greater centres, with all the obvious consequences for a minority language.

The conditions of the East Aramaic dialects are more favourable for the future thanks to the greater number, speaking them, but many dialects make linguistic research more complicated; also the present state of grammatical and lexical publications leaves many gaps to be filled. It would be very useful if speakers of Neo-Syriac themselves could participate in linguistic research into their mother tongue, which is one of most urgent if not even the most urgent task of Semitic linguistics. It seems that the next generation of Semitic scholars will not have such opportunities for these studies as present day linguists.

S. Segert

S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (= Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie, IV). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1964.

Semitic scholars charged with introductory courses in comparative Semitics will certainly be grateful to Prof. S. Moscati for undertaking the task of preparing a textbook for this purpose. The task is indeed a thankless one, as is pointed out by the author in his preface. The material has grown considerably during the last decades, and there is scarcely a scholar today who can be assumed to be at home in all the languages and dialects that compose the Semitic language „family“. Pitfalls are unavoidable in such a tremendous task; and even the fact that Prof. Moscati was given a helping hand by several colleagues prominent in various fields of Semitics, Prof. A. Spitaler, E. Ullendorff, and W. von Soden, as well as others, was not sufficient to smooth the path entirely. While we are indeed grateful to the author for having produced this volume, the following remarks should by no means be seen as a criticism of his work, but are intended, rather, to draw the attention of Prof. Moscati to points he has overlooked, and to which he might pay attention in a new edition that we hope will soon be needed.

But before we go into the subject matter of the work, we are bound to start out with several preliminary remarks.

The author says (p. 5; 1.5): "The present survey has as its object the whole body of the classical Semitic languages. Data drawn from modern dialects will only be taken into consideration when they have a contribution to make to an examination of the earlier phases of the classical languages, either by reason of archaic elements which these modern tongues may have preserved, or by virtue of any other relevant characteristics." This being the case, the book should have been titled "An Introduction... of the *Classical Semitic Languages*."

Also it is not always clear what constitutes those "relevant characteristics" of the modern dialects that have a contribution to make to an "examination of the earlier phases of the classical languages"; e.g. p. 32; 8.26, the author mentions the linguistically extremely important discovery of Prof. Polotsky that in Gurage, "n, l, and r have become positional variants, and are thus members of the same phoneme." It is difficult to see how this characteristic which is entirely alien to Semitic languages can be considered relevant to the classical Semitic languages.

On the other hand, it would have been very important to draw the attention of the students to certain tendencies discernable in modern dialects: e.g. the disappearance of the inner passive from Arabic dialects could have been presented as a parallel to the (presumed) disappearance of the inner passive from Akkadian, South West Semitic, Geez, etc.

P. 5; 1.8: The author says that "...the present work... places its main emphasis on the position in the great literary languages (Akkadian, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic)."

While this approach is certainly justified, the inclusion of Syriac distorts the picture entirely. It would have been much more important to yield its place to Biblical Aramaic, as a representative of "Reichsaramäisch", which would bring out clearly the main characteristics of Aramaic. Syriac, since it differs from Mandaean and Babylonian Aramaic, especially in its phonology, is not even representative of East Aramaic, let alone West Aramaic.

P. 15 ff. In dealing with Proto-Semitic and Hamito-Semitic, it would have been worthwhile to sound a word of caution. As F. Hintze puts it „Ehe die notwendigen Vorarbeiten hier nicht weiter gediehen sind, wird sich ein wirklicher Fortschritt auf diesem Gebiet kaum erreichen lassen.“<sup>1</sup> Even a more pessimistic view is taken by a scholar of such stature as Prof. H. J. Polotsky, who is at home both in Semitics and Egyptology: "Comparative Hamito-Semitic Linguistics is still in its infancy and the prospects that it will ever grow to maturity are not very bright. A less gloomy outlook hardly seems justified... Apart from Egyptian, none of the African members of the stock is known from sources earlier than the 19th century."<sup>2</sup>

P. 11; 3.22: The picture presented in this paragraph seems somewhat confused. The language of the Palestinian Targum is practically identical with the Galilaean Aramaic. On the other hand, the language of the Targum Onkelos and Jonathan can hardly be described simply as Palestinian Aramaic. Even if Kahle's assumption, that these Targums originated in Babylonia, is no longer acceptable,<sup>3</sup> there is no

<sup>1</sup> In his review of M. Cohen's „Essai comparatif“ etc. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik* 5, 1951, p. 87. (References will be given mainly in cases where the literature referred to is not included in the author's bibliography.)

<sup>2</sup> *The World History of the Jewish People*, First series, I. Tel-Aviv 1964, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kutscher, ZNTW 51, 1960, p. 48; and *Scripta Hierosolymitana* IV, p. 9ff.

doubt that it was vocalized in Babylonia, and therefore, represents a kind of mixed dialect.

P. 19; 6.7: "This device (i. e. *matres lectionis*) limited at first to final vowels, is later extended to internal long vowels." This may be correct, but the whole problem of the plene spelling needs revision. I doubt whether the position taken by Cross-Freedman (e.g. p. 58 ff.) ascribing its rise to the Aramaeans is still tenable, in view of plene spelling, such as Ugaritic *myltmr*, transliterated in Akkadian as *Ammistamri*.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, some more early instances came to light in the Aramaic inscription of Sefiré (and already in the Aramaic inscription of ZKR, *šwr*, 'wall') as well as the Hebrew *rwr*, 'cursed'.<sup>5</sup>

*Ibid.*: "...[the plene spelling of vowels is extended] though rarely, even to short ones (East Aramaic)." This sentence might be misleading. At any rate, in Mandaean each and every vowel, long or short, is spelled plene (with a few exceptions).

P. 20; 11.1-3: As regards the alleged "artificial character of seemingly precise vocalization such as those of Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic", it would be interesting to hear what Prof. Moscati has in mind. If he is referring to Kahle's theories, I am very much in doubt whether they still hold water (see my remarks, JSS 10, 25 ff.).

P. 32; 8.27: "The consonant *n* is frequently dropped in Jewish Aramaic and Mandaean when it is the final element in plural morphemes: hence nouns in the stat. absol. of the plural often have the ending *-y'* instead of *-yn*, with the result that the construct and emphatic states become formally identical. This may, however, be a morphological phenomenon, i.e. an extension of the use of *-y'* at the expense of *-yn*."

This passage contains several misstatements. First of all, it is only Jewish *Babylonian Aramaic* (belonging to East Aramaic; see 3.27, 3.28) that drops the *n*, and not Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (which belongs to West Aramaic; see 3.22).<sup>6</sup> Secondly, in Babylonian Aramaic the noun does not have the ending *-y'* in the construct.

Besides, in Babylonian Aramaic (as in Syriac), the "emphatic" plural ending *-y'* is extremely rare. What Prof. Moscati apparently has in mind is the masc. plural participle. Here, indeed, in Babylonian Aramaic both the endings *-y* and *-yn* occur; and, therefore, the first is identical with the construct of the participle. The statement of Prof. Moscati is correct concerning Mandaean, however it has nothing to do with „the extension of the use of *-y'* at the expense of *-yn*“, but is due, rather, to a characteristic peculiar to Mandaean, i.e. spelling *i* at the end of the word with *y'*, e.g. *li = ly'* (Noeldeke, Mand. Gram., p. 4—5).

P. 33; 1.2—3: "Instances of the fall of the final *r* occur in Jewish Aramaic: e.g. *'m* for *'mr* "to say". Here again, replace Jewish Aramaic with Babylonian Aramaic. Incidentally, the same applies to *l* (and *b*).<sup>7</sup>

P. 35; 8.34: "In the first millennium all the Canaanite languages, except Hebrew, show the merging of *s* with *š* (the spelling *'sr* for *'šr* 'ten' in Phoenician is an isolated case)." This is a strange statement, since this "isolated case" represents probably a higher percentage in respect to the cases spelled with *š* in Phoenician inscriptions (for the phoneme *š*) than the cases of spelling with *s* that occur in Biblical Hebrew compared to those spelled with *š* (see my remarks JSS 10, 39—41).

<sup>4</sup> See S. E. Loewenstamm, *Israel Exploration Journal* 8, 1958, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> In an inscription of the 8th Cent. BCE, deciphered by N. Avigad, *ibid.* 3, 1953, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> See *Tarbiz* (Hebrew) 22, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> J. W. Epstein, *A Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic* (Hebrew). Jerusalem — Tel Aviv 1960, pp. 57—58.

P. 36; 8.34: "... by and large š and š appear to have coalesced in one single consonant (just as they possessed one graphic symbol only)." The "one graphic symbol only" proves as little as the "one graphic symbol only" in Arabic for š and s. In Arabic, as is well known, there is only one sign for both phonemes which are distinguished only by diacritical points (سْ سْ) as in the case of Hebrew. Very strange is the following indeed: "...the Akkadian Greek and Latin transcriptions of Hebrew names do not distinguish between š and š." By what means could Latin and Greek have distinguished between these two? After all, they could not distinguish even between š and s, since Latin and Greek do not possess any sign for š! Would, therefore, Prof. Moscati assume that Hebrew and Aramaic lacked the š phoneme (moreover, the argument from Akkadian does not prove anything, for similar reasons)? Incidentally, the following paragraph, 8.35, contradicts everything stated in 8.34, since the situation parallels that of Hebrew in every respect.

P. 42; 8.55: "In Canaanite, a weakening of pharyngals is suggested for pre-Masoretic Hebrew, by Greek and Latin transcriptions ... and by interchanges with ' and h which are attested in the Dead Sea documents. It is, therefore, not altogether impossible that the Masoretes may have aimed at restoring the ancient pronunciation by means of their peculiar system of vocalizing the pharyngals." I hope to be able to show elsewhere (JSS 10, 41 ff) that this whole concept is very far from being true, as has already been maintained by Bergsträsser.

Ibid.; 8.56: "...some weakening (of pharyngals and laryngals) in the Aramaic of Assyria... e.g. ('*r*' in '*rst*' for '*rst*'.)" The second word is apparently a typographical error for '*rst*'. But the whole proof rests on the assumption that '*rst*' < Hebrew-Aramaic  $\sqrt{rs}$ . Prof. Driver has pointed out thirty years ago that this identification (which disregards the difference of two phonemes between the two roots!) is impossible and unnecessary; '*rst*' is the Akkadian *irsitu*.<sup>8</sup>

Ibid.: "In the languages of the Western group (of Middle Aramaic) the consonants in question (i.e. pharyngals and laryngals) are frequently interchanged." This is true only concerning Samaritan Aramaic, but not regarding Christian Palestinian Aramaic and the so-called Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (3.22—3.24). In these dialects, interchanges are as yet rare.<sup>9</sup> Incidentally, it would have been worthwhile to point out that these phonemes are stable in the modern offshoot of these dialects, namely that of Ma'lūla (3.25).

P. 46; 8.65: The case quoted from Rabin is an isolated one („the only instance“, Rabin). Therefore, the expression “such cases as” might be misleading.

P. 51; 8.83: "... it [the change  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{o}$ ] reappears in the early centuries of the Christian era both in West Aramaic (cf. 8.84, 8.88) and in pre-Islamic Arabic (Rabin, WA, pp. 28, 105—10)." There is not a shred of evidence concerning Western Aramaic (except a very few cases in Palmyraean and presentday *Ma'lūla*). What Prof. Moscati apparently has in mind is Western Syriac! I also regret that I am not convinced by the thesis of my friend and colleague, Prof. Rabin (and others) concerning Western Arabic. The cases which form the basis of this theory were, to my mind, more correctly interpreted by Prof. A. Spitaler.<sup>10</sup>

Ibid.: 8.84: "...the original *i* remains (in the cuneiform Aramaic text) in *la-bi-iš*"

<sup>8</sup> See Jean—Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire etc.*, p. 26, s. v. 'rsh.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. *Tarbiz* 23, p. 44ff.

<sup>10</sup> See *WZKM* 1960, p. 212 ff.

as against Heb. *lābēš*.” There is nothing new in this form as compared with Biblical Aramaic, since there also, this form occurs occasionally, e.g. *dāliq*.<sup>11</sup>

Ibid.; This process (change *ā* > *ō*) is “...characteristic of Western Syriac.” I would add “and of *Ma'lūla*”.

