ASIAN AND AFRICAN

STUDIES

CONTENTS

Articles

Book Reviews

6

ARTICLES

SOME PHONIC FEATURES OF MALAY SHAER

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1. The text is a statistical sample with a specific distribution of elements. In its construction elements of all linguistic levels take part. However, some of them are distributed at random, i.e. they do not show any significant „configuration" (distributions, sequences, intervals, etc.) while others, of some particular level, may show such arrangements which cannot be accounted for by change. Metrics is a well known case of this. In cases where the observed occurrence of elements significantly differs from the expected one we speak about *structuration*. The structuration may be either *conscious* or *subconscious*. The rise of the subconscious structuration is caused by some psychological factors which may also be investigated (and sometimes only) through the analysis of texts, and, on the other hand, the knowledge of these factors helps to interpret some facts discovered in texts. Further, structuration in texts may give rise to *macro-* and *microstructures*. Macrostructures are formed by relations among the greatest components of the whole, microstructures by those among components of a lower order.[1] Consequently, the macro- and microstatus of a structure is relative: it depends on the level of observation. A literary form is usually characterized by several structures at once. And lastly, structuration may give rise either to *laws* (or dynamic laws, constants) ar to *tendencies* (statistical laws). These 6 aspects on the whole give $2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8$ classes of structuration and it is usually quite obvious which of them is in question. Furthermore, structures may arise on various linguistic (and supralinguistic) levels (phonological, grammatical, lexical) according to the elements which form them (phonemes, syllables, suprasegmental elements, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, lexical units). If one is concerned with the analysis of texts only it is not always necessary to differentiate between conscious or subconscious structuration or between macro- and microstructures; also the laws differ clearly from tendencies by forming absolutely (100 %) regular patterns and by being quite obvious.

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[1] One may call them also *structure* and *texture* respectively, cf. e.g. M. C. Beardsley, *Aesthetics*, New York 1958, p. 168 ff., for literature p. 220 ff.

The laws of the arrangement of elements in texts function usually in systems which lie on low, directly perceivable levels of the hierarchy of systems. Such are, e.g. metric constants, rhyme patterns, strophic composition which are constructed according to special rules binding for the given literary form. In a sense one may say that they lie on the surface of the text. The tendencies are "hidden" behind these laws, one may say they are situated deeper in the text. The description of laws in folklore and literary texts does not call for complicated analytic procedures; it is quite sufficient to enumerate the patterns of existing regularities. However, the investigation of tendencies necessitates a somewhat more intricate apparatus, above all statistical methods. Their exploitation in analyzing Malay folklore is preliminarily very restricted,[2] though the number of laws is relatively small here (e.g. rhyme and strophe), the majority of structures having the characters of tendencies.

2. In this study we shall deal with two aspects of the phonic construction of a Malay shaer. The analysis is based on *Sjair Tjinta Berahi* transcribed by Djadjuli.[3]

The first problem concerns the phonic resemblance of verses. We may base our hypothesis on Skinner's statement "that the appearance of a sound in speech raises the probability of occurrence of that sound for some time thereafter.[4] If the principle of 'formal strengthening' holds in general then it may be expected that in spontaneously created poetry (or other texts) the lines lying nearer to one another will be as phonic wholes mutually more similar than the more distant ones—if there is no conscious contrary tendency, i.e. the average phonic similarity of verses will be a function of their mutual distance. This generalization means that we shall not examine the similarity of the distribution of phonemes in special positions, but the phonic composition of verses as wholes. If we regard the hypothesis from the opposite side, the principle may be useful for measuring the spontaneity of creation: a particular degree of similarity (amount of phonic associations) allows an estimate to be made about the spontaneity with which the poetry has been created. In practice, the result may also serve as a measure of the changes that have been carried out after initial creation of the poem. Of course, this hypothesis should first be verified on a great number of poems—both folklore and artificial ones—otherwise it may lead to erroneous interpretations. Our only aim here is to verify this hypothesis in the particular case of Malay shaer. The wholes under investigation are lines and their

[2] As far as 1 know quantitative analyses of Malay pantuns only have been carried out, cf. G. Altmann, *Phonic structure of Malay pantun*. Archiv orientální 31, 1963, 274—86; G. Altmann, R. Štukovský, *The Climax in Malay pantun*. Asian and African Studies 1, 1965, 13—20.

[3] Djadjuli, *Transkripsi Sjair Tjinta Berahi*. Bahasa dan Budaja 9, 1961, 91—133.

[4] B. F. Skinner, *The alliteration in Shakespeare's sonnets: A study in literary behavior*. The Psychological Record 3, 1939, p. 186. Cf. also B. F. Skinner, *A quantitative estimate of certain types of sound patterning in poetry*. The American Journal of Psychology 46, 1941, 64—79.

phonic components are considered as entirely equivalent, regardless of their position[5]. Since the associative process, which results in reemitting a phoneme, must also apply to the combinations of phonemes, or also to parts of words, we shall consider the similarity of lines also in terms of phoneme sequences. In order to stimulate the research into Malay poetry along these lines we shall give the quantitative procedure of evaluation in detail.

The universe from which we choose our sets is always the verse. The sets which are to be compared are defined as follows:

$$A = \{x \mid x \ is \ a \ phoneme\}$$

or in words: A is a set of elements x such that x are phonemes (of the given verse). Further

$$B = \{(xy) \mid x, y \in A \ \& \ x < y\}$$

or in words: B is a set of ordered pairs *(xy)* such that x and y belong to the set A (i.e. x and y are phonemes) and x precedes y. This is the set of all sequences of two phonemes of the line. In the same way one may define sets of longer sequences of phonemes but in the course of the work it turned out that their contribution to the similarity of lines is so small that it can be neglected. The elements of the sets A_i, B_i of the ith were then alphabetically ordered and provided with indices, i.e.

$$A_i = \{/a_1, a_2, a_3 \ldots b_1, b_2, b_3 \ldots/\}$$

$$B_i = \{/(ab_1)_1, (ab)_2, \ldots (ac),_1(ac)_2, \ldots (ba)_1, (ba)_2, \ldots (bc)_1, (bc)_2, \ldots/\}.$$

The measure of similarity of two lines i and j was computed according to the formula[6]

$$S_{ij} = 100 \left[\frac{|A_i \cap A_j|^2}{|A_i| \cdot |A_j|} + \frac{|B_i \cap B_j|^2}{|B_i| \cdot |B_j|} \right]$$

where $|X_i \cap X_j|$ is the cardinal number (i.e. the number of elements) of the intersection of two sets X_i, and X_j, and $|X_i|$, $|X_j|$ are cardinal numbers of the given sets X_i, and X_j respectively. In order to get greater numbers the resulting S was multiplied by 100. E.g. the phonemes of two phonemically transcribed verses[7]

[5] In studies of sound-patterning in poetry one ascribes a different status to phonemes in eminent positions (beginning or end of words or lines) than to others. A. B. Lord ascribes the ability of evoking sound associations even to those phoneme clusters which occur in "words which are symbols of the key ideas". Cf. A. B. Lord, *The role of sound patterns in Serbocroatian epic*. In: For Roman Jakobson, The Hague 1956, p. 304. Further, similarity is considered here in terms of identical phonemes only. Partial similarities, e.g. between (p) and (b) or (p) and (k) etc., would lead to far-reaching and complicated computations.

[6] The formula was derived by Y. I. Levin, *Ob opisanii lingvisticheskikh ob'ektov, obladaiushchikh obshchimi svoistvami*. Voprosy ïazykoznania 13, 1964, No. 4, 112—119, here we use a notation which is in accordance with the set theoretical definitions above.

[7] The diphtongs [ai] and [au] were phonologically interpreted as sequences of two phonemes (ay) and (aw) respectively.

1. (*déŋarkan tuan suatu cěrita*)
2. (*dikaraŋ oleh dagaŋ yaŋ lata*)

after being alphabetically rearranged and provided with indices, give the following sets

$$A_1 = \{/a_1, a_2, a_3, a_3, a_4, a_5, c_1, d_1, \check{e}_1, \check{e}_2, i_1, k_1, n_1, n_2,$$
$$\eta_1, r_1, r_2, s_1, t_1, t_2, t_3, u_1, u_2, u_3/\}$$

with $|A_1| = 23$, and

$$A_2 = \{/a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, a_5, a_6, a_7, d_1, d_2, e_1, g_1, h_1, i_1, k_1,$$
$$l_1, l_2, \eta_1, \eta_2, \eta_3, o_1, r_1, t_1, y_1/\}$$

with $|A_2| = 23$. Forming the intersection of the sets A_1 and A_2 we get the set

$$A_1 \cap A_2 = \{/a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, a_5, d_1, i_1, k_1, \eta_1, r_1, t_1/\}$$

with $|A_1 \cap A_2| = 11$. The sequences of two phonemes give the following sets:

$$B_1 = \{/an_1, an_2, ar_1, at_1, c\check{e}_1, d\check{e}_1, \check{e}\eta_1, \check{e}r_1, it_1, ka_1, ns_1, nt_1,$$
$$\eta a_1, ri_1, rk_1, su_1, ta_1, tu_1, tu_2, ua_1, ua_2, uc_1/\}$$

with $|B_1| = 22$ and

$$B_2 = \{/ag_1, a\eta_1, a\eta_2, a\eta_3, ar_1, at_1, da_1, di_1, eh_1, ga_1, hd_1, ik_1,$$
$$ka_1, la_1, le_1, \eta l_1, \eta o_1, \eta y_1, ol_1, ra_1, ta_1, ya_1/\}$$

with $|B_2| = 22$. The intersection of the sets B_1 and B_2 gives the set

$$B_1 \cap B_2 = \{/ar_1, at_1, ka_1, ta_1/\}$$

with $|B_1 \cap B_2| = 4$. After substituting the number of elements of the particular sets into the formula, we get

$$S_{1,2} = 100 \left[\frac{11^2}{23 \cdot 23} + \frac{4^2}{22 \cdot 22} \right] = 26.18.$$

It must be born in mind that the two members of S_{ij} are the first two approximations to the overall phonic resemblance of two verses. Further members have been discarded as irrelevant. Computations of similarity were carried out for distances one till ten, one being the distance of two subsequent lines (or, generally, the distance $d = j - i$). For each distance a sample of 150 pairs was selected at random and the average $\overline{S}_d$ of each distance was used for the computation of the tendency. In order to eliminate the possibility of the tendency being influenced by a phonic similarity made up intentionally (i.e. non-spontaneously) by the rhyme, the four last phonemes in

each line have been left out.[8] The resulting values are given in the second row of Table 1.

The values of average similarity $\overline{S}$ of lines at distances D

D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
$\overline{S}$	36.06	34.60	34.44	34.77	33.78	33.84	34.01	33.76	33.21	32.91
$\overline{S}_c$	35.86	35.05	34.59	34.27	34.02	33.81	33.64	33.50	33.37	33.25

Though the range of $\overline{S}$ values is not very great, we, newertheless, ask whether there is some dependence of $\overline{S}$ on D and try to find the appropriate function which expresses it. The values of $\overline{S}$ plotted as points in Fig. 1 display a trend which suggests the suitability of being fitted with a negative power function of the type $y = ax^{-b}$. Since the derivation of formulae for testing the significance of the difference of b from zero is somewhat lengthy we give it only in a shortened form.[9] From two suitable points (x_1, y_1) and (x_2, y_2) where x_i are the distances D and y_i the observed values of $\overline{S}_i$ we compute the approximate values of a and b from the equations

$$b_o = \frac{\log y_1 - \log y_2}{\log x_2 - \log x_1} \quad \text{and} \quad \log a_o = \log y_1 + b_o \log x_1. \text{ After developing}$$

$y_i = a_o x_i^{-b_o}$ and taking the first three members we get a new function

$y_i = a_o x_i^{-b_o} + x_i^{-b_o}o \cdot \delta a - a_o x_i^{-b_o} \cdot 2 \cdot 30258 \log x_i \cdot \delta b$. The best estimates of a and b are the values $\tilde{a} = a_o + \delta \tilde{a}$ and $\tilde{b} = b_o + \delta \tilde{b}$ respectively. Let $A_i = x_i^{-b_o}$, $B_i = -a_o x_i^{-b_o} \cdot 2 \cdot 30258 \log x_i$ and $L_i = \overline{S}_i - a_o x_i^{-b_o}$. We have then

$y_i - \overline{S}_i = A_i \delta a + B_i \delta b - L_i$, where $\varepsilon_i = y_i - \overline{S}_i \in N(0, \sigma)$ is the "error of the measurement". In order to attain the maximal confidence we must find the values of δa and δb for which the expression

$$\mathscr{L} = \prod_{i=1}^{n} \frac{1}{\sigma \sqrt{2\pi}} \exp\left[- \frac{1}{2\sigma^2} (A_i \delta a + B_i \delta b - L_i)^2 \right]$$

is maximal. Taking $ln \mathscr{L}$ and deriving it according to δa and δb we get the so called normal equations from which we compute

$$\delta \tilde{a} = \frac{\Sigma B_i^2 \cdot \Sigma A_i L_i - \Sigma A_i B_i \cdot \Sigma B_i L_i}{\Sigma A_i^2 \cdot \Sigma B_i^2 - (\Sigma A_i B_i)^2}$$

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[8] No other intentional phonic tendency besides rhyme has been observed.

[9] A detailed description of the method can be found e.g. in Y. W. Linnik, *Die Methode der kleinsten Quadrate in moderner Darstellung*, Berlin 1961. I am indebted to Mr. L. Kubáček for his kind advice in statistical matters.

$$\delta \tilde{b} = \frac{\Sigma A_i^2 \cdot \Sigma B_i L_i - \Sigma A_i B_i \cdot \Sigma A_i L_i}{\Sigma A_i^2 \cdot \Sigma B_i^2 - (\Sigma A_i B_i)^2}$$

From the normal equations it is possible to compute

$$\hat{\sigma}_b^2 = \hat{\sigma}^2 \cdot \frac{\Sigma A_i^2}{\Sigma A_i^2 \cdot \Sigma B_i^2 - (\Sigma A_i B_i)^2}$$

where $\hat{\sigma}^2 = \dfrac{\Sigma v_i^2}{n-2}$ and $v_i = \tilde{a}x_i^{-\tilde{b}} - \overline{S}_i$. To test the significancy of b we compute

$$t = \frac{b \cdot \sqrt{\Sigma A_i^2 \cdot \Sigma B_i^2 - (\Sigma A_i B_i)^2}}{\sqrt{\Sigma A_i^2} \sqrt{\dfrac{\Sigma v_i^2}{n-2}}} .$$

In our case we took the points (1;36.06) and (10;32.91) and got $\tilde{a} = 35.86$, $\tilde{b} = 0.032772$, $|t| = 7.62$ with $n-2 = 8$ degrees of freedom. Since this value is very highly significant we have sufficient reason to admit that $\overline{S}$ is statistically dependent on D. We may therefore conclude that in Malay shaer there exists a subconscious structuration which manifests itself in the form of dependence of the phonic similarity of lines on their mutual distance. In order to avoid these tedious computations it is also possible to compute merely the linear regression and to test the significance of the linear regression coefficient. Its significant difference from zero warrants the same for b of our curvilinear function.
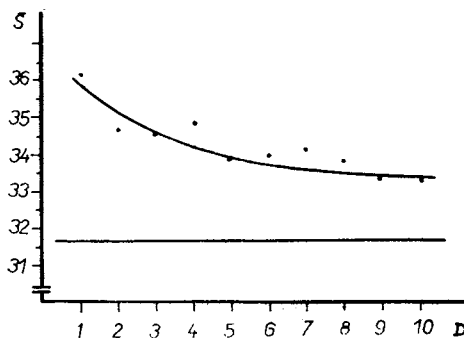
Fig. 1. Dependence of the average similarity S on distance D

In connection with this result some problems arise: (1) It is natural to assume that the inclusion of rhyme phonemes and sequences of phonemes (representing intentional similarity) shifts our curve higher and makes its fall faster especially in the smaller distances. The reason is evident. Since the rhyme of the shaer has the form $aaaa(bbbb)\ldots$, it is obvious that for distance 1 similar elements are added to the compared sets in three cases out of four; for distance 2 similar rhyme elements are added to the compared sets in two out of four cases; for distance 3 in one case out of four, and for further distances the rhyme elements are not as a rule similar, but, as a matter of fact, they are similar in many cases because 63% of rhymes end in one of three vowels (a, i, u) (cf. § 3). Since our presumptions hold for data from which intentional similarities have been eliminated, we may infer

14

that similarity is tied with spontaneity. (2) It is a problem how to define the amount of spontaneity. It will be possible to do it only after analyzing a great number of folklore and artificial poems and, besides regression curves, perhaps other quantities should be taken into consideration. (3) It is a question whether this tendency will have the same form in other shaers with only nonsignificant differences, or whether it will be possible to make up a phonic typology of shaers.

3. The second problem concerns rhyme ending and has also a more general background. Namely, in all languages one may find phonemes which are considered (felt) aesthetically more efficient, above all in rhyme. Here we shall deal only with the exploiting of vowels (V) and consonants (C) as wholes. In order to ascertain whether vowels or consonants are significantly preferred in this position one must compare the sample of rhyme endings with a neutral sample where no preferential tendencies can be expected. A sample of word endings in non-rhyme positions in the same shaer can best serve for this purpose. No comparison with samples of prosaic texts is necessary. The data necessary for testing the preferences are given

Table 2

Frequencies of rhyme and non-rhyme endings

(a) *absolute*

	Rhyme	Non-rhyme	Σ
V	221	716	937
C	132	1286	1418
Σ	353	2000	2353

(b) *relative*

	Rhyme	Non-rhyme	
V	0.6261	0.3580	0.3982
C	0.3739	0.6420	0.6018
	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000

in Table 2a, b. In the rhyme sample four rhymed lines were taken as one rhyme.[10] In order to ascertain the significance of the difference D_p of the proportions of vowels (in rhyme and non-rhyme positions) we may use the t-test according to the formula

$$t = \frac{D_p}{\sigma_p} = \frac{p_r - p_n}{\sqrt{pq\left(\dfrac{1}{N_r} + \dfrac{1}{N_n}\right)}}$$

where p_r is the proportion of vowels in the rhyme position; p_n is the proportion of vowels in the non-rhyme position;

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[10] In the given shaer there are also some pantuns inserted with the rhyme scheme *abab* which were taken as two rhymes.

$p = \dfrac{n_r + n_n}{N_r + N_n}$; $q = 1 - p$; n_r is the absolute frequency of vowels in the rhyme position; n_n is the absolute frequency of vowels in the non-rhyme position; N_r is the sum of rhyme phonemes; N_n is the sum of non-rhyme phonemes. After substituting the values into the formula, we get

$$p = \frac{221 + 716}{353 + 2{,}000} = 0.3982$$

$$q = 1 - 0.3982 = 0.6018$$

$$\frac{1}{N_r} + \frac{1}{N_n} = \frac{1}{353} + \frac{1}{2{,}000} = 0.0033$$

$$t = \frac{0.6261 - 0.3580}{\sqrt{0.3982 \times 0.6018 \times 0.0033}} = 9.54$$

The probability of obtaining a value of $|t| = 9.54$ is smaller than 10^{-9}. The interpretation is very simple: The vowels as a whole show a highly significant tendency to occur more frequently in rhyme than in other positions; the opposite holds for consonants.

Also in connection with this result do some problems arise: (1) We may ask whether this tendency exists only in this shaer or whether it is shared by other shaers, too. Since we are interested not only in the fact that vowels are preferred in rhyme but also in the degree of this preference, here it is also possible to make up a typology of shaers and of the entire Malay poetry. (2) The problem may be further generalized and we may ask whether in the poetry of other languages such tendencies also exist.[11] (3) Further, if we admit that also in shaers there existed an incessant renewal of the poetic form, then features like this will surely show some evolution which could be expressed mathematically as a statistical dependence of the greatness of this property on time, so that by inter- or extrapolation it would be possible to determine approximately the age of individual shaers in a quite mechanical way.

4. We tried to show that besides traditional metrics there is a possibility of investigating quantitatively also the phonic aspects of Malay poetry. The two examined aspects which are far from exhausting the "phonics" may be useful both for making up a phonic typology of shaers (or of the whole Malay poetry) and for the investigation of poetry in other languages.

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[11] In Slovak poetry a strong preference of vocalic rhymes has been observed, which gradually decreased, cf. R. Štukovský—G. Altmann, *Vývoj otvoreného rýmu v slovenskej poézii* (The evolution of the open rhyme in Slovak poetry). Litteraria 9, 1965, 156—161.

TWO NOVELS OF YÜ TA-FU — TWO APPROACHES TO LITERARY CREATION

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The works of Yü Ta-fu [1] (1896—1945), a prominent member of the literary association Ch'uang-tsao she [2] *Creation Society*, constitute an inseparable part of modern Chinese literature. His career as a writer began during his studies in Japan with a collection of three short stories under the title *Ch'en-lun* [3] *Sinking* (1921) earning him popularity particularly because of its revolutionary openness of writing about the intimate life and sentiments of man; there are many elements of auto-biography in these short stories.

The works of Yü Ta-fu contain—besides short stories and other genres of short artistic prose and travelogues, diaries, poetry—also two novels originating from the later years of his literary activity: *Mi-yang* [4] *The Stray Sheep* and *T'a shih i-ko jou nü-tzu* [5] *She Is a Weak Woman* (another title of the latter book is *Jao-la t'a* [6] *Forgive Her*). In this article we want to deal with these two novels of Yü Ta-fu and at the same time to demonstrate the two different approaches of Yü Ta-fu to literary creation.

The most characteristic feature of the predominant and most remarkable part of Yü Ta-fu's works is his intimate self-expression; his story concentrates only upon the personality of the hero who through the prism of his individuality mediates to the reader the comprehension of the event, his choice of milieu and characters, the sorrowful, pessimistic tune of his prose and the recurring elements of autobiography.[1]

In most of his artistic prose we can see a typical, subjective style, a frequent supplementation of the function of the story-teller by the author; in this kind

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[1] Basic data on Yü Ta-fu's life and works, and explanations of the autobiographical character of the greatest part of his works have been published by the author of this contribution in her article *Remarks on the Life and Work of Yü Ta-fu up to 1930* in Asian and African Studies No 1, Bratislava, 1965, pp. 53—80.

of creation the author does not deal with the material described from a distance, nor does he endeavour to show a disinterested, stand off'ish, objective attitude to the characters and happenings described. He adheres to this kind of artistic creation also in his theoretical views on literature.[2]

We are allowed to judge that the author has been led to this style and artistic method not only by his inherent creative nature but also by some other influences: 1. Chinese literary tradition, evaluating in literature only actuality and not fiction, which caused Yü Ta-fu to describe experiences and sentiments of his own, or at least his endeavour to present the described matter as something actually experienced and felt by himself. 2. The Japanese watakushi-shosetsu, the I-novel, a genre that was popular just in the years of Yü Ta-fu's sojourn in Japan (1911—1922),[3] consisting in detailed descriptions of a short section of the author's experiences. 3. European romanticism, emphasizing the task of the individual in the work.

One Yü Ta-fu's creations written in a subjective style is his novel *The Stray Sheep*; with its lesser factographical autobiographical character this novel is not the most marked representative of this kind of work, nevertheless it contains its basic features. The best-known representative of the relatively lesser part of Yü Ta-fu's prose in which he describes the fates of non-biographical characters and endeavours to offer an objective treatment of his subject-matter, aspect and procedure, is just the novel *She is a Weak Woman*. These two novels are the only two ever written by Yü Ta-fu and apart from that they have been practically ignored by literary history up to the present time; this is the reason why we are anxious to discuss them and to demonstrate on them Yü Ta-fu's two different approaches to literary creation.

According to the date indicated in the epilogue of his novel *The Stray Sheep*, Yü Ta-fu gives December 19, 1927 as the day on which he finished this novel. On the 10th of January, 1928 it was published for the first time in Pei-hsin shu-chü [7][4]. However, Liu Ta-chieh [8] states in a review written after the publication under the title *Yü Ta-fu yü Mi-yang* [9] *Yü Ta-fu and The Stray Sheep* that the intention to write *The Stray Sheep* had already been made four years earlier in Wu-ch'ang,[5] (Apparently during Yü Ta-fu's pedagogical activity in that town in 1925).

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[2] Cf. the 3rd part of the author's article *A Survey of the Views of Yü Ta-fu on Society and Literature*. Sborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského, Philologica, Bratislava 1967, pp. 27-81.

[3] Data on Yü Ta-fu's leaving Japan are put, by different authors, between the years 1911—1914. He returned definitively to his country in 1922; however, he spent part of the years 1921—1922 alternatively in China and Japan.

[4] According to a bibliography on Yü Ta-fu, compiled by Ito Toramaru and Inaba Shoji, *Chugoku Bungaku Kenkyu*, Studies in Chinese Literature No 1, Tokyo 1961, p. 97. The present author uses a publication of the same publishing house, Shanghai 1932, 164 + 4 pp.

[5] *Yü Ta-fu lun* (10) *On Yü Ta-fu*, edited by Ch'ou Hsiao (11), [pseudonym of Chao Ching-shen (12)] s.l., Pei-hsin shu-chü 1933, p. 106. Further quoted as *On Yü Ta-fu*.

The novel, written in the first person singular, deals with the young intellectual Wang Chieh-ch'eng [13] who undergoes neurological treatment in the town A. There he falls in love with a theatre singer, Hsieh Yüeh-ying [14]. She returns his love and decides to abandon the theatre group. They settle down in Nanking and Wang, trying to do his best to make life pleasant for his love takes her to a theatre in Shanghai. There Yüeh-ying meets a former colleague of hers, by now a successful singer; after this meeting she feels sorry that she has left the stage. Wang's state of health is deteriorating and he is running short of money. In Nanking, Yüeh-ying attempts to enter society, to wear stylish dresses; Wang is jealous and worn out by his illness. He is not able to work any more and becomes increasingly pressed for money. One morning Yüeh-ying leaves for the temple; Wang, awakening from his sleep finds a note for farewell asking him not to search for her. This is the end of their short intimate life. Wang does all he can to find her but in vain. In Shanghai he begs her, by means of a newspaper advertisment, to return to him. Later he receives a note from Yüeh-ying asking him to go back to Nanking. There, however, he only finds a note from her reproaching him for his search and explaining to him why she had left him, giving as cause that their intimate life was harmful to his health. Wang undertakes a last endeavour: he travels to the town A. but he finds that the theatre group has already left.

In the epilogue, Yü Ta-fu writes that the novel is a manuscript given to him by an American colleague, a professor in A. who had got it from the painter Wang as a written confession.

We have no reason to assume, but neither can we exclude the possiblity that the events described in the novel *The Stray Sheep* have some autobiographical features. Han Shih-heng [15] states unambiguously that the "main character in the book" — he has *The Stray Sheep* in mind — "is the author himself"[6]. Liu Ta-chieh proceeds in a more guarded way and restricts himself, in the article quoted, p. 108, to the judgment that Wang in the novel *The Stray Sheep* is identical with the main characters of many other works of Yü Ta-fu. Wang, with his entire psychical structure, character, sentiment and atitude to life is much the same as the heroes of most of Yü Ta-fu's stories, and the fates and experiences of these heroes remind us of the author's fate and experiences what we have tried to demonstrate in the article *Remarks on the Life and Work of Yü Ta-fu up to 1930* (see Note 1). Their common features are: tragedy felt at the sight of his own fate, a maudlin over—sensitivity, pessimism. Such are the heroes of the stories from the collection *Sinking,* *Yü Chih-fu* [16], from *Mang-mang yeh* [15] *Deep Night* and *Ch'iu-liu* [18] *Autumn Willows*; this is the way in which the character of the poet Huang Chung-tse [19] (1749—1783) is described in *Ts'ai shih chi* [20] *The Coloured Cliff*, and such are the undoubtedly autobiographical heroes from his prose *Huar hsiang chi* [2]

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[6] The article Mi-yang, *On Yü Ta-fu,* p. 118.

Reminiscences on Returning Home or *I-ko jen tsai t'u-shang* [22] *A Lonely Man on a Journey*. A far greater number of examples of this kind could be mentioned, mainly from his prose.

Further indication of autobiography can also be seen in the fact that like almost all of the heroes of Yü Ta-fu's prose (including Wang of the novel *The Stray Sheep*) suffer from bad health. The bad state of Yü Ta-fu's health is mentioned by many of his contemporaries, for instance Kuo Mo-jo [23] in *Ko-ming ch'un-ch'iu* [24] *Annals of Revolution*.[7] It may be of some interest that part of the plot is set in the town A. This, for instance, is the place of the stories *Deep Night* and *Autumn Willows*. One can assume that the town in question is An-ch'ing where the author was a school-teacher in the years 1921—1923. The town A. is located "on the northern bank of the Long River",[8] just the same as the town An-ch'ing.

It appears that in the novel *The Stray Sheep* as in most of his works, Yü Ta-fu prefers using facts from his own life. In view of what we have said about the characteristics of most of his literary characters and their frequent autobiographical features, and also judging by what Yü Ta-fu says about himself in his diaries, we can conclude that in the novel *The Stray Sheep* he has again created a type of hero who—to say the least—is no antipode of the author's individual character and fate but, on the contary, has many common basic features. And since Wang stands so near to him, he wrote a novel about him, a novel that can be described as subjective, with an intimate knowledge and deep insight into his psychics, without dissociating himself from or being above the material dealt with.

Another type of work is the novel *She is a Weak Woman*.[9] According to the author's indication it was finished in March 1932.[10] But already on January 10,1927, there is a note in his diary stating that in the course of the next months he intends to write *She Is a Weak Woman*.[11] It appears that he did not start to write the novel at that date since in the epilogue to the novel written in 1932 he admits that though his aim had been to write the novel in 1927, he had only written it now, and that he had done it in ten days time owing to financial pressure.[12] It can definitely be believed that the novel was not written earlier since some events described in it actually did occur in 1932.

The central character of the novel is the young girl student Cheng Tuo-yin [24], of middle class origin, irresolute as to her view on life and unstable in character. She makes friends with her schoolmate, Feng Shih-fen [27], of a poorer family. Feng, under the influence of her cousin, becomes an adherent of the revolution; her friend,

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[7] Shanghai 1951 2nd ed., p. 105 and elsewhere.

[8] *The Stray Sheep* p. 1.

[9] Further using the publication called *Forgive Her*, Shanghai 1933, 177 + 2 pp.

[10] Ibid., p. 180.

[11] *Jih-chi chiu-chung* (25) *Nine Diaries*. Shanghai 1928, p. 51.

[12] *Forgive Her*. p. 179.

20

Cheng, also starts to take an interest in politics; her intentions are good but her interest is only perfunctory. After a certain time Feng leaves school and her family and goes to live with her cousin whom she loves .After Cheng has left, she associates with Li Wen-ch'ing [28], a rich girl with a Lesbian inclination who attracts Cheng at first by expensive gifts and later by physical passion. After having been abandoned by Li, Cheng becomes lover of a teacher Chang. By the end of the year 1926, the militarists, infuriated by the successes of the Army of the Northern March of the Kanton revolutionary government, start to terrorize the population. Cheng's family, just as so many of the Hang-chou bourgeoisie, flees to Shanghai. Here they live in a house with a journalist Wu I-hsu [29], a young, timid day-dreamer. His moral purity, erudition and his work with a well-known newspaper impress Cheng and she—taking the initiative towards the shy young fellow—offers marriage. During the time of the white terror rages in Shanghai, Cheng meets by accident her earlier girl-friend Feng who is now a worker and takes an active part in the workers' movement. Wu loses his job and the young couple, being threatened by misery so shortly after their marriage, find their feelings—both spiritual and sexual—starting to cool down. Wu proves to be a weakling and it is Cheng who has to cope with their financial difficulties. She starts to borrow money from everybody including her friend Li who has become a teacher after having lost her property owing to the political events. It so happens that Wu finds his wife in a hotel with her earlier lover Chang. Chang bitterly tries to convince Wu that Cheng has other lovers besides himself and tries also to persuade Wu to forgive Cheng because she is a weak woman. Wu puts the blame on himself for his not having been able to earn their living. Shortly afterwards, on January 29, 1932 Cheng gets kidnapped by soldiers. Wu, stricken down to earth with grief, in an almost irresponsible state of mind, keeps on repeating the words "forgive her, she is a weak woman". A few days later the dead body of Cheng is found in the street by a group of women workers. Feng was among them.