P. 52; 8.91: “...only the ‘ ’ to mark *ā* may be regarded as specifically Arabic development.” It has to be mentioned that this also holds good of Mandaean. Incidentally, aleph as mater lectionis is also very much in evidence in MSS of Babylonian Aramaic, Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, and in the DSS.

P. 56; 9.3: “It was probably contiguous assimilation that gave rise to the ‘emphaticization’ (in North-West Semitic) of *t* in the root *qtl* ‘to kill’ as compared with Ar(abic) Eth(iopic) *qtl*.“ The root *kṭl* in the Nērab inscription<sup>12</sup> seems to point the other way: original *qtl* through dissimilation > *qtl* (as also in the Aramaic inscription of Sefiré) and *kṭl*.

P. 57; 9.5: “In Hebrew and in Aramaic, after the latter’s division into Eastern and Western dialects, the plosives *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g* are articulated as fricatives in postvocalic position.” “After” I assume to be a misprint for “before”, since, as is well-known, it applies to both East and West Aramaic (including survivals in the modern dialects).

P. 67; 10.8d): “...open pre-tonic syllables undergo (in Hebrew) lengthening and sometimes change of vowel quality: *a* > *ā*, *i* > *ē*, ... *u* remains, but the following consonant is doubled.” Open pre-tonic vowels always undergo lengthening plus change of vowel quality, since *ā* = *å* (see note to p. 69; 10.13b). As for *u*, the rule of Prof. Moscati is only partly correct; sometimes it is shortened to *shewā* (or *hateph*).<sup>13</sup>

P. 68; 10.9a): “...in the Tell Amarna glosses (e.g. *mīḥṣū* for *māhiṣū*, *ṣīhrū* for *sahīrū*).“ The correct form that appears in the glosses is *ma-ah-zu(-u)*. The second word I could not find in the glosses.

P. 69; 10.13b): “...a short accented vowel is lengthened (e.g. *máyim* > *māyim*) sometimes causing change of quality (e.g. *'éres* > *'āres*).“ Since in the Tiberian vocalization there is no doubt that the quality of *ā* = *å*, there is a change of quality, of course, between *máyim* and *māyim*.<sup>14</sup> Only the Sephardic pronunciation, which disregards in this respect the Tiberian vocalization, does not exhibit a change of quality in this case.

P. 77; 12.5: “...these patterns [the segolates] are liable to anaptyxis: e.g. Ar. *'abd*, Akk. *abdu*, but Heb. *'ebəd*.“ This kind of contrasting of different languages is misleading. Surely the base is *abd* in Akkadian only because of the case-vowel *u*, therefore, the problem of cluster does not arise. However, whenever this vowel disappears, e.g. in the construct, Akkadian behaves like Hebrew and shows the anaptytic vowel, e.g. *kalbu*, construct, *kalab*. The reference to Arabic is also misleading in this form.

P. 95; 12.67: “... in Hebrew the ending *ā* denoting motion towards a place ... is regarded by some scholars as ... a survival [of a Proto-Semitic case-ending].“ It should have been mentioned that, since in Ugaritic the parallel form is spelled with

<sup>11</sup> See Bauer—Leander, *Gram. d. bib. Aram.*, p. 106.

<sup>12</sup> G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*. Oxford 1903, p. 186.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Bauer—Leander, *Hist. Gram. d. heb. Spr.*, § 26×; Bergsträsser, *Heb. Gram.* 1, § 21bb.

<sup>14</sup> Berg., *ibid.*, § 10a.

an *h*, and Ugaritic does not seem to employ *h* as a mater lectionis, this assumption would seem to be ruled out.<sup>15</sup>

P. 98; 12.74: "Definiteness is formally expressed, from the most ancient Aramaic inscriptions onwards, by a suffixed article -ā." This statement is certainly correct concerning Biblical Aramaic (and onwards). But since Aramaic inscriptions generally do not confuse this ' with *h*, there is reason to believe that there the ' had still kept its consonantal value as a glottal stop. Therefore, perhaps we might postulate something similar to \*a'.

P. 100; end 12.77: "... in Aramaic where the endings of the status emphaticus have extended their use at the expense of the forms with nunation (Syr. *bīšē* prevailing over *bīšin*)."<sup>16</sup> This statement is not true of Ancient Aramaic (inscriptions, Biblical Aramaic, Elephantine, etc.), nor of all the three dialects of West Aramaic.

P. 101; 12.78: "The case-endings are retained in their entirety in Arabic." I would add: "and apparently also in Ugaritic."

Ibid.; 12.79: This paragraph begins with Akkadian and Aramaic, but then switches to Akkadian and Syriac, thereby confusing the picture. The situation concerning the emphatic state in Biblical Aramaic and West Aramaic is different from that of Syriac (see above to p. 32).

P. 102; 13.1: The independent pronoun 3rd per. f. plur. *hen* does not occur in (Biblical) Hebrew. On the other hand *hn* appears in Ugaritic for 3rd per. plur. fem.<sup>17</sup>

P. 104; 13.8: "... 'anti in Biblical Aramaic..." This form does not exist in Biblical Aramaic.<sup>18</sup>

P. 105; 13.9: "The Ethiopic forms *wə'atū*, *yə'atū* are ... due to the omission of the initial *h*... and subsequent attachment of final -*tū*, -*tī*." I agree with the first half of this explanation, but I would suggest another solution for the second half. Akkadian and Ugaritic (here only in the third person) create the oblique case of the independent personal pronouns by attaching a morpheme (*V*)*tV* to the pronoun, e.g. third person sing. m. *šuāti/u*, f. *šuātī* in Akkadian (cf. Moscati, p. 103; 13.3). I also believe that this was the case in South Arabian, where, e. g., *hwt* (originally) represented the oblique case, though apparently these forms (with attached *t*) later came to be used also for the nominative. The Ethiopic forms, therefore, go back to the original oblique case, with lengthened final vowels. There is a reason to believe that this also has to be assumed concerning Hebrew *hemmā*.<sup>19</sup>

P. 105; 13.10: "For the first person plural we may suppose the Proto-Semitic form *nōhnu* (or even *nīhnu* on the basis of Akkadian...)" Ge'ez should be mentioned alongside with Akkadian.

P. 104; 13.8: "The form *atta* of the Tell Amarna glosses...". '*atta*' does not appear in these glosses.

P. 109; 13.23: "... as to the feminine form, the loss of the final vowel (of the suffix pronoun 2nd pers. sing.) is already encountered in ... the Tell Amarna glosses." These forms do not occur in the glosses.

P. 110; 13.26: "For the second person plur. we may suggest Proto-Semitic -*kumu* ... final unstressed vowels are dropped ... cases of retention are attested in the Dead Sea Manuscripts ... *kmh*." Since the final vowel was *u*, how can the form *kmh* represent a case of retention [*h* does not serve as a mater lectionis for *u*]? As explained else-

<sup>15</sup> Gordon, *UM*, p. 83, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Loewenstamm, *Leshonenu* (Hebrew) 23, pp. 83—84.

<sup>17</sup> It appears in Rosenthal's *Grammar* as a reconstructed form (p. 19).

<sup>18</sup> Kutscher (see next note), p. 344.

where,<sup>19</sup> the vowels marked by *h* in the suffixes and pronouns of the Dead Sea Scrolls do not, for the most part (and perhaps not at all), represent an early Proto-Semitic vowel, but a late one that arose by analogy, as in Modern Arabic dialects.

P. 112; 13.32: “Ugaritic does not offer any special forms for the ‘far demonstrative’”. Nor does it for the ‘near’ demonstrative. No demonstratives have been found as yet in Ugaritic, except in texts discovered a few years ago.<sup>20</sup>

P. 113; 13.36: “Ugaritic has two forms [of the relative pronoun]: *d* personal and *dt* impersonal.” This does not seem to be correct according to the new texts.<sup>21</sup>

Ibid: “...*ašar* in the Tell Amarna glosses.” I was unable to discover this word in the glosses.

P. 114; 13.39: “The forms of the relative pronouns are used in some Semitic languages for the expression of the so-called ‘determinative’ pronouns conveying the meaning ‘that of ...’, ‘he of ...’, or simply ‘of ...’ e.g. Akk. ... Ar [abic]”. In this paragraph Aramaic and Ge‘ez deserve to be mentioned (cf., e.g. Noeldeke, Syr. Gram. § 209; Praetorius, Äth. Gram. § 132).

P. 116; 14.1: “Cardinals: *šib‘ā* (Hebrew) = *šab‘ā* (Syriac) etc.” Somewhere it should have been mentioned that Hebrew in this book only refers to the Hebrew of the *Tiberian* vocalization. The Babylonian vocalization has, in this case, also *šab‘ā*, exactly like Syriac.

P. 118; 14.6: “1000 is related to the noun meaning ‘ox.’” Add: and also “tribe”, „family“, (cf. Akkadian for 1000 and Arabic for 10).

Ibid.; 14.7: “Ordinals: Akkadian 1st *mahrū*, 2nd *šanū*, 3rd *šalšu* etc.” Since in Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic, the cardinal for 1st is patterned differently from the others, the impression gained from Akkadian might be that there, it conforms more or less to the pattern of the others. Therefore, it should be pointed out that the Akkadian form apparently goes back to \**mahrīu*, and its pattern, thus, is different from the others.

P. 124; 16.4: “...Stem with Doubled Second Radical ... seems to have (also) intensive aspect (e.g. Ar. *kassara* ‘he shattered’).” It would have been worthwhile to add that the so-called “intensive aspect” reveals itself more by having a multiple subject or object, as has been pointed out by Arabic and Hebrew grammarians.<sup>22</sup> Incidentally, “aspect” should not be used in this context. What is meant here is (German) ‘Aktionsart’.

P. 125; 16.11: The stem with the prefix *š* (*s*) is found outside Semitic, not only in Egyptian, but is said to be found also in Berberic and Cushitic. It would have been worthwhile to point out that in those Semitic Languages where it is prominent, i.e. Akkadian and South Arabian dialects, it goes together with the *š* (*s*) base of the third person suffixed and independent (demonstrative) pronoun. But Ugaritic has upset this picture. Since the stem with the prefix *š* does not appear in the Old Aramaic inscriptions, and it is very rare in Elephantine and Biblical Aramaic (consisting mainly of Akkadian loans such as *šybz* ‘to save’!), there is reason to believe (as assumed by Speiser?) that this stem in Aramaic is a loan from Akkadian. (Incidentally, Mishnaic Hebrew borrowed it from Aramaic.)

<sup>19</sup> E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and the Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Hebrew). Jerusalem 1959, pp. 354—355.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e.g. Loewenstamm (above, n. 16), p. 78.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 79—80.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. e.g. H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften I*, I. Leipzig 1885, p. 70: “The most frequent use of the second stem is to express plurality” (-*tktyr Zamahšari*).

P. 126; 16.12: "The stem with prefix *h-* occurs in... the Tell Amarna glosses (along-side the less frequent one with *\\$-*)."<sup>23</sup> I am not aware of the stem with prefix *\\$* in the Tell Amarna glosses.

P. 127; 16.18: In this paragraph it would have been worthwhile to point out that there is a tendency in Semitic languages to drop (or to restrict the use of) the stem with infix *t* (and sometimes to create a stem with prefixed *t*). This is attested to by standard Phoenician as against early Phoenician (*tthpk* appears in an early inscription from Byblos) and by some modern Arabic dialects, e.g. spoken Egyptian Arabic (cf. Aramaic).<sup>24</sup> In Hebrew only traces of this stem survive;<sup>25</sup> but, contrary to Aramaic, there is practically no prefixed *t* form of the first stem.

P. 132; 16.29: "Finally, there is the recent tendency ... to detect in Akk. the existence of a fourth conjugation with infix *-ta* ... called 'perfect'". This statement seems to be a bit overcautious. It is not my impression that the existence of this tense is really in doubt. Incidentally, Prof. H. J. Polotsky has shown in his paper read before the Congress of Orientalists in Munich, 1957, (as yet unpublished) that this 'tense' is an offshoot of the *t* infix stem. However, Prof. Moscati is certainly correct to regard it "as an Akkadian innovation".