Writing this novel, Yü Ta-fu proceeded in a different way from that used in writing most of his other stories. He describes the events without any external interference by the story-teller, without evaluating or considering the characters and events described. Neither is this function carried out by the main character as it frequently is in Yü Ta-fu's prose. In this case, however, the main character is only part of the event on an equal footing with the other characters and the author does not give her a chance to look at the persons and events of the novel as an onlooker, to comment on them and evaluate them. The entire way of treatment shows that the author dissociates himself from what he describes, his objective, uncommitted approach. We can only sense his personal viewpoint when he describes the political happenings, but even here he remains inconspicuously on the surface between the true historical facts and date.

We know only very few works of Yü Ta-fu's written in this manner. In this respect

mention should be made of *Ch'u-pen* [30] *Run-up*, the story a landlord's daughter and a revolutionary who cannot live together owing to their differing ways of looking at life. In this story and in the novel *She Is a Weak Woman*, and in another prose written in this way Ch'iu-ho [31] *Autumn River* describing the way of life of rich people. It contains no autobiographical elements. At the same time, however, Yü Ta-fu's presentation of the sentiments of the characters and of their internal life is in these cases rather superficial. A subjective style of Yü Ta-fu's writing can be found in cases when the hero of his story is a man from Yü Ta-fu's own social environment, degree of erudition and psychical disposition. In works of this kind, Yü Ta-fu is much more successful in his descriptions of the characters and the milieu.

Significant differences can also be found in the technique of treatment of the two novels.

In *The Stray Sheep* all over the entire novel we encounter passages like this: "The cold wind increased in intensity, the lotos flowers were gone and the trees far away in the environment of the park had shed their leaves. The grass on the field lanes had turned yellow; in the old lotos ponds there was nothing left but a few lotos roots, the autumn sun being invited and accompanied by the water. The weather being cold, only a few people had come into the park with its 10 li area. In the opaque evening twilight only the croaking of flocks of crows flying to the west was to be heard, and there were some silent peasants standing in the dirty water and digging up lotos roots. My reed hut became at that time an hermitage far away from the world but not habitable any more. In addition, it was a bit disagreable to ask every day—only for the sake of a theatre performance lasting into the deep night—to ask the city's watchmen to open the gate and afterwards leaving the city, to walk the long, silent, deserted, cold and untidy lane. Thus, each day I became increasingly determined to move".[13] The descriptions of nature in this novel are helpful in motivating some action of the hero; they are helpful in inducing or emphasizing the hero's psychical disposition. They carry out the same function in Yü Ta-fu's other works written in the subjective style. For instance, in *Hai-shang t'ung-hsin* [32] *Correspondence on the Sea* the description of the environment expresses the hero's sorrow, his feeling of "Sentimental Sweetness"; in *Reminiscences on Returning Home* the description of nature expresses the hero's romantic yearning for the quietude of a peasant's life. In Yü Ta-fu's prose of this kind, nature, subordinate characters and the event itself are not meant—as we shall see later—to exist separately for the reader, i.e. the reader is suggested not to comprehend them as independent elements of the story but he is induced to see them through the eyes of the main character, by the intermediary of his comprehension, in connexion with him. In the novel *She is a Weak Woman* we cannot detect Yü Ta-fu's usual thorough analyses of the internal world of his heroes; the author does not go deeply

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[13] *The Stray Sheep*, pp. 16—17.

into the sentimental life of this heroine in order to be able to describe nature and milieu in the abovementioned way. It is to be added that in his entire work, Yü Ta-fu devotes more place to the description of milieu particularly when the event occurs in nature, in a park or in the town's environment. Environment in the town interests him to a lesser extent, probably because it does not offer so many opportunities for a lyrical description. This, however, is no argument in defence of the absence of lyrical descriptions of nature in *She Is a Weak Woman* since in his works written in a subjective style and located in towns, such descriptions are like images of environment and parks.

When writing in the first person, Yü Ta-fu does not present an external description of the principal hero. The subordinate characters are presented in the form of a direct description, concisely, abridged and unstatically. The principal hero sees Hsieh Yüeh-ying for the first time as follows:" ... the one there, in the middle, in blue satin turned her face, and I saw a small, oval, fine face and a smile left on it after chat with her friends. Then again she turned her head back indifferently but I had the feeling of a strong stroke on my forehead."[14] A description of this kind of the hero's partner, immediately linked with the description of the effect exerted on the hero or with his reaction can be usually found in Yü Ta-fu's works written in the subjective style. However, the descriptions of the characters in *She Is a Weak Woman* are different. For instance:" ... the tall and big Li Wen-ch'ing was standing there and she was looking at them furtively. Her face was bestrewn with red-black freckles, woth her tall figure she may have been equal to a medium sized man."[15] After an introduction of this kind comes the social, natural and intellectual characteristic of the respective person. On almost two pages the reader is presented with a full picture of the girl's personality while in his works of *The Stray Sheep* kind, the description of the heroine is not presented so extensively at once but is being exposed gradually. The description of Li Wen-ch'ing serves as an information of its own object. The description is given in the passive presence of the principal heroine Cheng but it does not appear as certain whether Cheng herself is looking at the girl in that moment or whether she reacts to the description at all. In this novel the description of the characters has a purely informative function, it introduces another person to the scene. There is no summarizing story-teller, no central hero informing the reader of all that had been described as an objective reality but as seen by himself.

The beginnings of the two novels are also different. The novel *The Stray Sheep* begins in a way typical for Yü Ta-fu: "In the autumn of 19.., because of my serious nervous disease, I was living in the town A., on the northern bank of the Long River, in order to restore my health."[1] Then follows a description of the autumnal nature

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[14] Ibid., p. 6.

[15] *Forgive Her*, p. 6.

[16] *The Stray Sheep*, p. 1.

23

around the town A. where the hero used to go to read his favourite books, to enjoy the beauty of nature and to think. Thus, there is the description of nature, immediately followed by some information about the hero. This description of nature is told by the hero in the way he sees it. The initial pages of the novel are already designed to bring about a feeling of intimacy between the hero and the reader. The hero takes the reader into his confidence by telling him about his past life, private thoughts and sentimental disposition. This method of bringing about the closest contact with the reader is applied by Yü Ta-fu in most of his works with the exception of proses such as *She Is a Weak Woman*; this novel begins with the laconic information: "Her name is Cheng Tuo-yin",[17] then follows a description of her external appearance and her position at school. Immediately afterwards the first action in the plot of the story unfolds: the description of her accidental acquaintance with Feng Shih-fen.

In one important point Yü Ta-fu remains faithful to his creative procedure in both novels: in both cases the action is concentrated on a single central character. This is a particularity of his creation not abandoned in any of his works. A bearer-hero of this kind is Wang Chieh-ch'eng as the first person singular in *The Stray Sheep*; in the novel *She is a Weak Woman* it is Cheng Tuo-yin, speaking in the third person. Nowhere in his works do we find a second level of action or time, wherein the subordinate characters would act in connexion with persons other than the principal character or in a different tense. When the necessity arises to reveal or to unfold the fate or the characters e.g. in some other time than that presently linked to the principal person, Yü Ta-fu proceeds like in *She Is a Weak Woman*: when Feng Shih-fen reappears on the scene after a long span of time, it becomes necessary to narrate to the reader her interim fate. This is done by Yü Ta-fu by means of an accidental meeting between Feng and her former friend Cheng; in the course of this meeting Feng tells her friend all about what has happened to her since their separation and about her present situation at the moment of their meeting. This means that the author devotes, e.g. no special chapter to this important (even if no the main) character, which would enable the reader to follow directly her actions and thoughts. Rather he shows her only in her relation to the principal heroine. This procedure is consequently adhered to by Yü Ta-fu, as far as subordinate persons are concerned in all his works. The only information the reader receives in *She Is a Weak Woman* independent of the principal heroine, directly from the author himself, is the political and military situation in the country, external description of characters and their basic characterization. This is already unusual of Yü Ta-fu, and is caused apparently by his endeavour to obtain an objective style of work.

Regarding the psychological formation of the character, we consider the novel *The Stray Sheep* to be more successful in this respect. In the novel *She Is a Weak*

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[17] *Forgive Her*, p. 2.

Woman, the author—as compared with his other works—deals unusually scantily with the psychical motivation of his heroines action and their sentimental consequences. For instance, young Cheng Tuo-yin turning into an erotically mature woman is introduced by means of several matter-of-fact scenes, i.e. by simple establishment of the fact, without, however, taking into account the reflection of an experience of this kind on the sentimental reactions of the heroine although all possibilities to do so are offered to him by the subject. Making no use of these possibilities is particularly conspicuous for Yü Ta-fu who usually does not omit to analyze thoroughly all the sentimental oscillations of his heroes. It is interesting to note that in the framework of this novel he pays a good deal of attention to the spiritual life of the subordinate character, Wu I-hsu, who by nature stands nearest to the heroes of the other works by this author. But even the descriptions of his interior with its width and depth lag behind the descriptions of the heroes of Yü Ta-fu's other works who very often, even fruitlessly dissects the spiritual and sentimental life of his heroes. This lessened penetration into the psychology of the characters of the novel *She is a Weak Woman* cannot be explained by Yü Ta-fu's lesser ability of describing the female principal characters. On the contrary, the creation of female characters is one of the strong points of Yü Ta-fu's works. E.g. the description of the woman in the story *Kuo-ch'ü* [33] *The Past* is one of the most successful and sensitive creations in modern Chinese literature. After all, also the character of Hsieh Yüeh-ying in *The Stray Sheep* constitutes a good example of Yü Ta-fu's art to create a genuine, truthful and sensitively deep image of a woman. In *She Is a Weak Woman* an unusually long time span and an unusually rich external action is concentrated while in other works a shorter time range and less rich external action is accumulated with a more thorough description of the rich sentimental life of the characters. This particular creative method has been repeated also in the novel *The Stray Sheep*; here two artistically thoroughbred and effective literary characters have been created whose every action is both psychologically and sentimentally well motivated while in *She Is a Weak Woman* mainly the two subordinate female characters are the bearers of the plot, the representatives of their respective type: the consistent revolutionary woman and the woman of the decadent landlord class.

In *The Stray Sheep* the principal hero has one sole partner, a woman. This is a very frequent and reappearing phenomenon in many of Yü Ta-fu's stories. While in his early works (e.g. in the collection *Sinking*) a relatively small place is given to the hero's women partners and the author concentrates upon giving us information on the hero, the importance of the female characters gradually increases, beginning with their presentation as mere objects of motivation of the sentimental processes of the principal hero up to a real psychological and action-taking partnership (e.g. the woman worker in the story *Ch'un-feng ch'en-tsui ti wan-shang* [34] *An Evening Intoxicated by Spring Wind* from the year 1923) and up to a character

equal to the principal hero itself such as the Third sister in the story *The Past* from 1927. Hsieh Yüeh-ying stands nearest to the Third sister: both— though their roles are dependent on the principal hero—gradually become actual action-taking partners of the hero in the way as described above, and in the final issue they are the decisive factors of the end of the story. In both cases these female characters, as stronger beings, resolve their relation to the principal hero by leaving him.

There is one more point in which the two novels are in accordance with the entire work of Yü Ta-fu: that is their ending. We have no knowledge of any work by this author that finishes with a happy-end. The tune of his works is sad, pessimistic (with the exception of satires such as *Ku-shih* [35] *A Story*); this sorrow and pessimism in his works is shown by the fact that the bearer of the action usually is an equal type of a hero—a woeful intellectual with a bleak future, heeding rather the negative than the positive aspects of life, comprehending his own fate as a tragic chain, himself being too weak to break out of it. The hopeless tune of Yü Ta-fu's prose reaches a culmination towards the finale which is the tragic end of the hero's ordeal. In most cases the end of the story is a culmination of the hero's despair without an idea of a potential positive solution of the situation and without the strength of the hero to inveigh against his fate (*Deep Night, Autumn Willows, An Evening Intoxicated by Spring Wind*); other stories end with a definitive separation of the hero from the woman he is in love with (*The Past, The Stray Sheep*) or with the death of the principal figure (the story *Sinking*, the novel *She is a Weak Woman*).

In the novel *The Stray Sheep* the author is not concerned with the political and social situation. However, this is not a feature common to his works written in the subjective style since in most of his stories of this type we can find declared phenomena of the author's revulsion against China's situation of that time (as examples we mention his stories previously pointed at such as *Deep Night, Autumn Willows, An Evening Intoxicated by Spring Wind etc.*). The novel *She is a Weak Woman* constitutes the other extreme in the context of his creation. Several chapters (such as Chapters XVIII, XXVII) start with casual information on the then military and political situation; passages of this kind, isolated and artistically not very effective appear in many places of the novel. In them, the author expresses his personal sympathy and antipathy. For instance, we can read as follows: "The working masses of Shanghai have united and in spite of the fact that detachments of the big swordsmen of Sun Chuan-fang had killed a fairly large number of fighters, boy and girl students, the indestructible proletariat, suppressed for many thousand of years, has started to finish with them".[18] Hence, this is a politically committed novel. The positive character of the novel is Feng Shih-fen, the girl representing revolution. However, mainly in the second part of the novel, she is more a symbol of revolutionary workers than an artistically treated character.

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[18] Ibid., p. 110.

26

In both novels love plays an important part. In *She is a Weak Woman* there are some very freely depicted erotic passages but in the same novel Yü Ta-fu also presents a picture of the time and the political and military happenings in China of that time. We therefore consider that the author C. T. Hsia was not penetrating enough when he in his book *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction 1917—1957*, mentions this novel to be nothing but "a naturalistic tale of sex and violence".[19]

In the collective volume quoted, *On Yü Ta-fu*, there have been several reviews published on both novels. Unfortunately, they merely give information an subjective impression, but they supply no evaluation.

In the epilogue to *She Is a Weak Woman* Yü Ta-fu writes: "...and thus this novel may prove to be the worst of my works".[20] Yang Ta-huang [36] does not agree with this opinion; he refuses to consider this novel as the weakest work of Yü Ta-fu[21] but he does not offer further explanation. Liu Ta-chieh highly appreciates the fact that with this novel Yü Ta-fu has deeply penetrated into a theme unfamiliar to him: describing society from all its aspects. Liu Ta-chieh also is positive in judging the description of the characters since "all these characters are persons actually existing in society, its happenings complying with reality; the novel will make interesting reading".[22] Some of Yü Ta-fu's readers certainly were pleasantly surprised by Yü Ta-fu's deviation from his so-to-say stereotyped subject; even if this novel of his cannot be evaluate very highly as an artistic creation, the fact remains that he has described a section of the Chinese era and society of that period, thus having created rather a novel *à la thèse* than an artistic work of lasting value. However, we consider Liu Ta-chieh to be a bit constrained when in the same review, pp. 130—131, he compares *She Is a Weak Woman* with Turgenev's story *Punin and Baburin* which he himself translated from English into Chinese. The principal similarity between the two works is seen by Liu Ta-chieh as "the first blush of dawn of the future victory of revolution". This, of course, is possibly the only common feature of Yü Ta-fu's novel and Turgenev's story, the latter treating the feudal despotism of the Russian landowner and Baburin's courageous and self-sacrificing opposition against her tyranny.

When evaluating the novel *The Stray Sheep* Liu Ta-chieh is very censorious: he finds fault with the fortuity of the tragic end of the novel, he denies the novel's artistic success and acknowledges only publicity.[23] However, since he does not offer any arguments to back his criticism, his findings remain questionable.

Other reviews, not differring very much one from the other, do not consider

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[19] New Haven, Yale University Press 1961, p. 110.

[20] *Forgive Her*, p. 180.

[21] *On Yü Ta-fu*, p. 140.

[22] Ibid., p. 132.

[23] Ibid., pp. 109—110.

the two novels in question either as a success or a failure. Up to the present we have not met any reviews written outside China.

The aim of this contribution of ours was to demonstrate two different types of Yü Ta-fu's work and to point at the two different approaches of the author to literary creation. While the novel *The Stray Sheep* ranks among the bulk of Yü Ta-fu's artistic prose, written in a style called here subjective, the novel *She is a Weak Woman* is an important representative of a different creation, used by the author to a far lesser extent which we name objective.

The novel *She Is a Weak Woman* with its contents certainly complied with the momentaneous requirements of its time, and was possibly an attempt by the author to manifest an artistic realization of his views upon the task of literature which he adhered to at that time.[24] However, Yü Ta-fu's experience in this kind of creative method was not sufficient, and we believe that this method did not suit so much his natural literary disposition as the method of intimate, immediate expression. Nevertheless, in spite of all the above mentioned reservations, we do not consider the novel to be artistically valueless; we see in it an interesting contribution and an important document for the general assessment of his entire literary creation.

Seen from the artistic point of view, the novel *The Stray Sheep* is more perfect in our view, just the same as all the other works of Yü Ta-fu written in the subjective style, earning him appreciation particularly from the young Chinese intellectuals of his time. In this novel we can find a clear expression of Yü Ta-fu's rich experience in fiction writing wherein he concentrates upon the psychology of his characters close to him both with respect to their social position and their sentimental disposition. Of course, by this statement we do not turn away the fact that also in his works written in the subjective style Yü Ta-fu frequently deals with the social situation of his time (for instance by his story *An Evening Intoxicated by Spring Wind* he became probably the first modern Chinese writer concerned with a woman member of the working class) and where he openly declares his disagreement with her situation.

Besides some fiction of the *She is a Weak Woman* type Yü Ta-fu did not cease to return to the subjective type of creation in the course of his entire literary career. Works of this kind constitute artistically the most valuable and genuine component of his fiction.

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[24] Published in the second part of the article quoted in Note No. 2.

1) 郁達夫　2) 創造社　3) 沉淪　4) 迷羊
5) 她是一個弱女子　6) 餓死了她　7) 北新書局
8) 劉大杰　9) 郁達夫與迷羊　10) 郁達夫論
11) 鄒嘯　12) 趙景深　13) 王介成　14) 謝冰瑩
15) 韓侍桁　16) 于質夫　17) 沉淪夜　18) 秋柳
19) 黃仲則　20) 采石磯　21) 還鄉記　22) 一個人
在途上　23) 郭沫若　24) 革命春秋　25) 日記
九種　26) 鄭秀岳　27) 馮世芬　28) 李文卿
29) 吳一粟　30) 出奔　31) 秋河　32) 海上通信
33) 過去　34) 春風沉醉的晚上　35) 故事　36) 楊
大荒

STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE LITERARY CRITICISM: II. MAO TUN ON MEN OF LETTERS, CHARACTER AND FUNCTIONS OF LITERATURE (1921—1922)

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The article *Wen-hsüeh yü jen-ti kuan-hsi chi Chung-kuo ku-lai tui-yü wen-hsüeh-che shen-fen-ti wu-jen* [1]. *The Relation of Literature to Man and the Old Chinese Misconception of the Writers Position*,[1] written by Mao Tun [2], as an "official" speaker of the Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-hui [3]. The Literary Association, deals with problems indicated in the title of this study.

"If we venture to turn the pages of the *Twenty-four Histories*", writes Mao Tun, "and study the biographies in the literary sections (wen-fan lieh-chuan) [4], what feelings have we if our thoughts are not bound by traditionalism? And what are our feelings when we turn over the pages of the collected works of great writers of ancient times and examine their definitions of literature, i.e. what they considered literature should be?"[2]

The answers are, naturally, rather extensive.

According to Mao Tun's hyperbolic expression the writers of old China were "poetic courtiers" (tz'u-fu-chih ch'en) [6], "ornaments representing prosperity and peace" (fen-shih t'ai-p'ing-ti she-i-p'in) [7] or "jesters" (lung-ch'en) [8]. Concerning just this point Mao Tun delves into the history of the long chain of outstanding Chinese men of letters, the first part of which was written down by Yen Chih-t'ui [9] (531—591),[3] not quite fifteen hundred years ago, and he selects the the story of Tung Fang-so [12] (circa 161- circa 86 B.C.), who actually was a jester at the court of Emperor Wu-ti [13] of Han [14] Dynasty and had often to tell amusing stories to entertain the high nobility. Writing of this man Yen Chih-t'ui mentions that his

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[1] Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [5] The Short Story Magazine (quoted further as HSYP), 12, 1, 10th January, 1921, p. 8—10.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

[3] Yen Chih-t'ui, *Yen-shih chia-hsün* (10) *The Family Instructions of Mr. Yen*, in Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng (11) edition, p. 8 and subs.

language was "lewd and unrefined" (hua-chi pu ya) [15].[4] According to the old Chinese aesthetic ideal it was especially ya [16], i.e. elegance, correctness, that should be one of the outstanding characteristics of good poetry.[5] Considering that Tung Fang-so, apart from Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju [17] (179—118? B.C.), was probably the greatest poet of the century, it was regarded as a humiliation that he was a court jester entertaining people against whom he had political antipathies. Taking another example Mao Tun mentions Yang Hsiung [18])(53 B.C. — 18 A.D.), but this time because he first of all extracts a citation from the context and quotes incorrectly, he distorts Yang Hsiung's statement. Yang Hsiung did not wish to write poems though this was not due to social or political reasons.[6] To round off a triad he mentions Ssu-ma Ch'ien [24] (145—86 B.C.), one of China's greatest historians and men of letters in one person, who for attesting the action of one general and thus falling foul of the ruling dynasty was ignominiously castrated.[7]

But it was not only the kings and emperors that showed an incorrect attitude towards the ancient Chinese poets and writers. This same attitude was shared by high officials and by all the rich and powerful, e.g. Lü Pu-wei [29] (?—235 B.C.), Liu An [30] (?—122 B.C.) and many others.[8]

Even if we read all the works of old Chinese literary critics we could look in vain for an answer to the question: What is literature? It may be due to the character of old Chinese philosophy wherein epistemology had not attained such a level, as for instance in Greek thinking. However, we can find there the answer to the question: what is the function of literature? So when Mao Tun queries the definition of literature in the China of ancient times, he answers, maybe quite unconsciously this second question.

We find that in the old China there were two contrary ways of answering.

The first answer states: "Literature is meant to convey Tao" (wen i tsai Tao) [31], i.e. "Tao being presented by ancient saints and sages",[9] this probably means—the basis of Confucius' doctrine or something that corresponds, or at least is not adverse to it. Literature is conceived as strictly utilitarian, therefore in it enunciation is

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[4] Ibid., p. 8.

[5] James J. Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, Chicago 1962, p. 67—68.

[6] Mao Tun quotes Yang Hsiung's statement as tiao ch'un hsiao chi [19] instead of tiao ch'un chuan k'o (20), cf. HSYP, 12, 1, p. 8 and *Fa-yen shih-chüan* (21), chapter *Wu-tzu-p'ien* [22], p. 1a. Yang Hsiung was aware of the fact that poems fu [23] of his times were imitations of his predecessor and for this reason in his adult age he refused to write them.

[7] Cf. also Shen Yen-ping [25] (Mao Tun's courtesy name) in *Chin-tai wen-hsüeh t' i-hsi-ti yen-chiu* [26] *A Systematic Study of Modern Literature*, in a booklet by Liu Chen-hui [27] *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh pien-ch' ien-shih* [28] *The History of Chinese Literary Changes*, Peking 1921, p. 2—3.

[8] The works attributed to Lü Pu-wei and Liu An were written by the court scholars.

[9] Shen Yen-ping, *The Relation of Literature to Man...*, p. 8—9.

given to the virtues of saints and the merits of warriors, in it is written about good men and bad women and so on.

The second answer to the question was not so unambiguous. For instance it could be stated: "Literature is meant as an entertainment" (wen i hsiao-ch'ien) [32]. Mao Tun has nothing against such literature, he evidently finds it more to his liking than the literature of the opposite type. Why indeed, should not literature describe the feelings of an individual—the writer? It is also possible to create good literature in this way but, in his opinion, it is "literature of an individual", not "literature of the epoch", nor "national literature".[10]

When analyzing both types of literature through the prism of his literary opinions, wherein Tolstoy is strongly felt[11] and the voice of Taine begins to be noticeable, he says: "Chinese writers of ancient times only took the advice of old sages and saints but knew nothing about the common feelings of mankind, their work being subjectively not objectively oriented, therefore their literature was remote from man, from the epoch; they neither knew the mankind nor the epoch."[12]

This question and its respective answers led Mao Tun to further considerations. He was persuaded that the development of Chinese literature differed from that of the European due to the fact that Chinese literary critics and men of letters had not solved correctly the problem of the relation of literature towards man, respectively the problem of the role of literature in the cultural frame of the nation.

Literature does not belong only to one man, to the person who creates it. Its aim is to express the complexity of life, its background should be the atmosphere of the epoch.

The analyzed article, among the profusion of Mao Tun's works, is the single one where he identifies literature with science, where the studied object is life, contemporary life (this he underlines!), and the tools of this study are the three great literary genres—poetry, drama and prose. Just as the scientist is determined by the object he studies and deals with, so is the writer, too. To overcome this dependence by creating an unrestrained work would mean to produce literature that is not able to satisfy. It would be the same as if the scientist were to avoid the determination of the facts on which he is working; this, too, does not lead to science. The object of a literary work is life, and its respective eventuality covers the life of the whole mankind. It is the duty of the writer to express this complex—naturally, to a certain extent condensed—by aesthetic means. Mao Tun does not fail to point out that there cannot be even a tench of subjectivity.

A few lines above it was said that Mao Tun admitted the possibility of creating good literature by writing only about the author as a subject—i.e. the author

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[10] Ibid., p. 9.

[11] *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Critiscim: I. Mao Tun in 1919—1920*, Asian and African Studies, 3, 1967, p. 112-117.

[12] Shen Yen-ping, *The Relation of Literature to Man...*, p. 9.

expressing himself. However, here—in his enthusiasm for polemics, he condemns such literature. The equals sign between science and literature and the ensuing objectivity, as well as the demand for the most extensive and deep scale of representation (the representation of life of mankind being the demand *sine qua non*) forced Mao Tun to ban this kind of literary work, if not completely at least from the contemporary period of the literary sphere.

According to Mao Tun, the literatury platform is universal and national, hence it follows that the feelings expressed should be also likewise. So long as the subject (the author's subject) appears in literature it must be only the mediator of objective factors—a lens transforming the important objective facts—the life of the nation and of the whole mankind.

Only such literature—according to Mao Tun—is humanistic literature (jen-ti wen-hsüeh) [33] and real literature (chen-ti wen-hsüeh) [34].

The confrontation of historical and literary facts taken from Chinese history or from that of other nations led Mao Tun and his colleagues to realize the necessity of changing the old Chinese attitudes to the social role of the writers, to literature and its tasks. Not without reason, just this effort—that of reforming the basic aspect of literature—manifests the first endeavour to organize the establishment of a modern Chinese literature.

The basic claims are: the personal liberty of the writer, his adequate social position, an acknowledgment of his work as being socially useful and the acknowledgment of literature as the objective reflection of the objective reality by the sense and the pen of an individual. Literature should be judged in the same way as science—more so as science had already won its established place in the eyes of the Chinese intellectuals at the beginnging of the 'twenties of this century.[13]

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The claim of the objective reflection of the objective reality implies the acknowledgment of the most extensive validity of the writer's work. Writers represent—except in cases their works are momentary amusements—an important social force. And if above all they serve "as a single means of unifying the feelings of the whole mankind and mediating the woes and cries of a man",[14] then they also represent an international force.

Chinese men of letters must be aware of their mission! They can no longer function as interpreters of an orthodox Tao or as authors of works aiming at amusement, but they must become apostles of a new gospel. This new gospel being

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[13]. D. W. Y. Kwok, *Scientism in Chinese Thought (1900—1950)*, New Haven and London 1965.
[14] Shen Yen-ping, *The Relation of Literature to Man...*, p. 10.

literature which this time, for a change, is the equivalent of life. To Mao Tun this new gospel, literature and life are synonyms.[15]

These thoughts do not belong only to Mao Tun. Were it so, they would not have been able to fulfill the function assigned to them in the world of ideas. It is a question who wrote the article *Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-hui ts'ung-shu yüan-ch'i* [35] *Inaugurating the Series of the Literary Association.*[16] The author may possibly be Cheng Chen-to [75], and probably other members of the Literary Association had their comments to make on it. In the article is written that literature is "a mirror of life", that only it can "express the gospel common to the whole mankind of today's world which finds itself in chaos and bloodshed", and that "nothing can be compared with the importance of literature and its influence on mankind".[17] After all, the hyperbolization of the importance of literature in social life was no novelty to Chinese literary criticism. According to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao [38] (1873—1929) the novel is" the highest Mahayana" (tsui shang-ch'en) [39] of literature and the omnipotent force in the social and political life.[18]

During the year 1921 Mao Tun wrote the article *A Systematic Study of Modern Literature.* In one part of this article the idea of the relation of literature to philosophy is discussed. Mao Tun was of the opinion that everyone who wanted to understand the sources of modern literature should study the history of modern philosphy. Literature without solid ideological framework has no chance of survival. Mao Tun points to Rousseau who, in his opinion, represents the beginning of the modern age, then to Flaubert and others, ending with Andreyev and Yeats, and he ascertains that "literature is new thinking, new thinking is literature".[19]

Placing horizontally Mao Tun's "absurd" statements, we obtain the following scheme:

Literature = science = life = new gospel = new thinking.

If this rather absolute scheme is adequately adjusted, it can be seen that literature, should be the most objective reflection of the objective reality. It should aim at attaining an extensive validity by the selection and desription of facts relevant to the life of a nation, not to say of the whole mankind. It should be an epistemologic source for the widest range of readers wherein it should be based on a high level of scientific, philosophical and ethical knowlegde. This reflection, must, of course, be expressed by artistic means.

This forms a most important base of Mao Tun's further reflections on literature!

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[15] Loc. cit.

[16] Chao Chia-pi (36) ed., *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* (37) *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 10, Shanghai 1935, p. 72—74.

[17] Ibid., p. 73.

[18] M. Gálik, *On the Influence of Foreign Ideas on Chinese Literary Criticism*, 1898—1904, Asian and African Studies, 2, 1966, p. 40.

[19] Shen Yen-ping, *A Systematic Study of Chinese Literature*, p. 9.

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When, in the light of this conception, Mao Tun thinks of the functions of literature, he arrives at the following: the task of literature is to depict the life of one's contemporaries, to reveal their feelings, to express their sorrows and hopes, to manifest the resolute resistance of man against the challenge of an unknown fate.[20] In his role as a representative of the literary revolution, he considers that modern literature, as versed to the old, is more able to fulfill all these aims. Naturally, until language and regional differences are removed, the new literary movement will have difficulty to avoid not having a strong national character. As examples of this kind of literature he names the Irish movement and literature written in Yiddish.[21] The same could happen to the new Chinese literature.[22]

The second half of the last century, as well as the first half of this one, is characterized by more or less deep penetration of European influence into all spheres of the life of China. Modern Chinese literature goes back to the times when this influence started to become very noticeable and so substantially changed its physiognomy. Hence, Mao Tun's ideas about new literature are unconceivable without expressing his own attitude towards the adoption of world literature.

His own attitude towards the introduction of world literature had already been expressed in the promulgatory article which he published under the pseudonym P'ei Wei [42].[23] Early in 1921 his article *Duties and Efforts of the Scholars in the Field of New Literature* showed his attitude even more clearly. In this paper Mao Tun wrote: "The task of making Western literature accessible is to make accessible its literary art and furthermore to introduce the contemporary thoughts of the world. To this last aim more attention must be paid."[24] In other words, Mao Tun puts in the fore the message of ideas and the spiritual values of a work of art.

During the years 1921—1922 the question of how and what out of Western literature should introduce to Chinese public became for some time the theme of discussion. The most distinguished representatives of modern Chinese literature could not come to an agreement over this question. Mao Tun's conception, supported by members of the Literary Association, was attacked by Kuo Mo-jo [43], the leading personality of the Ch'uang-tsao-she [44] Creation Society.

In the July issue of the journal Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao of the year 1922 a letter by Wan Liang-chün [45] was published which contended that such master-pieces of world literature as *Faust, Hamlet* and *The Divine Comedy* should be translated into Chinese. To this Mao Tun replied that the translation of *Faust* and other similar

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[20] Lang Sun [40] (Mao Tun's pseudonym), *Hsin wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-che-ti tzu-jen yü nu-li* [41] *The Duties and Efforts of Researchers in the Field of New Litertaure*, HSYP, 12, 2, 10th February, 1921, p. 2.

[21] Loc. cit.

[22] Loc. cit.

[23] Cf. my article mentioned under note 11 of this article, p. 120.

[24] Lang Sun, *The Duties and Efforts of Researchers...*, p. 3.

works "is not an urgent affair of these days", that "individual study and the ende-avour to make literature accessible to the masses are two entirely different things" because "the aim of individual study is the quest of truth whereas in making literature accessible the state of things should be considered and the translations required should be differentiated from those which can abide time..."[25]

Mao Tun, together with Cheng Chen-to, stressed the "uneconomical action", as they saw it, of translating all artistically esteemed works into Chinese.[26] However, they were not contemplating the uneconomical action from the financial point of view but in relation to the "aims of the new literary movement".[27] For example, Mao Tun contended that the works of Oscar Wilde should not be translated without option due to their artistic thoughts "opposed the contemporary spirit".[28]

During this period Kuo Mo-jo translated *Faust* and for that reason the conception held by Mao Tun, and Cheng Chen-to, was not to his liking. This was not his only reason of opposal for he also did not agree with the tendency to judge individual studies and the introduction of foreign literature by different measures and as to the translations of great classics, he further argued that this could not be uneconomical because more people could read them in Chinese than in the originals.[29]

Apart from the question of the character of literature and the ways of making it accessible to the masses, Mao Tun also paid attention to the question how to create a good literature.

It should be emphasized that in his opinion the last two questions are of equal importance.

It was especially during the following two years that Mao Tun's attention started to be focused on the young Chinese literary production. Although he did not neglect the question of introduction and translating the literature of various countries, this question remained of primary importance to him.

Early in 1921 Mao Tun showed concern over three deficiencies which he considered that the new Chinese literary works lacked.

First of all, the works were devoid of life (huo-ch'i) [50]. It is true he uses the word "humour", but actually it has a wider meaning. The basic presupposition to attain this *huo-ch'i* is to become thoroughly acquainted with the described object, to possess some experience of life and out of it some deep impressions.[30]

Secondly, these works were without ko-hsing [51] i.e. writer's personality, something

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[25] See the column *T'ung-hsin* (46) *Correspondence*, p. 2.

[26] According to Kuo Mo-jo, Cheng Chen-to published a treatise called *Wang-mu-ti fan-i-che* [47] *A Blind Translator*, where he expressed such an opinion. This treatise is not known to me. Cf. Kuo Mo-jo, *Lun wen-hsüeh yen-chiu yü chieh-shao* [48] *On literary Research and Introduction*, *Mo-jo wen-chi* [49] *The Collected Works of Kuo Mo-jo*, Peking 1959, p. 134—135.

[27] Lang Sun, *The Duties and Efforts of Researchers..*, p. 3.

[28] Loc. cit.

[29] Kuo Mo-jo, o.c., p. 139.

[30] Lang Sun, *The Duties and Efforts of Researchers...*, p. 4.

that Zola called *tempérament*. After all that has already been said here, Mao Tun's demand for the expression of the author's personality in the work might seem strange. However, this fits in well with the system of Mao Tun's literary theory. He was a determinist, he approved of the mutual determination of the events of the material and spiritual world but he disagreed with the mechanistic determinism proclaiming the unnecessity of all creative activity of man. In his literary theory the subject of author has a fixed place, not only on the account that without the subject it is not possible to know or to represent the object.The represented object is coloured by the author's personality and if he really is a distinguished individuality a good work of art may be created. Mao Tun objects only to the subjectivity of the author, then against such attitudes towards a represented reality which are determined only by personal opinions, interests or taste without taking into account the objective determination of the represented objects.[31]

Thirdly, these works were too imitative, hence they lacked vividness, nor was it possible to find in them a reflection of the writer's personality. The heroes have mostly been imitated, only the setting of the literary work being created by the author himself. However, by imitating the heroes the work is thrown out of harmony thus being unlike the objective reality.[32]

This idea is confirmed in the article *P'ing ssu wu liu yüeh-ti ch'uang-tso* [52] *Criticism of Literary Works of the Second Quarter of the Year 1921*,[33] in which more than 120 new Chinese short stories and 8 plays are analyzed in a general way. One of the conclusions found in studying such a large amount of works was that in the love stories, which represented more than fifty percent of the whole amount, not only the heroes were the same but also "their thoughts were the same, their gestures were the same and even their speech and how they talked was the same."[34]

Mao Tun reminds young writers of two indispensable assumptions: the ability of observation and imagination. To avoid one-sidedness both must be used in a literary creation.[35] Two aids to literary expression are analysis and synthesis. To obtain satisfaction in a literary work, or even in the whole literary movement, it is not sufficient to use only the former or only the latter.[36]

As the new Chinese literature should be a national one, he pays attention also to the question of kuo-min-hsing [76] the national character.[37] So far, in this Mao Tun offers no satisfaction to his readers. Although he was convinced of the existence of the Chinese national traits, he did not characterize them in any of his articles.

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[31] Loc. cit.

[32] Loc. cit.

[33] HSYP, 12, 8, 10th August, 1921, p. 1—4.

[34] Ibid., p. 3.

[35] Lang Sun, *The Duties and Efforts of Researchers...*, p. 4.

[36] Loc. cit.

[37] Loc. cit.

In the year 1922 Mao Tun's views on literature are slightly modified.

At the beginning of the second half of the year 1921, he still considered the majority of the new Chinese literary works to be imitations. According to Tolstoy, whom Mao Tun read, one of the four characteristics of poor modern art is the imitation of old or famous authors. In the year 1922, referring to similar facts as in the article *Criticism of Literary Works of the Second Quarter of the Year 1921*, he states that the "monotony" of literature in contemporary China is caused by the „milieu" in which the writers live and not by the imitation.[38]

Milieu—as is generally known—represents one of the three so-called primary forces with the help of which H. Taine studied the works of art. Could it be that Taine's influence had overcome that of Tolstoy's? In reply to the letter of Wang Chin-hsin [77] in the April number of Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao of the year 1922, Mao Tun wrote: "Now I completely believe in Taine's critical method which is entirely scientific. In spite of some faults, it is an adequate (chen-tang) [54] method."[39]

It has already been shown more than once, that Mao Tun came closest to Taine's theory of literature in his lecture *Wen-hsüeh yü jen-sheng* [55] *Literature and Life* in the year 1922.[40]

"Literature is a reflection of life," Mao Tun writes. "Literature reflects the human way of life and the nature of society. Should life be, for instance, something like a cup, literature then would be a reflection of this cup in a mirror."[41]

Further, Mao Tun explains the relation between literature and race. He states that the literature representing different human races vary in the same way as the colour of their skin, hair and eyes. Although this is expressed very roughly, Taine's ideas can be found in this statement.

Out of Taine's three primary forces Mao Tun evidently considers the milieu to be of the greatest importance. The milieu includes everything around the writer: family, friends, abode, atmosphere; it is not only a matter of material nature but also of various philosophical trends, of customs and political institutions. According to Mao Tun a writer is influenced mainly by his environments. He writes in an article: "Milieu has a strong influence on literature."[42] Also in other articles he emphasizes strongly the exclusive influence of the milieu.[43] He even wrote a short essay on the

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[38] Shen Yen-ping, *Wen hsüeh-chia-ti huan-ching* [53] *Milieu of the Writers*, HSYP, 13, 11 10th November, 1922, p. 1—2.

[39] *Correspondence*, p. 3.

[40] *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, 2, p. 149—153.

[41] Ibid., p. 150.

[42] Loc. cit.

[43] E.g. in *Wen-hsüeh yü cheng-chih she-hui* (56) *Literature and Political Society*, HSYP, 13, 9, 10th September, 1922, p. 1—3.

question of the relation between milieu and the writer (thinking mainly of the new Chinese writers).[44]

Mao Tun translates Taine's term "moment" as shih-tai [57] epoch but he feels that more appropriate term would be shih-shih [58] the power of the epoch. Mao Tun is not such an extreme determinist as is Taine. He conceives the term "moment" in a more refined way as the spirit of the epoch.[45] Perhaps it is just chance, but he explains it in a similar manner as W. H. Hudson did in his book *An Introduction to the Study of Literature*. Hudson is of the opinion that Taine's moment does not mean anything other than the "spirit of the epoch", and he deals with the relation between literature and the said spirit on three and a half pages, the literature of the epoch being understood as "the expression of its characteristic spirit and ideals"[46] Mao Tun considers this characteristic spirit of the epoch to be the scientific spirit. For that reason Western literature is realistic. The scientific spirit is characterized by the quest of truth (ch'iu chen) [78], that is why the quest of truth is the single aim of literature. The scientific approach stresses the objective observation.[47] Therefore, objective description should be used in literary works. Mao Tun's acknowledgment regarding his belief. in Taine's purely scientific method must be taken with reservation. He did not cling to Taine himself, nor is it sure whether he even read Taine's main works. If so, he interpreted them in his own manner, conceiving them according to his own mental dispositions, including them into his own critical system in such a way that they have lost much of their original sense. Mao Tun followed Taine's critics, or his critical followers. When he added, to the three primary impersonal forces, the fourth, the personal one, i.e. the writer's personality, he was not original. Many others had done it before him and among them were those who, to some extent, had influenced the course of modern Chinese literary criticism such as the already mentioned W. H. Hudson and also Professor T. W. Hunt in the book *Literature: Its Principles and Problems*. It is very probably that Mao Tun made use of this book.[48]

Of Taine's primary forces, Mao Tun laid most stress on the influence of the milieu and the spirit of the epoch. However, he did not use them as consequently or rigidly as his great forerunner. He was of the opinion that neither one nor the other, nor even the writer's personality to which he was often referring, are of utter importance in evaluating a literary work. Into his theoretical and critical system Mao Tun includes the term "social background" (she-hui pei-ching) [59], which represents more relevant force than writer's personality or Taine's primary forces do. Mao Tun

[44] Shen Yen-ping, *Milieu of the Writers.*

[45] Shen Yen-ping, *Literature and Life*, p. 151.

[46] Hudson, o.c., p. 42.

[47] Shen Yen-ping, *Literature and Life*, p. 152.

[48] Cf. M. Gálik, *A Comment on Two Collections of Mao Tun's Works*, Archiv orientální, 33, 1965, p. 629—630.

asserts that "the literary background is social" and that "the background" means something that "one must count on".[49]

Mao Tun dealt with the problem of social background and its relation to the creative activity of writers in his article *She-hui pei-ching yü ch'uang-tso* [60] *The Social Background and Creation.*[50] It is interesting that he does not use Taine here though he could do that because Taine studied literature mainly from its sociological aspect and tried to interpret human feelings and thoughts, basing his statements on works of art.[51] He does not follow any other European author though he uses them to illustrate his basic conception of social background.

Mao Tun starts his article with the preface to the first poem from *Shih-ching* [61] *The Book of Songs*, where the social conception of literature is explained. There is stated: "The sounds of a well governed world with harmonious politics are calm and cheerful. In times of chaos the sounds are agitated and angry and politics are disturbed. A downtrodden country has sad and mournful sounds and people live in difficult situations."[52] Evidently Mao Tun is thinking of the word yin [64] sounds, of a broader sense, as a more general artistic expression because to the above mentioned works he adds the following comments: "This means that a certain social background creates a certain type of literature. These sentences are based on thorough observations. People always thought that sounds "calm and cheerful", "agitated and angry" or "sad and mournful" represented signs of a "well governed world", of "times of chaos" or of "a downtrodden country" respectively. This is also proper. One can say that only due to the epoch of chaos does literature become agitated and angry, that agitated and angry literature is a result of an agitated and angry social background…"[53]

This thesis adopted from Shih-ching is illustrated by means of examples from Ukrainian, Polish and Hungarian literature as well as from literature written in Yiddish. Closing this illustrative part he states that "agitated and angry literature is an orthodox movement (cheng tsung) [65] of the literature of a chaotic epoch."[54]

To the question concerning the nature of the social background of contemporary China he answers that China lives in a chaotic epoch and thus its literature must respond to it. Chinese literature would need such works as *The League of Youth* by Ibsen, *Fathers and Sons* by Turgenev, *Oblomov* by Goncharov and *The Poor Devil* by Sologubov. There were no such works in the year 1921 and even the attempts to create such works were rare. Over half a year later only Mao Tun compared the

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[49] Shen Yen-ping, *Literature and Life*, p. 150.

[50] HSYP, 12, 7, 10th July, 1921, p. 13—18.

[51] Cf. H. Taine's *Introduction* to the *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*.

[52] Cf. *Shih Mao-shih chuan shu* (62), in the collection *Wan-yu wen-k'u* [63], vol. 1, p. 1.

[53] Lang Sun, *The Social Background and Creation*, p. 13—14.

[54] Ibid., p. 16.

hero of the Lu Hsün's short story *A Q cheng chuan* [66] *The True Story of A Q* with Oblomov![55]

Mao Tun comprehends the social character of literature in close relation to its political function. More than a year after the above mentioned article he published a treatise called *Literature and the Political Society*. The structure of the treatise is the same as above, however, the introduction is not based on the old but on the new literature.

This treatise could be understood as a challenge to those new men of letters who were infatuated by the slogan "the independence of literature" and opposed its utilitarian conception. Mao Tun does not mention any names but the target of his criticism was directed against members of the Creation Society. Shortly before this treatise was published, Mao Tun was heavily attacked by Kuo Mo-jo on account of his critical attitude towards the first issue of Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an [67] Creation Quarterly, therefore he decided to be circumspect.[56]

In the first issue of this same journal Yü Ta-fu [72], a close friend of Kuo Mo-jo and also a prominent member of Creation Society, published an impressionistic article *I-wen ssu chien* [73] *A Personal View on Literature*,[57] in which he wrote that "literature is a work of genius and cannot be measured by any rules" and the endeavour to introduce scientific methods into literary criticism is without reason as "the works of talented authors are abnormal, excentric, even absurd and seen by the eyes of the ordinary man they are not understandable." Yü Ta-fu acknowledges the need of literary criticism but only the "real" kind designed for "ordinary people" which at the same time "extolls the genii". In China there are only "false critics". China would need such men as Arnold or Pater, Taine, Lessing, Carlyle, Belinsky or Brandes, one, it matters not whom, just so that the false critics of contemporary China, who misprize talented authors (i.e. particularly members of Creation Society) "would creep into a cesspool and fight with larvae of insects for food". However, when he had to show some definite ideas of his own, as a real critic should, he failed. He did not show how the critical articles should be written, though he had this in mind. Instead he selected *The Preface to The Picture of Dorian Gray* and translated it into Chinese.[58] In this ingenious work of Wilde's, the critic—literary and artistic— is conceived as "the creator of beautiful things". His duty is to "translate into another manner or a new material his impression of beautiful things". The critics who "find

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[55] *Correspondence*, HSYP, 13, 2, 10th February, 1922, p. 5.

[56] Mao Tun's review was published under the pseudonym Sun [68], Wen-hsüeh hsün-k'an [69] Literary Decade, 37—39, 21th May—10th June, 1922. Kuo Mo-jo was not satisfied with Mao Tun's criticism and insulted him as chi-ming kou-tao-ti p'i-p'ingchia [70] the critic who crows like a cock and steals like a dog. Cf. Kuo Mo-jo, *P'i-p'an I-men-hu i-pen ch'i-t-'a* [71] *On the Translation of Immensee and Other Things*, Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an, 1, 2, 1922, p. 29.

[57] P. 10—12.

[58] See e.g. Penguin Books, 1963.

ugly meanings in beautiful things are corrupt without being charming". Only those critics and creators who "find beautiful meanings in beautiful things are the cultivated." Only those are privileged to whom "beautiful things mean only Beauty". According to Wilde an artist has no ethical sympathy—at least in theory—, no need to prove anything; art is completely unnecessary, its single justification is the people's admiration. These words concerning ethical sympathy, and those which follow, mean more than it seems at first sight. They express the evaluation of art as activity isolated from social responsibility, in which the face of Adonis, created only according to the laws of beauty, represents the sum of the art and literature.

It is quite natural that such similar programmes, wherein art is an actual "ivory tower", differed from Mao Tun's literary beliefs. No matter how he sympathized with modern art (or, more precisely with literature), he never recognized art and literature just as artistic creations embodying respect for the laws of beauty and neglecting social realities. He never had any understanding for *l'art pour l'art*. Mao Tun named followers of *l'art pour l'art'* a lonely army" (ku-chün) [74] (i.e. in China) and had no belief in their victory.[59] He condemned the extreme utilitarian view of art, but at the same time he was against the views which consider that works with a political tint or a social tinge had no place in literature.[60] He pointed to the situation in Russian literature as well as that of Hungary, Norway, Bohemia and Bulgaria. In all cases he showed that literature tended towards a social and political expression. He had no doubts that the new Chinese literature would reveal similar tendencies and that these tendencies would not be synonymous with decadence.

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[59] Shen Yen-ping, *Literature and Political Society*, p. 1.
[60] Loc. cit.

1.文學與人的關係及中國自來對於文學者身分的
認識 2.茅盾 3.文學研究會 4.文苑列傳 5.小說月報
6.詞賦之臣 7.粉飾太平的奢侈品 8.弄臣 9.顏
之推 10.顏氏家訓 11.叢書集成 12.東方朔 13.武帝
14.漢 15.滑稽不雅 16.雅 17.司馬相如 18.揚
雄 19.雕蟲小技 20.雕蟲篆刻 21.法言十卷 22.吾
子篇 23.貝賦 24.司馬遷 25.沈雁冰 26.近代文學
體系的研究 27.劉貞晦 28.中國文學變遷史 29.
名不韋 30.劉安 31.文以載道 32.文以消遣 33.人的
文學 34.真的文學 35.文學研究會叢書緣起 36.走狗
文學 37.中國新文學大系 38.梁啟超 39.最上乘
40.郎損 41.新文學研究者責任與努力 42.佩章
43.郭沫若 44.創造社 45.蔦色瘤 46.通信 47.盲
目的翻譯者 48.論文學研究與介紹 49.沫若
文集 50.泫氣 51.個性 52.評四五六月的創作 53.
文學定的環境 54.正當 55.文學與人生 56.文學
與政治社會 57.時代 58.時勢 59.社會背境
60.社會背境與創作 61.詩經 62.詩毛詩傳疏
63.萬有文庫 64.者 65.正宗 66.阿Q正傳 67.創造
集刊 68.損 69.文學旬刊 70.雞鳴狗盜式的
批評法 71.批判意門胡譯本及其他 72.有達夫
73.藝文私見 74.孤單 75.鄭振鐸 76.國民性
77.王晉鑫 78.求真。

RANGE OF DISTRIBUTION AND WORD CLASSES
IN MAORI

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

The vocabulary of any language comprises of tens of thousands of lexical items and it is only natural that linguists try to classify them according to some criteria or other in order to gain a clear view in this maze of data. It is now almost common-place that words are classified according to their distributive properties. In other words, functional valencies are determined, compared and lexical items are grouped afterwards on the basis of their similarities and dissimilarities in this respect. Another commonplace is that both external and internal distributions are considered relevant for the purposes of the word classification. In theory the distribution is defined as the sum of all environments or frames[1] in which a word (potentially) occurs. There can be no doubt that it is impossible to enumerate all frames in which all words of a langu-age can occur. What is worse, if all environments had to be taken into account, it would be quite a problem to find two words compatible with exactly the same distri-butive frames. This being the case, the investigator forbears such an unrealizable task, and, instead, finds it more convenient to rely upon a restricted set of so-called diagnostic frames. The latter must be selected in such a way that the nondiagnostic frames can be largely explained through them.

Henceforth the set of all diagnostic frames characteristic of a word class will be called its range of distribution. The aim of this paper is to prove, on Maori linguistic data, that the word classes can be defined in such a way as to reduce differences among them to a common denominator, and namely to the range of distribution.[2] Before this is done, the problem of how to choose suitable criteria for defining diagnostic frames and various ranges of distribution ought to be solved.

If all word classes are defined in a strictly distributional manner, a sort of a vicious

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[1] The term is borrowed from Charles C. Fries, *The Structure of English, an Introduction to the Construction of English Sentences*, New York 1952.

[2] Cf. R. H. Robins' view on this problem in his *Yurok*, Lingua 17 (1966), p. 213.

circle cannot be avoided. Unless we are ready to sacrifice the purity of the distributional approach, we have to build up the word classification around a restricted set of undefined terms. Naturally, no objections can be raised against this procedure which is widely used in science. However, A. Ellegård[3] has proposed an interesting alternative solution. He introduces an external criterion and suggests that frequency of occurrence be used in order to establish the first class. It would be the class of words which occur especially often in the text. This auxiliary criterion can be applied to Maori data in an even more transparent and elegant manner than to English. It will serve us well in delimiting the so-called particles from full words. Given a sufficiently long text, we soon find that there is a limited set of extremely frequent words which are obligatory from the viewpoint of grammar. This class will be termed grammatical particles. They might be further divided into verbal particles compatible with the words in the passive voice (e.g. *e, i, kia, kua, ai*) and nominal particles compatible with the words in the gerund form (e.g. *te, ngaa, he, a, ki*). Another class of frequently occurring words is that of complementary particles (e.g. *rawa, tonu, kau, noa, pea*). They are not grammatically obligatory but their range of distribution is larger than that of the grammatical particles since they are compatible with all types of full words. The third group consists of the so-called full words or bases.[4] The full words occur much less frequently than the classes of particles. Subdivision of the full words will be carried out by means of distributional criteria. Four distributional frames are relevant for this subclassification, namely:

1. Compatibility with the nominal particles which is characteristic of nouns, adjectives and universals;

2. Compatibility with the verbal particles which is typical of participles, adjectives, and universals;

3. Compatibility with the gerund suffix (known also as nominalizer) which is divisive for participles, adjectives, and universals;

4. Compatibility with the passive suffix which delimits universals from the rest of full words.

It must be stressed that this is a rough classification only. The individual classes might be further subdivided, e.g., the nouns comprise a subclass of locatives (*roto, waho, runga, raro, mua,* etc.) and a subclass of proper nouns; adjectives include a subclass of numerals (e.g. *tahi, rua, rau*). However, a detailed classification is not aimed at in this paper. Rather its goal is to prove that the word classes in Maori

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[3] Alvar Ellegård, *Design for a Mechanical Distribution Analysis of English Word Classes.* In: Structures and Quanta, Copenhagen 1963, pp. 5—21.

[4] Bruce Biggs uses the term base in his paper *The Structure of New Zealand Maaori,* Anthropological Linguistics Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 1—54. J. E. Buse in *Problems of Morphology and Classification Illustrated from Rarotongan,* Lingua 15 (1965), pp. 32—47, speaks of full words.

may be constructed in such a way as to obtain groups of words which would differ only in terms of the range of distribution. This type of classification is presented in Table 1. We mark compatibility of a class with a diagnostic frame through 1; incompatibility is left unmarked.

Table 1. *Range of Distribution and Word Classes in Maori*

Compatible with / Word Classes	All Types of Full Words	Nominal Particles	Verbal Particles	Gerund Suffix	Passive Suffix	Range of Distribution
Grammatical Particles						0
Complementary Particles	1					1
Nouns	1	1				2
Participles	1		1	1		3
Adjectives	1	1	1	1		4
Universals	1	1	1	1	1	5

Thus we arrive at a conclusion that the word classes differ not only qualitatively (as to the types of diagnostic frames in which they occur) but also quantitatively (as to the number of various diagnostic frames in which they occur, i.e., as to the range of distribution). It might be argued that the latter sort of difference is simply a matter of a clever choice of the diagnostic frames. However, no forced fitting of the Maori data to a Procrustean bed took place. J. E. Buse's classification of words in the closely related Rarotongan language proves this most clearly.[5] Buse concentrates upon the full words and classifies them into nouns, adjectives, and verbs (= universals) by means of the following three criteria: (1) compatibility with the nominal particles, (2) compatibility with the verbal particles, (3) compatibility with the passive suffix. The classification is schematized in Table 2.

The reduction of differences among the word classes to the range of distribution can be justified also in another way. Morphemes, words and even classes of them have been proved to differ as to their frequencies of occurrence in text. This is caused not only by the fact that some words occur extremely frequently in a few distributional frames (e.g., grammatical particles) but also by the fact that some words are compatible with more distributive frames than others. And this should be reflected in a classification of words, particularly in the choice of diagnostic frames.

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[5] J. E. Buse, o.c.

Table 2. *Range of Distribution and Word Classes in Ratorongan*

Compatible with: Word Classes	Nominal Particles	Verbal Particles	Passive Suffix	Range of Distribution
Nouns	1			1
Adjectives	1	1		2
Verbs	1	1	1	3

The range of distribution is paralleled by the degree of the internal complexity of words measured in terms of syllabic and morphemic composition. Thus the grammatical particles in Maori (as in all other Polynesian languages) are always monomorphemic and monosyllabic (canonic types are V (V) and CV (V); besides, in most cases $V_1 = V_2$). Complementary particles are also monomorphemic but not always monosyllabic (patterns CVCV and VCV are quite common). Some of them, e.g. *rawa, kee, atu*, etc. agree in the passive voice and in the gerund with the universals with which they combine (taking invariably *-tia* as a marker of the passive and *-tanga* as a marker of the gerund). Further, nouns are compatible with the causative prefix *whaka-* and, besides, they enter into numerous complex words. Their syllabic structure is naturally much more complex than that of the particles, CVCV being by far the most frequent pattern. Participles are compatible both with the causative prefix and with the gerund suffix. The same is true of adjectives which also readily reduplicate and contain derivative affixes. And, finally, the universals colligate with all these elements plus the passive suffix.

A fundamentally different question can be raised now. How do we recognize that such and such word is a member of such and such class? This is rather complicated in Maori where the word class is, as a rule, a covert category. Grammatical particles can be identified through their high frequency of occurrence in text; they can combine either with words in the gerund form or with words in the passive form. Complementary particles, on the other hand, can combine with both types of words and, in fact, with all types of the full words. We identify the four classes of full words in the following way. The efficiency requires that the individual steps be ordered in such a way as to identify a numerically stronger class before a numerically smaller one. In accordance with this principle the first class of words to be identified in Maori is that of universals. Only one step is needed in this instance. Two steps will do to identify the second strongest class, i.e., nouns. And, finally, adjectives and participles will be identified after three steps. The procedure is schematized in Table 3. Symbol "+" marks compatibility and "—" incompatibility with the criterion involved in the identification step.

In conclusion it should be said that the problem of relevance of the range of distribution to the classification of words has to be further worked out. It remains unclear whether the individual distributive frames should be treated as equivalent (i.e. whether they should be assigned the same value). However, this question cannot be answered before the frequencies of these frames in a sufficiently long text are determined.

Table 3. *Identification of Classes of Full Words in Maori*

1. Passive Frame

| + | | — |

| Universals | | 2. Verbal Frame |

| + | | — |

| | 3. Nominal Frame | Nouns |

| + | | — |

| Adjectives | | Participles |
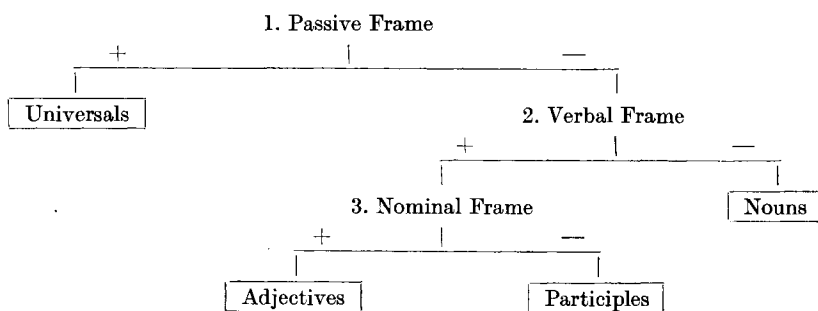
SOME REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION PROCESS

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

Linguistics is often disparaged as a branch of science which has found no markedly practical application as yet. Maybe this was true of linguistics in the past decades (and centuries) but there can be no doubt that it will not be true of the future linguistic research. Advances in communication and in the exchange of information will be of vital importance for the smooth functioning of the increasingly complex human society. People speaking different languages will communicate more and more frequently, whether directly or through books. Thus we shall grow more aware of the extent to which all the various language patterns restrict and mould our cognition and hinder our mutual understanding. And in this way will linguistic problems—and especially those of translation—acquire practical significance.

Strangely enough, the problems of translation have been often treated as peripheral to linguistics. In his excellent book which has stimulated these reflections, Nida characterizes the situation as follows: "The truth is that practice in translating has far outdistanced theory...".[1] In Czechoslovakia—and in most parts of Europe— translating is regarded traditionally as an art. However, as Nida says, "...linguists and philologists are becoming increasingly aware that the processes of translation are amenable to rigorous description".[2] But this does not mean that the two aspects, the artistic one and the scientific one, are incompatible. The artistic aspect of the translator's activity is involved first of all in his interpretation of the author's intention and, consequently, it plays a decisive part in the way the translator selects stylistically adequate linguistic media. On the other hand, the translator's activity includes also a variety of purely technical procedures. It is difficult if not impossible to grasp the artistic facet of translating because it is unique and unrepeatable. However, the "technical" procedures involved in translating can be described, ordered, and systematized within the limits of the theory of translation.

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[1] Eugene A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, Leiden 1964, p. 3.
[2] Eugene A. Nida, *ibid.*

It should be noted that the theory of translation cannot supply the translator with a detailed and exhaustive receipt designed to solve all practical problems for the translator. In a similar way, nobody expects the theory of physics to be a cookbook for those wishing to discover an elusive atomic particle or to explain a complicated physical phenomenon. The theory of translation investigates and describes correspondences between utterances (and their meaningful parts) of various languages. The theory of translation takes up an area where several linguistic and non-linguistic disciplines intersect. However, the linguistic theory of translation restricts itself to the lingustic factors involved in translating. From this point of view the cultural and historical factors (even if relevant for an adequate transfer of a specific message from one language into another) ought to be disregarded; they have to be weighed and accounted by the translator himself. The theory of translation is presumably based upon the following linguistic disciplines:

1. stylistics which is concerned with the selection of the linguistic means (lexical grammatical, phonemic) as conditioned largely by extralinguistic factors;

2. semantics which can describe ways in which semantic correspondences between languages can be stated (problems of the arbitrariness of the mapping of reality in various languages, semantic universals, etc.);

3. confrontational grammar which constructs correlational models for the grammatical systems of pairs of different languages;

4. transformational grammar which supplies us with the most adequate model of the translation process.

Figure 1. *Consanguineal Kinship Terms in Maor*

G	I	S			tuakana
		$\overline{S}$			teina
	I			M	tungane
				$\overline{M}$	tuahine
$\overline{G}$	O	S		M	matua
				$\overline{M}$	whaea
		$\overline{S}$	C	M	tama
				$\overline{M}$	tamahine
			$\overline{C}$		iraamutu
	$\overline{O}$	S			tupuna
		$\overline{S}$			mokopuna

The translation process itself is the focal point in the theory of translation. It stands to reason that in view of all the various linguistic and cultural discrepancies there is no possibility of constructing a set of truly equivalential rules which would correlate directly the utterances in any two languages. This means that *in principle* there is no such an utterance x_A in the language A which could be translated into the language B exactly and solely as X_B. This implies that the translational correspondence is an asymmetrical relation: If x_A is translated as x_B, this does not mean that when proceeding in the reverse direction, x_B must necessarily be translated as x_A. The asymmetricity of the translational correspondence will be illustrated here on the confrontation of Maori and Slovak kinship terms. We confine our attention to the consanguineal kinship terms which are subjected here to the componential analysis.

The Maori kinship terms have been systematized by means of the following oppositions: same generation—non-same generation $(G$—$\overline{G})$; identical sex—non-identical

Figure 2. *Consanguineal Kinship Terms in Slovak*

G		C		M	brat
				$\overline{M}$	sestra
		$\overline{C}$		M	bratranec
				$\overline{M}$	sestrenica
$\overline{G}$	O	S	C	M	otec
				$\overline{M}$	matka
			$\overline{C}$	M	strýko
				$\overline{M}$	teta
		$\overline{S}$	C	M	syn
				$\overline{M}$	dcéra
			$\overline{C}$	M	synovec
				$\overline{M}$	neter
	$\overline{O}$	S		M	starý otec
				$\overline{M}$	stará matka
		$\overline{S}$		M	vnuk
				$\overline{M}$	vnučka

sex (I—$\bar{I}$); one-generation difference—non-one generation difference (O—$\bar{O}$); senior—non-senior (S—$\bar{S}$); male—non-male (M—$\bar{M}$); close—non-close (C—$\bar{C}$). In Slovak there is no additional opposition; to the contrary, I—$\bar{I}$ turns out to be superfluous. In Figure 1, the Maori kinship terms are analyzed. Their Slovak counterparts are analyzed in Figure 2.