P. 132ff.; 16.30ff: Here Prof. Moscati deals with what may be termed the most intricate point of Semitic tenses. The question boils down to the following: did Proto-Semitic possess two tenses built by prefixes as in Akkadian, Modern South Arabic (incidentally, these dialects are not mentioned here by Moscati), and Ethiopic, or did it possess only one, as is the case with Arabic, Hebrew (I do not think that Meyer and Rössler have adduced any serious proofs for their contention), and Aramaic (there might be some doubt concerning Ugaritic). The first assumption would be supported by the fact that Hamitic languages present two distinct prefix-conjugations. The disappearance of one of these tenses, the *iparras*, could be explained "because it was insufficiently differentiated from the 'Intensive Stem'... That the similarity of the two forms could lead to an alteration, is shown by Ethiopic where the form of the 'Intensive Stem' was altered."<sup>26</sup> I agree that this is a very important consideration, but another consideration should also be taken into account. Prof. Moscati rightly points out that this problem is bound up with that of the modes in the Semitic languages (p. 134). Therefore, as mentioned above, the modern Semitic dialects should be called upon to lend their assistance in clarifying points of linguistic prehistory. After all, if we can detect a certain tendency in the modern dialects, we may assume that the same tendency might have been working also in the past.

In Middle Aramaic, both West and East, we can observe the participle extending its use more and more by dislodging the imperfect.<sup>27</sup> The imperfect is relegated mainly to subordinate sentences and is employed as a mood, indicating jussive, cohortive, etc. Even here it has to endure the competition of the participle. This is apparently why the imperfect has disappeared from the Modern East Aramaic dialects.

"Parallels for the evolution *yiqtol* (= *negtol* in Syriac) > mood are provided i.a. by the Ethiopic languages."<sup>28</sup> Therefore, Ethiopic *yeqtel* (*yeqtal*) which is employed

<sup>23</sup> Cf. e.g. J. Cantineau, *Le dialect arabe de Palmyre I*. Beyrouth 1934, p. 153

<sup>24</sup> Bergsträsser II, p. 100; *\\$tn* <  $\sqrt{\$yn}$  see Koehler—Baumgartner, and perhaps *htl* <  $\sqrt{hll}$ , see A. D. Singer, *J. Q. R.* N. S. 36, p. 255 and J. Blau, *V. T.* 5, 1955, pp. 340—341.

<sup>25</sup> Polotski (above n. 2), pp. 110—111.

<sup>26</sup> See F. Rundgren, *Språkvetenskapliga sällskapets i Uppsala förhandlingar*, 1958—1960, p. 49ff. concerning Syriac.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* p. 70. Also cf. his parallels from spoken Arabic.

as a mood, as well as akkadian *iprus*, which sometimes functions as a mood (vetitive and precative), seem to have been the original counterparts of West Semitic *yaqtul* (*u*). On the other hand, Ethiopic *yegattel* and Akkadian *iparras* which function, by and large, as parallels of the West Semitic *yaqtul* (*u*), both as a tense and aspectually, should be regarded as new-comers, exactly as *qātil* which replaced the Old West Aramaic *yaqtul*(*u*) in this function. To be sure, the origin of these new-comers in Ethiopic and Akkadian remains in question.<sup>28</sup>

P. 137; 16.37: As for the paradigm of the Ugaritic verb, the forms sing. 3 masc. *qbr* and pl. 3 mac. *qbr* might be misleading. Owing to the three aleps we know that the first ended with the vowel *a*, and the second with the vowel *u*. These three aleps also enable us to distinguish between a few more forms of the verb.

P. 139; 16.44: "For the second person we may propose the Proto-Semitic forms... *qabarti* (fem.) which appear as such in Arabic (probably also in Ugaritic)." More important than Ugaritic, from which we can deduce nothing, is the Aramaic of Elephantine (and Syriac) where the spelling of this form is *qbrty*.

P. 139—140; 16.46: „The feminine ending *ā* occurs also in Biblical, Targūmic, and Talmūdic Aramaic." As for Biblical Aramaic, Professor Ben Hayyim has shown<sup>29</sup> that this applies to the *qoré* but not the *kātib*; and therefore, the Biblical text agrees with Nabataen (and also Elephantine Aramaic). Concerning Talmūdic Aramaic, it will be shown elsewhere that this does not apply to Jewish Palestinian (Galilaean) Aramaic.

Ibid. "...in the Tell Amarna glosses... the feminine undergoes analogical adaptation to the masculine." No such forms are known to me in these glosses.

P. 140; 16.47: „...in Biblical Aramaic... *qəbartēn* in the feminine." No such form is known in Biblical Aramaic.<sup>30</sup>

P. 144; 16.58: "l which occurs in Talmūdic Aramaic... as well as in Biblical Aramaic... (as prefix of imperfect third person) may be considered a remnant of precative *l*," Talmūdic Aramaic is presumably Babylonian Aramaic, since in Galilaean Aramaic the few occurring cases can be shown to be copyists' errors.

P. 146; 16.68: "...Syriac has *qāber*." This is a faulty form. As is well known, Syriac (and other Aramaic dialects) turn an *e* before *r* into an *a*. Therefore, the root "qbr" for the paradigms turns out to be ill-chosen. The student will learn from this book Syriac forms that do not and cannot exist, since he will come across, apart from the forms just discussed, forms like those found on p. 147; 16.72: "...Syriac *qabber*"; p. 148 four forms out of five listed in the Syriac column; p. 149, again four out of five in the Syriac column; p., 150, three out of five, etc.

In a new edition, Prof. Moscati should return to the time honored "qtl" root.

P. 157; 16.96: "...Hebrew and Syriac (causative stems) and Ethiopic have *a* as the vowel of the prefix" (in the participle). This statement in this form might be misleading. Surely, the vowel *a* in the prefixes originally belonged to the (syncopated) *h*, as is proved by Biblical Aramaic. Only after the syncope of the *h* (or ') did the vowel revert to the prefix. Therefore, this vowel is not relevant for Proto-Semitic.

P. 158; 16.103: "In Akkadian the infinitive coincides with the stative followed by the nominal morpheme (stative *qubbur*, infinitive *qubburu*; etc.)" Perhaps the parallel

<sup>28</sup> See D. Cohen's review of Rundgreen's solution in *BSL* 58, 1963, Fas. 2, pp. 240—242. Incidentally, as to the Hamitic parallel of those forms *iparras* — *yegattel* — after Klingenheben's extensive article, it is very much in doubt whether it has any relevancy for the above forms.

<sup>29</sup> *Eretz—Israel* I. Jerusalem 1951 (Hebrew), p. 135ff.

<sup>30</sup> Apparently, through a typographical error, the asterisk is missing in Rosenthal's Grammar.

Assyrian forms, *qabburu* etc., also should have been mentioned (cf. p. 156; 16.90).

P. 159; 16.105: "In Biblical Aramaic the ending -ā of the st. abs. fem. is characteristic of the infinitive of the derived stems." Add here: "the second radical receiving the vowel -ā."

P. 165; 16.120: "...the usual Hebrew change ā > ō does not take place (in the verbs with medial radical *w*) ...though there are traces of it in the form *nuhti*, 'I am quite' of the Tell Amarna glosses and the Latin transcription *chon* 'he was' in Phoenician-Punic." This is very doubtful. As to *nuhti*, there is another, more plausible explanation.<sup>31</sup> And regarding *chon*, since in Canaanite-Punic even an originally short stressed *a* later turned into *o*, therefore, this form quite possibly represents a Can.-Hebrew *kān*, as in the Masoretic vocalization of Hebrew, as pointed out by Friedrich.<sup>32</sup>

P. 167; 16.124: "...the Hophal *yōsab* modelled on verbs with first radical *w* (*yōšab*)."  
Read: *yūsab*... *yūšab*."

These remarks which I have gathered by reading this otherwise well-written work are in no way intended to detract from the importance of this volume. I am convinced that such mistakes are well-nigh inescapable in a book of such scope, where so varied and vast material was condensed in a relatively very concise manner. We hope that in a new edition all these small lapses will be corrected. But with all these small shortcomings, this volume should prove an essential instrument in the hands of a Semitic scholar for the benefit of the undergraduate students.

E. Y. Kutscher

Josef Wolf, *Přehled národů Afriky* (Übersicht der Völker Afrikas). Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1963. 262 Seiten.

Schon lange fühlten die tschechoslowakischen Anthropologen und Ethnographen-Afrikanisten einen chronischen Mangel an einem guten Lehrbuch der afrikanischen Völkerkunde. Der Autor, ein Pionier der modernen tschechoslowakischen ethnischen Anthropologie Afrikas, hat dieses peinliche Vakuum in unserer afrikanistischen Literatur auszufüllen versucht.

Die Arbeit ist in 13 Kapitel geteilt. In dem ersten Kapitel „Einführung in das Studium der Völker Afrikas“ (5—15), befasst sich der Autor mit dem Gegenstand, der Methode und den Zielen der heutigen Afrikanistik.

In den nächsten drei Kapiteln, „Die Besonderheiten des Kontinents“, „Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der afrikanischen Bevölkerung“ und „Die Ethnogenese der gegenwärtigen afrikanischen anthropologischen Typen“ (15—69), stellt sich der Autor das Ziel, die Lebensbedingungen, die Chronologie und Systematik der Hauptfunde der prähistorischen Hominiden, der anthropologischen Typologie und die Wanderungen der Völker in Afrika zu erklären. Der Autor führt in unsere Anthropologie den Terminus „Paläonegroiden“ ein, um die besondere morphogenetische Verwandtschaft der afrikanischen Pygmäer und Khoisanider zu betonen. Was den andern Repräsentanten der Äquatorialen Rasse betrifft, führt der Autor noch vier weitere Typen an: Die sogenannten „roten Leute“ als Urbevölkerung Westafrikas, Niloten, Ethiopen und Neger. Die weitere morphologische Differenzierung der

<sup>31</sup> Bergsträsser II, p. 146 bottom.

<sup>32</sup> P. 30, § 78, though his wording as regards Hebrew seems confused.

letzteren ist nach dem Autor schwach, meistens infolge geringer Beimischungen anderer anthropologischen Typen.

Neun Kapitel (Maghreb, Ägypt, Sudan, Etiopien und Somalien, Westafrika, Mittelafrika, Ostafrika, Südafrika und Madagaskar) enthalten eine Übersicht der einzelnen Völker und Stämme Afrikas. Alle diese Kapitel sind nach einem einzelnen Plan verfasst:

1. Die geographischen, geomorphologischen und klimatischen Bedingungen.
2. Die soziale und historische Entwicklung der Bevölkerung.
3. Das ethnische Bild des Gebietes mit einer allgemeinen Charakteristik der einzelnen Völker, ihrer anthropologischen, ethnographischen, linguistischen und sozialen Besonderheiten u. s. w.

Im Anhang (223—261) führt der Autor die ethnostatistischen Tafeln, ein ausführliches Verzeichnis der allgemeinen, anthropologischen, archäologischen, ethnographischen, historischen und linguistischen Literatur über Afrika, Zeitschriften und Archiven mit afrikanistischen Thematik und 7 Übersichtskarten Afrikas an...

Diese Arbeit ist die erste ihrer Art in der Tschechoslowakei. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass ein erster Versuch, ein Lehrbuch zu schreiben, ohne Fehler nicht auskommen kann. U. a. habe ich keine metrische Definition und keine schematische Bilder der anthropologischen Typen Afrikas gefunden, so dass die Begriffe wie „dolichocephal, brachyzcephal, hoch und klein“ u. s. w. für einen Nichtanthropologen zu abstrakt sind. Aber als den grössten Mangel finde ich die Tatsache, dass diese Arbeit nur in sehr geringer Auflage (263 Exemplare) herausgegeben wurde, obzwar sie viel grössere Publizität und eventuelle Übersetzung in andere Sprachen verdienen würde.

R. Raczyński

A. M. Jones, *Africa and Indonesia. The evidence of the xylophone and other musical and cultural factors.* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1964. VIII + 248 pp., 27 plates.