Much the same oppositions can be applied to the analysis of the non-consanguineal kinship terms. These have been left out simply because of the lack of space.

Figure 3. *Translational Correspondences of Maori*
and Slovak Kinship Terms
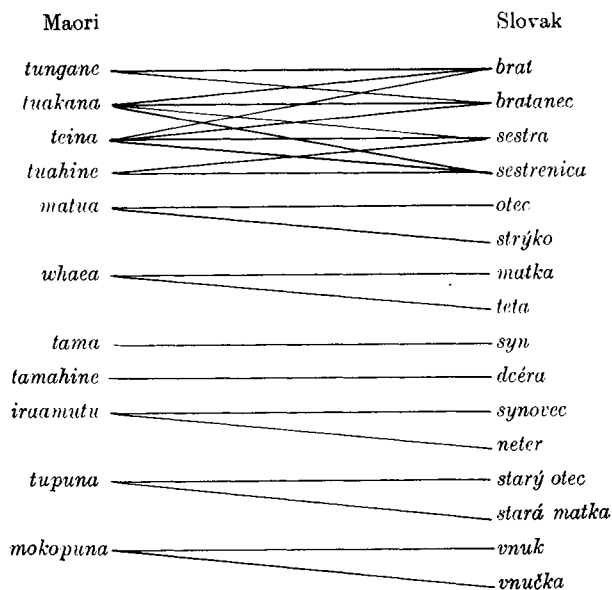
It is not difficult to detect some far-reaching discrepancies between the Maori and the Slovak kinship systems. Thus in Slovak the opposition M—$\bar{M}$ embraces the whole inventory of the kinship terms. The opposition C—$\bar{C}$ is relevant for all terms with the exception of $\bar{O}$ while the opposition I—$\bar{I}$ is completely lacking here. In Maori the domain of the opposition M—$\bar{M}$ is somewhat more restricted and even more so the domain of C—$\bar{C}$. The translational correspondences between the two systems are given in Figure 3 (both ways, i.e. Maori → Slovak and Slovak → Maori) However, the basic difference between the two systems lies perhaps in the subsystem of G and consists in the fact that all Maori terms involved can refer to both close and non-close relatives.

A glance at the Figure 3 corroborates that the principle of asymmetricity does hold for Maori and Slovak. Thus, e.g. Maori *tungane* can be translated as Slovak

brat and *bratanec*. However, the Slovak *brat* (and *bratanec*) can be translated as either *tungane* or *teina* and *tuakana* into Maori.

In principle, any bilingual dictionary should include translational rules of the above type. Furthermore, it should incorporate information needed for the solution of ambiguities. If the source-language term is correlated with two or more receptor-language terms, the context of the source utterance must be consulted in order to choose the adequate alternative.

However, if two or more source-language terms are correlated with one receptor-language term only, the translator will have to compensate or this loss of information by an occasional circumlocution.

Moreover, the translational correspondence is an intransitive relation. Let us have three languages A, B, and C. Provided x_A is translated as x_B and x_B is translated as x_C, this does not mean that x_A must be translated as x_C when transferring the message directly from A into C. The message translated into C from A through B will inevitably be less precise than that translated directly from A, without the mediation of B. Let us take as an example the sequence of languages Maori $\rightarrow$ English $\rightarrow$ Indonesian. The Maori pronoun *taatou* can be translated into English as *we*. The English pronoun *we* can be translated into Indonesian either as *kita* (inclusive) or as *kami* (exclusive). However, if the Maori pronoun *taatou* is translated directly into Indonesian (Maori $\rightarrow$ Indonesian), only *kita* can be considered as its semantic cognate. Similarly, if the Maori construction *i te + verb* is translated directly into English, it would be correlated with the *past continuous* only. But if the same construction would have been translated into English through Slovak or Russian, it would be correlated with both the *past continuous* and the *past tense·*

In practice the asymmetricity of the translational correspondence can be demonstrated by a reverse translation (schematized as $x_A \rightarrow x_B \rightarrow x_A$ or, to be more precise, as $x_A \rightarrow x_{B/B} \rightarrow x_{A/B/A}$). Experiments with the reverse translation are mentioned in Levý[3] and those with the reverse-mediated translation in Nida.[4] The intransitivity of the translational correspondence is repeatedly proved by sad fruits of mediated translations, e.g. from Japanese into Slovak through English (schematized as $x_A \rightarrow x_{B/A} \rightarrow x_{C/B/A}$).

Systematic and structural differences between languages are augmented by divergences of a probabilistic type: Each language favours a different set of topics and similar grammatical categories and constructions may be used with different frequencies. This must also be kept in mind when translating.

In the author's opinion, the process of translation can be most conveniently described in terms of the transformation theory.[5] The rise of the latter theory sympto-

[3] Jiří Levý, *Umění předkladu.*

[4] Eugene A. Nida, *o. c.*, pp. 1—2.

[5] Cf. Nida's opinion, o. c., p. 59—60, and a footnote, p. 60.

matizes that linguistics as a branch of science is coming of age. This manifests itself in the advancing methodological unification of the study of language. The idea of transformation takes up a central position in linguistics. It is a generalization which can be applied to all basic branches of linguistics, i.e. to the synchronous description of a language, to the confrontational (or typological) investigation of two or more languages and, finally, also to the diachronic study of the language (which deals, in fact, with transformations on the sound level).[6]

It is a matter of common observation that the translation is hidden behind all types of linguistic research. Colby thinks that it is fundamental to the ethnographic research as well.[7]

Chomsky has defined the transformation as operating on a string of symbols with a particular structural description and converting it into a new string of symbols with a new structural description. Chomsky has constructed this definition for the intralinguistic translation but it might be modified for the purpose of the inter-linguistic translation (i.e. the translation in the proper sense) as operating on a string of of symbols with a particular description in the source language and converting it into a string of symbols with a particular description in the receptor language. In both instances the meaning is taken as constant. However, in the case of the inter-linguistic translation also the stylistic value of the utterance correlated with the string must be preserved, which is not the case with the intralinguistic translation. The abovementioned transformation would be the central one in the sequence of three types of transformations required for the transfer of a message from the source language into the receptor language. This transformation would be preceded by a transformation of the surface-structured string (a specific sentence) of the source language into a deep-structured string. Put another way, a phenotypic string is analyzed into a genotypic string in this stage.[8] This means that complex sentences have to be reduced to their underlying kernel sentences. The latter are represented as a non-linear combination of symbols which are basically of two types: designators and formators.[9]

Thus the central transformation correlates deep-structured strings (genotypic sentences) in the source and receptor languages. It is in this phase that translating actually takes place. In the synthetic phase the deep-structured string (genotypic sentence) is transformed into a surface-structured (phenotypic sentence), i.e. into

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[6] These problems are discussed in an intriguing manner by V. V. Ivanov in his article *Mashinnyĭ perevod i ustanovleniĭe sootvetstvii mezhdu ĭazykovymi sistemami, Mashinnyĭ perevod,* Moscow 1961, pp. 47—69.

[7] B. N. Colby, *Ethnographic Semantics; A Preliminary Survey,* Current Anthropology 1966, No. 1, p. 9.

[8] S. K. Shaumian, *Strukturnaĭa lingvistika,* Moscow 1965, pp. 94—95.

[9] Uriel Weinreich, *On the Semantic Structure of Language. Universals of Language.* Cambridge, Mass. 1963, p. 116.

a specific sentence according to the syntactical, grammatical, and phonological rules of the receptor language.

The application of the transformation theory simplifies considerably the description of the translation process. This model excludes from the theory of translation those problems which cannot be solved satisfactorily within the scope of the latter, i.e. problems of correspondence between surface-structured strings in two different languages. It requires that the correspondence rules correlating the source language with the receptor language be restricted (in the domain of syntax) to the set of basic (= kernel) sentences. This is in accordance with the intuitively known fact that a complex sentence is harder to translate than a simple sentence, and therefore the translator usually resolves it into its constituent sentences; the latter are translated and afterwards synthesized in the receptor language according to its syntactic rules. The above mentioned model of the translation process, when actually used by the translator, diminishes greatly the impact of the source language upon the translated message because thus the surface structures in the receptor language are derived from the deep structures in the same language and not directly from the surface structures of the source language.

The theory of translation from the language A into the language B would consist of these basic components:

1. a set of correspondence rules correlating basic (genotypic) sentences in A with those in B;

2. a set of correspondence rules correlating grammatical transformations in A with those in B;

3. a set of correspondence rules correlating lexemes in A with those in B.

Correspondences between grammatical categories would be discussed under (1) and (2). Those characteristic of the sentence as a whole are of special importance since they are independent, e.g. mood, courtesy, modality, voice, aspect, and, to some extent, also tense and person. On the other hand, the category of case would be much harder to discuss because in many instances the choice of a specific case is conditioned by other grammatical categories.

Another question which would deserve a detailed treatment is how to evaluate the degree of translatability of a language A into a language B. There are two types of difficulties encountered in the process of translating, i.e. quantitative and qualitative. The former type of difficulties includes, e.g. the richness of vocabulary used in a specific message as well as variability in grammatical and stylistic means. Beyond question these are trivial problems which are not interesting theoretically. The theory of translation deals with qualitative difficulties which are caused by differences between languages. The translatability of the language A into the language B is basically in an inverse relation to their distance measured in both structural (grammatical differences) and semantic (differences in cultural background) terms. These factors account for a considerable amount of difficulties encountered when

translating from *A* into *B*. Since the grammatical correspondence rules (even if only on the level of the deep structures) can be, in principle, established for any pair of languages, the structural distance is much easier to overcome than the semantic (or cultural) distance which cannot be bridged over by any exhaustive set of the correspondence rules, at least for the time being not. In view of the facts discussed above, pairs of languages can be arranged in four basic groups according to the decreasing translatability:

1. *A* and *B* are similar both culturally and structurally (Slovak and Polish Tahitian and Tuamotuan, Spanish and Portuguese);

2. *A* and *B* are similar culturally but different structurally (Slovak and Hungarian, Turkish and Persian, Hindi and Tamil);

3. *A* and *B* are different culturally and similar structurally (Turkish and Yakut, Greek and Sanskrit, Hungarian and Ostyak);

4. *A* and *B* are different both culturally and structurally (Slovak and Maori, German and Japanese, Eskimo and Arabic).

Sometimes the factor of topic is quoted as affecting the translatability of a specific message. However, it is just an instance of the more general factor of the cultural (or semantic) distance. It is connected both with the abstraction level and with the fact that the message deals with a subject focal from the standpoint of the cultural background of the source language (if the cultural background of the receptor language is very different). Cf. Quine: "What is really involved is difficulty or indeterminacy of correlation. It is just that there is less basis of comparison—less sense in saying what is good translation and what is bad—the farther we get away from sentences with visibly direct conditioning to nonverbal stimuli and the farther we get off home ground".[10]

The theory of translation is of vital importance to linguistics. Unfortunately, many problems ought to be solved before this branch of linguistics is satisfactorily elaborated. Lively contacts with specialists in the machine translation would undoubtedly prove fruitful to the theory of linguistic translation despite the fact that differences in aims call for differences in techniques and models. However, the task of this paper was merely to point out to a few problems which have a bearing upon the construction of an adequate model of the translation process.

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[10] Willard V. Quine, *Meaning and Translation*, p. 478, *The Structure of Language*, Englewood Cliffs 1964, pp. 460—478.

THE POLICY OF NEUTRALITY AND THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF CAMBODIA

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The Cambodian policy of neutrality was developed first of all due to the practical necessities of foreign policy. dictated by the country's exposed position in South-East Asia. Another motive was to create a footing whereby the antagonistic forces within the country could meet without bringing about the danger of disorganization and civil war.

By deciding to occupy a neutralist position in the world's arena, Cambodia did not accept any ready-made international political doctrine which would necessitate sacrifying or adapting the country's aims. The procedure was a reversed one—from experience to rules and principles. On several occasions the leaders of the country—when obliged to defend the sovereignty, honour and the frontiers of the country—learned the lesson that neutrality offers the best possible way of resisting pressure coming from all sides, such as it had so often been exposed to in its history. This conviction gained strength later when the rather delicate situation in South-East Asia became even more complicated by the interference of the World Powers and by the consequences of the Cold War. Such being the situation, Cambodia became increasingly anxious to hold on to the principles of neutrality which has finally become its strongest defensive weapon.

Regarding the hitherto not quite successful history of the neutralization attempts of the peninsula of Indo-China and South-East Asia one may state—at least as far as Cambodia is concerned—that the idea of neutrality was not foisted upon this country—on the contrary—it grew naturally out of the country's basic needs in its foreign and internal policy, and also from the disposition of the political forces ruling this region. For this reason the Cambodian conception of neutrality, though naturally its development was subjected to changes, is strongly anchored in reality and is characterized by the stability of its main aims: to conserve the national existence, national independence and the economic development of the country.

Adhering to its policy of neutrality, Cambodia for quite a long time was able to

57

ensure a period of building-up and relative peace amidst the turmoils and war crises of East and South-East Asia. Thus, the example of Cambodia did not fail to exert a certain influence on the other countries of this region. However, the example of Cambodia is a phenomenon, interesting also from the standpoint of world policy, of a definite contemporary endeavour to apply the policy of neutrality in the new conditions of an ideologically disrupted world.

In the works of foreign authors dealing with recent Cambodian history, the year 1956[1] or the conference of Bandung of 1955[2] are often mentioned as the landmarks for Cambodia's embarkation upon the policy of neutrality. In some instances also the stipulations of the Geneva treaties of the year 1954 are considered to be factors of great influence on forming Cambodia's foreign policy of neutrality.[3]

In the years mentioned above as well as subsequent ones, there was a gradual formation and crystallization of the foreign policy of Cambodia. However, the first signs of the original political standpoint of the Cambodian royalist government were already noticeable in 1953 when—two months prior to Cambodia attaining state independence—the Prime Minister, Penn Nouth, prompted by King Sihanouk,[4] addressed himself, by means of a special governmental message, to members of the Khmer and Vietnamese resistance units operating on Cambodian territory at that time. The content of this document appears to be of great importance to the Cambodian policy of neutrality for it was issued while an extremely complicated and strained situation existed on the peninsula of Indo-China.

The anti-French armed resistance of the peoples of Indo-China reached its point of culmination at that time, and its representatives looked on the monarchical courts of Saigon, Luangprabang and Phnom Penh as instruments of the French colonial rule. The French rather mechanically expected all rulers of the states of the peninsula of Indo-China to live in constant fear of a revolutionary movement inspired by republican and socialistic thought—and willing or unwilling—for, life and death to stand allied to the French colonial regime. Led by ideas of this kind, the French were of the opinion that any endeavours these rulers made to obtain a certain degree of liberty or an alleviation of their colonial shackles, i.e. to achieve a certain degree of independence from France, would be nothing but a symptom of their opportunism, and of the insincere political game from which they expected to increase their domestic authority, nothing, however, to be taken seriously. It should be stated that the French were completely correct in this impression of theirs as far as the monarchies of Laos and Vietnam were concerned.

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[1] Jean Lacouture et Philippe Devillers, *La fin d'une guerre*, Paris 1960, p. 342.

[2] J. S. Roucek, *Sihanouk's Complaint*. Eastern World, January 1964, p. 13.

[3] J. S. Lech, *Neutralizm w polityce zagranicznej Kambodży*. Sprawy międzynarodowe 2, 1964, p. 70.

[4] Ministère de l'Information, *Les paroles de Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk*, Phnom Penh 1965, p. 758.

However, actually in the case of the Cambodian ruler, Norodom Sihanouk, we can reveal a political activity which cannot be reduced to this simplified scheme of political assessment. This ruler succeeded in bursting open the traditional narrow political sphere that the French colonial rule permitted to their Protectorate monarchies. He was clever enough to make use of the defensive situation into which the French Union had been forced to set up a political line of his own, which undoubtedly signified the first real appearance of a third political power in Indo-China. Up to that time there had been only two rivals opposing each other: colonialism and the leftish oriented national liberation movement. The nationalists of the Indo-Chinese nations were divided into two groups: a progressive and a conservative one which joined one or the other of the two fighting camps.

Under such conditions, Norodom Sihanouk undertook to reevaluate Cambodian nationalism in the only possible way. In the name of the Khmer national interests he embarked, with toughness and energy, upon a diplomatical struggle against the French colonial regime. He consequently held himself aloof from the obsolete forms of French rule and attacked them at home, in Paris and in a number of other capital cities, with a series of unexpected, unusually successful and well timed propagative and political deeds which he himself both organized and fulfilled the leading rôle. Eventually, he succeeded in compelling the French government—whose reputation had rapidly declined owing to military setbacks suffered on other fronts of Indo-China—to relinquish gradually all governmental power into the hands of the representatives of the Khmer Kingdom. This process was completed on November 9, 1953, and was crowned with a final solemn ceremony. The anniversary of this day is celebrated as a State Holiday.

The entire successful action was later given the name of *Croisade royale pour l'indépendance*.[5] Naturally, this development was disagreeable to French government; for this action, together with the fight for liberation of the other nations in Indo-China, became a complex of factors which led France to accept an armistice agreed upon in Geneva and to consent to the liquidation of its colonial rule in Indo-China.

Nevertheless, the political movement of the Cambodian government is not to be characterized as a passing from one camp into the other. In the same conspicuous way, wherein it refused to be ruled by French colonialism, the government of Cambodia continued to fight the Khmer Issarak groups of armed resistance[6] which were active in several Cambodian provinces, in collaborating with Vietnamese partisan units. In the above mentioned governmental message of September 1953 the govern-

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[5] Norodom Sihanouk, *La monarchie cambodgienne et la croisade royale pour l'indépendance*, Phnom Penh 1960, pp. 80—154.

[6] Documents on their political position and activity can be read in the publication *Le peuple Khmer lutte pour l'indépendance et la paix*, published 1954 by Le Service de l'information du Gouvernement de la Résistance Khmer.

ment of Cambodia invited the partisans of Khmer nationality—though setting a relatively short time-limit—to join the royal army; in the same message the government of Cambodia offered amnesty to any would-be surrenderers and promised them a reception with open arms. Simultaneously, the Vietnamese co-fighters of these groups were requested to leave the territory of Cambodia.

By these actions the Cambodian government determined its political line towards both camps and brought a new alternative to the Cambodian political arena: This was a system, leaning towards nationalism and monarchy, refusing both colonialism and revolutionary movements of the socialist type or tint, that endeavoured to achieve independence by taking into consideration the possibilities and advantages of neutrality in armed conflicts which interfered with the vital interest of Cambodia. All these elements are to be seen in the procedure of the Cambodian government of 1953; its September message is a document containing new tones and aspects in the orientation of Cambodian policy. True, the conception of neutrality does not appear in the document itself, but there are several indications which make it evident that the authors of the document have no intention of helping the French Expeditionary Corps in its operations against revolutionary units on Vietnamese and Laotian territory; the assumption being that the resistance within the territory of Cambodia will cease.

In the passage written explicitly as an address to the Vietnamese partisans fighting in Cambodia, the message expressed that the Cambodian Government did not dispute their rights to be concerned over the fate of Vietnam, and assured them: "Though we are not communists, we don't want to stand up against Communism unless it endeavours to impose itself by force upon our people".[7] In the concluding part of this document there is another idea expressed which later became one of the cardinal points of Cambodian neutrality: "It is not in our intention to exert any influence whatsoever on the affairs of others provided that others grant us reciprocity to the same effect".[8]

When the message was not quite as successful in bringing about the effect as hoped, it was followed by a military campaign of the royal army units against the regions subjected to the control of the united revolutionary forces. However, the Cambodian government did not go so far as to engage in fighting the Vietnamese revolutionaries outside the Cambodian boundaries and it decidedly refused to participate in French military operations in the colonial war which the rightist forces in all countries tried to describe as a struggle of world democracy against communism. The Cambodian policy of neutrality, already in its preparatory and preliminary stages, was conceived as a policy not only aimed at achieving conven-

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[7] *Gouvernement Royal du Cambodge, II. Livre jaune sur les revendications de l' indépendace du Cambodge, Message de S. E. Penn-Nouth aux Issarak, Khmer-Vietminh et Vietminh*, p. 57.

[8] Ibid., p. 57.

tional military neutrality but also a neutrality with respect to rivaling ideologies.

With regard to this, Norodom Sihanouk retrospectively granted praise to the Vietnamese and Laotian revolutionaries by emphasizing that their task was decisive in achieving independence of Vietnam and Laos.[9] An appraisal of this kind had particular importance, mostly because of it being pronounced by a statesman who by the end of the year 1953 was a personal commander of the royal forces involved in fighting the Khmer and Vietnamese partisans. At the same time it is an important proof of the particular and the unbiassed character of Cambodian neutrality. Undoubtedly, it is rare to find a neutral politician inclined to be so objective as to emphasize the positive task played by leftist political elements in the fight for national liberation, i.e. of elements whose ideology he himself otherwise refuses to accept on principle.

The Royal Cambodian Government, when invited to participate in the Geneva negotiations of 1954 concerning an armistice of the three Indo-Chinese states, came there in a position which had been markedly changed and strengthened during the course of the preceding year. Besides taking over governmental power from the representatives of the French colonial administration it was successful in expanding its authority into the traditionally partisan regions of the Battambang province in the north-western part of the country. A further advantage it had was that at the Conference it was not acting as a passive executor of a political line determined by the French and their allies but that with surprising obstinacy it endeavoured and, in the final issue, was successful in realizing its own political aims, in many instances even against standpoints already previously agreed upon by the majority of countries both of the West and the East. Finally, the Cambodian government strongly insisted upon its viewpoint stating that the participation of Cambodian citizens in partisan units was relatively small and that the revolutionary movement in Cambodia did not have the support of the masses and the importance that it had in the neighbouring countries of Indo-China. In spite of the fact that this standpoint was not shared by all the participating delegations, the representatives of the Khmer Issarak (and those of the Laotian resistance as well) were not invited to participate in the Conference.

All these circumstances constituted a favourable element for the arguments of the Cambodian delegation which eventually was the only participant to be so successful in defending its postulates and interests that French authors described Cambodia as "the victor of the Geneva Conference".[10]

The principal political result of the Geneva agreements was the international acknowledgment and confirmation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, stipulated in paragraph 12 of the Final

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[9] N. Sihanouk, *Pour le douzième anniversaire de notre indépendance.* Kambuja 7, 1965, p. 25.

[10] Lacouture-Devillers, op. cit., p. 333.

Declaration of the participants of the Geneva Conference who—on their side—pledged themselves not to interfere with the internal affairs of the said countries.[11] In paragraph 11 of the same agreement, the Conference took notice and thus charged itself to be co-responsible for the Declaration of the French Government expressing its readiness to withdraw its military units at the request of the States of Indo-China and pledged itself to respect all the attributes of their independence.[12]

These documents, together with the other stipulations of the Geneva agreements signified the definitive débâcle of the French conception of colonial Indo-China and they undoubtedly contributed to strengthening the international position of Vietnam and Laos and also of Cambodia, the latter having already achieved independence from France some months prior to the beginning of the Geneva negotiations.

The Geneva solution concerning the position of the resistance fighters was highly important with respect to the further development of the Cambodian internal policy. In this connection the Government of Cambodia accepted a declaration which thus became a part of the Geneva Agreements and which contains an obligation to the effect that these fighters would not be subjected to any discrimination whatsoever, that they would be given all possibilities to integrate into the national community, and that they would be guaranteed their consitutional rights and freedoms.[13]

Quite naturally, during the course of negotiations different compromises were made. Apart from the basical stipulations—mainly aimed at the emancipation of the States of Indo-China from colonial rule—the agreements contain a number of military-political limitations, interdictions and obligations, having a character of a neutralization arrangement. In sense and aim they are essentially equal respecting all three States; however, in extent they display certain differences. The strictest formulations appear in the case of the two parts of Vietnam; the formulation is more liberal in the case of Laos, and relatively the least restrictions apply to Cambodia.

The most important formulations are the interdictions to build bases controlled by foreign powers, to join any kind of military alliance and to import military material; these interdictions refer to Vietnam. Cambodia and Laos have also accepted these same limitations, but with certain exceptions. Laos is not allowed to become a member of a military alliance which is not in agreement with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations or with the principles of the agreement concerning the cessation of hostilities in Laos. The stipulation appertaining to

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[11] *Further Documents relating to the discussion of Indo-China at the Geneva Conference*, Cmd, 9239, London 1954, p. 11 (Document No. 2).

[12] Ibid., p. 42 (Document No. 10 and No. 11).

[13] Ibid., p. 40 (Document No. 6). Unlike the decisions concerning Laos, on Cambodian territory no particular zone for the regrouping of resistance fighters was established.

Cambodia is formulated only as a prohibition of entering a military alliance not being in agreement with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Both Laos and Cambodia renounce the establishment of military bases, controlled by foreign powers, but here again with the explicit condition that this renouncement is applicable as long as their security is not threatened.[14]

The character of the neutralization arrangements as stipulated in the Geneva Agreement was realistic. There is no doubt that these measures contributed to easing the tension. Their intention was not to curtail the sovereign rights of the States of Indo-China but rather to put a check first of all on relations with foreign powers, which are susceptible to endangering the delicately balanced and vulnerable construction of the armistice agreements. The acceptation of these conditions can by no means be considered too high a price to be paid for all that has been achieved by the nations of Indo-China in Geneva.

Besides, with respect to the purposes of this armistice there was no exact definition of the alliance considered to be congruent or incongruent with the principles of the UN Charter; hence, e.g. the question remains open whether Cambodia is allowed or not allowed to join an alliance. The international practice shows that the Great Powers give such a wide margin to this question that, in practice, the pertinent obligation of Cambodia does not constitute any sensible limitation. Neither do the texts elucidate the question of which criteria should be used to assess the endangerment of the security of Cambodia or Laos; it appears, therefore, that as far as the question of establishing foreign military bases is concerned, the governments of the said states have more or less a free hand, particularly if we keep in mind the long-termed character of the tension in South-East Asia.

It was actually the ambition of the Cambodian delegation acting under the immediate directives of Norodom Sihanouk, to attain this freedom of political decision and on the last day of the Conference it succeeded in achieving an alleviation of the already prepared formulations particularly in their own case, i.e., the Conference accepted the provisions which enabled Cambodian policy to have an open path.

Apart from these exceptions, the Geneva agreements were to ensure the military neutralization of the peninsula of Indo-China, and for this reason they were duly respected at the beginning. The Government of Cambodia, already prior to the Geneva Conference, was considering some aspects of a neutral position,[15] the results achieved in Geneva were thus favourable in fulfilling their intentions.

During the negotiations, the Government of Cambodia, acting in this spirit proposed the setting up of an international board, composed of representatives of neutral countries, to exert an inspection of the armistice under preparation.

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[14] Ibid., pp. 41—42 (Document No. 8 and 9).

[15] *Documents relating to the discussion of Korea and Indo-China at the Geneva Conference,* Cmd. 9186, London 1954, pp. 121, 142.

A further proposal of the Cambodian Government contains this idea as one of the alternatives.

However, in the atmosphere of the recently achieved independence of the country, the sensibility of the Cambodian Government was so touched that during the negotiations they showed a desire to be as little as possible restricted by the neutralization stipulations. The Government did not wish to have neutrality imposed from the outside, as it wanted to be given the widest possiblities of chosing its own course of foreign policy in the future, which—after an initial stage of searching for a path to be followed—nonetheless started to follow the policy of neutrality.

The first touchstone of this development was the signing of the SEATO pact in Manila in September 1954. This military league was joined only by countries which—at that time—were unambiguously following the strategical line of the USA. The signatary powers are obliged to develop their military strength, to put up a united resistance should any of them be attacked from outside in the treaty area and to consult each other on the measures to be taken in the case of any potential form of danger.[16]

As far as Vietnam is concerned, participation in military alliances of this kind is explicitly forbidden according to Article 5 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Agreements, while in the case of Cambodia a contingency of this kind depends on the question whether SEATO is considered to be an entente being in coungruency with the Charter of the UNO; and in the case of Laos there is the additional question whether the SEATO pact is in concordance with the agreemant on the cessation of hostilities in Laos. Since there may be differences in answering this question, the initiators of the pact have solved the problem of relationship with South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia by an additional special protocol[17] which—by force of an unilateral decision—expands its protective validity to these non-member countries. The idea being that they would become members of the pact later, on a suitable occasion.

Cambodia—though it did not bind itself to any obligation in Geneva whereby it would be unequivocally hindered to undertake anything to this effect—displayed due foresight. According to B. Smith,[18] Cambodia was at the beginning anxious to know about what help to expect in the case of an attack by any Communist country, and in Dauphin-Meunier's view[19] Cambodia's attitude towards the Manila pact was positive.

Nonetheless, Cambodia did not wish to become a member of the pact since the country's government was aware of the disadvantages and risks entailed by such

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[16] Department of State, *Southeast Asia Treaty Organization*, Washington 1956, Appendix 2, p. 23.

[17] Ibid., p. 27.

[18] R. M. Smith, *Cambodia's Foreign Policy*, Washington 1965, pp. 68—70.

[19] A. Dauphin—Meunier, *Le Cambodge*, Paris 1965, p. 101.

64

membership. After having paid a visit to neutral Burma, Norodom Sihanouk expressed his conviction that the nations of South-East Asia "should deploy all of their good will in order to create a center of pacific resistance to all pacts or alliances susecptible to provoking world conflicts."[20] Cambodia's neutral standpoint—out of which finally issued a well-pondered and declared line of foreign policy—was at the beginning apparently lead by the endeavour to save the country from playing the powerless rôle of a small figure on the chess-board of the big powers.

Therefore, already starting from the December of the year in which the Geneva agreements and the Manila pact were signed, the official policy of the Cambodian government increasingly endeavours to abide by the principle of neutrality.

Besides motives of foreign policy, problems of internal policy had also to be taken into account. The Democratic Party, for many years critical and antagonistic towards the king and the system of monarchy, started to deploy more activity after the armistice. Though a party with republican tendencies, in the political arena of Cambodia it played the rôle of a rightist political factor, particularly where its orientation of foreign policy was concerned. This was due mainly to the influence of the ambitious Son Ngoc Than; he had been a Radical Nationalist and a Republican, but already during the occupation of Indo-China by the Japanese held an important place in the government. Prior to his final escape to Thailand, he created in the country a rival resistance movement. The leftist anti-French Khmer Issarak organization refused to collaborate with him. Temporarily he behaved like a loyal citizen, pretending to be grateful to the ruler Sihanouk for his intervention with the French who had allowed him to return from exile. He had been held in prison by the French after World War II for having been active in Japanese service.

The political career of Son Ngoc Thanh was not terminated by his emigration to Thailand for he became the leader of the Khmer Serei group which was financed and controlled by foreign adversaries of neutral Cambodia.

The rightist elements in Cambodia, after the escape of their leader, went on with their activities, the Democratic Party remaining their main basis. At the other pole of the internal political life there was the Pracheachon party, supported also by former protagonists and adherents of the Khmer Issarak. By Cambodia's adherence to neutrality in foreign policy, both the Left and the Right oppositions were incapacitated of accusing the Government and the Royal Regime of being formally linked with foreign powers and submitting themselves to foreign interests.

Further, neutrality constituted a very suitable way of expediting the political aims of Norodom Sihanouk: namely, on the one hand, to reconstruct the internal political shape of Cambodia in such a way as to join the traditional political parties together in a united all-state movement, and, on the other, to achieve a revival and popularization of the Royal Regime. Early in 1955 the king made a first

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[20] Quoted by Smith, p. 73.

initiative step towards the change of the constitution by abdicating from the throne,[21] and leaving the Kingdom to his father, Suramarit. There were many reasons for this unexpected move. One of them was to demonstrate that if he would again actively interfere with the structure of the Cambodian system and the political development of his country, this would not constitute an act to which he has been lead by some personal dynastic interests.

The principal instrument of his new dynamic policy was to be the Socialist People's Union, Sangkum Reastr Niyum which—in a conversation with *Mao Tse-tung*—was commented on by Sihanouk as follows: ... "this is not a political party, but a mass movement, encompassing all shades of political opinion, ranging from those with extreme-right to those with extreme-left views".[22] According to the statutes of the Sangkum, its adherents are not allowed to be simultaneously members of any other political party. Norodom Sihanouk who—after his abdication from the throne—again adopted the title of a prince, achieved in bringing about in this way a political group, clustered around the monarchy on the principles of Khmer nationalism. The aim of this was to conform the internal policy to the foreign policy of neutrality of the country.

The position of Cambodia was further formed also by its endeavours to take up political contacts with Asian countries, first of all with India. Premier Nehru, then at the climax of his political career, showed great understanding of the problems confronting Cambodia and rendered it important moral and diplomatic support. When Sihanouk's visit to New Delhi at the head of a Cambodian delegation in March 1955 terminated, a common communiqué was issued, emphasizing the close friendship of the two countries, and by Cambodia's declaration of adherence to five principles of peaceful coexistence: "The leader of the Cambodian delegation expressed his appreciation of India's general approach to world problems and desire for the maintenance of peace. The Delegation and the Prime Minister of India agreed that the best guarantee for peace in the world and for friendship between countries is to adhere to the principles of the recognition of each other's sovereignty, independence and integrity, of non-aggression, of equality and mutual respect and of non--interference in the domestic affairs of each other or of other countries and on the promotion of conditions of peaceful co-existence."[23] In the communiqué, mention is also made of the internal-political intentions of both partners: "The best guarantee of peace and democracy lies in the pursuit of a progressive social and economic policy".[24]

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[21] His motives were explained in a special message. (*Second Progress Report of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia for the period January 1 to March 31*, 1955, Appendix "H", pp. 37—38.)

[22] Kambuja 14, 1966, p. 14.

[23] *Second Progress Report of the ICSC in Cambodia for the period January 1 to March 31*, 1955, Appendix "I", p. 39.

[24] Ibid., p. 39.

Both the sense and the tenure of these declarations demonstrate that Cambodia abides, in an official form, by the policy followed by most of the countries which had organized and officially convoked the conference of Bandung. This group of states was held together mainly by their desired hopes of neutrality, their resistance against colonialism and its modern forms. Cambodia confirmed its solidarity with this common orientation of Asian and African countries, by giving its consent to the Final Declaration of the Bandung Conference which, among others, includes the principles of peaceful coexistence in an amplified formulation.

The contacts with countries of the Third World taken up in the period after Bandung strengthened the Cambodian policy of neutrality and did not fail to exert their influence on the leading personalities of the country.

In January 1956, a law, concerning the change of constitution, was passed in Parliament, after Norodom Sihanouk had been endeavouring to achieve this law for almost one year. This step succeeded in strengthening the Government's position and the position of the ruling Sangkum Movement against oppositional forces. At the same time, the country's neutral policy went on to develop in international relations. The proof of this is Prince Sihanouk's definition of Cambodian neutrality, formulated at that period in three points:

1. Cambodia does not enter any military alliance, offensive or defensive, with anybody whosoever and it does not accept to be protected by any organisation of international defence.[25]

2. Cambodia does not allow the presence of foreign forces or foreign headquarters on its territory.—It does not allow the establishment of military bases by any country, not even by a friendly one.

3. From the political viewpoint, Cambodia is for the maintenance of friendly and diplomatic relations with all powers and governments respecting the country's sovereignty, integrity and its idea of peace.

Just at that time, there arose reciprocal criticism and political conflicts with representatives of American diplomacy who have followed development in Cambodia with an unconcealed grudging. This attitude of the Americans was counteracted, from the Cambodian side, by looking for wider political and economic contacts in the world, as can be seen by the journeys Norodom Sihanouk made to Peking and to countries both in Western and Eastern Europe. In these undertakings Cambodian diplomacy was efficient in attaining a number of political and economic successes. The aid given by socialist states to Cambodia, to build up an industry in the state, was not linked to any political strings. At the beginning, Cambodia, who was in

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[25] The first paragraph is quite clear in rebutting pacts of the SEATO type. Sihanouk's formulations are here already very unambiguous, particularly when compared with the obligations to observe neutrality stipulated by the Geneva Agreement or when compared with Art. 6, paragraph G, of the Final Declaration of the Bangkok Conference.

dire need of foreign investments, had no other country on which to rely, save the United States.

Right from the start of American aid to Cambodia; there had been severe criticism from the Cambodian public, based on the economic point of view but also provoked by the supercilious behaviour of American representatives who—among other measures—did not permit sectors receiving their aid to obtain further help from other countries. However, disagreements with American presence in Cambodia were due mainly to the dishonourable forms of American political influence.

It is therefore no wonder that the fair modes of the treaties concluded with Socialist countries have left a very good impression on the Cambodian public opinion. It became manifest that, also from the viewpoint of economic development, new and important ways were going to be opened.

After gaining experiences of this kind, Cambodia decided to establish a stabile foundation for its pragmatically created policy which would be dominated as neutrality de facto. It was achieved by means of a new constitutional bill, discussed in principle and passed as law at the IV. National Congress of the Sangkum Movement on January 12,1957. After being endorsed by the National Assembly in September of the same year, the text of the law was promulgated on November 4. It was signed by King Suramarit and Premier Sim Var.[26]

According to Article 1., Cambodia is declared as being a neutral country. Further, in the same article, Cambodia renounces military or ideological alliances with foreign countries and declares being obliged not to undertaking aggression against any other country. In the case of being attacked by a foreign power, Cambodia reserves the right: a) to defend itself by armed force, b) to have recourse to the United Nations, c) to have recourse to any of its friendly countries.

Juridically, Cambodian neutrality was precisely delimited. Simultaneously, American economic aid continued though Cambodia, while accepting such aid, protested against less advantageous ways of its utilization.

Cambodian political strategy—even though not excluding the hypothesis of a potential difference with the Vietnamese Democratic Republic and with the People's Republic of China—ever since the country attained independence, has increasingly considered the Thai and South Vietnamese regimes as being closer and more likely dangerous, due to their exhibiting a provocative attitude towards Cambodia, raising boundary questions and provoking border incidents. This behaviour of the said regimes was considered by Cambodia, to be a continuation of the historical pressure from the side of their neighbours, who in the past had repeatedly expanded their territories to Cambodia's detriment.[27] Hence, Cambodian

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[26] *Journal Officiel du Cambodge* 45, 1957, Kram no 232-NS du 4 Novembre 1957, pp. 3907-3908

[27] Details concerning this question were published by Sarin Chhak, *Les frontières du Cambodge*, Tome I, Paris 1966 and by Norodom Sihanouk in the study *Les avaleurs de terre khmère*, Kambuja 9, 1965, pp. 13—17.

official policy regards the ideological divergences and controversies with these regimes not as causes of present-time strained relations but rather as a pretext for the continuation in the policy of traditional enmity. Therefore, the government of Cambodia concludes that, in the case of its being attacked by Thailand or South Vietnam, it cannot expect any effective support of its interests from the United States, the latter being systematically engaged in building up the military strength of just the Bangkok and Saigon regimes, with which they have very close contacts. Should Cambodia undertake to join this camp, it could not play any other rôle than that of a poor relative who would be susceptible to fall victim to the zeal and jealousy of his rivals. These regional aspects constitute one of the motives of Cambodian neutrality and the marked reservedness towards the United States.

By the enactment of the constitutional law 232-SN, Cambodia has declared it willingness to ensure the country's permanent neutrality, regardless of potential changes of government and of the domestic political situation. On the occasion of the session of the General Assembly of the UN in the autumn of 1958, Prince Sihanouk, heading the Cambodian delegation, endeavoured to expound the problems and aims of his policy to the President and leading personalities of the USA without, however, receiving any understanding. His views had already previously been presented to the public, particularly in an article written for the periodical Foreign Affairs.[28] He polemizes with the Americans, who, both in their press and in private letters, cast reproaches on Cambodia by stating that Cambodia "practises pro-Red neutralism". In his article, Prince Sihanouk calls attention primarily to the basical features of Cambodian neutrality:

"As sincere democrats, we hate disorder, and as exponents of a purely national form of socialism, we can only be indifferent to foreign ideologies. We go our own national way, unswervingly .... In our foreign relations we have favoured neutrality, which in the United States is all too often confounded with "neutralism", although it is fundamentally different. We are neutral in the same way as Switzerland and Sweden are neutral—not neutralist like Egypt or Indonesia."

Pointing at the geographical proximity of North Vietnam and the People's Republic of China, he goes on in his article: "...what choice have we but to try to maintain an equal balance between the 'blocs'?" Further, he appreciates American ecnomic aid and explains why the poorer strata of the Khmer people prefer help given by other countries, this help being more suitable to their requirements. He decidedly refuses to accept the designation of his policy as a "flirt with the Reds": "The fact is, I abdicated in 1955 to save the monarchy—not to abandon it. However strongly democratic, I am sure that the citizens of the United States can appreciate

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[28] N o r o d o m S i h a n o u k, *Cambodia Neutral. The Dictate of Necessity*. Forign Affairs, Vol. 36, July 1958, pp. 582—586.

that, short of being mentally deranged, a Prince and a former King must be well aware that the first concern of the Communists is to get rid of the King and natural élite of any country they succeed in laying hands on. By that I do not mean to imply that the Communists wish to take possession of Cambodia; that may not enter into their plans at all and, for the moment at least, they have far weightier matters to deal with. But I am not overlooking any possibilities, and that one is quite enough to deter me from any "flirtation". If I have no particular liking for Communism, neither have I any cause or means to join a crusade—even a moral one—against the nations that have adopted that ideology and which since 1954 have not given my country sufficient grounds for complaint. It would be absurd to suppose that a tiny country like mine, geographically situated as it is, would risk provoking the Chinese and Soviet colossi now that planes fly so fast and rockets so far."

In concluding his study, he cogitates about the future of Cambodian neutrality: "If, in spite of our manifest good intentions and our utter propriety in respect to the blocs, one of these should attack us, then I would be the first to advocate reconsidering our policy and invoking aid from the opponents of our aggressors. I profoundly hope that our country will never have to take such a step."

It is only natural that in further development Cambodian neutrality was also unceasingly bound to cope with ever arising new problems of foreign and internal policy, from time to time obtaining new, finer nuances of political design. However, no changes occurred in the basic questions.

As soon as it became clear that the element of neutralism was going to occupy an increasingly strong place, the Rightist adversaries of the Head of the State started to come alive. In order to countermine consolidation, they started to apply illegal methods. The revealment of the so-called "Bangkok-plan" aimed at overthrowing the regime of the Sangkum Movement in 1959 has produced written and material proof (including weapons and 270 kilograms of gold with markings of a South Vietnamese bank, found in the living place of one of the principal conspirators, Dap Chhuong) of the co-participation of the Thai, South Vietnamese and American secret services. Cambodian official circles did not fail to acquaint the diplomatic corps and the International Commission for Supervision and Control of Armistice in Cambodia, with these proofs. Norodom Sihanouk explicitly named A. Dulles as the principal inspirator.

A storm of indignation was raised by the attempt on the life of King Suramarit, the plot being to kill him by means of a parcel sent to him, containing an infernal machine. Three persons of the King's court were killed by the explosion. Official governmental circles pointed at Sam Sary as being the organizer of the action, an adversary of Sihanouk and one of the leaders of the organization Khmer Serei who later died in emigration.

On the domestic front, Cambodian policy encountered opposition mostly from

the forces of the Right; as a consequence, Cambodian neutrality displayed in such instances a moderate shift to the Left.[29]

After the death of King Suramarit, Norodom Sihanouk clung to his decision, i.e. to renounce the function of being a king. The monarchy was maintained, now represented by Queen Kossamak. Her son, Prince Sihanouk, was elected Head of State. This particular solution paid respect to tradition and its symbols, but, at the same time, it expressed also the will of the leaders to adapt the State's policy to modern tendencies and practical necessities.

The first occasion whereby Cambodia was enabled—on the basis of its already approved neutral position—to interfere, in an important and positive way, with actual international events, occurred at the Geneva Conference of 1961—1962, dedicated to the problem of Laos. The tide of Civil War raging in this country neighbouring Cambodia, was on the increase in 1960. Souvanna Phouma, a politician of the Rightist Center, saw the success of Cambodia's policy, and when he was appointed Prime Minister—thanks to the decision of the neutralist Captain Kong Le—he also started, for a certain time, to follow a similar political line. However, the rebelling rightist forces of Laos occupied Vientiane and other cities in the country, thus compelling Souvanna Phouma to escape to Cambodia. The rebelling forces, though under the direct leadership of American officers, were not able to become masters of the provinces of Laos. There was a danger of military involvement of other countries. The Government of Cambodia carefully followed the developing situation and—chosing a very suitable moment—applied to 13 powers, proposing the convocation of a new Geneva Conference to deal with the neutralization of Laos.

When the delegates of the countries appealed to, and the delegates of Cambodia, met in May 1961, it was requested that Norodom Sihanouk should present the Conference with an opening speech. Thus, they honoured Cambodian neutrality and the country's highest representative. In his speech, Norodom Sihanouk made use of the opportunity and called attention, among others, to the fact that already 8 months previously he had tendered to the UN a proposal concerning the creation of a neutral zone consisting of the countries of Cambodia and Laos.[30] The example of the consolidation in Cambodia was to facilitate Laos' transition from civil war to an intra-political peace. Sihanouk's idea, i.e. an internationally codified zone of neutral countries in South-East Asia, was heard everywhere with attention; however, in political practice it did not achieve active consent.[31]

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[29] Norodom Sihanouk, *Recueil d'éditoriaux parus dans la revue Kambuja*, p. 95.

[30] G. Modelski, *International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question 1961—2*, Canberra, Part Two. 1st Plenary Session, p. 39.

[31] Later Sihanouk formulated also another proposal concerning the creation of a neutral zone in the form of a confederation with the nationalist and neutral South Vietnam (Réalités Cambodgiennes, 6 Décembre 1963). The fate of this proposal was similar.

Prior to signing the treaty, Sihanouk exerted a great deal of personal effort and was successful in helping the representatives of the three Laotian political trends to reach a compromise which, in the final ussue, resulted in creating a coalition government in Laos.

Cambodia essentially contributed also to the elaboration of a definitive text of the treaty which was signed in Summer 1962. The unanimous consent, accorded by the participants of the Conference, among them those of the principal World Powers, to the neutralization of Laos was regarded in Cambodia, as a victory of the country's principles of foreign policy. Even if the successful results of this agreement proved to be only temporary, the reason of this lay not in the idea of neutrality but—on the contrary—in new interferences from abroad.

Shortly after the Conference, Norodom Sihanouk, in a new proposition, requested that Cambodia be given similar international guarantees of its independence, territorial integrity and its neutral status. Though there were no essential obstacles in the way of the realization of this peace plan, not one of the Western countries—with the exception of France—appreciated it and in due time was not inclined to agree with it.[32]

A second initiative step respecting foreign policy in the interest of the entire region of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, was undertaken by neutral Cambodia by convoking the Conference of Indo-Chinese nations to Phnom Penh, in 1965. At the Conference, 38 different political and other organisations of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia met. This was the first meeting of representatives of three principal and several minority nationalities of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, in a spirit of equality.[33]

The Conference and its resolutions were characterized by a marked repudiation of the policy of the USA, by qualifying this policy as an infringement upon the Geneva Agreements.[34] The regimes of Saigon and Vientiane were not invited, whatsoever, to take part in the Conference. Cambodia, as the organizer of the Conference and the co-creator of its documents—faithful to its principles of neutrality—clearly demonstrated its decision to apply all its political means available against the American intervention in this region as far as such intervention is considered to be illicit, rightless and harmful to the interests of Cambodia, Asia and peace.

In the period between the Geneva Conference on Laos and the meeting of the representatives of the Indo-Chinese nations in Phnom Penh, there was an unceasing

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[32] Repercussions of this plan, and of its later alternatives, are described in an editorial titled "*Neutral status and territorial Integrity*", published in the periodical Cambodian Commentary 4, 1963, pp. 5—9. Further details were published in *Correspondance officielle sur le problème de la neutralité et des frontières du Cambodge*, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Pnom Penh 1964.

[33] Comité pour la paix et renovation du Sud-Vietnam, *Conférence des Peuples Indochinois, Documents*, Phnom Penh — Paris 1965, Résolution de la Conférence des Peuples Indochinois, p. 24.

[34] Ibid., p. 23.

deterioration of relations between Cambodia and the USA. This becomes increasingly obvious also in the official contacts between the two countries.

The source of this tension was, right from the beginning, the suspecting and irritated American attitude towards Cambodia's neutrality. It resulted from the perfunctory but widely believed idea that all the tensions, controversies and critical situations anywhere in the world were nothing but a local phenomenon of the Cold War between the communist and non-communist world. The supercilious big-power attitude of ignorance and indifference, not respecting national peculiarities and historical conditions of the smaller and often far-away situated nations has lead to the view that the political endeavour of any national society has sense and is rightful only as far as it plays a part in this big struggle; hence, neutrality is immoral. From this opinion then follows the belief that not only a declared enemy but also any country refusing to participate in alliances and blocs, particularly if situated in a strategically important territory, is potentially dangerous.

At the beginning, Western political observers did not take very seriously the Cambodian declaration of neutrality, seeing in it simply a political opportunism of the monarchy which pretends to be neutral mostly from its fear of China. However, Cambodia adhered to its decision also in the practice of its international relations, which resulted in the disappearance of such suspicions from world press. American diplomacy was particularly embarrassed by the details published by Norodom Sihanouk from time to time on the clumsy forms of American pressure and unsuccessful American interferences with Cambodian internal affairs.

When it became obvious that Cambodia was not "pro-western" and that an orientation of this kind cannot be foisted upon this country without force, its adversaries with increasing intensity started to describe the country as "pro-communist".

However, this characterization of Cambodia's position has, just the same, very little or even less relevance. After attaining its independence Cambodia has got involved into controversies of different degrees also with the Vietnamese Democratic Republic, with the People's Republic of China and with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the series of Cambodia's diplomatic collisions and incidents with the United States and with the allies of this country in Sout-East Asia was—not due to Cambodia's fault—far longer and more acute.

In its relations with one or the other group of powers, Cambodia did not tolerate to get subjected to considerations on the ideological positions of the respective group but always acted viewing its own interests. As a basical rule, the principle of reciprocity has been heeded.[35] Only so can be explained the fact that Cambodia's contacts with the geographically near People's Republic of China developed fairly smoothly in spite of the great ideological difference between the two regimes.

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[35] Norodom Sihanouk, *Mon "Anti-Americanisme"*, *Recueil d'éditoriaux parus dans la revue Kambuja*, pp. 9, 11.

On the other hand, in spite of the fact that in its internal policy Cambodia has remained consequently non-communist and resolutely checked the activity of its leftist, communist-oriented and anti-monarchist factions and forces, it did not join the camp of the anticommunist world policy. On the contrary, its relations to the United States gradually deteriorated as far as breaking off diplomatic relations with this country.

The jealous and extremely sensitive observance of Cambodian independence and sovereignty towards all the blocs serves as proof that the country's neutrality is sincere, consequent and that it is not a mask to conceal the country's unconditional subjection to any of the ideologically differing groups. The existence of a neutral and non-communist Cambodia, a country which in defending its independence is most often bound to counter the pressure of the USA and the attacks of the latter's allies, disproves the idealized picture of American policy as the only selfless and natural protector of independent states against Communism. It is just this aspect of Cambodian neutrality that is so extremely unpleasant, from Washington's viewpoint, and this may be the most important reason of its inimical attitude towards Sihanouk's Cambodia rather than the reproaches published in the American press according to which Cambodia is the Trojan horse of Communism in South-East Asia, and serving as supply route and a sanctuary for Vietnamese partisans in their fight against the American army in Vietnam. The groundlessness of such allegations was repeatedly demonstrated by Cambodia also to the International Commission for Inspection and Control.[36]

The propaganda campaign of the foreign press has by no means contributed to shake Sihanouk's position; American diplomatists in Cambodia started, therefore, to apply the question of economic aid as a political weapon. The American Economic and Technical Mission started with its activity in Phnom Penh in 1955, its aim being, among others, to help Cambodia to strengthen and maintain its national independence, to build a strong national economy, and to heighten its people's standard of living.[37] The total amount of American means spent on economic aid is estimated to be 300 million dollars for the whole period.[38] The Head of the State of Cambodia, Sihanouk, in general was positive in appreciating this help, and he expressed his thanks in the name of his nation. At the same time, however, he did not fail to see, right from the beginning, also the negative aspects of this action. Already in 1958, when South Vietnamese units had invaded the Cambodian province Stung Treng, it became obvious that the American equipment of the Cambodian Army was insufficient and obsolete, as compared with the war material supplied by the USA regularly to South Vietnam and Thailand. However, the official American

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[36] Cambodian Commentary 4, 1963, p. 51.

[37] United States Operations Mission to Cambodia, *United States Economic Aid Program to Cambodia* 1955—1959, Phnom Penh, 1960, p. 11.

[38] Norodom Sihanouk, *Le rejet de l'aide américaine*, Phnom Penh 1964, p. 22.

representatives—in a threatening manner—forbade Cambodia to utilize any kind of military equipment in the defence of its territory, arguing that the American supplies were allowed to serve only the fight against communism. Thus, the country became practically powerless against the pressure of its neighbours. According to the conditions of American aid the country was not even allowed to provide arms from other countries.

"For the first time", writes Sihanouk, "I realized how cynical and terribly Macchiavellian America is" and he starts to prepare measures which could enable the country to do without American aid in a suitable time.[39]

All in all, the amount of American aid, particularly if we consider the high financial means invested in neighbouring countries, appears not to be so important. Besides, the distribution of American aid brought in its wake very unpleasant and almost uncontrollable corruption. Furthermore, the conditions and forms attached to the aid were often of a humiliating character, and this circumstance cannot be left underestimated, if we consider the high national consciousness and pride of the Khmer people. Finally, after several warnings, Norodom Sihanouk, at the end of 1963 announced his decision to renounce entirely American economic aid and requested the respective missions to leave the country. This development resulted in breaking off diplomatic relations with the United States.

It was a courageous, and for a non-communist developing country, a unique decision. Its consequences contributed to the augmentation of Cambodia's importance as an example of an independently developing country. Sihanouk, in the monthly Kambuja, summed up the early experiences in the following terms: "Three years have now passed since Cambodia rejected American aid. During this period, Cambodia has proved itself perfectly capable of managing without it."[40] The economic successes achieved both in production and in foreign trade exhibited doubtless improvement. This is confirmed both by Cambodian[41] and foreign[42] data.

Of course, the danger which has been threatening Cambodia from the side of Thailand and South Vietnam, affects the Cambodian policy as a long-termed factor. The historical rivalry and the graduel losses of Cambodian territories, in the eastern and the north-western regions of the country, influence the relations of the three countries involved. Cambodia repeatedly expressed the opinion, according to which the neighbours of the country, when using arguments from the arsenal of ideological struggle, do nothing else but conceal their immemorial longing for Cambodian territory, a longing kept alive under the patronage of the Bangkok and Saigon regimes. Regarding this, Sihanouk's view is that these regimes will always be inclined to ally

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[39] Ibid., p. 39.
[40] Kambuja 12, 1966, p. 16.
[41] Le Sangkum 16, 1966, pp. 50—51.
[42] Archives diplomatiques et consulaires 1, 1966, p. 28.

themselves to any great power that would help and enable them to carve up the entire territory of Cambodia.[43]

As early as during Ngo-dinh-Diem's regime in South Vietnam, Cambodia was requested in an official way to surrender seven border islands to South Vietnam.[44] Besides, for many years, organized in several waves, systematical armed intrusions into Cambodian territory were undertaken by South Vietnam.[45]

Kennedy's government assured Norodom Sihanouk of its decision not to allow the Thai and South Vietnamese friends of America to attack Cambodia, and that the said government would have the means to thwart intentions of this kind.[46] The American representative Bonsal, during the Cambodian-American negotiations in New-Delhi in 1964, spoke in the same spirit when he said that the United States "fully understand and respect the policy of neutrality and non-alignment of Cambodia"; he, however, refused to make a declaration on the most delicate question of the integrity of the territory of Cambodia.[47] In spite of all these, in their form positive declarations, the neighbours of Cambodia did not cease their aggressiveness towards this country.

Thailand's attacks were aimed mainly at the province of Battambang and its adjacent regions, having held it occupied during World War II. The occupation of the Cambodian frontier temple, Preah Vihear, by Thai armed forces raised excitement in Cambodia's public opinion. This occupation was not brought to an end until after the intervention of the Den Haag International Court in 1962. Nevertheless, Thai incursions and subversive activities in north-western Cambodia have continued since.[48]

Khmer Serei groups have found support, allocation and possibilities of radio propaganda against the Sangkum regime, first on South Vietnamese territory and later particularly in Thailand. All these activities have aggravated the relations between the countries involved to a measure that—Cambodia is of the opinion—it has excluded the possibility of their becoming united into one political camp. If Thailand and South Vietnam appear to be allies of the United States, Cambodia—

[43] Norodom Sihanouk, *Les avaleurs de terre khmère*, Kambuja 9, 1965, p. 17.

[44] Cambodge d'aujourd'hui 3—4, 1960, pp. 30—31.

[45] Documents proving actions of this kind undertaken in 1964 are published in the Cambodian publications: *Les agressions Sud-Vietnamiennes des 7 et 8 Mai 1964 contre le territoire Cambodgien*, Phnom Penh 1964 and *Dossier des agressions des forces Américo—Sud-Vietnamiennes à Chantrea, province de Svayrieng (Cambodge) le 19 Mars 1964 soumis au Conseil de sécurité de l'O.N.U.*, Phnom Penh 1964.

[46] The Royal Embassy of Cambodia in London, *Collection of articles by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk published in the weekly "Réalités Cambodgiennes" from 22nd June to 27th July, 1962*, p. 26.

[47] Cambodge d'aujourd'hui 4, 1964, Supplément trimestriel, p. 16.

[48] Proclamation of the Royal Government on Thai Agression (Études cambodgiennes 6, 1966, p. 3).

viewing the security and even existence of the country—feels obliged to find a different solution. The policy of neutrality that ensued is also partly due to this.

In order to find a counterpoise to the danger arising from neighbouring countries, Cambodia was anxious to establish positive contacts with the People's Republic of China. The Chinese considered this development as a valuable success of their foreign policy and went so far as to give a promise to Cambodia to the effect that Cambodia could fully rely upon China's support in the case of a conflict with South Vietnam.[49] The Chinese unambiguous declaration of willingness to support Cambodian neutrality on one side, and, on the other, Cambodia describing China as friend Number 1, and voting for China's becoming a member of the UNO, can be considered a sign of good reciprocal inter-state relations, but this by no means signifies an ideological bias of Cambodian leadership towards Communism and towards the ideas of Mao Tse-tung.

"Logic demands", writes Norodom Sihanouk, "that our Independence and Neutrality should be preserved always by playing off rival external influences one against the other in such fashion that they cancel each other out".[50] On another occasion he says: "As to our great—and very sincere—friendship felt for the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and other communist powers or progressist movements (the Neo Lao Haksat, the NLF) it would be an absolute mistake to consider this friendship as an ideological sympathy...".[51] And one of his reproaches, addressed to the Americans, is that they, by their incomprehension and clumsy approach to things, achieve just the contrary of what they want to achieve: "They did not grasp that, in order to contain Communism, they should promote the creation of a chain of states strongly nationalist, irreproachably independent, authentically free, headed by obstinate or even intractable chiefs like de Gaule in France or (I can say it without false modesty) like Sihanouk in Cambodia".

"They preferred to create a chain of nations, lamentably vassalized, maintained à fonds perdus, a rotten branch, impressive when looked at from distance but susceptible to break down as soon as one leans on it."

"The Americans will grasp only after their total disappearance from the Third World that an ideal or ideology cannot be vanquished by arms or by money but only by opposing to it another idéal, another ideology".[52]

Neither does Cambodia agree with its policy being described as neutralism since this notion constitutes in our present time an ideologic basis of the group of states of the Third World which create a certain programme common to them. Cambodian political theory of the Sangkum is against any alliance, even with such free and

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[49] The Royal Embassy of Cambodia in London, *Collection of Articles...*, op. cit., p. 20.
[50] Kambuja 6, 1965, p. 14.
[51] Norodom Sihanouk, *Recueil d'éditoriaux parus dans la revue Kambuja*, p. 12.
[52] Ibid., p. 99.

actually non-committal union of states. Cambodia prefers non-engagement and the well-proved conception of neutrality: "We conceive", writes Sihanouk, "our foreign policy and our relations with the outside world on the base of non-alignement, of Cambodia's non-integration into any ideologic camp whatsoever, into any alliance whatsoever, of Cambodia's non-participation in the struggle of ideologies which has been going on for years between the 'free' world and the socialist camp".[53]

Of course, non-engagement in the Cambodian conception does not mean passivity. It applies only to the question of alliance with foreign powers. In defending its own national interests Cambodia acts with a maximum of forcefulness and without regarding the strenght of its potential adversary.

The Cambodian example has made a great impression on the other nations living within the entire territory of South-East Asia. Positive voices have been heard, not only in Laos and among the South Vietnamese opponents of the Saigon regime, but also in Burma, Malaysia, even in the Philippines[54] and Thailand.[55] The neutralist world movement has come forward with a proposition, raising the idea of expanding the Cambodian type of neutrality as far as to the island states of Ceylon, Indonesia and the Philippines.[56]

A remarkable acknowledgment of Cambodia is the fact that, particularly in recent years, words of appreciation of its policy are coming from the pens of both Western and Eastern journalists and politicians. The policy of neutrality has brought Cambodia an augmentation of its authority and more elbow-room in the country's foreign policy. It also enabled Cambodia to achieve an unexpected economic development and a relatively peaceful situation in its internal policy.

Taking a general look at the Cambodian political experiment one is entitled to state that it has brought about many remarkable elements in the development of South-East Asia and aroused interest also in world policy. The policy of neutrality has appeared to be the suitable form of defence of national independence in regions situated on the boundaries of rival political blocs. It has proved to be a suitable basis for the development of an independent national economy. It has demonstrated, that in strategically important regions a country which follows the policy of neutrality is exposed to the pressure of necolonialist policy but is able to counteract such pressure with success. This relationship, very conspicuously, emphasizes its progressive character. Cambodian neutrality has proved to be a political force, useful in the peaceful solution of litigated international questions. By its successes it brought about a strengthening of tendencies towards emancipation in dependent countries

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[53] Ministère de l'Information, *Les paroles de Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, Avril—Juin 1965*, p. 590.

[54] Ministère de l'Information, *Les paroles de Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, Janvier—Mars 1965*, p. 329.

[55] Ibid., p. 23.

[56] Réalités Cambodgiennes, 24 Janvier 1964.

and has underlined the importance and the positive chances of relying upon a country's own strength. Cambodian neutrality has appeared on the international scene as a new and active tendency.

Finally, the policy of neutrality, in the case of Cambodia, appears to be a political line very closely connected with the personality of its main creator and executor, the Head of State, Norodom Sihanouk, who was successful in making it an effective instrument for the augmentation of the political weight of his country.

THE ARAB MINORITY IN KENYA

ZDENĚK KUBEŠ, Prague

The rôle of the Arab minority during certain stages of the historical development of the East African coast and the off-lying islands was very important and even a key one. In spite of a serious lack of sources, the history of the Arab presence in East Africa has been studied and described by a number of scholars. But little is known about the present position of the Arabs in this part of Africa and any researches made have been concentrated mainly on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. This seems to be only natural, because of the relatively large concentration of Arabs who had formed the ruling class there, and because of the fact that until three years ago (1964) the islands were dominated by an Omani dynasty.

During my recent prolonged stay in East Africa I tried to trace some information about the Arabs in other parts of the area, especially in Kenya. Although the Arab minority in Kenya accounts today for only about 0.5 % of the total population of the country, and despite its rapid assimilation with the rest of the population, the minority seems to be a fairly permanent one, as there is a steady flow of immigrants from Southern Arabia.

Due to historical and social reasons the Arab minority is a relatively inconspicuous entity which is difficult to define in a clear-cut way. In my opinion this inconspicuousness is a very interesting feature, because here the Kenyan Arabs differ sharply from the Arab population of Zanzibar where the class interests of the Arabs have resulted in a clear distinction on economic and social lines (although ethnically a completely exact distinction is no more easy), and on the other hand from the much more recent Indian minority in all the territories of the former British East Africa.

Nothing of the sort can be said of the Arabs in Kenya—except of individual cases which do not form a social phenomenon. We may speak about a progressive loss of ethnical individuality and a merger of the immigrant Arabs with the indigenous African population. This is certainly interesting in so far as the results of the Arab colonization of the East African coast never resulted in any Arabization and in this

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way differ from the results of the Arab conquest during the first century of Hijra in other parts of Africa, mainly in the north. In East Africa their Islamism proved always to be stronger than their Arabism.