Bei der Beurteilung einer Hypothese entsteht immer ein bestimmtes Misstrauen. Besonders dann, wenn es eine sehr gewagte Hypothese ist, wie in diesem Falle. Jones beweist die indonesische Kolonisation, oder wenigstens ihren starken Einfluss auf die Gestaltung der Kultur in Westafrika im Flussgebiet von Kongo und Niger. Es ist bestimmt eine ungewöhnliche Tatsache, dass man die Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Musik als Argumente für mögliche Kolonisationsprobleme verwendet, da bisher die einleitenden Worte zu solchen Fakten von Historikern, Anthropologen und Archeologen gesagt wurden. Nicht so sehr aus Rücksicht auf die Prozedurfolge der Forschungsarbeit, als vielmehr im Interesse dieser Idee und ihrer richtigen Lösung, verlässt uns das Misstrauen trotz der vielen Argumente nicht. Bei der Zustimmungserklärung wäre es erforderlich, das Quellenmaterial besser kennenzulernen und wir bringen deshalb in dieser Besprechung hauptsächlich Tatsachen, die aus der Arbeit erfolgen, zum Ausdruck.

Der Ausgangspunkt der Arbeit sind Xylophone, die in Indonesien (wobei der Autor die Malaischen Inseln und auch Süd-Ostasien meint) und in Afrika verbreitet sind. Wen man die Xylophone nur oberflächlich beurteilen würde, schiene es, dass sie nach der Art der Durchführung zu zwei verschiedenen Kulturen gehören: zu der künstlerisch kultivierten indonesischen und der anderen rustikalen und primitiven afrikanischen. Vom musikalischen Standpunkt aus besteht eine solche Teilung nicht,

deshalb hat sich der Autor besonders auf die Fragen der Stimmung konzentriert. In Indonesien, d. h. im Gebiet, von welchem seiner Voraussetzung nach diese Kultur nach Afrika übertragen wurde, sind drei Arten des Stimmens bekannt: equiheptatonisches Stimmen (theoretischer Intervall hat 171,4 Zenten), die Stimmung Pelog (es ist ein heptatonisches Stimmen, das zwei grosse, zwei kleine und drei mittlere Intervalle enthält) und die Stimmung Slendro (ein Typ des equipentatonischen Stimmens, theoretischer Intervall hat 240 Zenten). Es war bisher Usus, die Grösse der Intervalle bei jedem Intervall separat anzugeben. Jones begriff den Mangel dieses Vorgangs, wurde sich dessen bewusst, dass sich der eventuelle Fehler bei einer solchen numerischen Formulierung weiter zieht, obwohl ihn der Spieler bei dem praktischen Stimmen in einem von den nächsten Intervallen revidiert. Er benutzt deshalb kummulative Zenttabellen (Cummulative Cents Table); von dem Ton ausgehend, den er als 0 bezeichnet, setzt er Intervale zusammen. Durch diese Methode wird die Präzision des numerischen Ausdrucks der Intervalle ausdrucks voller und was die Hauptsache ist, es wird durch diese Methode eine vorteilhaftere Basis für den Vergleich geboten, da die aus den menschlichen Irrtümern erfolgenden Mängel,  $\pm 20$  Zents, beim Stimmen vernachlässigt werden können. Von diesem Prinzip ausgehend, bewertete der Autor auf Grund der Forschungen von Hornbostel, Kunst, Tracey, Wachsmann und seiner eigenen Forschungen 226 Xylophone und Sansas (Zungeninstrumente im Stimmen mit den Xylophonen sehr verwandt) und erreichte überraschende Ergebnisse:

1. Durch den Vergleich auf Grund der kummulativen Zenttabellen bewies er, dass in beiden Kulturen (indonesischen und afrikanischen) alle drei Typen des Stimmens vorkommen.

2. Heptatonisch gestimmte Xylophone legen oft auf den tiefen Teil des Instruments den Intervall einer Quarte, die theoretisch 514 Zents hat und sich der Quarte sehr annähert. Dieser Intervall wurde in 21 Fällen ausgefüllt, aber anstatt durch zwei Töne wurde er in Afrika nur mit einem — halbierenden (Bisect) — Ton dividiert, nämlich  $514 \div 2 = 257$  Zents. Ein ähnliches Prinzip ist auch in Indonesien bekannt und eine Analogie dessen existiert auch im Falle einer Quinte in ähnlicher Plazierung.

3. Unter Berücksichtigung dessen, dass die Nummern 90, 180, 360, 720 Hz häufiger als die anderen vorkommen, schreiben wir die Basis 0 so, dass die Töne in den Kreis  $\pm 43$  Zents theoretischen Stimmens fallen. In den Tabellen kommt nur ein Fall vor, der mit dieser Methode nicht übereinstimmt. Wie festgestellt wurde, müssen die Spieler beim Stimmen eine Vorlage haben. Sie stimmen nicht dem Gehöhr nach und markant ist dann die vom Autor festgestellte Unterscheidung, dass das equiheptatonische Stimmen von den Werten 182 Hz und Pelog 192 Hz ausgeht. Der Grundton hat in den erwähnten Kulturen auch Sprachkorrelationen.

4. Im heptatonischen Stimmen machen sich zwischen dem 3.—4. und dem 6.—7. Ton die sogenannten Intercalary Notes geltend.

5. Wen in der heptatonischen Skala 2 Töne ausgelassen werden, wird sich ihr Wert an die anderen anreihen und der Tendenz 1 — 1 — 2 — 1 — 2 entsprechen. Auf diese Art wird aus der Heptatonik eine Pentatonik gebildet.

6. Beim Stimmen Slendro erscheinen die erwähnten Eigenschaften — Intercalary Notes — die Bisect - Quarte, aber die Grundwerte gehen von 281 — 296,5 Hz aus.

7. Diese Parallelen, soweit es Afrika anbelangt, beziehen sich nicht auf das ganze Gebiet, aber ihr Zentrum ist merkwürdigerweise in West Afrika im Flussgebiet von Kongo und Niger lokalisiert.

Zum Beweis dieser Zusammenhänge verfolgt der Autor in seiner Arbeit weiter nicht nur die Fragen des Stimmens, sondern er analysiert systematisch fast alle erreichbaren Voraussetzungen für und gegen seine Behauptung. Aus dem Kreis der musikalischen Probleme beachtet er weiter die Bauart der Xylophone, die Anzahl der Klappen, ihre akustischen Möglichkeiten, die Art der Fixation, die Richtung der Anordnung und die Art des Stimmens, weiter die Fragen des Resonators und der Schlegel und stellt fest, dass die gegenseitige Ähnlichkeit mehr als zufällig ist. Interessant ist auch die Ähnlichkeit der Spielart besonders bei den Chopi und Baganda mit der Spielart der Gamelane in Indonesien; Xylophone sind in Afrika nicht nur Solo-Instrumente. Es existiert der sogenannte Kern des Themas, von dem man sowohl in Jawa als auch bei den erwähnten Stämmen ausgeht sogar samt den Prinzip seiner Teilung auf die Instrumenten-Sektionen. Der Autor beachtet weiter die Fragen der Terminologie einiger Schlag-Instrumente, die Art des Gesanges (im Xylophon-gebiet wird in Terzen gesungen, eine ähnliche Art ist auch in Indonesien bekannt), Interpreten, die höfliche Art der Sprache (krama auf Jawa und klama in Ghana), den Zusammenhang mit der Bezeichnung des Rythmus und die gemeinsamen Elemente auf dem Gebiet des Tanzes. Reich ist auch die Skala der nichtmusikalischen Zusammenhänge, wobei an erster Stelle die historischen Fragen über die Seewege im Indischen Ozean und die Probleme der Konstruktion von Schiffen, die sich in Gleicher Art in Afrika befinden, stehen.

Bei der Zusammenfassung spricht er die Voraussetzung aus, dass die Kolonisation der Indonesier in Afrika vor der Ankunft der Portugiesen und vielleicht auch vor dem Einfluss des Hindu in Indonesien verwirklicht wurde. Er gibt aber zu (S. 180), dass es auch längere Beziehungen verschiedener Gebiete in verschiedener Zeit, ungefähr am Anfang u. Z., sein konnten.

Trotz eines gewissen Misstrauens über die Gültigkeit von Jones Hypothese, das am Anfang ausgesprochen wurde, sind wir uns dessen bewusst, dass es um eine Arbeit ausserordentlicher Qualitäten, mit einer bewundernswerten Breite des Dokumentationsmateriales geht. Ihre Ergebnisse greifen in viele spezielle Fächer, besonders in die Ethnomusikologie ein, wo sie einen Beitrag zur Lösung der Fragen der Xylophone bedeuten. Folgenswert ist besonders die Methode der Arbeit.

Ivan Mačák

R. M. W. Dixon, *Linguistic science and logic* (= Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, 28). The Hague, Mouton et Co, 1963. 108 pp.

Dixon's book presents a serious discussion of Chomsky's linguistics and his way of looking at the language. Dixon examines the scientific nature of linguistics from the point of view of Edinburgh opinions (Firth, Halliday and others) and discusses the interrelations between logic and linguistics.

In Part A (1.1), where science and observation are dealt with within the frame of what the author calls General Scheme of Science, the observation and isolates from observation are regarded as continuous phenomena or, following the author's terminology, as a *continuum*. In spite of the fact that a distinction between the observed phenomena involves a high degree of arbitrariness, Dixon excessively emphasizes the continuous character of the relation between isolates and the rest of observation so that, in this context, the very term "isolate" turns really into a misnomer, as the author himself tends to admit (p. 13).

Dixon's philosophical continuum or, more properly, the insistent exclusiveness of this continuum contrasts with, we could say, the empirical *discontinuum* of numerous scholars<sup>1</sup> which proved its workability in many fields of linguistic research, especially in segmental analysis. It would probably be more convenient to agree with D. L. Bolinger: "With the phoneme, the all-or-none is everything. Above the phoneme, the all-or-none is adjustable."<sup>2</sup>

The General Scheme of Science, as proposed by the book under review, presents a relatively complicated system composed of three levels (form, substance, situation) with an alternative dichotomy of contours (contour of form, for the first level, and that of substance, for the last two). Apart from this, the notion of interlevel is introduced in order to provide correlations between different levels: the interlevel of item-relation (relating the level of substance to that of form) and the interlevel of context (establishing relying points between the level of situation and that of form). Each level can serve as a basis for setting scientific theories, except however, the level of situation, as stated in p. 29, n. 25.

The item-relational interlevel enabled the author to create a space where a number of important linguistic theories can be located. Most of Dixon's readers will probably be enthusiastic about the graphology having been firmly established within the frame of linguistics as a discipline parallel to phonology at the same level, i.e. more precisely, the interlevel of item-relation (p. 43). It is to be hoped that the information-theoretical approaches which proved their adequacy mostly when dealing with phonemes and graphemes will, in this way receive a more unified field of investigation and, on the other hand, will participate in formulating the explicit statement of this branch of the linguistic science, as required by the author.

Through the category of unit [which is one of three possible categories of the item-relational interlevel, besides structure and system (p. 42)] we become acquainted with Dixon's definition of phoneme which is provided with a somewhat sophisticated bracketing: "The phoneme is thus the smallest (phonologically) meaningful (phonological) unit" (p. 42). The insistence on "phonological", after an exposition of formal, i.e. non-semantic, meaning having been given in 1.4, is rather misleading since the negation of "phonological" cannot lead to a change of "meaningless" into "meaningful" as it would be possible within semantical levelling schemes of linguistics.<sup>3</sup>

At the level of form two types of formal patterning are distinguished: lexical (lexis) and grammatical (grammar). The (formal) lexical meaning is most immediately brought out through the category of collocation (the other category of lexis being that of the lexical set). The main difference between both demi-levels, as the author terms lexis and grammar, consists, in the author's own words, of the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Martin Joos: "Ordinary mathematical techniques fall mostly into two classes, the continuous (e.g. the infinitesimal calculus) and the discrete or discontinuous (e.g. finite group theory). Now it will turn out that the mathematics called 'linguistics' belongs in the second class. It does not even make any compromise with continuity, as does statistics, or infinite-group theory. Linguistics is a quantum mechanics in the most extreme sense. All continuity, all possibilities of infinitesimal gradation, are shoved outside of linguistics in one direction or another". *Description of Language Design*, Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, 22.701—708 (1950), pp. 702—703, quot. in Dwight L. Bolinger, *Generality, Gradience, and the All-or-None*, 's-Gravenhage 1961, p. 7. Likewise Hockett, R. Jakobson, Ch. Osgood and others can be considered in many respects as followers of discontinuity (ib., 7—8).

<sup>2</sup> Dwight L. Bolinger, op. cit., 45.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the three-dimensional scheme proposed by St. Ullmann, whose asymmetry at the phonemic stage is given by a purely semantic approach to meaning. St. Ullmann, *Principles of Semantics*, Glasgow 1951, p. 39.

"a lexical theory is, on its ground (i.e. lexical patterning) weak by comparison with a grammatical theory; it works in terms of probabilities rather than tightly woven systemic relationship" (p. 45).

One cannot but agree with Dixon's somewhat unusual statement concerning the unscientific nature of mathematics when considering the author's postulates for a science. This is, however, not so much the fault of mathematics but rather that of the restrictive frame of the General Scheme being incapable of including it (cf. 2.2).

The major part of Part B is accorded to criticism of Chomsky's linguistics. As explicitly stressed in p. 62, n. 8, under this name the linguistic theories of M. Halle, R. B. Lees and other members of the transformational School are included as well.

Dixon is, evidently, right to criticize some of Chomsky's crucial notions such as the simplicity of grammar (p. 66). In a sense, he argues by Chomsky's own words, when saying that the notion of simplicity is, to a great extent, dependent on the intuition of grammar users as, only such grammars could be really compared with each other (as to state their simplicity) whose methods for generating sentences would be based on fully mechanical procedures, which is not the case of any grammar published hitherto.

Dixon is even right to criticize Chomsky's approach to meaning (p. 75) which seems to be, to a considerable extent, based on intuitive grounds as well as seeing that Chomsky's theory of grammar is, as a matter of fact, incapable of deciding whether any of Chomsky's famous sentences are meaningful, such as (1) "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously" and (2) "Furiously sleep ideas green colorless" (*Syntactic Structures*, 15). Since only the first sentence is grammatical while both of them are (intuitively) meaningless, it is not possible to set up a direct relation between grammaticalness and meaningfulness.

Dixon's suggestion to replace the IC procedure by grammar and lexis, as exposed in 2.1, rather than by introducing a transformational component as undertaken by Chomsky (69, n. 30) is much more subjective.

The fact that Chomsky makes use of the systematic framework and notions of mathematical logic, i. e. a logic referred to in Dixon's "logical<sub>3</sub>",<sup>4</sup> which is unrelated to the patterns recognisable in natural observation (cf. 60, n. 2), makes him conclude that: (1) Chomsky's linguistics is neither a *scientific* discipline (in the sense of an empirical science) (2) nor *logical* linguistics (in the sense of Dixon's "logical<sub>3</sub>"). A sort of logical linguistics would be, nevertheless, possible even from Dixon's point of view, in a sense of *logical*<sub>4</sub>, where only the technique, but not the systematic framework of mathematical logic would be involved (p. 96).

The bulk of Dixon's objections against Chomsky's theory are formulated from the point of view of the Edinburgh fashioned scheme of linguistics developed along the main lines of the presented General Scheme, taken à priori. Unfortunately, such an approach inevitably leads to a total negation of the whole of Chomsky's system without either permitting a more detailed "yes-no" evaluation of his theoretical apparatus or taking into account any of his remarkable single results.

L. Drozdík

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. 3.1, Three kinds of "logical..." (p. 61) of the book under review.

I. Fónagy, *Die Metaphern in der Phonetik*. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des wissenschaftlichen Denkens (= Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, 15). The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1962. 132 Seiten.

Obwohl der Verfasser das Buch „Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des wissenschaftlichen Denkens“ benannte, kann man drei Aufgaben des Werkes konstatieren: (1) Es will zeigen, dass die metaphorische Bezeichnung der Laute eine panchronische Erscheinung ist, (2) es will die Möglichkeiten einer sprachpsychologischen Forschung, die sich mit der Entdeckung innerer Ursachen der phonetischen Metaphern befassen würde, andeuten, und (3) es will den Weg von dem metaphorischen zu dem selektivkonvergenten Denken an einem konkreten Fall beweisen.

Man kann zwei Arten phonetischer Metaphern unterscheiden: Die *individuelle*, die in der Dichtung vorkommt, und die *wissenschaftliche*, die auf einer bestimmten Entwicklungsstufe der Wissenschaft erscheint (11). Sie erfolgt aus einer spontanen Reaktion auf die Erscheinung eines neuen Objekts, das benannt werden muss, und in der Wissenschaft so lange überliefert wird, bis man eine definitrice Benennung findet. Die Auswahl aus der umfangreichen Literatur, die der Verfasser anführt, ist ein hinreichender Beweis, dass in den Sprachlauten etwas gemeinsames existiert, das in verschiedenen Sprachen und Zeiten zu derselben Benennung der Laute führte (z. B. hell, dunkel, scharf, dünn, hoch, gerade, männlich, glatt, feucht, usw.). Der Ursprung der phonetischen Metaphern liegt entweder in synästhetischen Übertragungen, oder in akustischen und physiologischen Eingeschafeten der Laute, oder ist die Metapher ein Ausdruck tieferer unbewussten Triebkräfte. Der grösste Teil des Buches ist eben der Erklärung dieses Hintergrundes gewidmet. Die Problematik wurde, leider, durch eine Reihe laienhafter Bücher gewissermassen profaniert und deshalb sehen die Sprachwissenschaftler solche Erklärungen mit gewissem Misstrauen an. In der Auswahl der Hypothesen ist der Verfasser jedoch sehr vorsichtig und strebt nicht eine Erklärung um jeden Preis zu geben. Eine ganze Reihe der Metapher legt er beiseite. Während das Zitieren eines griechischen oder indischen Authors ein hinreichender Beweis dafür ist, dass die Metapher auch dort existierte, die Anschauung oder eine Hypothese eines anderen Wissenschaftlers beweist keineswegs die Voraussetzung, dass die Metapher durch ein tieferes psychisches Motiv, und eben durch jenes, bedingt wurde. Es ist offenbar, dass jede Metapher einen Grund hat, doch ohne eine experimentelle Bestätigung müssen alle, auch die einfachsten Erklärungen, nur bedingungsweise angenommen werden. Die Bestätigung einiger existierenden Hypothesen könnte eine grosse Bedeutung haben: „Falls sich den einzelnen Sprachlauten tatsächlich ein verschiedener Triebcharakter eigne, so könnte die Lautstatistik als *psycho-diagnostische* Methode verwendet werden. Die charakteristischen Abweichungen von der durchschnittlichen Lautverteilung könnten auf psychische Motive zurückgeführt, gedeutet werden“ (91). Aus dieser Behauptung entspringen weitere Probleme. Man versteht die „durchschnittliche Lautverteilung“ offenbar als den Durchschnitt in der gegebenen Sprache; man kann aber auch von einem Durchschnitt aller Sprachen (d. h. der menschlichen Sprache) sprechen. Würden die Abweichungen von diesem Durchschnitt in bestimmten Sprachen bedeuten, dass sich auch die Träger dieser Sprachen mit der Grösse bestimmter psychischer Triebkräfte untereinander unterscheiden? Und weiter, wenn eine Sprache einen Laut überhaupt nicht besitzt, oder wenn durch Lautwandel eine Veränderung oder Untergang des Lautes eingetreten ist, soll man es als eine Nichtexistenz oder ein Absterben des psychischen Motivs verstehen? Wenn die Laute

natürliche Triebrepräsentanten sind, dann ist die Repräsentation durch andere Laute unmöglich. Die Diagnostik würde sich also in jeder Sprache unterscheiden.

An die Frage, ob in der Dichtung einer Stimmung bestimmte Laute am besten entsprechen, die hier nur erwähnt (46—48) und an einer anderen Stelle<sup>1</sup> von dem Verfasser ausführlich behandelt wurde, will ich nur eine Bemerkung anknüpfen. Gehen wir z. B. aus dem folgenden Satz aus: „Zwischen hellem Licht, heiterer Stimmung und gewissen Vokalen, zwischen Schärfe, Härte und gewissen Konsonanten besteht daher ein subjektiv empfundener und objektiv nachweisbarer Zusammenhang“ (48). Man zweifelt gewöhnlich nicht, dass dieser Zusammenhang subjektiv empfunden und objektiv nachweisbar ist, die Frage ist, ob er schon wirklich nachgewiesen wurde. Das Anführen der Beispiele in belieblicher Anzahl kann nicht als Beweis gelten, da man in demselben Gedicht ebensogut Beispiele finden kann, die die gestellte Hypothese nicht bestätigen. Wenn man beweisen will, dass zwischen der Stimmung des Gedichtes und einem bestimmten Laut eine Korrelation besteht, muss man *wenigstens* das beweisen, dass der betreffende Laut in dem Gedicht eine signifikant hohe (d. h. nicht zufällige) Frequenz hat, und eventuell auch, dass die Laute, die die entgegengesetzte Stimmung ausdrücken helfen, dort signifikant selten sind. Die blosse Zusammenzählung der Laute genügt nicht, weil je kleiner die „Stichprobe“ ist, desto grösser kann die zufällige Schwankung der Frequenzen sein. Bei einem strengeren Verfahren soll man das Problem auch von der anderen Seite „quantifizieren“: Man soll eine Methode für das Messen der Grösse der Stimmung (des hellen Lichtes, Härte, Stärke usw.) finden und mittels eines statistischen Testes nachweisen, dass die Korrelation zwischen der Frequenz gewisser Laute und der Grösse der betreffenden Stimmung (d. h. zwischen zwei gemessenen Grössen) signifikant ist. Es wäre genügend die Grösse der Stimmung für mehrere Gedichte komparativ, an der Ordnungskala, anzugeben. Versuche in dieser Richtung sind mir nicht bekannt, die Forscher des phonischen Aufbaus des Verses sollten dieser Frage mehr Aufmerksamkeit widmen.

Die Quelle des metaphorischen Denkens sind die spontanen, ungerichteten (divergenten) Assoziationen, die einen geringeren intellektuellen Kraftaufwand als das begriffliche (selektivkonvergente) Denken fordern (108). „Das ‘metaphorische Denken’ nimmt einen Mitteplatz zwischen dem freien Phantasieren und dem gerichteten, begrifflichen Denken ein. Es ist ein *zielgerichtetes Phantasieren*“ (109). Die Metapher reicht in der Wissenschaft solange aus, bis man das Objekt nicht soweit kennt, dass man es nach seinen wesentlichen Eigenschaften benennen kann. Nach der Menge der Metaphern kann man die Entwicklungsstufe der gegebenen Wissenschaft beurteilen (119). Es wäre lehrreich, wenn man sich diese Frage auch in anderen Gebieten stellen würde.

Im ganzen bietet das Buch eine seriöse Analyse heikler Probleme an, die hier mit nüchterner Argumentation vorgestellt werden. Der Verfasser, der einer der besten Kenner der phonischen Seite der Sprache ist, ist sich bewusst, dass mehrere Gedanken, die man mehr für Anlässe zur Forschung halten soll, noch weitere Bestätigung bedürfen.

G. Altmann

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<sup>1</sup> I. Fónagy, *A költői nyelv hangtanából*. Budapest 1959.

S. Dresden—L. Geschiere—B. Bray, *La notion de structure*. La Haye, Van Goor Zonen, 1961, 68 Seiten.

Das Buch enthält drei Versuche um die Exemplifikation des Begriffes „Struktur“ an konkreten Erscheinungen der Sprache und Literatur. Das Problem ist nicht neu und aus dem theoretischen Standpunkt wurde es in der letzten Zeit sehr häufig untersucht sowohl in der Sprach- als auch in der Literaturwissenschaft. Um die Benützung dieses allgemeinen Begriffes in einer spezifischen Wissenschaft nützlich zu machen, muss er entweder in Übereinstimmung mit seiner Definition in den Wissenschaften, die mit Abstraktionen höheres Grades arbeiten (Logik, Mathematik), benützt werden, oder auf Grund des *consensus omnium* (in der gegebenen Wissenschaft). In der Linguistik (und Literaturwissenschaft) hat bisher, leider, jede Schule ihre eigene Terminologie. Man kann erwarten, dass das Durchdringen der Mathematik und Logik in die Linguistik (und Literaturwissenschaft, Folkloristik) auch in dieser Richtung nützlich sein wird. Die Definitionen der Begriffe „System“, „Struktur“ sollten in den Wissenschaften in allgemeinem Sinne identisch sein, und sich in einzelnen Anwendungen nur dadurch unterscheiden, dass man für allgemeine Begriffe wie „Beziehung“, „Element“ konkretere Konstanten, die den Gegenstand der Untersuchung der gegebenen Disziplin bilden, ersetzt.