There are several reasons for this difference. The object of the Arab colonization of the East African coast, from the pre-Islamic times until the 17th century, was practically never a territorial supremacy (neither is it the object of the present immigration); the colonization followed mainly commercial aims. Another factor was the wild, and for the inhabitants of arid Arabia completely unusual, conditions of the East African interior which deterred further infiltration. The colonization remained limited to a coastal strip of about ten miles wide. This territorially limited colonization, excepting some cases dating from more recent times (e.g. Tabora and other places in Tanganyika on the route to the Lakes, as well as Buganda), maintained its contact with the interior (i.e. with its economic hinterland) through African intermediaries. But on the coast it created a very specific civilization. The colonization did not impose Arabization, but it did impose Islam and its culture to the East African coast, bringing many Africans under the reign of Islam. Today, even though Arabs, originally responsible for this development, form only a small half per cent minority, it is estimated that about 5 per cent of the Kenyan population are Muslims. They are mostly Africans; Indian Muslims are only a small portion of this percentage.

The history of the Arab presence in East Africa has been mainly studied from written sources. Monuments of the material culture of the Arab settlement still await a thorough and systematic research by archaeologists and historians.[1]

Historical Background

East Africa has been in constant contact with the civilizations of the geographical region comprising today's Arab world, i.e. of the Eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor (and also southern Asia) for the last 3,000 years at least. The contacts were conducted by sea and by land. On the sea, favourable conditions were created by the regular monsoon winds, by the chain of coral islands lining the coast, and by a number of excellent harbour possibilities. The other route was through the Nile valley and what is now known as the Great Rift Valley.

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[1] It is natural that the research of the East African coast is being made mainly by British scientists. Among them it is necessary to name James S. Kirkman, historian and archaeologist residing in Kenya. In the last years the British Institute for History and Archaeology has been active in East Africa, concentrating its research work mainly on the coast of Tanzania. Generally, a broader scientific interest in the history of East Africa has not yet been expressed, and individual scientists have always been limited by lack of funds for a thorough research. The governments of Kenya and Tanzania have, of course, at present to solve primarily the problems of economic development and it will take a considerable time before they will be able to allocate means for research purposes.

The first Arab settlements of a permanent type began to rise in East Africa before Islam, in the 5th century A. D. This means that the Arabs have been living on the East African coast longer than the majority of African tribes who are settled there at present. Thus, in spite of being of non-African origin, they are in a certain way more "indigenous" in this particular area than the Africans themselves. The African populations have made, during the last one thousand years, numerous migrations caused by a pressure from the north. These migrations lasted virtually till the establishment of the European colonial rule at the end of last century.

The South Arabian supremacy over the East African coast originated in a much more remote time than the first purely Arab settlements. There is no exact information about the length and the territorial extent of this supremacy, but there is evidence that the northern part of the East African coast was under Arab supremacy for several centuries B.C. It was obviously a type of suzerainty based mainly on commercial interests.[2]

The real Arab infiltration of East Africa which also gradually created or participated in creating the present Swahili culture may be divided into two important periods: from the 7th century to the beginning of the 13th century A.D. and from the 17th century to the 19th century. Between them lies the period of the Portuguese rule over the East African coast.

The newcomers were overwhelmingly Arabs from the southern parts of the peninsula, mainly from Oman and Hadhramawt, although some sources report also the arrival of settlers from Syria sent by Khalif 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān at the end of the 7th century or at the beginning of the 8th century A.D.[3]

The first great period of Arab colonization on the East African coast begins with a qualitative change in the character of Arab infiltration. Through centuries the bonds consisted of a constant and inconspicuous influx of ordinary people settling in East Africa more or less accidentally, in many cases arriving at their decision during the long stay of ships compelled to wait, sometimes for several months, for the change of trade-winds. But in the 7th century outstanding individuals appear on the scene coming as political emigrants mainly from Oman and from the Persian Gulf area. This was the start of an organised immigration.

On the coast and on the islands, town states began to rise which dominated the political arena of the East African coast till the end of the Middle Ages, and even later during the Portuguese rule. If they survived, they lost their importance only in the last century. The most important among them were Kilwa (southern coast of today's Tanzania) and Pate (off the northern coast of todays' Kenya). The former

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[2] See A. H. J. Prins, *The Swahili-speaking Peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast*, London 1961, pp. 38—39.

[3] *The History of Pate*, edited by G. S. P. Freeman—Grenville, *The African Coast*, Oxford 1962, pp. 241—242.

concentrated mainly on mercantile supremacy, the latter on territorial expansion.[4] The town chronicles of these two states are important sources for the history of the East African coast, although they were written much later.[5]

This early period of Arab presence is also the period of the formation of the Swahili society and culture. The term itself is of Arab origin (*sawāḥil*, plural of *sāḥil*—the coast). It denotes a territorially limited society and culture arisen on the coast through interaction and merger of Arabo-Muslim and local Bantu influences.

The intermarriage of Arab immigrants with African women led also to the formation of the "Swahili" or "coastal" people. Their language, basically Bantu with strong influences of Arabic, mainly lexical, became lingua franca of vast territories in the Eastern and Central parts of Africa, and is now counted among the twelve greatest languages of the world. (But for most Swahili speaking people it is a second language besides their own tribal languages, and they use it in a simplified form.)

The result of the interaction of Arabo-Muslim (in this context, emphasis should be put on the Muslim component) and Bantu elements was the Swahili civilization, a synthesis merging and unifying both.[6] With regard to people, the term "Swahili" usually denotes every man living on the coast that is a Muslim (Indians excepted). But by no means every inhabitant of the coast is a "Swahili", because Muslims are in a minority there.

The arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498 and the succeeding Portuguese period lasting for about two centuries did not result in a suppression or liquidation of the Arab influence, but in a stagnation caused by the Portuguese supremacy on the sea. This supremacy led to the interruption of contacts between the base on the Arab Peninsula and the East African province. The economic decline of a number of town centres facilitated, at the end of the 16th century, the apocalyptic campaign of the cannibal African tribe of Zimba which led to the fall of Kilwa and almost resulted in the fall of Mombasa (both devastated earlier by the Portuguese) and of Malindi.

The Portuguese period, during which contacts with Arabia were limited, brought important changes in the balance of power on the East African coast. Whereas, in the 17th century all Arab settlements north of Mombasa were deserted under the pressure of the nomadic Galla tribe from Somalia, Mombasa itself with its excellent port came to a new era of prosperity. At the entrance of the port the Portuguese built a vast fortress, the well-known Fort Jesus, one of the bases of the Spanish world empire.[7]

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[4] A. H. J. Prins, op. cit., pp. 42—43.

[5] See G. S. P. Freeman—Grenville, op. cit., where important sources of history of this area are published.

[6] J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, Oxford 1964, pp. 9—10.

[7] End of the 16th century. At that time, Portugal was part of the possessions of the Spanish Crown.

Thus, Mombasa took over the power and the glory of historical Malindi (about 70 miles to the north). The ruling family of Malindi was, unlike the rulers of Mombasa, friendly towards the Portuguese who installed Shaikh Ahmad of Malindi as ruler of Mombasa. Malindi was heavily struck by the raids of African tribes, and Mombasa became the centre of the whole Swahili region and a sort of East African great power on the mainland. This situation was to last till the beginning of the 20th century, when the interior was opened and the new city of Nairobi started to assume its paramount importance. But on account of its harbour, Mombasa still is the main economic gateway of the whole of East Africa.

The second half of the 17th century opened a new era in the history of the East African coast during which Arabia again was to be the protagonist. Oman grew up into a first-class maritime power in the Indian Ocean and started to help some local rulers in their rebellion against the Portuguese. The fight between Oman and Portugal lasted almost fifty years, culminating at the very end of the century by the conquest of Mombasa. But there was no question of a doubtless military alliance between the old Arab settlers and Oman against Portugal. On the contrary, many local dynasties originating from the times of the old mercantile colonization felt they were more endangered by their enterprising Omani kinsmen than by the weakening Portuguese power. At the instigation of the rulers of Pate (who themselves some decades before invited the Omanis), an anti-Omani league was formed with the Portuguese. But this alliance was to survive only a few years. The year 1730 may be considered as the year of change, when Oman took over from the Portuguese on the East African littoral.

A sort of status-quo-ante thus having been established, including the regular connection between Arabia and East Africa, immigration from Arabia, this time mainly from Oman, was renewed. A number of *Shāfi'ī* leaders from Hadhramawt were among the new immigrants together with the Omanis and under their influence the Swahili culture was remoulded into its present shape.[8]

The change of dynasty in Oman (middle 18th century) complicated the situation in the East African territories where the Omani power was best established in Zanzibar and in Mombasa. A conflict arose between two contradictory Omani interests. The new *Bū Sa'īdī* dynasty was compelled to a protracted and sometimes even armed struggle in an effort to impose its influence against the governors appointed by the deposed *Ya'rubī* family.

The main base of the Omani power was the island of Zanzibar, which centuries ago was one of the first places where the Arab immigrants used to settle. The successful Omani ruler, Sayyid Sa'īd, made Zanzibar his residence after 1830. He and his successors, already in constant clashes with the emerging British and German interests, brought the island to a great economic prosperity, not only through slave-trade

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[8] See J. Spencer Trimingham, op. cit., p. 22.

which the European powers sought to combat, but mainly through the introduction of the clove-tree. By their able policy they created a vast Zanzibari coastal empire, comprising besides Zanzibar the islands of Pemba and Mafia, the Lamu archipelago, a ten-mile strip of the Kenya coast (known later as the Coastal Strip), and the main harbours in today's Somalia including Mogadishu (the old Arab *Maqdīshū*); also some tribal territories in Kenya were annexed.

It is clear that the emergence of this empire (the structure of which was feudal) was the apogee of the Arab influence in the East African coastal area—a very short-lived apogee, however, considering the thousand years old history of this influence, for it did not last more than five years. The emergence of the European colonial powers, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy, which during the last decade of the 19th century divided the whole empire among themselves (without the Zanzibari sultans being able to fight back), virtually paralysed the Arab military and political influence in this area. Shadows of this influence survived till January, 1964, when a people's revolution led by Africans deposed the last representative of the dynasty of Zanzibari sultans—as a prelude to the creation of the United Republic of Tanzania three months later.

Kenya Arabs Today

An exact distinction of who is Arab in today's Kenya is virtually impossible. The former division from the times of the Omani conquest into "old" and "new" Arabs has been washed away because descendants of immigrants from both great periods of the Arab rule over the coast are, in their vast majority, strongly assimilated and together with other groups of population of this area have formed the category of Swahili. It is very probable that there was an analogical situation at the time of the Omani conquest as well, when only a very few of the old immigrants survived as a distinct ethnical group. Today, with both these groups coming under the category of "old" Arabs, mainly the subjective view-point may be applied: Arabs are those coastal Muslims who consider themselves to be Arabs. There are exceptions of a relatively few "strong" Omani families, preserving their exclusive position and taking pride in their genealogy, the *nasab*, real or imaginary.

The intensive and rapid assimilation of Arab immigrants was supported mainly by two factors: One was the economic necessity to be included into the existing society, as most of the newcomers were not economically strong and were not coming in large groups. The other was the fact that most of the immigrants came without women (it is not customary for a woman from Southern Arabia to leave her country); polygamy permitted by Islam together with the traditional polygamy of the local African society could only hasten the process of assimilation.

The British scholar A. H. J. Prins, who is the author of the only larger work on the peoples of the East African coast, considers it proper to investigate the Swahili

speaking people of the coast as a whole, subdividing them into Arabs, Shirazi,[9] and Swahili in a narrower sense (mainly the islamized coastal Africans).[10] His division of Arabs into four categories (those not yet swahilized; descendants of settlers from the rise of the Omani dominion; descendants of the early colonists; and those who have come recently to claim Arab descent) is based mainly on his research in Zanzibar where the Arab element is very strong, whereas in Kenya these categories are less expressive.

In Kenya we may consider as real Arabs, with certainty, virtually only the so-called recent immigrants, i.e. those who have immigrated during the last fifty years or so and have not yet been fully integrated into the Swahili society. There are about 15,000 of them from the total number of 37,000 persons who during the last census in the middle of 1965 claimed to be Arabs.[11] They originate mostly from Hadhramawt. A member of this group of "new" Arabs, more clearly distinct from the rest of the population, is the representative of the Arab minority in the Kenya parliament, Shaikh Sālim Muḥammad Bal'alā—a young politician fully identified with his new Kenya homeland and its interests.

Generally in Kenya we may speak in a new sense of the division into the "new" Arabs (immigrants from Hadhramawt who came in the last decades) and the "old" Arabs (descendants of former immigrants). The Bajun (or Bajunis) living mainly in Lamu and on the north-eastern Coast claimed Arab descent before the independence of Kenya and are regarded as Arabs, although they are basically Bantu. But they would certainly resent being called Africans.[12] Before independence there were also many cases of people on the coast insisting on being classified as Arabs because of the British favouritism.[13]

The Arab minority remains territorially limited to the former Coastal Strip, with main town centres of Mombasa, Malindi, and Lamu. One of the most important centres, Pate (on an island north-east of Lamu), came to decay in the last century after a glorious history of 700 years. Other towns like Gedi (about 10 miles south of Malindi) were destroyed or deserted as early as in the Middle Ages.

The separatism on the Kenya littoral has been now virtually overcome. Certain separatist and anti-integrationist trends existed there until recently, but they in no way really jeopardised the unity of Kenya.

These trends were located in the already mentioned Coastal Strip, a ten-mile coastal area about 200 miles long, which until the proclamation of the independence

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[9] A group difficult to define objectively, living on the Kenya and Tanzania coast and on the islands. They consider themselves as descendants of Persian immigrants from Shiraz who arrived about the 12th century or earlier.

[10] A. H. J. Prins, op. cit., pp. 11—14.

[11] *The Europa Year Book*, vol. II, London 1966, p. 650.

[12] Smaller numbers of Bajun live in Somalia and Tanzania.

[13] See J. Spencer Trimingham, op. cit., p. 33.

of Kenya in December, 1963, enjoyed a different legal status inside Kenya. In the British-German settlement in East Africa at the end of the last century, resulting into the disintegration of the short-lived Zanzibari empire, the British saw it suitable to leave to the Sultan a remnant of his power over the coast, and in the 1895 agreement they formally hired from him a part of the Kenya territory that had been considered as belonging to the Sultan's dominions: the ten-mile coastal zone and the Lamu archipelago. Germans in neighbouring Tanganyika did nothing like this, so that the remaining Sultan's "dominions" were rather dispersed geographically.

Zanzibar was granted the status of a British Protectorate with the formal maintenance of the Sultan's rule. The same status was accorded to the Coastal Strip, and the protectorate remained preserved even when in 1920 the rest of Kenya was transformed into a British Crown Colony. (Kenya was from 1920 till 1963 officially known as the Kenya Colony and Protectorate.)

There was little practical importance in this division. But it is obvious that the handling of the situation was a testimony of the difference between British and German colonial methods: whereas the Germans supported unifying elements and created in their territory a single entity, the British always emphasized various kinds of differences and particularisms.[14]

In this spirit, the Coastal Strip of Kenya was supposed to be a sort of Arab and Muslim reserve, although the majority of its inhabitants were Africans and non-Muslims, and even among the Muslims there were relatively few unquestionable Arabs. The formal supremacy of the Sultan, the outer sign of which was mainly his red flag over Fort Jesus in Mombasa, finished with the proclamation of the independence of Kenya in 1963. The Coastal Strip has been united with the rest of Kenya according to an agreement signed on October 8th of the same year, by which Zanzibar surrendered all its claims in this area.

A part of the population in the Strip developed a certain effort to preserve some form of difference or autonomy for the coast, the maximum demand being the annexation of the coast to Zanzibar (whereby Kenya would lose access to the sea). This demand was typical for the Omani families remaining in Kenya, but the Hadhrami Arabs disassociated themselves from it. It was not expressed very loudly and practically disappeared within the tide of Kenya independence. It was used less by the Arabs themselves than by African right-wing politicians who shortly before independence tried to campaign on the basis of the special position of the Coast and to exert pressure on the central government from the platform of the KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union) opposition party, the programme of which amounted to a balcanization of Kenya.[15]

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[14] In this sense, *Kenya and Tanzania* still present a totally different image.

[15] It should be mentioned that the Coast is still one of the conservative parts of Kenya (for which the Arabs cannot be blamed), and that the policy of nation-building, proclaimed by the government of Jomo Kenyatta, finds only a hesitating support there.

As far as the Arabs themselves are concerned, the development since Kenya's independence shows that their interest in self-expression belongs mainly to the cultural sphere. The Arabs do not use and the majority do not even know Arabic, the current language of their day-to-day use being Swahili. This is true even in the case of the new immigrants from Hadhramawt who soon discard Arabic and adopt Swahili. In writing, Arabic script is still being used for the Swahili language, although Swahili generally uses the Latin alphabet.

Arabic is now only being taught at the primary level in the former Arab schools as a media for religious instruction. Arab schools in Mombasa (e.g. the Arab Primary, Arab Secondary, and Arab Girls Schools) do not exist any more. But it should be noted that even during their existence they were never exclusive and that Africans were always allowed to join them.

We have already said that the Islamic religion proved to be a much stronger element in the immigrant Arabs than their Arabism and that the Arabs imprinted the mark of their Islamic culture and civilization on the East African coast, but did not arabize the area (which they hardly ever aspired to). This is not only true of the past but of present developments as well. In spite of the continuous flow of new immigrants the Arabic language is now perhaps more than ever only a religious instrument and even in this sphere its use is limited. Swahili is now being widely used for the entire range of religious purposes and Muslim scholars in East Africa write their works mostly in Swahili. This introduction of Swahili into the religious sphere is a modern phenomenon which started on a wider scale some decades ago. There are now two Swahili translations of the *Qur'ān*, an Ahmadi and an orthodox one.

There exist *Sharī'a* courts in most parts of the Kenya coast. The headquarters of the Islamic judicial power is in Mombasa with the Chief *Qādhī* as the head of the Muslim law in Kenya. But there are no separate courts for Arabs—both Arabs and African Muslims use the same religious courts.[16]

On the Kenya coast we find virtually no *Sūfī* orders (*tarīqas*) which is in contrast to the rest of Muslim East Africa where many orders are active, the strongtes among them being the Qādiriyya. Their activities concentrate mainly on Zanzibar and on the Tanzania mainland. The Hadhramis who are now the most important group of Kenya Arabs, generally do not have the system of *tarīqas*.

The Hadhrami Arabs of Kenya and under their influence also the African Muslims belong to the *Shāfi'ī* school of Islamic law (*madhhab*). Other orthodox madhhabs are not represented and the *Shāfi'ī* Muslims are sometimes called by the general term *Sunni*. The only exception from the acceptance of the *Shāfi'ī* Islam in Kenya are the Omanis who belong to the *'Ibādiyya*, a branch of the *Khārijiyya*, their original religion which they brought from Oman. The *'Ibādiyya*, under the Sultanate

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[16] Indian Muslims usually solve their problems within their community organizations.

the regal cult in Zanzibar, is not widely represented in Kenya where the Omanis form a minority among the Arabs.

Independent Kenya follows a policy of tolerance and non-interference with the cultural and religious life of its many minorities, and there are no conflicts.

The class composition of the Arab minority in Kenya does not create conditions favourable to any efforts of distinction. In contrast to the minority of Indian origin, the class structure of the Arabs is close to that of the African majority.

In this respect there are no exact data and we can only make an estimate. According to the Hadhrami leaders, all the Hadhrami immigrants (about 15,000) are small shopkeepers and handle a large portion of the retail trade in the former Coastal Strip. The Bajun, numbering about 9,500, have as their basic occupations sailing and fishing. Among the Omanis there are landowners, but there are no Kenyan Arabs in wholesale trade which is the exclusive domain of Indians. The structure of the remaining Arab population in Kenya may be, due to the lack of specific information, compared with the Arabs on Pemba island. According to the 1931 census, out of 9,000 Pemba Arabs there were 6,500 peasants and 1,300 shopkeepers, the rest being mostly fishermen and sailors.[17]

Kenya Arabs live well mixed with the Africans, sharing the same houses etc.

In the older generations of the "old" immigrants, there are still some survivals of slavery which was officially abolished on the Kenya coast only in 1907. These relationships still have a certain social rôle to play, but in the younger generations they are being rapidly overcome. These remnants of the decomposed slave society do not touch the "new" Arabs who arrived from Hadhramawt at a time when slavery in East Africa had already been or was about to be abolished.

The internal relations inside the Arab community in Kenya are not very complicated. But there exists a tension and an unfriendly relation between the Omanis on one side and the Hadhramis on the other. The Hadhramis complain that the Omanis continue to regard themselves as superiors and that they behave very proudly. According to Hadhrami informants there is no social integration whatsoever between these two Arab groupings (the Omani one is small in number) and the Omanis would even discriminate against the Hadhramis—for instance an Omani family would not allow one of its daughters to marry a Hadhrami. This unfriendliness is not limited to Kenya and the situation seems to be more acute in Zanzibar where the Omanis are much more numerous and until recently there was an Omani ruling family.[18] The attitude of the Omanis is due to their traditional sense of racial superiority, to their sectarianism and to their economic and social position; but under

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[17] See also A. H. J. Prins, op. cit., pp. 70—72.

[18] In the 1930's, clashes occurred in Zanzibar between Omanis and Handhramis, and both sides suffered casualties. These clashes resulted from bad relations between the two communities and the situation obviously has not changed much since.

the rapidly changing circumstances in East Africa there does not seem to be much chance for these feelings to survive for very long.

Today, Arabs in Kenya do not follow any political aims in the internal politics of the country. The only active Arab organization is the Hadhrami League grouping the "new" immigrants from Hadhramawt. This organization considers non-interference with Kenya internal politics a part of its programme. Its activities, about which little is known in Kenya itself, are concentrated mainly into the cultural sphere.

The political side of the activities of the Hadhrami League is directed outside Kenya towards the old homeland. The League says it represents "the Arabs of the occupied South Yemen", i.e. of the South Arabian Federation and all the territories belonging to the old Aden Colony and Protectorates. The Hadhramis of Kenya are very symphathetic to the struggles of the South Arabian peoples aiming at the elimination of the British influence. The Hadhrami League gives its full moral support to the anti-British struggle in Southern Arabia and publishes statements to this effect. The situation in the South Arabian Federation is to be reviewed also at the forthcoming conference of Arabs from East Africa in view of the independence planned for 1968.

The League supports the militant line followed by the Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen (F.L.O.S.Y.) with which it is in contact. The statements appear in *Al-'Ummāl*, published by the Aden T.U.C.[19] This support is limited to the moral sphere and there is no material aid forthcoming from Kenya to the South Arabia militants.

The Hadhrami League was formed in the middle of 1963 and its seat is in Mombasa. One of the main original objects of the organization was to support the struggle in South Arabia and for this purpose the League intended to obtain co-operation from the East African governments. The League considers Southern Arabie to be a part of the "Greater Yemen" and supports its unity with Yemen, both territories having been "artificially divided".

The anti-British sentiments brought by the Hadhramis from their old home were certainly instrumental in bringing them on a common platform with the Kenya nationalists represented before the proclamation of independence by the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Hon. *Sālim M. Bal'alā*, M.P., their representative in the Kenya parliament formed after the elections in May, 1963, has always fully supported KANU in spite of the considerable successes attained on the coast by the opposition Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

In 1966, a conference was held at Jinja, Uganda, with the participation of representatives of Arabs residing in Uganda. On this occasion the view was expressed

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[19] This paper is banned in Aden now and may appear only as a periodical restricted to the T.U.C. members.

that the League should change its name and aims to cater for all Arabs residing in the three East African countries (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania), and not only for Hadhrami Arabs in Kenya. At the Jinja conference, the name of Arab union of East Africa was adopted, and it was decided to convene another conference to discuss the proposed changes and to ammend the constitution. The general orientation of the activities of the organization remained unchanged.

The need felt in Kenya for a more general Arab organization was supported by the fact that there was no other active Arab organization. The Central Arab Association formed in the nineteen-forties and supposed to cater for the "old" Arabs does not seem to be active at all. It has not convened any committee or general meetings at least for the last four years.

The contact between the Arab Peninsula and the East African coast is being maintained now in the same time-honoured way as for centuries past. Its main instrument are the old-fashioned Arab sea-going "dhows" (from Swahili *"dau"*) catering for a regular annual transport between both areas. These dhows, some of which have been in the last few years equipped with an auxiliary engine, use the trade-winds and arrive in December every year from Arabia[20] and return with the change of winds in April and May. They serve mainly for the exchange of goods between the two areas, based on traditional articles (various agricultural products, dried fish, Persian carpets etc.—part of which, especially the carpets, continue their way to the interior); but they bring also new immigrants. Some arrive only for a temporary stay, and some choose the African coast as their new home—as it has been going on for so many centuries.

The main stopovers for the dhows in Kenya are Mombasa and Lamu (outside Kenya it is also Zanzibar). On the Lamu island the traditional craft of dhow-building still exists, Lamu being in all aspects an ancient Arab town, practically unspoiled. Dhows arriving in East Africa have been less numerous in recent years than before (with only about 40 to 50 dhows coming every year). Perhaps, this decline has been caused by the competition of more modern means of transport, but it is early yet to be said whether it is a signal of a more permanent change or whether there will be a new revival shortly.

In conclusion it is of interest to compare the Arabs with the other Asian minority in Kenya—the Indians. There is a rather striking difference. Whereas the Arab minority, as we have seen, is rapidly being integrated into the local pattern of society, merges with it in many aspects, and it is difficult to define its position separately from the rôle of the entire coastal Swahili society, the Indians are a clearly distinct minority defending itself against any assimilation. The Indians in Kenya, of whom an overwhelming majority (excepting some families which have been settled for

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[20] The home-ports of most of them are in the Persian Gulf, lesser part comes from Hadhramawt. But there are always a few, arriving from as far as Pakistan and India.

a long time) came to East Africa only about 70 years ago in connection with the construction of the Mombasa railway,[21] now dominate (not only in Kenya, but in Tanzania and Uganda as well) over most of the commercial activity and have a clear-cut and exclusive economic rôle to play. This has far-reaching effects on their political position, especially on their relations with the African majority. The Indians have brought to Africa from their old homeland an entire set of values, their traditional way of life and the manifold division of their society, and they very strictly adhere to them. They virtually refuse any idea of assimilation in spite of having chosen East Africa as their new "territorial" home.

Contrary to this, the Arabs in Kenya are an economically non-aggressive minority and their position is inseparable from that of the Swahilis in general. They are included in the geographical and cultural area of the Coast, which is today within the pattern of the racial and tribal relations inside Kenya a single entity, although it is—in comparison with other racial and tribal entities—internally cosmopolitan and formed in the course of history from originally heterogenous elements.

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[21] This railway was constructed by the British in 1895—1903 from Mombasa to Lake Victoria for the sake of a better exploitation of the Kenya and Uganda up-country. Most workers for it were brought from India.

BUGANDA AND THE AGREEMENT OF 1900

VIERA E. PAWLIKOVÁ, Bratislava

There is no doubt that the signing of the Uganda Agreement was one of the most significant events in the history of the kingdom of Buganda.[1] In order to understand the working of the Agreement, it may be essential to analyse both its text as well as the social, political and economic structure of the traditional Buganda.

Traditional Buganda and its People

Some fifty years before the arrival of the first travellers and missionaries to the country, Buganda became *"primus inter pares"* of the Interlacustrine Bantu region. One may wonder what were the causes which helped Buganda to get rid of its old rivals, the kingdom of Bunyoro and the segmentary states of Busoga. In the latter half of the 19th century, when it came into contact with the outer world, Buganda was a strong centralized state, led by an absolute ruler who exercised his power through hierarchies of chiefs. One of the most characteristic features of the political system of the Interlacustrine Bantu was the existence of various overlapping and interdigitating authority structures all centring on one person, the absolute ruler. And members of each hierarchy maintained and exercised their power at the Kabaka's favour. This political system, which in Buganda was most elaborate, together with its very favourable environment made it possible for the Baganda to achieve a relatively high productivity of agriculture and quite a high standard

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[1] The Uganda Agreement of 1900 was in fact the Buganda Agreement and applied exclusively to the Kingdom of Buganda. The name Uganda was used due to the fact that the British having Swahili guides adopted the Kiswahili prefix u-instead of the Luganda bu-, much used to form names of countries. Thus the people of the country are the Baganda (sg. Muganda), their language Luganda and the name of the country is Buganda.

of living judging by East African standards.[2] All this helped Buganda to achieve and maintain its dominant position in this area.

Why were the Kabakas of the nineteenth century such strong autocratic rulers and why did their power become more absolute than in previous centuries? They owed their position mainly to the fact that the hereditary elements were already rather eliminated, that is to say the Kabaka's relatives had been by that time firmly subordinated, with the two possible exceptions of the Kabaka's mother and his royal sister, and the power of the heads of the consanguineal kin groups was at that time more limited than it had been for some decades. The Kabakas made efforts to reduce the power of the heads of descent groups by endeavouring, often successfully, to oust them from their positions and replacing them by their own nominees appointed as governors over districts-ssazas. The clan heads- the *bataka* ruling over the peasants living on the clan lands—the *butaka* (from the word *etaka*-land) tried to hold on to their positions by drawing attention to the special relations between their ancestors and the land on which there were certain shrines and tombs of these dead ancestors, original members of the clan, and by keeping to their own version of the origin of the kingdom.[3] The idea persists that all members of a consanguineal kin group have the right to use the land. It seems, however, that due to the lack of available unoccupied lands younger individuals were compelled to emigrate, even though it was considered a duty for a Muganda to live on the *butaka* and in his clan village.[4] For a young ambitious individual seeking his fortune it was no doubt much better to become the follower of a chief and in such a way to acquire a small plot, as he stood a chance of getting into favour and by showing loyalty in time he may be awarded with a small chieftainship.

Though the Kabaka appointed his own followers as governors over districts, he did not seem to trust them very much, making them constantly visit the capital; and later he allotted small plots of land—*bitongole*—to his favourites as a reward for various services rendered and also as a means to keep watch on the governors. Apart from the military troops recruited from each *ssaza* by the governors and their assistants, the Kabaka formed his own army which was led by the *mujasi* and his local representatives—*batongole*. He controlled also a fleet of canoes, a regular "navy" under the *ggabunga*.

The *bataka* lost many of their former functions[5] in favour of the appointed chiefs,

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[2] See Wrigley, C. C., *The Changing Economic Structure of Buganda*, in the *King's Men* ed. by L. A. Fallers, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, and Ehrlich, C., *The Economy of Buganda*, 1893—1903, Uganda Journal, vol. 20, 1956.

[3] Mair, L. P., *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, London 1934, second impression 1965 by Russell & Russell, INC, pp. 162—164.

[4] Mair, L. P., *Primitive Government*, London 1964, p. 241.

[5] They ruled over the peasants living on *butaka* and solved feuds in clan courts over cases of succession, marriage, blood feud, etc.

the king's nominees. On the other hand, however, they managed to assert their positions in relation to the king for whom they performed some ritual offices at his court and to whom they were linked by marriage. The *bataka*, princes and the *batongole* or the king's men had all direct access to the king and could report on the loyalty of the *ssaza* governors. So there existed at one and the same time various separate authority systems, the governors—the *abamassaza*, who allotted small chieftainships in their administered districts to their own favourites, often sons or clan members; the *mujasi*—the army head with his local representatives—the *batongole*; the Kabaka's own favourites whom he appointed to positions of authority and allotted them land in the *ssazas* in return for which they were supposed to render services to him and not to the appointed governor; heads of the clans and their subordinate lineage heads. As we have already mentioned all these pyramids of power centred on the one and sole person of the absolute monarch. As the members of all hierarchies exercised their power at his pleasure and through their ruler, all of them competed for his favour by betraying their rivals to him.

So the reasons for Buganda's rising importance by the middle of the nineteenth century lay in the pecularities of its institutions governing succession, in the very political system and also on material grounds. All the sons of the former kabakas were princes—*balangira*. Nervertheless, not all princes but only the sons of drum— *abalangira abe'ngoma*, i.e. the sons of the former ruler, could aspire to the throne: By the nineteenth century it became a custom to exterminate all unsuccessful claimants to the throne.[6] Unlike Bunyoro or Ankole, in Buganda the choice of the new ruler did not depend on the outcome of a war between the princes of the drum but instead he was chosen by prominent dignitaries.[7] However, it was inevitable that tension existed when a ruler died and a new one assumed the throne. But the kingdom knew no grave open civil conflicts for many years.