In der ersten Studie (*Fonction des Structure de la Phrase Française* von Lein Geschiere, 11—32), die wir hier besprechen werden, wird die Struktur aus dem linguistischen Standpunkt analysiert. Der Verfasser zeigt zuerst an Beispielen, was er unter Struktur meint, und gibt dann eine freie Definition: „Une structure [est]... toujours la combinaison de deux ou de plus éléments en une unité supérieure...“ (14). Diese Definition, ausser dem Abfassen in Worten, entspricht in groben Umrissen der Art, wie man heute die Struktur gewöhnlich definiert. Aber obwohl der Author an Isačenkos Definition („...la caractéristique globale de l'organisation de la langue donnée“<sup>1</sup>) aussellt, dass „remplacer structure par organisation, c'est en somme donner un mot pour un autre, ou plutôt donner une énigme pour une autre“ (11), er selbst begeht denselben „Fehler“, wenn er die *Struktur* durch *Kombination* ersetzt. Es ist, in der Tat, kein Fehler, weil man beim Definieren der hoch abstrakten Begriffen immer weitere verwenden muss, die man wieder definieren soll, usw., so dass es notwendig ist, an einem Punkte aufzuhören und einige Begriffe undefiniert zu lassen. Der Fehlritt in Isačenkos Auffassung ist, dass er die Struktur dem System überordnet.

Die Verfassers Auffassung der Struktur und des System hat einige strittige Punkte, die wir hier berühren werden. Zuerst, lässt er die Existenz des Systems nur in einem Paradigma zu, das „...réponde pour une domaine donnée... à toutes les nécessités...“ (12), d. h. nur in *langue*, während diese Bedingung in dem Text nie erfüllt ist, so dass es hier keine Systeme gibt. Nichtsdestoweniger existieren hier Strukturen. Diese Auffassung stammt wahrscheinlich von der englischen Schule (Firth,<sup>2</sup> Halliday<sup>3</sup>), aber in der Bibliographie gibt es keine Verweisung. Es ist möglich, dass es sich um eine schlechte Interpretation Hjelmslevs handelt, der System und Prozess unter-

<sup>1</sup> J. Vachek, *Dictionnaire de Linguistique de l'Ecole de Prague*. Utrecht—Anvers 1959.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Firth, “A Synopsis of linguistic theory 1930—1955”. In: *Studies in linguistic analysis*. Oxford 1957, pp. 5, 17, 30.

<sup>3</sup> M. A. K. Halliday, *Some aspects of systematic description and comparison in grammatical analysis*. Ibid. p. 60.

scheidet,<sup>4</sup> so dass es scheint, als ob im Texte keine Systeme existierten. Doch Hjelmslev behauptet es nirgends. Eine befriedigende Erklärung gibt z. B. Hartmann,<sup>5</sup> der ein Potenzialsystem (*langue*) und ein Aktual- oder Partialsystem unterscheidet. In dem Partialsystem (*Äusserung*) werden einige Beziehungen aus dem Potenzialsystem aktualisiert.<sup>6</sup> Jede Äusserung ist in Wirklichkeit ein System. Jede Erscheinung ist eigentlich ein System; in der Natur existieren keine unzerlegbare Phänomene, so dass sich in jedem Wesen Elemente niedrigerer Ordnung befinden, die in gegenseitigen Beziehungen stehen. Daraus folgt weiter, dass jede Erscheinung eine Hierarchie der Systeme ist. Die obere Grenze der Hierarchie, d. h. die Erscheinung selbst, ist der gegebenen Wissenschaft gewöhnlich bekannt (ausser, vielleicht, Astronomie) zu der unteren Grenze näheren sich viele Wissenschaften nur asymptotisch. Fast in jeder Wissenschaft existieren auch solche Hierarchien der Systeme, derer untere Grenze auch bekannt ist, weil die gegebene Wissenschaft nur bestimmte Elemente und derer Komponenten interessieren, welche sie aus ihrem Standpunkt als allerletzte ansieht. Auf den niedrigeren Stufen der Hierarchie kann eine andere Wissenschaft die Forschung beginnen, falls das gegebene Gebiet für das menschliche Wissen Bedeutung hat. Der Verfasser schliesst doch die Möglichkeit der Existenz eines Systems in der Äusserung beliebiger Art explizite aus. Er liess dort nur die Struktur zu, und zwar nur im Falle (1) dass zwischen Elementen entweder eine andere Beziehung als die raumzeitliche Aufeinanderfolge existiert (12), oder (2) wenn die Elemente „une unité supérieure“ bilden, auch im Falle, dass zwischen ihnen nur die raumzeitliche Beziehung der Aufeinanderfolge besteht (13). Nun, wenn die linguistischen Elemente eine höhere Einheit bilden, dann müssen in ihr wenigstens die funktionellen (Teil-Ganzes) Beziehungen wirken,<sup>7</sup> kraft welcher diese Einheit existiert. Diese „unité supérieure“ ist offenbar ein System, wie wir sie auch immer nennen. Das Problem der Aufeinanderfolge ist doch komplizierter. Die raumzeitliche Beziehung ist in der Sprache nur dann irrelevant, wenn der Austausch der Folge von zwei Elementen keine Änderung der Bedeutung verursacht (d. h. wenn dadurch kein anderes System entsteht). Auf den niedrigeren Ebenen der Sprache ist es immer so: die Änderung der Folge z. B. der Phoneme verursacht die Veränderung der Bedeutung des Morphemes, bzw. bildet einen anderen Morphem oder Nonsense. Auf den höheren Ebenen, z. B. Wort/Satz, Satz/Gespräch, muss es nicht immer der Fall sein. Raumzeitliche, d. h. Distributionsbeziehungen haben in der Sprache eine Grundbedeutung. Der Text existiert nur in der Zeit. Der Distributionsmodus<sup>8</sup> ist das Attribut linguistischer Einheiten, eine der Formen ihrer Existenz. Es gibt eine linguistische Schule, die die Sprache nur auf Grund dieser Beziehungen analysiert. In den paradigmatischen Systemen der Sprache sind diese Beziehungen offenbar irrelevant, aber in dem Text (d. h. in den syntagmatischen Systemen) hat der Verfasser ihre Wichtigkeit nicht gehörig eingeschätzt.

Das Verfahren des Authors kann man am besten an dem Beispiel, das er anführt, illustrieren: „...on peut dire que le mot ou le monème *hier* /yɛ:r/, par exemple ne forme pas un système. Il présente bien une structure: plusieurs éléments réunis dans une unité supérieure. Une structure qui présente ceci d'unique que les éléments qui

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<sup>4</sup> L. Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a theory of language*. Madison 1963, passim.

<sup>5</sup> P. Hartmann, *Zur Theorie der Sprachwissenschaft*. Assen 1961, pp. 8, 108.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also C. F. Hockett, *A course in modern linguistics*. New York 1958, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> A. Juillard, *Outline of a general theory of structural relations*. The Hague 1961, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> K. L. Pikes Termin. Siehe *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. I. Glendale 1954, passim.

en font partie n'ont pas entre eux d'autre connexion que de se succéder dans le temps. Entre le *y* de *yer* et le *e* il n'y a pas d'autre connexion que celle-ci: le *y* précède le *e* et le *e* suit le *y*. Ce qui n'empêche pas que l'ensemble de ces éléments successifs *hier* présente une structure“ (13). Im Worte *hier* sind neben Distributionsbeziehungen, die der Verfasser konstatiert, wenigstens drei weitere Beziehungen: (1) Die Kontraste zwischen einzelnen Phonemen, ohne welche die Sprache unmöglich ist; (2) Funktionsbeziehungen: jedes Phonem steht in bestimmter Position im Rahmen des Ganzen; (3) eine bestimmte Art der Gravitation eines Phonems zu dem anderen, die die Grundlage der Kombinationsfähigkeiten des Phonems bildet; sie wird gewöhnlich durch Übergangswahrscheinlichkeiten ausgedrückt. In der Sprache gibt es Gesetzmäßigkeiten, ob dynamische oder statistische, die den phonologischen Aufbau des Wortes (Morphems) ermöglichen. Das Wort ist also zweifellos ein System (unité supérieure) ebenso wie auch alle anderen Einheiten der Sprache.

Ebenso problematisch ist auch das zweite Beispiel über die Beziehung zweier Sätze. Dem Author nach gibt es zwischen den Sätzen

*Le ministère est démissionnaire.*

*Un avion s'est écrasé dans les rues de New York.*

keine Struktur, weil es zwischen ihnen ausser Aufeinanderfolge keine andere Beziehung gibt. Aber zwischen den Sätzen

*Le ministère est démissionnaire.*

Wim Kan se trouve dans de grosses difficultés; (12) gibt es eine Struktur. Für den nichtholländischen Leser wird zwischen Bemerkungen die Erklärung der Umstände, unter welchen in dem zweiten Satzpaar eine Beziehung entsteht, gegeben. Es ist offenbar, dass ohne diese Erklärung beide Satzpaare den gleichen Status haben: sie bilden keine unité supérieure (hier Gespräch), so dass zwischen ihnen keine Struktur existiert. Die Beziehung zwischen den Sätzen des zweiten Paars entsteht hier auf Grund der Kenntnis der Realität, d. h. mit Hilfe anderer Sätze auch wenn sie nicht ausgesprochen wurden. Die Möglichkeit der Existenz einer Beziehung im ersten Satzpaar ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen (z. B. in einem anderen Staate). Ob zwischen zwei Sätzen im Rahmen des Gesprächs eine Beziehung besteht (mittelbar oder unmittelbar), das hängt in diesen Fällen vom ganzen Gespräch ab. Ein Element des Systems muss keine unmittelbare Beziehung zu allen anderen Elementen haben, es genügt, wenn es wenigstens zu einem hat, durch welches es mit den übrigen verknüpft wird. Zwei Sätze, die aus verschiedenen Teilen des Gesprächs herausgerissen sind, werden offenbar nur eine mittelbare Beziehung haben. Die Beziehung zwischen den Sätzen des zweiten Paars entsteht also nur in einem bestimmten linguistischen oder nicht-linguistischen Kontext (System), zu welchem beide Sätze als Elemente gehören.

Diese Tatsachen zeigen, dass die Frage der Struktur und des Systems von dem linguistischen und allgemeinen Standpunkt aus in der Studie nicht glücklich gelöst wurde. Ausser terminologischen Verschiedenheiten, die man leicht beseitigen kann, gibt es hier auch Anschauungen, mit denen man nicht übereinstimmen kann.

G. Altmann

René Wellek, *Concepts of criticism*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1964.  
403 pp.

On the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Wellek, a selected collection of his literary critical articles, dating from 1946 to 1962, was published.

The title, *Concepts of Criticism*, is very expressive and appropriate. The word "concept", or "concepts", is very often used by Professor Wellek. It can be said that a considerable part of his very extensive work is given up to what this term expresses: from a wide fund of facts to show the concepts of literary theory, criticism, and history in the various phases of the historical development of the Romanic, Germanic, Anglo-Saxon and Slavonic countries, and of America as well. Wellek also tries to develop various important concepts of those literary spheres which could be valid today. It would be difficult to define "a statement of the purpose" of this book in a better way than by using Wellek's own words of the year 1936: "We have in mind... the clarification of... theoretical problems which can be solved only on a philosophical (i.e. conceptual) basis. Clearness on methodological issues should influence the direction of future research" (p. IX).

The book consists of the following studies:

1. *Literary Theory, Criticism and History*
2. *The Term and Concept of Literary Criticism*
3. *The Concept of Evolution in Literary History*
4. *Concepts of Form and Structure in Twentieth-Century Criticism*
5. *The Concept of Baroque in Literary Scholarship Postscript 1962*
6. *The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History*
7. *Romanticism Re-examined*
8. *The Concept of Realism in Literary Scholarship*
9. *The Revolt Against Positivism in Recent European Literary Scholarship*
10. *The Crisis of Comparative Literature*
11. *American Literary Scholarship*
12. *Philosophy and Postwar Criticism*
13. *The Main Trends of Twentieth-Century Criticism*

Apart from this the book also contains *A Bibliography of the Writings of René Wellek*, and *Index of Names* and an *Index of Topics and Terms*.

In the review attention will be paid only to those studies which have a broader impact and which deal with more general problems of literary science.

The first study of this collection is just one of these. In this study *Literary Theory, Criticism, and History* Wellek tries to define the various disciplines of literary science. "Literary theory", according to him, "is the study of principles of literature, its categories and the like, while the studies of concrete works of art are either 'literary criticism' (primarily static in approach) or 'literary history'" (p. 1). In the English speaking world, however, the concept "literary criticism" means also the criticism of concrete works and literary theory as well. It is different in our literary science and in that of the Soviet Union. From the title of the study one would expect the whole subject of literary science to be dealt with, but virtually the author only writes about the problems of criticism. Above all two questions are put to the fore: the first, what is literary criticism, its aim and relation to the literary theory; the second, should criticism judge or should it not?

The first question is answered very briefly: "Criticism is conceptual knowledge, or aims at such knowledge. It must ultimately aim at such knowledge about literature, at literary theory" (p. 4). Further is written: "Its aim is intellectual cognition. It does not create a fictional imaginative world such as the world of music or poetry." But, however, it does not mean that literary criticism should not have anything common with art.

The literary scientists have two contrary opinions of the basic question of the literary criticism. For instance, Professor Northrop Frye, whose work *Anatomy of Criticism* has been praised as the greatest book of criticism since Matthew Arnold, maintains that "the study of literature can never be founded on value judgments" (p. 4). Wellek opposes this opinion as it is directed definitely against his basic critical and literary beliefs. He believes that "the work of art is not only value impregnated, but is itself a structure of values" (p. 15). If every artistic work is a "structure of values", it then means that if we want to write about some artistic work we are compelled to choose a work that is most representative of a certain era, or of a certain writer, and to explain it, analyze and judge it. A really critical literary criticism, one that judges, is, according to Wellek, a necessary basis of literary science. Only on this basis is it possible to create a solid literary theory: "Literary theories, principles, criteria cannot be arrived at *in vacuo*: every critic in history has developed his theory in contact (as has Frye himself) with concrete works of art which he has to select, to interpret, analyze and, after all, to judge" (p. 5). Those who want to devote themselves to literary history must also be the critics otherwise their work would have only a factographic nature: they would be chronicals of writers, of their work and of specific eras. Wellek agrees with the opinion of N. Foerster, who maintains that the literary historian "must be a critic in order to be historian" (p. 15). The need to judge, to evaluate as an unavoidable duty of a literary critic and historian he stresses in other studies. For instance, in the study *The Concept of Evolution in Literary History*, which we shall also analyze, are written some remarkable words which characterize very expressively Wellek's own theoretical and critical conception: "A work of art is not simply a member of a series, a link in a chain. It may stand in relation to anything in the past. It is not only a structure to be analyzed descriptively, as the Russian and Czech Formalists assume. It is a totality of values which do not adhere to the structure but constitute its very nature. All attempts to drain value from literature have failed and will fail because its very essence is value" (p. 51—52). Or in the study *The Crisis of Comparative Literature*, which we also want to mention more widely, he wrote: „But true literary scholarship is not concerned with inert facts, but with values and qualities... Even the simplest problem of literary history requires an act of judgment" (p. 291—292). Wellek simply sees no way of evading the judgment or of avoiding the evaluation of literary facts.

The problem of evaluation is a very difficult one to critics. Many scientists in the West as well as in the East have attempted, and still are attempting, to avoid this problem. Some completely, others, at least partially. Yet others, while studying the works of older ages, simply accept the criteria of the past, reconstruct them and apply the values acknowledged in the particular age receiving attention. Wellek refutes such a conception of the literary criticism and history with the argument that the critical standards of the past cannot be reconstructed with certainty, that we cannot admit the standards of the past, and he illustrates it by examples (cf. p. 15—17). We assume that it is not like that: many critical standards of the past were expressed more or less clearly and therefore there is no need to go to the trouble of reconstruction. Many standards of the past we can admit in our days. The reviewer could illustrate it by many examples from the Chinese literary history. However, Wellek is right when he writes that to interpret, for instance, Hamlet only just as (hypothetically) Shakespeare did, or his audience, belittles the work (p. 17). In literary science can be found other cases of historicism which are based on the opinion that "no theory or no criteria are needed in the study of the past and the view that the present

age is unworthy of study by scholarly methods" (p. 257). He also, decidedly, opposes this opinion.

Professor Wellek realizes that "old absolutism is untenable: the assumption of one eternal, narrowly defined standard had to be abandoned under the impact of our experience of the wide variety of art", but also that "complete relativism is equally untenable; it leads to paralysing scepticism, to an anarchy of values, to the acceptance of the old vicious maxim: *de gustibus non est disputandum*" (p. 17). He opposes the, so-called, period relativism or perspectivism of Professor Erich Auerbach, who alleges that concepts and categories should be extracted from a material, that they are not absolute but elastic and provisional, changeable with changing history. He does not agree with Auerbach's conception for "it would split up the concept of art and poetry into innumerable fragments" (p. 17).

The question now arises: if old absolutism is untenable, if complete relativism is also untenable, and if period relativism (though Wellek acknowledged it when he wrote *Theory of Literature*, New York 1949, cf. p. 35) is not the way out, where and in what is the way out? Wellek answers it so: "The only way out is carefully defined and refined absolutism, a recognition that 'the Absolute is in the relative, though not finally and fully in it'" (p. 20). He has taken this idea from Ernst Troeltsch.

The answer is too brief and therefore not satisfying. From what we know of Wellek's work we have not been able to find, up to now, a sufficiently satisfactory answer to this question. Wellek says that we must "return to the task of building a literary theory, a system of principles, a theory of values which will necessarily draw on the criticism of concrete works of art and will constantly evoke the assistance of literary history" (p. 20).

Attention should also be paid to the study *The Concept of Evolution in Literary History*, which seems to be the first work of this kind in literature.

The concept of evolution in literary history has a very long tradition. It dominated literary history up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Wellek pursues it from Aristotle's *Poetics* up to Mukařovský's *Kapitoly z české poetiky* (*Chapters from Czech Poetics*).

According to Aristotle the evolution is a "teleological process in time directed toward one and only one absolutely predetermined goal" (p. 38). The conception of evolution in literature did not change much before Hegel. Hegel, instead of principle of continuity, introduced dialectics. The idea of literary evolution was enlivened by the advent of Darwin and especially Spencer. Wellek pays great attention to the evolutionary opinions of Taine, Brunetière, of the Russian Formalists and especially of Mukařovský. At the end of the article he evaluates the various opinions and gives his own conception of evolution: "It is simply not true that an artist necessarily develops toward a single future [by these words he criticizes the Aristotelian conception and especially the followers of Brunetière, according to whom chronology is decisive, evolution being conceived as a gradual gradation and recession — M. G.]: he can reach back to something he may have conceived twenty, thirty or fifty years ago. He can start on a completely different track. His reaching out into the past for models or stimuli, abroad and home, in art or in life, in another art or in thought, is a free decision, a choice of values which constitutes his own hierarchy of values and will be reflected in the hierarchy of values implied in his own work of art" (p. 51). He criticizes the followers of Darwin and Spencer: "There is no inevitable growth and decay, no transformation of one genre into another, no actual struggle for life among genres" (l. c.). He mainly agrees with Hegel's conception of evolution: "Hege-

lian evolutionism is right in denying the principle of gradation, in recognizing the role conflict and revolution in art, in seeing the relationship of art to society as a dialectical give-and-take, but it is wrong in its rigid determinism and its schematism of triads" (*ibid.*). He criticizes the Russian Formalists and Prague Structuralists and says that they had only one criterion of value, one criterion of interest: the degree of novelty (p. 48—49).

In the study *Concepts of Form and Structure in Twentieth-Century Criticism* he writes on the problems of form, content and structure of literary work.

He starts again with Aristotle and shows how the German Romantics, the French Symbolists, the American New Critics and even the Russian Formalists were persuaded of the "inseparability and reciprocity of form and content" (p. 55). He is in agreement with the opinion of W. K. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks: "'Form' in fact embraces and penetrates 'message' in a way that constitutes a deeper and more substantial meaning than either abstract message or separable ornament" (p. 58). Notice is taken of the problem of content and form in the work of Croce, Valéry and, of course, of the Russian Formalists. They had a twofold opinion of form: form was to them all-inclusive, that means it was practically everything that formed an artistic work, or they substituted the traditional dichotomy of "form" and "content" by the "contrast between the extra-artistic, nonaesthetic materials and the sum of artistic devices. 'Device' (*priyom*) became for them the only legitimate subject matter of literary study with the result that 'form' was replaced by a mechanistic concept of the sum of the techniques or procedures which could be studied separately or in diverse interlocking combinations" (p. 66—67). In Poland and Germany the concept of form met with the German tradition of *Ganzheit*, *Gestalt*, with Husserl's and Cassirer's philosophy. The doctrine which arose received the name structuralism. Structuralists "saw that 'form' cannot be studied merely as a sum of devices and that it is not purely sensuous, or even purely linguistic inasmuch as it projects a 'world' of motifs, themes, characters, and plots" (p. 67).

The end of this study resembles those of the preceding studies. Wellek does not fully agree with any conception expressed by various authors, very briefly he indicates his own conception but he does not develop it. This time he affirms that "even a complete analysis of the structure of work of art does not exhaust the task of literary scholarship" (p. 68). It is because "a work of art is a totality of values which do not adhere merely to the structure but constitute its very essence" (*ibid.*).

In the study *The Revolt Against Positivism in Recent European Literary Scholarship* Wellek deals with the antipositivistic wave of post World War I European and American literary science. The antipositivistic wave directed against distinct traits of traditional literary studies: against "petty antiquarianism, i.e. 'research' into minutest details of the lives and quarrels of authors, parallel hunting and source digging—in short, the accumulation of isolated facts, usually defended on the vague belief that all these bricks will sometimes be used in a great pyramid of learning" (p. 256). This kind of investigation is, however, often very useful. Sometimes this "factualism" is joined to the opinion that "no theory or no criteria are needed in the study of the past" and that "the present age is unworthy of study or is inaccessible to the study by scholarly methods" (p. 257). The antipositivistic wave was also directed against nineteenth century scientism which attempted to transfer the methods of natural science to the study of literature (*ibid.*).

Hereupon, Wellek follows the literary scientific situation in England, France, Germany and finally, in Russia and Czechoslovakia. He says that although reaction

against positivism is a healthy phenomenon, it is in some certain aspects dangerous: "Bold speculations, sweeping wistas, subtle analyses, and sensitive judgments may make us forget the necessity of a solid understructure in a wide knowledge of relevant facts which the old philology, at its best, tended to produce" (p. 281).

The study ends with the words which we can take as an outline of the conception: "We want not less scholarship and less knowledge, but more scholarship, more intelligent scholarship, centered on the main problems which arise in the study of literature, both as an art and as expression of our civilization" (*ibid.*).

Again, a deeper discussion is lacking.

Attention is finally paid to yet one more study: *The Crisis of Comparative Literature*. In this Wellek deals only with the comparative literature of the West. The unsatisfactory situation of comparative studies is, according to him, caused by the fact that "it [this study—M. G.] has not been able to establish a distinct subject matter and specific methodology" (p. 282). The methodology used by the prominent French comparatists like Baldensperger, Van Tieghem, Carré and Guyard, is obsolete (*ibid.*).