Materially, Buganda's success is due to its favourable position[8] to having unusually fertile soil, well supplied with plant nutrients, to being blessed with a double rainy season making possible two annual crops instead of one, but the most important reason is that the people living in this area are mainly plantain eaters. All along the Lake shore there existed large groves of plantains, a dependable yield of food for the whole year round. That is why the people living on the Lake shores never suffered from any annual period of famine. This staple and adequate diet could be obtained at such a low output of labour that the food production for a household could be left entirely in the hands of the woman and her short—handled iron hoe. A banana grove, once mature, yields fruit all the year round and goes on yielding it from year to year. This stable form of agriculture made the settlements unusually

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[6] Roscoe, J., *The Baganda*, London 1911, p. 25.

[7] Ibid, p. 73.

[8] It was often described by European visitors as being the land of milk and honey.

permanent.[9] As a consequence of all this the male population was freed from a part of the manual labour, from basic food production, as the fixed settlement made any annual clearing and breaking of new ground unnecessary. Nonetheless, men were supposed to contribute to the household economy in other ways. Bark-cloth making, blacksmithery, pottery making, woodwork, fishing, herding, hunting, house-building, canoe-building, administration and fighting were the chief occupations of men. Surplus produce and craft produce were exchanged at the markets said to have been founded under Mutesa I. (1856—1884) and since then held regularly under the supervision of royal officials.

The Kabaka was believed to personify in himself the whole kingdom and the Baganda people,[10] hence his absolute power, the attributes of this being the right of adjudication disputes among his subordinates, of taxation, waging wars and collection of tributes from neighbouring states and that of distributing land. The careers of his adherents and royal officials were completely dependent upon his favour, often on his whims; he could depose, promote or even put to death at will, and did. It was this absolute power that enabled the Kabaka to introduce so many changes into the tribal customs and the traditional Baganda society. Anyway, it seems clear that the Kabaka of the nineteenth century owed his supreme position and absolute power rather to his power of distributing land at his will than to his relations to the shrines of dead kings and tribal deities. When distributing land and offices the Kabaka gave up in fact a part of his political power in favour of his chiefs. And by giving them political power he provided them at the same time with economic power.

In traditional Buganda there existed a substantial group of persons, a super-structure, not engaged in primary productions, the group formed by the political and religious authorities. The whole system was sufficiently mobile. In nineteenth century Buganda most of the important political offices had ceased to be hereditary. The Kabaka appointed his own supporters as governors in all but two of the *ssazas* and allocated plots of land to his favourites for rendered services within these administrative units.[11] In the political structure one could be only a chief or, a *mukopi*, his follower. To be a *mukopi* meant to be an undistinguished person and to be something other than a *mukopi*, meant, in economic terms, to be freed of manual labour.[12]

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[9] Some of the Buganda villages have been in existence for over 300 years-see *East African Chiefs*, ed. by A. I. Richards, London, Faber and Faber, 1960, p. 354.

[10] The view supported by the number and character of nick-names associated with his person.

[11] Tradition suggests that early in the kingdom's development the *bataka* held the major positions of authority and most chieftainships were hereditary, as A. H. Cox pointed out in his article *Growth and Expansion of Buganda*, Uganda Journal, vol. 14, 1950. The Kabaka occupied, perhaps, a *primus inter pares* position and his independent authority grew at the expense of that of the *bataka*. See L. A. Fallers, assisted by F. K. Kamoga and S. B. K. Musoke, *Social Stratification in Traditional Buganda*, in *The King's Men*, pp. 85—92.

[12] Ibid, pp. 82—3.

But there were always possibilities of raising one's status. Young boys sent to the royal enclosure "to seek their fortunes" might be given a subordinate post, the first step in their future career, if they served loyally and well. Within this mobile system there was always enough room for a wholesale replacement of personnel. There was quite a substantial ruling class though only the members of the royal house belonged to it by birth. On the other hand, others were not excluded from its ranks due to humble birth, anyone could hope to reach its ranks some time, in other words, no position was out of anyone's reach. It was a system of superordination and subordination. A chief held his office from the Kabaka but he in turn had his own followers who lived near or within his enclosure, he was their lord and they were his men. All chiefs from the Kabaka downwards had residences of the same pattern. A household of a chief consisted of his numerous wives, a male retinue of kinsmen, retainers, bodyguards, musicians, artisans and other hangers-on, war-captives or slaves, whose position did not differ in any way from that of the Baganda followers, with the only exception that they could not inherit any property should such a situation arise.[13]

There were several classes or categories of persons excercising rights of control over land. All of them were called chiefs and all of them were *bami* (sg. *mwami*)—lords to the peasants—the *bakopi*—living on their land. Chiefs appointed by the Kabaka were responsible for the collection of taxes; for the levy and the leadership of the military troups- "feudal" levies for the Kabaka's army; for the building and upkeep of the royal palace and enclosure; the making and upkeep of roads and causeways and for the conduct of judicial courts. These chiefs and their leading subordinates constituted a hierarchy of administrative chiefs. Each of them had an official estate inhabited by peasants; he allotted them plots of land and they gave him dues in labour and tribute in kind. The chief held his office at the Kabaka's pleasure and on dying, being promoted or replaced the Kabaka appointed the successor.

The Kabaka could allot estates to the members of the royal family within the *ssazas*, to his royal sister and the Queen Mother, princes and princesses, who were entitled to exact labour and tribute from the peasants living on their estates, but were not liable to formal taxation. The estates of princes were hereditary but not those of the royal princesses. The Kabaka himself acquired also the right to appropriate estates of his own in any *ssaza*. Each new king chose such a royal estate during his reign; this estate was called by his name and later passed on to the next ruler. Two important dignitaries-the *katikkiro*, often described as Prime Minister and who headed the administrative hierarchy and the council of chiefs—the *lukiiko*—and the *kimbugwe*, the keeper of the royal fetishes, had a similar number of estates. Their estates as well as those of the Kabaka's relatives were not subject to normal methods of tax and tribute.

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[13] Roscoe, J., *The Baganda*, p. 15.

The Kabaka could also allot large or small estates to his loyal supporters and follo-wers who held such land in "feudal" tenure in return for services rendered. They had either to provide, and lead, soldiers for the Kabaka's own bodyguard or army or to do some special services at his court (beer-brewing, wood-collecting etc.). These king's men—the *batongole*—were entitled to receive services in labour and kind from their peasants, too.

Due to their unstable position the *bakungu* or *abamassaza* often tried to maintain hereditary rights to smaller estates or created small *bitongole* for their sons or kinsmen. Though the Kabaka's permission was not required, it was necessary to report the new *kitongole* to him after it had been created.[14]

When analyzing a system of land-tenure we can either try to list several categories of persons who exercised rights of control over land or to list the different types of rights which might be held at one and the same time by an individual or a group of persons, as A. Mukwaya did in his monographic study of the Baganda system of land tenure.[15]

Theoretically, the only persons who could claim the rights of undisturbed occu-pation of their land were the heads of descent groups—the *bataka*—who acquired their rights by inheritance along with the general authority of being the head of a kindred group. But even here we can see the absolute position of the king for the heir of the *butaka* had to be formally presented to him.[16] The *bataka* occupied sites, usually on hill-tops which had once been inhabited by their ancestors and where they were buried. Each of the thirty six[17] Baganda clans had a number of *butaka* estates, in many cases just low hills surrounded by swamp land, occupied by heads of descent groups of different orders of magnitude. By no means could all members of a descent group live on *butaka* land. Many of them attached—*kusenga*—to

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[14] Mair, L. P., *Baganda Land Tenure*, Africa, vol. 6, 1933, p. 193. "It was common for a chief early in his career to choose one holding for his official use and one for his personal use as distinct from the holding of the former. The former was called- *ekibanija eky'obwesengeze*, the latter-*ekibanja eky'obwami*, Mukwaya, A., *Land Tenure in Buganda, Present Day Ten-dencies*, East African Studies 1, Nairobi 1953, p. 12.

[15] Ibid, p. 7, he listed four main types of the rights of control over land before 1900:
1. Clan rights-*obutaka* (etaka means "soil", *obutaka* "related to the soil").
2. The rights of the king and his chiefs-*obutongole* (*okutongole* means "to come out to the fore" and *obutongole* means related to an official position).
3. Individual hereditary rights-*obwesengeze* (*okusenga* means "to join a chief's village" and *obwesengeze* means "land rights given in perpetuity by another person, usually the Kabaka").
4. Peasant rights of occupation-*ebibanja* (*ekibanja*, pl. *ebibanja*-literally a housesite but used for the entire holding).

[16] Mair, L. P., *An African People...*, p. 191.

[17] Scholars differ in the number of the Baganda clans. According to J. Roscoe and Dr. Mair there were as many as thirty six clans in the Baganda society, Dr. Audrey Richards lists thirty two and A. Mukwaya even forty two clans.

other *bataka* or to chiefs—*bakungu*—or king's officers-*batongole*; conversely any persons were free to attach themselves to their *mutaka* (pl. *bataka*), the master of the *butaka* and so obtain land, though no other member of the clan or lineage would be evicted from his patch of land for this purpose. A *mutaka* was thus forced to play a double role: he was a *mwami*—a lord of an estate and of the peasants— *bakopi*, its inhabitants and at the same time he was the leader of a group of his kinsmen.

In the traditional system of land-tenure the bakopi had rights to patches of land allotted to them by their immediate overlord—the *mwami*, were he a *mutongole, mutaka*, a member of the royal family or an administrative chief. Every individual had in fact the right to occupy and use land and he was secure in his rights so long as he gave his lord dues in tribute and labour. There may be some similarities with the feudal system, but the most striking difference between a European serf and a *mukopi* is that the latter did not have to work in the groves of his master, this being the work of his numerous wives, and he was free to move whenever he felt that he was being badly treated. And since the political status and the importance of the office-holder depended on the number of his followers and each new vassal meant an increase in their source of wealth, chiefs were obliged to encourage them to stay on their land.

Theoretically, all land belonged to the Kabaka and it was he who distributed it and granted offices to his favourites and followers as a reward for services rendered, both ritual and political. Many students of Buganda have stressed that the rights of the land-holders were essentially political. As Dr. Lucy Mair defines it "there was no conception of the land as a possession of the chief from which he derived profit by letting people work it.[18] A Luganda proverb says: "*Tafuga taka, afuga abantu*", i.e. he (a chief) has rights not over land but over people. The fact is that the control over land in traditional Buganda was always associated with the exercise of some kind of political duties and rights. Nonetheless, though the land did not actually belong to a chief as he held it "in feud" from the king, he was the "owner" of the land in "feudal" tenure,[19] the land became his property in so far as that he could dispose freely of it, allocate it to his men in return for dues in labour and tribute in kind. By the middle of the nineteenth century the heads of consanguineal kin groups were in fact "owners" of the *butaka* estates, which once belonged to the

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[18] Mair, L. P., *An African People...*, p. 158.

[19] The word "feudal" is used here in its simplest sense as Dr. Beattie puts it "refering to the kind of political system which is based on relation between a superior and his inferior or vassal, where the latter holds lands, and authority over the people living on these lands, in "feud" from the former. This means that the vassal must render homage and services of various kinds (the onus of which will chiefly fall on his peasant dependants) to the superior lord from whom he holds his lands and authority". See Beattie, J., *Bunyoro, An African Kingdom*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York 1964, p. 5.

whole descent group, and exacted from the peasants, their kinsmen or *basenze*—i.e. non-kinsmen—who lived on the land, the same dues in labour and tribute as did other land-holders. These dues in labour and tribute in kind that the peasants, the real producers of material goods supporting a large governing bureaucracy, the group of persons not engaged in primary productions, had to pay to their *bami* (sg. *mvami*) for the rights to a patch of land, to settle on it and cultivate it, could be called a "feudal" rent. And we would use the term "feudal" in its simplest sense meaning here a relation between a superior and his inferior, between an authority and a subordinate, where the former maintains the right over lands from his superior lord (the Kabaka) and allots it to his own subordinates in return for certain dues in labour and tribute. To define the real character of the relations of production then in existence, which are the main factors to the scholar trying to analyze a society, is even more difficult because of the close association, in the traditional system of land-tenure, between the right of control over land and the exercise of some rights and duties in the political system of the state. The economic basis of the relations of production was overshadowed by political relations, economic relations were wrapped in political and judicial garments.

There were regular collections of food and craft products by the chiefs for the Kabaka as well as labour duties—work on the building and up-keep of roads, on palaces and enclosures of the royal family and important chiefs and dignitaries of the capital, on shrines of deities and the tombs of dead kings. Each chief had, with the labour supplied by his men, to maintain the road from his residence to the capital or to the headquaters of his superior overlord. All chiefs were required to be ready to provide military troops for the Kabaka at any time. Buganda was a state organized for wars, both offensive and defensive, and raids to plunder the enemy's land of cattle, wives, children, produce, ivory and hoes and to enforce the payment of a regular tribute. The Buganda warbands raided Busoga in the east, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro in the west and the small Buhaya and Buzinza kingdoms in the south. According to Sir Apolo Kagwa, the Kabakas of the nineteenth century sent out their troops in various directions every six months to capture slaves, women and cattle[20] which must have been an essential element in the economy of Buganda since the arrival of the first Arab traders. The trade in slaves and ivory became the monopoly of the king and prominent chiefs who bought goods-cloth, cowries, fire-arms and ammunition with the proceeds and sent large caravans of slaves and ivory to the coast.[21] The king also bound his favourites to him by gifts of slaves, women and cattle. This system of the army and the state, with its practice of sharing the spoils of war and booty, induced the people to participate in the wars and raids.

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[20] *East African Chiefs*, p. 352.

[21] These two trade articles had always been closely associated as slaves were supposed to carry ivory. No other goods could stand the cost of transport to the coast. Ehrlich, C., *The Economy of Buganda*, p. 21.

From the taxes collected, the Kabaka and his relatives kept half for themselves the other half being allotted to the *katikkiro, kimbugwe* and to the administrative bureaucracy. Apart from his portion of taxes collected by the state—the state revenue, a chief had also the right to levy tribute in kind from his peasant dependants, to exact the produce of their labour. This tribute in kind and labour as well as taxes collected by the state could be considered as a form of "feudal" rent. So the land, to its "owner" who held it in "feud" from the Kabaka, became a means of production and the "feudal" rent a source of exploitation. Though the possession of land was highly valued above all as a mark of the Kabaka's favour, for the office and the prominent status of its holder, the basis of this system of land-tenure was nevertheless ultimately economic. The origin of the "feudal" state emerging on the clan and lineage structure also meant the origin of a new production system. However, the changes carried out in the economic system as a result of the origin of the new production system and the "feudal" state—the property accumulation by the superstructure of the ruling bureaucracy and exploitation of the production classes—, and the process of the social class stratification were under way while the development of the production forces was still at a relatively low level, in the society having sufficient subsistence agriculture but underdeveloped indigenous economies and trade, in the society with survivals of the traditional kinship organization where the functions of the descent groups and kinship relations infiltrated and interlarded with the political and legal structure of the stabilizing "feudal" state.

Changes under the First European Impact

The pre-existing commerce with the south, dating from the end of the eighteenth century, by 1844 stimulated Zanzibari traders to open up their sphere of interests as far as Buganda.[22] Ivory and slaves were the main items of export, and among the imports there was a steadily rising hunger for guns, eagerly demanded not only by ivory hunters but also by the ruler and his chiefs. This hunger for guns was closely associated with their desire to enlarge the power of their country.[23] In offensive

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[22] For an account of the penetration of the Arab trade and Arabs' caravans into the interior see: Sir J. M. Gray, *Sheik Ahmed bin Ibrahim, the first Arab to reach Buganda,* Uganda Journal, vol. 11, 1947, pp. 80—97.

[23] In the middle part of the nineteenth century the Baganda stopped to extend their territory. Though they subjected people to their domination, they left them at the same time their independent existence. Nevertheless, the Kabaka's primary purpose was "to procure a decisive influence over the succession to the throne so as to have neighbours who would co-operate in his service, whenever they were ordered, and pay him tribute in kind". Low, D. A., *The Northern Interior, 1840—1884*, p. 336, in *History of East Africa*, vol. I, ed. by R. Oliver and G. Mathew, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1963, reprinted 1966.

and victorious wars lay one source of Buganda's prosperity and superabundance. The Arab traders brought along with them the knowledge of new techniques and also of their religious faith which invoked the interest of both the Kabaka Suna and his son Mutesa Mukabya.[24] In the steps of the first Arabs followed the first Europeans, the first travellers and explorers, later missionaries and representatives of various companies. Mutesa was well aware, at that time, of the threat and possibility of European invasion, especially of Egyptian invasion from the north. Captain Baker (later Sir Samuel Baker) with his attempts to incorporate Bunyoro and Buganda in Khedive Ismail's empire and the new colony Equatoria, forced Mutesa to search for allies to fight this. Thus, he willingly accepted Stanley's proposal to invite missionaries into Buganda. He wanted and badly needed assistance, guns and ammunition and he hoped to get it.

The advent of the first representatives of the Anglican "Church Missionary Society" in June 1877 and their future rivals, Cardinal Lavigerie's missionaries of the French Roman Catholic order of the White Fathers two years later, carried with it the first germs of the decline of the traditional Buganda. The new ideologies began to change traditional sets of values, principles and social attitudes. Mutesa still managed to maintain his dominant position, autocratic power and the necessary balance among the adherents of the three religious creeds by encouraging competition among Christianity, Islam and the traditional cults; by playing off one faction against another. It is difficult to explain why Baganda so readily accepted the new ideologies of Christianity and Islam. One, but in no way a suficient reply, may be that people accepting a new ideology learned at the same time a more efficient technology. To accept a monotheic ideology meant as well to accept its associated language and secular culture; to accept progress.

The two missions were situated in the capital so that the Kabaka could keep a close watch on them and their activities. Missionaries, to their converts, were senior chiefs. The converts became detribalized.[25] The Kabaka's autocratic power substantially attenuated. He was no longer the supreme authority in the state. His status was irreparably damaged and weakened. The Kabaka stopped to be the only source of political power who distributed it to his subordinates. Anyone wanting to raise his status could enter the privilaged class by becoming baptised.

Mutesa's successor to the throne, his son Mwanga, desperately struggling to maintain the old conception of his office, tried to exterminate all the converts. But they banded together and overthrew him. Nonetheless, this system of mutual

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[24] The first Arabs to enter Buganda were in fact expelled by the Kabaka Suna Kalema, father of the last successful Kabaka Mutesa Mukabya I. Mutesa assumed the throne in 1856 after his father's death and allowed Arab traders to return.

[25] See Low, D. A., *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875—1900*, East African Studies No. 8, Nairobi 1957.

reliance did not last very long.[26] Rival faiths created rival factions. Soon one faction — the Arabs and Muslims—gained sole control of the kingdom and expelled its former allies—the Christians. And the latter, in order to seize the quickly gained and immediately lost power, aligned themselves with those who proved to be the vanguard of the future European penetration into the interior and the scramble for the partition of this part of African continent. It was no longer a struggle to preserve the former entity and uniqueness of the Baganda state, it was more a struggle for ascendancy among the factions of young chiefs; adherents of new ideologies. And in this struggle one faction was to be aided by those very Europeans who should have been, paradoxically as it may sound, the Kabaka's allies against the would—be European invasion and who proved in the course of time its agents.

The new privileged class, who came into power at the time of religious upheavals and civil wars, was naturally enough anxious to maintain the position which they held only by virtue of their alliance and co-operation with a European power, the British. One part of the Christian party[27] was thus ready to support it through thick and thin even if they were thrown on the side of the intruders against their superior overlord, the supreme authority of the Kabaka. Reluctant and hesitant as he had been, the Kabaka was obliged to accept the British overrule. Captain (later Lord) Lugard in the account of his over two years stay in Buganda, as an agent of the Imperial British East Africa Company, puts it quite clearly when he says that the first treaty of 1890 was certainly gained against his (i.e. the Kabaka's) will.[28] Since his overthrow in 1888 the Kabaka had been no all powerful monarch but merely a puppet in the hands of one or another of the Christian factions, the Catholics or the Protestants. The consent and sanction to the treaty had to be given not only by him but also by the chiefs, the representatives of all factions. There had to be both the signatures of the Kabaka as well as those of his chiefs.

A whole series of similar treaties concluded later by Lugard himself, by Sir Gerald Portal in May 1893 and Colonel Colvile in 1894[29] made no substantial changes

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[26] On the 9th September 1888 all the Christians and Muslims were to be landed upon some pretext on a desert island and then abandoned there to perish. For a full account of the events see Sir John Milner Gray's authoritative study *The year of the three kings of Buganda-Mwanga, Kiwewa, Kalema* 1888—1889 in Uganda Journal vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 15—53.

[27] The years after the deposition of Mwanga in 1888 were full of clashes between Christians and Muslims and between Anglicans and Roman Catholics. The victorious Anglican faction was later, after the Battle of Mengo in January, 24th 1892 joined by Catholics, and after they gave up their own "king" on 24th May 1892, also by a small section of Muslims. All these aligned firmly with the British. For an account see Lugard, F. D., *The Rise of Our East African Empire* London 1893, vol. II.

[28] Ibid, p. 41.

[29] The Protectorate over Buganda was proclaimed and the real valid treaty with the country was concluded by Colonel Colvile in August 1894. Captain Lugard concluded the first treaty with the Kabaka and his chiefs on 26th December, 1890, and the second one after the Battle

in the position of the king. These treaties are certainly of little importance when compared with the Agreement of 1900 which determined the British-Baganda relations for the next fifty five years and became actually the future constitution of the Kingdom of Buganda.

Some Effects of the Introduction of the 1900 Agreement into Buganda

Even though the Uganda Protectorate[30] was established by 1894, the tiny handful of the British colonial administrators had not yet finished their work. They still had to challenge Mwanga's rebellion and the mutiny of the Sudanese detachments in the years 1897 till 1899 which almost precipitated disaster. Had the Baganda Christian leaders not provided thousands of porters as well as military troops against their own Kabaka and the Sudanese mercenaries,[31] the British position in Buganda might have been in serious danger. But the staunch supporters of the British[32] did not waver in their loyalty. So far this loyalty had helped them, after their revolt against the traditional political and social order, to gain the sole control of it, to attain power previous undreamt of, they were anxious to pursue their own personal interests and ambitions by maintaining it. It was too late to retreat from their positions, to betray the new régime. They were well aware of the advantages which might accrue to them now when their stronger partner had applied to them for assistance. There was much more to be gained by continuing to support the new régime established by the British than by desperately revolting against it or attempting to overthrow it.

But, though the British position in Buganda was saved and secured by 1899,[33] the young Protectorate Government had still to overcome more difficulties. During the long disturbances the expenditure of the Protectorate had considerably risen.

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of Mengo on 30th March, 1892; on 31st May the treaty was signed by representatives of the defeated Muslim faction. Sir Gerald Portal concluded on behalf of Her Majesty's Government a provisional treaty with the kingdom, signed on 29th May, 1893 and thus took over the administration of Buganda from the Imperial British East Africa Company.

[30] I.e. The Protectorate over Buganda. It was then common to refer to the whole territory which is now included under the name Uganda as "the Protectorate of Uganda and adjoining territories".

[31] Remnants of the Sudanese followers of Emin Pasha after his retreat with Stanley were hired by Captain Lugard to protect the western borders of Buganda and Toro against attacks of Kabarega, the king of Bunyoro. These formed the picked troops of the regular military force of the Protectorate, known since 1895 as the Uganda Rifles.

[32] Among the most faithful and loyal British supporters were the two *katikkiros* and regents, the Protestant senior *katikkiro* Kagwa and the Catholic one Mugwanya, later Sir Apolo Kagwa and Chevalier Stanislas Mugwanya, often called "architects of modern Buganda".

[33] In April 1899 both Kabaka Mwanga and Kabarega of Bunyoro were captured and deported first to Kisimayu, later to Seychelles.

104

The British Treasury was reluctantly obliged to provide a larger grant-in-aid.[34] As the expensive administration of the Uganda Protectorate became subject to much critisism in the British Parliament and in the press, the Foreign Office ultimately decided to appoint a "Special Commissioner, Commander in Chief and Consul General in the Protectorate of Uganda and adjoining territories" with the main object "to place the administration of the Protectorate on a permanent and satisfactory footing, to reduce expenditure and raise a local revenue", and make it as soon as possible self-supporting so that it could "begin to pay its own way".[35] Lord Salisbury and St. John Brodrick, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, suggested sending Sir Harry Johnston, a man with more experience of Africa and problems of African administration than anyone else in the service of the Foreign Office.[36] On December, 20th 1899 the Special Commissioner made a triumphal entry in the capital of Buganda. Two days later he received a formal letter of welcome from the three regents[37] and on the third day he met them at the first of the meetings held to discuss the future of Buganda.[38]

As Johnston saw it, the success of his task depended upon two things: to make the Protectorate self-supporting at the earliest possible date, the Protectorate had to appropriate the right to impose and levy taxes and to obtain control over at least a proportion of land. Owing to his bad health he did not want to stay in Buganda longer than three weeks. He had a clear idea of the nature of the duties entrusted to him. Nevertheless, Sir Harry Johnston could not afford to impose a settlement against the will of the Baganda. The Baganda represented the most advanced people

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[34] The I.B.E.A. Company spent Ł538,000 in its attempt to administer East Africa. When it had gone bankrupt, the Company agreed to accept Ł250,000 in compensation for its assets and for the repeal of its charter. Oliver, R., *Some Factors in the British Occupation of East Africa*, 1884—1894, Uganda Journal vol. 15, No. 1, 1951, pp. 49—65. The imperial grant-in-aid rose from Ł50,000 for each of the three years between 1894 and 1897 to about Ł400,000 a year from 1897 till 1899. See Oliver, R., *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa*, London, Chatto and Windus 1957, p. 289 and Low, D. A., *Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate*, 1894—1919, in *History of East Africa*, vol. II, ed. by V. Harlow, E. M. Chilver and A. Smith, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1965, p. 77.

[35] See *The Queen's Commission to Sir Harry Johnston*, 1899, appended to Ingham, K., *The Making of Modern Uganda*, London 1958. and *Salisbury to Sir H. Johnson*, July 1, 1899, F. O. 2, LVIII, 1899.

[36] Oliver, R., *Sir Harry Johnston...*, p. 291.

[37] One month after Mwanga had fled from his palace he was deposed by the then Acting Commissioner Ternan. At a meeting in Kampala Mwanga's one year old son Daudi Chwa was proclaimed to become the next Kabaka. The power was given into the hands of three regents: the Protestant *katikkiro* Apolo Kagwa, the Protestant *kangao* Zakaria Kizito Kisingiri and the Catholic *katikkiro* Stanislas Muwanya.

[38] For an account of all negotiations and their results see an excellent study by D. A. Low, *The Making and Implementation of the Uganda Agreement of 1900* in Low and Pratt's *Buganda and British Overrule*, 1900—1955, London 1960, Part One, pp. 3—156.

105

of this region. At that time they had a sufficiently strong, politically mature and far-seeing ruling class who had both enough knowledge of political manoeuvres and influential advisers—missionaries. In case of an armed resistence they could seriously threaten the future of the British dominion in Uganda. Thus, the Agreement had to be concluded with much consideration, after many negotiations and at the expense of a rather radical revision of the proposals. But in spite of all the negotiations lasting about three months and the many concessions and amendments to the first draft of the agreement that Baganda managed to win, Buganda was actually gained by military conquest not only by negotiations and treaties, and the Agreement of 1900 was no agreement of equals. On the other hand, it was not merely a settlement imposed by a strong European power upon its weaker partner in the alliance, but an agreement between the representatives of the European power-Great Britain and the young Christian leaders whose alliance to the British and their support of the new régime had helped them to gain the control of the traditional political and social order, to such an extent that the only way to assume any prestige and prominent status led through joining one or the other of the Christian factions. They had seen enough of British military power[39] to realize that a revolt against it would be disastrous. The most anxious propagators of the Agreement-were therefore those representatives of the ruling bureaucracy who had prospered so much by their support of the British authorities that they saw their future careers and prosperity only in the continuance of their co-operation. The famous Agreement of 1900, concluded after three months and signed on 10th March, 1900 in Kampala was the result of many negotiations, amendments, and concessions on both sides. Thanks to the missionaries, who played an important part in this alliance and acted as intermediaries in the negotiations on behalf of the Christian chiefs, it was not a simple settlement concerning the appropriation of land and the collection of taxes but a far more complex and many- sided agreement than had originally been supposed; one of the most far-reaching settlements ever concluded between the British and an African people.

It would be difficult to assess exactly all the effects exercised by the introduction of the Agreement. Though the outward appearances of the traditional political system had been to a great extent preserved, the Agreement represented a further strengthening of both the political and economic power of chiefs and a concomitant decline in the political importance of the Kabaka. He lost such attributes of his absolute power which were most characteristic of his status as an autocratic ruler: the right over life and death of his subjects, of taxation, waging wars and the collection of tribute from the neighbouring states and that of distributing land among his subordinates.

His royal dignity and the future of Buganda as a monarchy was secured. "Her

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[39] Campaigns against their traditional foe-Bunyoro and the Kabaka's rebellion.

Majesty's Government agrees to recognize the Kabaka of Uganda as the native ruler of the province of Uganda under Her Majesty's protection and over-rule" (Article 6 of the Agreement),[40] who "shall henceforth be styled His Highness, the Kabaka of Uganda" but only! so long as the "Kabaka, chiefs and people of Uganda shall conform to the laws and regulations instituted for their governance by Her Majesty's Government, and shall co-operate loyally with Her Majesty's Government in the organization and administration of the said Kingdom of Uganda." On the death of a Kabaka, his successor shall be elected from among the members of the royal family i.e. all descendants of the Kabaka Mutesa by a majority of votes in the *lukiiko* or native council, but "no person shall be recognized as Kabaka of Uganda whose election has not received the approval of Her Majesty's Government". He could also exercise his right of levying military troops "under the advice of Her Majesty's representative", if the latter was of the opinion that the force of Uganda (i.e. the armed forces organized by the Uganda Administration) should be strengthened at any time (Article 13). And "no death sentence may be carried out by the Kabaka, or his courts (under Article 6) without the sanction of Her Majesty's representative in Uganda. Thus, as we can see, the Protectorate Government could always use its influence and its right of active interference in the affairs of Buganda.

Johnston managed to attain the consent of the negotiating authorities—the regents and prominent chiefs in some clauses of the Agreement just by meeting them half-way and making drastic revisions of his proposals especially concerning land settlement. The four substantial concessions the Baganda made, were:

1. They agreed to renounce "any claims to tribute they may have had on the adjoining provinces of the Uganda Protectorate". (Article 2).

2. Buganda from that date should rank as "a province of equal rank with other provinces into which the Protectorate may be divided" (Article 3).

3. They agreed also that the revenue of the kingdom collected by the chiefs in the name of the Kabaka should be "merged in the general revenue of the Uganda Protectorate, as will that of the other provinces of this Protectorate".

4. "The laws made for the general governance of the Uganda Protectorate" would be "equally applicable to the Kingdom of Uganda, except in so far as they may in any particular conflict with the terms of this Agreement" (Article 5). In such a case the terms of this Agreement would constitute a special exception in regard to the Kingdom of Uganda. (now known as Buganda, G.N. of 1 July 1908)·

The Kabaka lost some of his former functions and real power not only in favour of the Protectorate Government but also in favour of the *lukiiko*—the native council whose judicial and legislative powers had considerably risen. From that time all his resolutions had to be subject not only to the approval of Her Majesty's representative

[40] For the text of the Uganda Agreement of 1900 see Low—Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule...* and *Johnston to Salisbury* March 1900, F. O. 2, LXI, 1900.

in Buganda but also to the sanction and approval of the native Parliament—*lukiiko*. The Kabaka was to be assisted in the government of his people by three native officials whom he would be allowed to appoint with the sanction and approval of Her Majesty's representative in Buganda: the *katikkiro* or Prime Minister, the *omulamuzi* or the Chief Justice and the *omuwanika* (the Treasurer or Controller of the Kabaka's revenue (Article 10). He had also the right of appointing members of the *lukiiko*[41] though he could not deprive any individual of his right to sit on the native council without the assent of Her Majesty's representative. What was more, the Kabaka was to further consult Her Majesty's representative in Buganda before giving effect to any resolutions voted by the *lukiiko* and should, in this matter, "explicitly follow the advice of Her Majesty's representative" (Article 11).