Wellek, very strongly, opposes Van Tieghem's conception of "general literature" and "comparative literature". According to Van Tieghem "comparative" literature is concerned with the study of interrelations between two literatures and "general" literature is concerned with the movements which sweep through several literatures (p. 283). It probably means that comparative literature should pay attention to the study of the „foreign trade“ of literatures; it should be especially interested in secondary writers, translations and travel books; it should be subdiscipline, investigating data about the foreign sources and reputations of writers (p. 384).

The methodology of the French Comparative School is a positivistic one: "They believe in causal explanation, in the illumination which is brought about by tracing motifs, themes, characters, situations, plots, etc., to some other chronologically preceding work. They have accumulated an enormous mass of parallels, similarities, and sometimes identities, but they rarely asked what these relationship are supposed to show except possibly the fact of one writer's knowledge and reading of another writer" (p. 285).

Apart from artificial demarcation of subject matter and methodology, apart from a mechanistic concept of sources and influences, Wellek sees definite shortcomings of comparative literature in cultural nationalism which consists of "a desire to accumulate credits for one's nation by proving that one's nation has assimilated and 'understood' a foreign master more fully than any other" (p. 289).

Wellek condemns artificial demarcation between "comparative" and "general" literature; he condemns such comparative literature which sees in sources and influences, intermediaries and reputations its only topics. It is because: "Works of art, however, are not simply sums of sources and influences, they are wholes in which raw materials derived from elsewhere cease to be inert matter and are assimilated into a new structure" (p. 285). He also condemns the conception of literature "as argument in the warfare of cultural prestige, or as a commodity of foreign trade..." (p. 295).

In this study Wellek has probably expressed most clearly his positive ideal of a literary and comparative study: "Literary scholarship today needs primarily a realization of the need to define its subject matter and focus. It must be distinguished from the study of the history of ideas, or religious and political concepts and sentiments which are often suggested as alternatives to literary studies... Hence we must face the problem of "literariness," the central issue of aesthetics, the nature of art and literature. In such a conception of literary scholarship the literary work

of art itself will be the necessary focus and we will recognize that we study different problems when we examine the relations of a work of art to the psychology of the author or to the sociology of his society. The work of art... can be conceived as a stratified structure of signs and meanings which is totally distinct from the mental process of the author at the time of composition and hence of the influence which may have formed his mind... The only right conception seems to me a resolutely 'holistic' one which sees the work of art as a diversified totality, as a structure of signs, which, however, imply and require meanings and values" (p. 293—294).

The other studies will not be scrutinized closer.

Based on what we have learnt from reading this book, we can affirm that Professor Wellek has outgrown his *Theory of Literature*, which in Western literary science signified an "important milestone". It is possible that in the near future on the basis of the concepts of literary theory, criticism and history in the various phases of historical development will not only be attempted to define but also will be really defined by Professor Wellek the various important concepts of literary spheres which could be valid even today.

Marián Gálik

Leo Kofler, *Zur Theorie der modernen Literatur. Der Avantgardismus in soziologischer Sicht*. Neuwied am Rhein, Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1962, 284 S.

Moderne Literatur ist ohne ihren soziologischen (und sozialen) Aspekt nicht denkbar; denn einerseits ist sie durch die Gesellschaft, durch ihre soziale und politische Struktur bedingt, andererseits wirkt die Literatur auf die Gesellschaft und wird zu ihrer Repräsentantin. Literatursociologie hat daher ihre vollberechtigte Funktion im Studium der komplexen Problematik des literarischen Prozesses. Sie ist im Laufe der Entwicklung der modernen literaturwissenschaftlichen Forschung zu einem legitimen, unabdenkbaren Bestandteil sowohl der systematischen wie auch der historischen Forschung geworden. Diese Legitimität aber ist nur berechtigt, solange die Literatursociologie nicht der Einseitigkeit verfällt, die den literarischen Prozess von dem gesellschaftlichen direkt ableitet und „erklärt“. Denn in diesem Falle wird die Literatur bloss zum Symptom einer ausserdichterischen und ausserliterarischen Wirklichkeit. Gesellschaftliche Determination der Literatur ist nicht absolut und uneingeschränkt.

Während die angelsächsische Literaturwissenschaft schon seit K. Francke, Court-hope u. a. die gesellschaftliche (soziale) Bedingtheit der Literatur (sog. „social background“ der Literatur) fast selbstverständlich voraussetzt, in der offiziellen idealistisch orientierten deutschen Literaturwissenschaft setzt sich dieser Aspekt nur sehr schwer durch.

Die vorliegende Arbeit des bekannten Soziologen Prof. Leo Kofler (Pseudonym von Stanislaw Warynski) „Zur Theorie der modernen Literatur“, als eine soziologische Kritik der neueren literarischen Avantgarda, bildet eine Ausnahme. Sie ist nähmlich hauptsächlich vom soziologischen Standpunkt geleitet. Es ist keine literaturtheoretische Untersuchung im üblichen Sinne. Der Autor will keine literaturtheoretische Diskussion „vom spekulativen Himmel“ entwickeln; seine Methode ist eine „vom Leben und Dialektik“ erfüllte soziologische Kritik; er will keine „rein ästhetische“ Theorie der Literatur ausbauen, denn er ist davon überzeugt, dass das eigentliche Wesen irgendeiner literarischen Richtung durch eine Beschreibung der

Beispiele nicht aufgeklärt werden kann und andererseits wieder, dass die einseitige blos ästhetische Theorie nicht zum Ziele gelangt. Wohl mit Recht. Die unendliche Vielfalt von psychologischen, antropologischen, biographischen, historischen und soziologischen Gründen und Bestimmungen, diese Gesetze, die eine dialektische Struktur bilden, sind die eigentlichen Prinzipien, die die moderne Literatur erhellen sollen. Der Autor wählt aus ihnen nur den politisch-historischen und soziologischen Standpunkt.

Das Thema Koflers kritischer Arbeit ist die moderne avantgardistische Literatur mit allen ihren gehaltlichen und ästhetischen „Unzulänglichkeiten“ (ihr verborgener naturalistischer Charakter, das Bestehen auf dem naturalistischen Schein, ihre Reduktion der unendlichen Vielfalt des Ganzen des Menschen und des menschlichen Existierens — seiner Totalität — auf das sich in empirischer Bestimmtheit Darbietende usw., ihr Pessimismus, Verzweiflung, Isolations-Fanatismus). Der extrem moderne literarische Avantgardenismus — Joyce, Beckett, Ionesco, Sartre, Osborn u. a. — verfehlt die eigentliche totale Wirklichkeit des Menschen, die wirkliche widersprüchsvolle Totalität des menschlichen Existierens und statt dessen bietet er uns die Scheintotalität, „die das Publikum über die wahren Gründe der geschichtlichen Katastrophen vollkommen im Dunkeln lässt“. Diese Literatur hat keinen Sinn für die wahren Zusammenhänge der menschlichgesellschaftlichen Totalität. Das zentrale Problem der heutigen Situation des Menschen — die Entfremdung (Verdinglichung, Mechanisierung, Degradierung, Isolation des Menschen) sieht sie nicht in seiner wirklichen gesellschaftlich-historischen Bedingtheit, sondern die Kunst wird bei ihr selbst zu einem Organ der modernen Entfremdung. „Ohne die Bezogenheit auf die soziale und historische Totalität bleiben die subjektiven Eigenschaften der Entfremdung nur deskriptiv fassbar, aber nicht wahrhaft verständlich“ (50). Denn „es gibt keine Entfremdung für sich, sondern nur Entfremdung des Lebens in seinen primären Bedingungen“. Das Ergebnis ist totale Negation, Einsamkeit, Melancholie, Schuldgefühl — mit einem Wort „Nihilismus“, den sie nicht als Symptom einer zerfallenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft darstellt, sondern als habe „es sie immer gegeben“. Statt der ganzen Wirklichkeit erscheint in ihren Werken nur die „empirische“, in der alltäglichen oberflächlichen Betrachtung sich präsentierende Wahrheit.

So sieht im Grunde die soziologische Kritik der modernen Literatur aus. Der Soziologe als Kritiker spricht sein abfälliges Urteil über den „Nihilismus“ der Literatur von heute (der neueren Avantgarde) aus. Seine Beurteilung und Verurteilung der modernen bürgerlichen Literatur als blosse „Regressions auf das Nichts“ ist sehr konsequent. Diese Diffamierung von Schriftstellern der Avantgarde als „Nihilisten“ ist nur aus einem ausserkünstlerischen und ausserliterarischen Standpunkt möglich. Nihilismus ist keine ästhetische und literatur-kritische Kategorie, sondern eine weltanschauliche. In dem eigentlichen Bereich des literarischen Werkes als Kunstwerkes hat er keine Berechtigung. Jedes gestaltete Werk widerlegt durch die Tatsache seiner Form, seiner Gestaltung die These vom blossen Nihilismus der modernen Literatur. Eine künstlerische Leistung kann nie eine Verflüchtigung in das Nichts der Sinnlosigkeit bedeuten. Als Nihilismus kann man sie nur solange bezeichnen, als sie eine Abwendung von bestimmten Wertsystemen realisiert. Koflers These, die er von Lukács übernommen hat, „In aller grossen Literatur geht es um das Ganze des Menschen und des menschlichen Existierens“ — wobei er „das Ganze“ als „dialektische Totalität“ begreift — ist als Kriterium der literarischen Kritik nur als Postulat von dem Standpunkt des „Lebens“ berechtigt. Aber schon Ernst Fischer hat sich bei einer Gelegenheit geäussert, das Streben nach der Darstellung der „Welt in seiner

Totalität“ in der Literatur sei unmöglich oder zumindest fraglich (E. Fischer: Franz Kafka. Sinn und Form 1964, Nr. 4). „Totale Zusammenhänge“ als Ziel der Bestrebungen der Literatur darzustellen, wird noch auf unbegrenzt lange Zeit unerreichbar bleiben, denn die Literatur als Kunst kann nur „stilisiert“ und deshalb notwendig „einseitig“ existieren.

Koflers Kritik des Avantgardismus kennt zwar zwei Ausnahmen, zwei „grossen Ausnahmen“: nämlich Brecht und Kafka. Durch diese Ausnahmen versucht Leo Kofler das Positive des Avantgardismus zu suchen und zu zeigen. „Die entscheidende und für die weitere Entwicklung der Literatur von den dreissiger Jahren bis heute massgebliche ästhetische Entdeckung und Tat des Avantgardismus... ist das „epische Subjekt“ in einer den neuartigen ästhetischen Bedürfnissen angepassten Form. Damit entsteht die eigentliche moderne Literatur, das „epische Theater“ und der „epische Roman““ (26). Der ausserhalb der Zeit und der Kausalität „handelnde“ Held wird zum „epischen Subjekt“, das sich selbst interpretiert. Kofler unterscheidet zwei Verwendungsmöglichkeiten des „epischen Subjekts“: a) eine Form, die das „subjektivistisch-nihilistische Theater“ realisiert. Diese Verwendungsweise besteht darin dass“ das mehr oder weniger isoliert aufgefasste Individuum monologisierend oder in einem stets auf den Einzelnen und sein Inneres zurückweisenden Scheingespräch sich selbst „episch“ interpretiert, d. h. mit dem „epischen Subjekt“ zusammenfällt, identisch ist“ (63).

b) „In der anderen Form, vor allem der Brechtschen, tritt das „epische Subjekt“ als Blosses Hilfsmittel in einer Darstellung auf; das „epische Subjekt“ hat hier nur die Aufgabe, komplizierte Situationen des modernen entfremdeten Menschen... durch das Mittel der „epischen“ Durchleuchtung verständlich zu machen; es bleibt hier blosses Mittel“ (63).

Prof. Leo Koflers Untersuchung der grundsätzlichen Fragen der modernen Literaturtheorie hat wieder überzeugend gezeigt, dass jede prinzipiell soziologische Bewertung der Literatur — nicht bloss die empirisch deskriptive — dem marxistischen Problem — und Konzeptionsbereich nahe kommt. Darin hat er ein grosses Vorbild in Georg Lukács, dessen Gesamtwerk, ähnlich wie sein Buch, in demselben Verlag erscheint --- im Hermann Luchterhand Verlag.

Vincent Šabík

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