Of course, some limitations were imposed upon the *lukiiko*, too. The functions of the *lukiiko* were "to discuss all matters concerning the native administration of Uganda (i.e. Buganda), and to forward to the Kabaka resolutions which may be voted by a majority regarding measures to be adopted by the said administration". The *lukiiko*, or a committee thereof, was to be also "a Court of Appeal from the decisions of the Courts of First Instances held by the chiefs of counties".

For purposes of native administration the Kingdom of Uganda (now Buganda) was divided into twenty administrative counties or districts-*ssazas* instead of the traditional ten (Article 9). Chiefs placed at the head of each *ssaza* as well as smaller administrative units—*ggombolola, muluka* and *mutala* (village) were to be selected by the Kabaka's Government though the name of the appointee was still subject to the approval of the Queen's representative in Buganda. They retained under the Agreement (see Article 9) their traditional functions and duties: the task of administering justice amongst the natives dwelling in the *ssaza, ggombolola* etc., maintaining order and the general supervision of native affairs, the upkeep of the main roads and the assessment and collection of taxes. As the proceeds of the collection of these taxes[42] should be handed over intact to Her Majesty's representative in Uganda as the contribution of the Uganda province towards the general revenue of the Protectorate, they would, in respect of their last function, be guaranteed a salary at a certain rate a year out of the revenue of Uganda.[43] (See the Uganda-Payment to Chiefs-Agreement, 1908.)

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[41] In addition to the three ministers and twenty ssaza chiefs who were to be ex officio members of the *lukiiko*, the Kabaka could select from each country-*ssaza* three notables and appoint six other persons of importance in the country to be members of the *lukiiko*. Its membership was thus curtailed to three ministers, twenty *ssaza* chiefs and sixty six additional persons appointed during the Kabaka's pleasure (see also Article 11).

[42] The taxes agreed upon in 1900 were a hut-tax of three rupees on any house, hut or habitation, used as a dwelling place and a gun-tax of three rupees.

[43] Not only the *ssaza* chiefs but also the three ministers and the Kabaka were to be paid for their sevices (see Articles 6 and 10).

108

A chief retained his traditional status of being the Kabaka's servant; he would receive instructions from the king's ministers and would have to report directly to them on all questions but the assessment and collection of taxes. However, due to this last function—the collection and assessment of taxes—he became a salaried agent of the Protectorate Government. He was immediately responsible to the Queen's representative so that should he fail in his duties in this respect, the latter had the right "to call upon the Kabaka to dismiss him from his duties and to appoint another chief in his stead".

The changes brought about by the Agreement in the economic sphere were still more profound than those in the political sphere. From the Agreement there emerged a new revolutionary system of the freehold land-tenure. In the traditional system all persons exercising the right of control over land held it from the Kabaka. The Kabaka could at any time deprive a chief of this right[44] which was closely associated with the exercise of certain political rights and duties. The dominant feature of the new system of freeholding was that it separated economic power from political power to which it had always previously been associated. As an outcome of this land settlement there emerged, on one hand a landed aristocracy, a class of large and small landowners and on the other hand an administrative bureaucracy with a political authority which no longer had to be supported in the economic sphere.

The effects of this new system of individual landholding on the social and economic structure and on the development of Buganda have been discussed and described at length by many students of Buganda.[45] The essence of the new land settlement lay in its grant of individual freehold titles to the Kabaka, his family, the three ministers, twenty *ssaza* chiefs and one thousand of lesser chiefs who could establish their claims before the *lukiiko*. Johnston's original proposition was to divide the land between the Protectorate Government and the people of Buganda. Later, he agreed that the Kabaka and great chiefs should be granted estates for which they would cede all waste and forested land to the Crown; the rest of the cultivated land was to be placed in the hands of a Board of Trustees, half the members of which were to be Baganda. But this proposal also aroused storms of protest.[46] The Baganda

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[44] With an exception of the heads of descent groups *and* very few chiefs who maintained hereditary claims to small *bitongole*.

[45] Apart from the accounts already mentioned here see: Richards, A. R., *Some Effects of the Introduction of Individual Freehold into Buganda*, in *African Agrarian Systems* ed. by D. Biebuyck, Oxford University Press, London 1963, pp. 267—281 and Meek, C. K., *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies*, Oxford University Press, London 1949, Chapter XII, pp. 131—144 and Miti J, K. *History of Buganda*, T. S. in Makerere College Library; *Uganda Protectorate Bibliography of Land Tenure*, Published by the Ministry of Lands and Mineral Development, 1960.

[46] Johnston's original proposal put within three days after his arrival in Buganda to secure chiefs as tax-collectors for the Protectorate Government as well as his proposition concerning land settlement seemed to the Baganda like an attack upon the very essence of the traditional

regarded it as another attack upon their traditional system. This would have deprived many lesser chiefs of their rights and degrade their status to that of a mere *mukopi*. Actually, without their aid and support the administration of the Protectorate could not be carried on at all. Johnston's decision of January 24th to include lesser chiefs and his solution of the problem of uncultivated fallow land-*nsiko*[47] did more than anything else to secure both the support and future co-operation of the chiefs and the success of his negotiations. Though it seemed to be no part of his original purpose, the radical revision of his proposals created a class of African land-owners with two essential rights: to transfer land by sale and to charge rent for its use from the occupiers.[48]

Assuming the area of the kingdom, as comprised within the new boundaries, amounted to 19,600 square miles, Johnston divided it in the following proportions:

		Square miles
Forests		1,500
Waste, cultivated or uncultivated land, or land occupied without prior gift of the Kabaka or chiefs by *bakopi* or strangers, to be controlled by the Uganda Administration		9,000
Plantations and other private property of His Higness, the Kabaka		350
To the twenty *abamassaza* or *ssaza* chiefs 8 square miles each as private property		160
and as official estates attached to their post 8 square miles each		160
	in total	320
The regents and ministers private property to the extent of 16 square miles each		48
and the same amount of land as official property attached to their office		48
	in total	96

system of government; see the letter of the regents to Jackson of January 16th, 1900 in Low and Pratt's *Buganda and British Overrule*, pp. 53—4 and Oliver, R., *Sir Harry Johnston...*, pp. 203—303; Entebbe Secretariat Archives, S, M. P., C450

[47] At the end of January Bishop Tucker of the Christian Missionary Society appealled in support of the chiefs regarding the problem of uncultivated fallow land. As the result of his interference the *lukiiko* could allot either cultivated or uncultivated land or a proportion of each. Low—Pratt, *Buganda and...*, p. 62; alzo see his Ph. D. thesis; E. S. A., A 4/6 and Tucker, A. R., *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, London, Edward Arnold, 1908, pp. 153-72.

[48] Oliver, R., *Sir Harry Johnston...*, p. 302.

Land was also allotted to some members of the royal family and to three missionary societies then in existence in Buganda (see Article 15).

But the most important change, when compared with the previous proposals, was that one thousand chiefs and private land-owners were to receive the rights to the estates which they were already in possession of, and which were computed at an average of 8 square miles per individual, making a total 8,000 square miles.

The allotment of these 8,000 square miles of land was to be the matter of the *lukiiko*, with an appeal to the Kabaka. The *lukiiko* would be empowered to decide on the validity of claims, the number of claimants and the extent of land granted, "premising that the total amount of land thus allotted amongst the chiefs and accorded to native landowners of the country was not to exceed 8,000 square miles".

The authors of the Agreement seemed to be, to some extent, aware of the traditional association between the political authority and the land-tenure. Anyway, their land settlement resulted in a rather complicated system of land-tenure. It took many years for the *lukiiko* to allocate estates to all who could establish their claims. Sooner than their work could be finished, the number of persons receiving allotments rose from 1,000 to over 3,700 and this number kept on rising. However, the authors of the Agreement soon found that the rights of individual freehold were hitherto unknown in the traditional system and in order to legalize this new system—*mailo* (from the word square mile) a law-the Land Law of 1908 was enacted.[49] The majority of those who received allotments by the terms of the 1900 Agreement had held offices under the old régime. The rights of many heads of descent groups were left unrespected.[50] Land was thus placed in the hands of that ruling superstructure who had disposed of it in the past even though their economic power was associated and depended on their political power and status which they held at the Kabaka's pleasure and goodwill. The mailo allotment made their economic power independent of any political status or office.

The revolutionary innovation of the new land settlement was at first scarcely noticed by the Baganda. Land, to the land-holders, was heritable private property and they could charge rent for its use from the occupiers, from their tenants just as the chiefs did in the past, who could exact tribute in kind and labour from the peasants living on their land for the right to settle on it and cultivate it. To the tenants the landowners remained their chiefs. The introduction of cotton as a cash-crop in 1904, followed by coffee some twenty years later, and the introduction of taxes speeded up the spread of money economy; facilitated the new division of labour in agriculture;[51] and later this traditional relationship made it possible

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[49] Mukwaya, A., *Land Tenure in Buganda*, pp. 15—31. U. P. Bibliography, Vol. VII, p. 1219

[50] For the problem of the *bataka* and the rise of political parties-the Bataka Party, see Apter, D., *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, New York 1960.

[51] "Cotton-growing was at first regarded as merely an extension of women's traditional responsibility for growing all the crops needed by the household. During the "boom" in coffee-

for land-owners to exploit their new assets and thus establish themselves as a separate and, for the first time in the history of Buganda, a hereditary ruling class.[52] Within this separate land-owning class there were also large differences and shiftings as anyone could raise his status by buying a patch of land. However, their economic prosperity gave them access to education and thus helped them to preserve their position.[53]

To summarize briefly, we may say, that while making use of the traditional system of government, the authors of the Agreement left the power in the hands of the ruling oligarchy of Christian and Muslim chiefs who assumed their power in the period of the first contacts with new ideologies at the expense of their traditional overlord-the Kabaka. The spread of the new ideologies shattered the solidity of the old social and political order and prepared the way for the introduction of European ideas and values on society and government embodied in the Uganda Agreement of 1900.

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and rubber-planting between 1911 and 1914, Ganda men were already showing themselves ready to work on the European estates-partly, it is true, in order to avoid *kasanvu*, since those who could claim to be in permanent employment were not called upon for this compulsory work". Later, with the growing number of migrants coming into Buganda, planters tried to reduce the rates paid to the Baganda and thus encouraged the latter, with the exception of those who remained to carry out the skilled plantation work for which other tribes were unsuitable, increasingly to take to the cultivation of cotton on their own account. Those able to afford to employ migrants could accept the change, but still escape much of the drudge involved. See Richards, A. I. (ed), *Economic Development and Tribal Change. A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda* Published for the East African Institute of Social Research by W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd, Cambridge 1954, pp. 21—22. A decade later, when Dr. Mair studied the Baganda, the new division of labour had become established; see Mair, L. P., *An African People...*, pp. 123—127.

[52] See *Social Mobility, Traditional and Modern* by L. A. Fallers assisted by S. B. K. Musoke, in *The King's Men*, pp. 158—211 and some other interesting accounts in the same book.

[53] See *East African Chiefs*, career histories.

A COMMENT ON "CONTROVERSIES IN MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY"

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1

The purpose of this review article is to evaluate the work by Professor Chun-jo Liu, *Controversies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: An Analytic Bibliography of Periodical Articles, Mainly of the May Fourth and Post-May Fourth Era*, published by the East Asian Research Center of Harvard University in 1964.

Controversies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History (further quoted only as CMCIH) is an annotated bibliography, and in the words of its compiler "is intended as a research guide for students in the principal, literary, social, political and intellectual controversies in China in the May Fourth and post-May Fourth era". Its primary purpose is, according to Professor J. K. Fairbank's *Foreword:* "to aid Western scholars to study a crucial phase of China's modern history as well as to bring the researcher quickly into contact with the principal writings, scattered among a number of periodicals, which represent the discussions of the time." Further, it is to be noted that according to the words of Professor Chun-jo Liu, this bibliography "does not claim to be exhaustive." And finally there is another note important to our comments which is also from her pen: "In general, articles that were reprinted in book form have been omitted." (All the three quotations cited above are from the Preface, vii.)

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Anybody occupied with with the study of old Chinese philosophy from its earliest stage up to the time somewhere around K'and Yu-wei [1] (1858—1927) and its last epoch ending in our present time, may have found a certain peculiarity and conspicuity in two periods fairly unlike to all the others. The periods in question are: the era of the Warring States (453—221 B.C.) and the time of the May Fourth Movement (from about 1917 to about 1923), or the years somewhere around the turn of the two decades 1917—1937. Both can be characterized as epochs of comparative enfranchisement of thinking though one had chance to die for his ideas in the period

of the Warring States, and in the twenties and particularly in the thirties of our century the people killed for their ideas were not few. In the first mentioned period itinerant philosophers and politicians endeavoured to persuade princes and kings that their teachings are to be taken seriously. They were propagationg their teachings as the instruments suitable to achieve political, economic, social or moral prosperity and to strengthen the military force. On the other hand, in the second epoch Chinese philosophers, men of letters, sociologists, economists tried to draw knowledge from their more experienced European, American and Japanese colleagues. China was compelled to join in world events in all the fields of political, economic and cultural life. All these generations—today's present one as well as generations passed away two millenia ago—carried it on with equal enthusiasm. This behaviour was in all probability the cause of these periods being very agitated and turbulent since the societies of both periods were facing difficult, exacting and fully new tasks without finding an immediate formula for their solution, especially there was too a great number of ways, means and methods of achieving a solution. Let us mention only such books as *Chuang-tzu* [2], *Meng-tzu* [3], *Han Fei-tzu* [4] and the like. In almost all of them there is an attack on somebody or something. The entire period has a controversial character. It could not have been otherwise. Without this controversial character it would not have been possible to call this epoch the "golden era" of Chinese philosophy. And without the controversial character of modern Chinese culture in the period made accessible to the researchers in the book under review, we would not have witnessed the birth of modern China, or we shold have seen it in another shape than we do today.

Controveries in modern Chinese intellectual history are undoubtedly a very interesting subject of sinological research. CMCIH might have been awaited—and doubtlessly has been awaited— by many scholars. In the modern effort "to recreate Chinese life", Professor J. K. Fairbank very correctly sees "one of history's great revolution".[1] The wide controversies, particularly those occuring in the 'twenties as well as in later years, reflecting the intellectual face of this generation, may illuminate the different aspects of Chinese life of that period and the problems of that period awaiting solution, the means of it and the like. Hence, the publication of CMCIH is to be welcomed.

The book is divided into four parts: 1. Literary issues 2. Social issues 3. Political issues 4. Intellectual issues. Each of these parts consists of several diverse groups which thematically arrange material concerning problems of what is called intellectual history by American Sinologists. The themes are very carefully selected. In the literary field we find: Vernacular Movement, The Introduction of Western Authors, "New" and "Old" Literature, Literary Criticism, The Reassessment of the Classics and the Literary Legacy, Revolution and Literature, The Literature of the Masses,

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[1] Foreword, p.v.

The Study and Preservation of the Classics. In the social field we can find the following topics: General Discussions, 1918—1933, The Family System, 1915—1930, The Movement for the Emancipation of Women, 1919—1920, Education, Culture, Ideology, The National Culture Movement, 1920—1937, Discussions on Eugenics. In the political field there is less, probably because American sinology is much more concerned with the Chinese political life of the past half-century, and the material from this field is known. There are only two thematic wholes: General Discussions, The Split of the Kuo-min-tang and the Communist Party. In the last mentioned— which is also the most extensive—the following subject are dealt with: The Controversy on Confucianism as a Religion, The Introduction of Western Philosophy, "New" and "Old" Ideas, The Spirit and Method of Science, Eastern Civilization and Western Civilization, Socialism, The Controversy on the Social History of China, Discussions on Religion, The Controversy on the Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism. The book is furnished with a List of Periodicals, a Glossary of Authors (in Chinese characters) and an Index.

Maybe it was not quite right to say that CMCIH does not show the ambition of completeness. The number of periodicals containing material on modern controversies amounts to several hundreds while Professor Chun-jo Liu had not more than something above one hundred at her disposal. This is a respectable amount but not sufficient enough to represent China in the period of her greatest and most penetrating cultural revolution. And, besides, a task like this is too great to be tackled by one person. Material of such an extent can be mastered only by a well organized collective, assuming the availability of accessible material.

In my view, Professor Fairbank put it very correctly when commenting on the purpose of this bibliography: "to bring the researcher quickly into contact with the principal writings, scattered among the number of periodicals", as quoted above. Of course, this requirement would need a certain amplification: the bibliography should comprise also material published in book form which is not known to all researchers and is accessible to an even smaller number of them.

Professor Liu leads the reader to believe that in CMCIH there are only a small number of articles which later appeared as the books. Is it really so?

This review article does not and cannot set itself the task of presenting statistical evidence as to the articles published only in periodicals and articles published in book form. It intends, however, to demonstrate at least on some thematic groups that Professor Liu is very often dependent, and sometimes predominantly, just on the book form publications.

Let us have a look, for instance, at the thematic group The Introduction of Western Authors [1.2]. It appears that out of the 15 articles annotated in it, 9 or 10 were published in book form, only 5 or 6 remained in the periodical form.[2] In the

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[2] Published in book form in *Tung-fang wen-k'u* [5] *Oriental Treasure*, no. 61 and 63, Shanghai

thematic group "New" and "Old" Literature [1.3] 10 articles were published in book form, and only 7 have remained in the periodical form.[3] Investigating into thematic group Revolution and Literature [1.6] we can see that from 22 articles annotated there are 10 to be found in the collection *Wen-i tzu-yu lun-pien-chi* [13] *Debate on the Freedom of Literature*. Among groups subjected to a more thorough study, the thematic group The Vernacular Movement [1.1] constitutes an exception: from the total number of 51 articles, only 12 appear to be known in book publications.[4]

Proceeding from the idea of the controversial character of modern Chinese culture in a period, which by this book is made accessible to the researcher, we express our belief that it is of great importance to have a deep knowledge of the men who participated in these controversies and thus acted upon the intellectual physiognomy of that period.

It can be clearly seen in China that Hu Shih [14] opposed to Li Ta-chao [15] and Ch'en Tu-hsiu [16] and *vice versa*. The same can be said about Lu Hsün [17] and Ch'eng Fang-wu [18] with Liang Shih-ch'iu [19], about Hu Feng [20] and Chou Yang [21], Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu hui [22] Literary Association and Ch'uang-tsao she [23] Creation Society, about Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng [24] League of Chinese Left Writers and Hsin-yüeh she [25] Crescent Moon Society, and the like. This means that anybody concerned with the study of intellectual history of modern China is always faced with the problem: Whom have I honour to meet? And this is not always clear at the first glance, particularly if periodical material is concerned.

Hence, a serious shortcoming of the book under review lies in the fact that Professor Liu does not sufficiently know the pseudonyms of the authors of annotated articles. She is not aware of the fact that T'ang Ssu [26] may appear to be an author of no importance at all, but actually this is a pseudonym of Lu Hsün who occupies a really important place in the intellectual history of modern China.[5] Likewise, she does not realize that Ch'en Chung-fu [31] is a courtesy name of Ch'en Tu-hsiu.[6] Neither does she know that Tu Yen [32] is the pseudonym of Kuo Mo-jo,[7] that

1924, *Sung Ch'un-fang lun chü* [6] *Sung Ch'un-fang on Dramas*, Shanghai 1923, Chou Tso-jen [7], *I-shu yü sheng-huo* [8] *Art and Life*, Shanghai 1926 and Kuo Mo-jo [9], *Wen-i lun-chi* [10] *On Literature*, Shanghai 1925.

[3] Published in book form in Chao Chia-pi [11] ed., *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* [12] *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, vols. 1 and 2, Shanghai 1935.

[4] Ibid., vol. 1.

[5] Yüan Yung-chin [27], *Hsien-tai Chung-kuo tso-chia pi-ming lu* [28] [28] *A List Pseudonyms of Modern Chinese Writers*, Peking 1936, p. 42. Cf. also Shen P'eng-nien [29], *Lu Hsün yen-chiu tzu-liao pien-mu* [30] *Bibliographical Material For the Study of Lu Hsün*, Peking 1958, p. 168.

[6] Yüan Yung-chin, o. c., p. 65.

[7] Ibid., p. 58.

116

Chou Ch'i-ying [33] is actually Chou Yang,[8] that Lo Yang [36] and I Chia [37] actually are pseudonyms of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai [38],[9] that Chung Mi [39] is the pseudonym of Chou Tso-jen,[10] that Tan Jen [40] is the pseudonym of Feng Hsüeh-feng [41],[11] that Ch'iu T'ung [44] is identical with Chang Shih-chao [45],[12] that Chu Meng-shih [46] and Meng-shih [47] are pseudonyms of Chu Kuang-ch'ien [48][13] and that Hua Lu [50] is the pseudonym of Hu Yü-chih [51].[14]

In several articles, e.g. *Piao-tien ku-shu yü t'i-ch'ang chiu wen-hsüeh* [52] *Punctuating the Classics and the Promotion of Classical Literature* (1.5.19), Professor Liu does not indicate the pseudonym Ti [53] which can be identified as the second half of the pseudonym Hsi Ti [54] adopted by the well-known literary historian and critic Cheng Chen-to [55].[15] Other articles such as *Wo-men yu shen-mo i-ch an?* [56] *What Literary Legacy Have We?* [1.5.21], *Wen-hsüeh i-ch'ang yü yang pa-ku* [57] *Literary Legacy and Foreign Eight-legged Prose* [1.5.23], *So-wei "li-shih wen-t'i"* [58] *The So-called "Historical Problem"* [1.5.25] and *Pu suan lan-fei* [59] *Not a Waste* [1.5.26] belong to Mao Tun [60] whose importance in the controversies of modern China still needs to be evaluated.[16] The treatise *Tui-yü so-wei "wen-yen fu-hsing yün-tung"-ti ku-chia* [61] *An Evaluation of the So-called "Renaissance of Literary Chinese"* [1.8.2] also belongs to Mao Tun.[17] He also used the pseudonym P'ei Wei [67] twice quoted in CMCIH [1.3.12] and [2.3.7].[18]

Likewise, Professor Liu is proceeding incorrectly when indicating rather often only the names of the authors, omitting their surnames even in the index. Not everybody studying the problems of this kind can know at the first glance that

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[8] Cf. *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh-shih* [34] *A History of Modern Chinese Literature*, Fu-tan University, Shanghai 1959, p. 312, and *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh-shih ts'an-k' ao tzu-liao* [35] *Material for the Study of the History of Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 1, Peking 1959, p. 335.

[9] Yüan Yung-chin, o.c., p. 89.

[10] Ibid., p. 39.

[11] Wang Yao [42], *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh shih-kao* [43] *An Outline of the History of Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 1, Shanghai 1953, p. 146. There is a mistake in Yüan Yung-chin, o.c., p. 42.

[12] Yüan Yung-chin, o. c., p. 55.

[13] Chu Kuang-ch'ien is the author of the book *Meng-shih wen-ch'ao* [49] *A Collection of Meng-shih*, Shanghai 1936, 208 p. Cf. also J. Schyns, *1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays*, Peking 1948, p. 29.

[14] Yüan Yung-chin, o.c., p. 46.

[15] Ibid., p. 83.

[16] Published under the pseudonyms Fen [62], Feng [63], Lan [64] and Hui [65] under which Mao Tun has signed his essays in the journal Wen-hsüeh [66] Literature. Cf. M. Gálik, *The Names and Pseudonyms Used by Mao Tun*, Archív orientální, 1963, p. 93.

[17] Written under the pseudonym Hui.

[18] This pseudonym was also used by Lu Hsün, cf. Yüan Yung-chin o.c., p. 42, and Shen P'eng-nien, o.c., p. 169. However, both articles annotated in this book come from the pen of Mao Tun. Cf. also M. Gálik, o.c., p. 89.

Hsüe-hchia [68] is actually Cheng Hsüeh-chia [69], that Hsi-ying [70] is Ch'eng Hsi-ying [71] or Ch'en Yüan [72], that Pai-hua [73] is in fact Tsung Pai-hua [74] etc. In some instances the name is given, e.g. in the case of Fu-ch'üan [75] it is stated to refer to Wang Fü-ch'üan [76], in the case of Shih-ch'iu [77] it is said to be Liang Shih-ch'iu.[19]

Neither did Professor Liu pay sufficient attention to the decipherment of the Chinese transcription of foreign names. Pu Ha-lin [78] was no modern Chinese historian as may be inferred by the reader [4.7.20] but N. Bukharin, a prominent member of the Russian Communist Party. The title of the book *The Virgin Soil* should have reminded to Professor Liu that So-lo-ho-fu [79] is identical with M. Sholokhov [1.4.62]. The author of the book, the title of which is translated into English as *The History of the Chinese Revolution* was not La-ti-k'o [80], neither was it Latik but K. Radek, also a prominent member of the Russian Communist Party [4.7.10].[20] Fu-li-ts'ai [83] is identical with V. Friche, a Russian literary historian and critic. Ma-cha-erh [84] [4.7.20] is not Marzajar but L. Madyar, a researcher in the field of Chinese economics whose two books were also published in China.[21]

Further it is to be noted that Spingar's name [1.4.44 and p. 201) should read Spingarn (well-known literary critic), and that T'uo-huang-che [88] is no personal name as it might be inferred from the author's text (1.4.15] but it is the title of a voluminous leftist journal the first number of which appeared in January 1930.

There are also other shortcomings in the CMCIH. Moreover, they cannot be justified by the subjective attitude of the compiler as it might appear at a glance. Considering, e.g. the thematic group The Introduction of Western Authors, we can see that among 15 articles there are 10 selected from the periodical Tung-fang tsa-chih [89] The Eastern Miscellany, 2 are from Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [90] The Short Story Magazine, and 1 from the journals Ch'uang-tsao chou-pao [91] Creation Weekly and Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao [92]. Ch'ing-hua Journal and Yü-ssu [93] The Tattler respectively. Anybody who knows the history of the introduction of Western authors to China in the 'twenties (this is just the period dealt with in CMCIH) will consider this thematic group both deficient (which is not essential

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[19] See p. 180 and 184.

[20] Radek's book was published in China under the title *Chung-kuo-shih-chih li-lun-ti fen-hsi* [81] *An Analysis of Chinese Historiography*, in 1929. See *Tung-ching ta-hsüeh wen-hsüeh pu Chung-kuo che-hsüe Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-shih tsang-shu mu-lu* [82] *The Catalogue of Books of the Department of Chinese Philosophy and Literature of Tokyo University*, Tokyo 1965, p. 125.

[21] The book *Ocherki po ekonomike Kitaya* (*Outlines of Chinese Economics*) was published under the title *Chung-kuo ching-chi ta-kang* [85] and the book *Ekonomika selskogo hozyaytva v Kitaye* (*Economics of Chinese Agriculture*) under the title *Chung-kuo nung-ts'un ching-chi yen-chiu* [86]. Cf. *Ch'üan-kuo tsung-shu-mu* [87] *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*, Shanghai 1935, p. 82 and 91.

in this bibliography) and—what is more important—distorted. The periodical Tung-fang tsa-chih has no doubt earned great merit as the propagator of Europen literature in China but in this respect it lagged behind Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao which was far more active. No mention is made e.g. of Hsin ch'ing-nien [94]. New Youlh or Hsin ch'ao [95] The Renaissance, both engaged in similar propagation. One might see here the merits of Sung Ch'un-fang and Hu Yü-chih, but no satisfactory evidence is given about the activity of Mao Tun, Lu Hsün, Kuo Mo-jo, Cheng Chen-to in this field.

A very distorted picture is presented by the thematic group Revolution and Literature. The materials in CMCIH originate predominantly in the period of 1932 onwards though these discussions have begun as early as 1923 in the articles by Kuo Mo-jo, Yü Ta-fu [96], Teng Chung-hsia [97], Yün Tai-ying [98] and others.[22] There was an outbreak of great vehemence of this discussion in 1928 following the defeat of the Revolution of 1927 and the publication of the article by Ch'eng Fang-wu, *Ts'ung wen-hsüeh ko-ming tao ko-ming wen-hsüeh* [100] *From Literary Revolution to Revolutionary Literature.*[23] Professor Liu leaned very extensively upon the collection *Wen-i tzu-yu lun-pien-chi*; it is surprising she did not do the same with the collection Li Ho-lin [102] ed., *Chung-kuo wen-i lun-chan* [103] *Chinese Literary Discussion*, where there is a mass of material concerning the year 1928.[24] Of course, even this would not be sufficient for the compilation of a representative selection since this collection does not contain material from the very important years of 1929 and early 1930 (with the exception of some pieces) when very passionate discussions were taking place. Omission of these makes inevitably any treatment of this theme imperfect.

A distorted picture is offered also by the thematic group Literary Criticism. Among the 71 articles included in this part, Professor Liu has selected 12 from Ch'uang-tsao chou-pao, 10 from Hsin Chung-hua [104] New China, 9 from Ch'uang-tsao [105] Creation Quarterly, 7 each from Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao and Hsin-yüch [106] Crescent Moon, 4 each from Hsien-tai p'ing-lun [107] Modern Review, Wen-hsüeh and Tung-fang tsa-chih, etc. According to the selection made by Professor Liu one could be induced to judge that the periodicals of the Creation Society of the first period (1922—1924) were playing a very important or even the most important role in the forming of modern Chinese literary criticism. Further, that in the second place there were the critics around Hu Shih and Liang Shih-ch'iu, and only after them the critics of the Literary Association.

We think that this is not correct. Chinese literary criticism in the years 1917—1920

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[22] Cf. material published at that time in Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien [99] Chinese Youth and Ch'uang-tsao chou-pao.

[23] The article was published in Ch'uang-tsao yüeh-k'an [101], 9, 1927, p. 1—7.

[24] The collection was published in October 1929. It does not include at least very important material from the end of the year.

has been formed mainly by the periodicals Hsin ch'ing-nien and Hsin-ch'ao, in the years 1921—1923 mainly by the journals Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao and Tung-fang tsa-chih (Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao was exerting important effect on literary criticism until the end of the 'twenties). No doubt, also the influence exerted by the periodicals Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an [108] Creation Quarterly (Professor Liu uses the title which is unsufficient) and Ch'uang tsao chou-pao was important in the years 1923—1924, but not so important as it appears from the remarks made in the book of Professor Liu. Beginning in 1926 until early 1930, Chinese literary criticism was much influenced by journals of the Creation Society and T'ai-yang-she [109] Sun Society the articles of which are not annotated in the book under review. These were first of all Hung-shui [110] Flood, Ch'uang-tsao yüeh-k'an, Wen-hua p'i-p'an [111] The Critique of Culture and T'ai-yang yüeh-k'an [112] Sun Monthly. One should mention also the journals around Lu Hsün, such as Mang-yüan [113] The Thicket, Meng-ya [114] Sprouts, Pen-liu [115] The Rivulet, Ta-chung wen-hsüeh [116] Literature for Masses. From the middle of 1930 until the end of 1932 literary criticism was formed particularly in the different journals of the League of Chinese Left Writers; to mention some of them: Pei-tou [117] The Great Dipper, Wen-hsüeh yüeh-pao [118] Literary Monthly, Ch'ien-shao—Wen-hsüeh tao-pao [119] Outpost—Literary Guide. In the years 1933—1937 mainly in the periodicals Hsien-tai [120] *Les Contemporains*, Wen-hsüeh, Wen-i yüeh-k'an [121] Literary Monthly and some others. Of course, not all of these are to be found in Harvard, but even from those available a more representative selection could have been made than that offered by CMCIH.

According to Professor Liu, literary criticism is "perhaps one of the richest fields in modern Chinese intellectual activities." This is very true. Literary criticism is neither purely nor principally a literary concern in China and even in other Asian countries at the time of their response to European influence. Like in 19th century Russia, it becomes a substitute for philosophy. P. Kropotkin has presented to the Chinese an ideal of the literary critic—a man deeply and philosophically minded, socially *engagé* and highly influential.[25] The Russian critics Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev were intellectual leaders of the greater part of the youth

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[25] Regarding this, Chinese raders were introduced to Kropotkin's works by Shen Tse-min [122], a younger brother of Mao Tun's. Under the title *K'o-lu-p'ao-t'o-chin O-kuo wen-hsüeh lun* [123] *Kropotkin on Russian Literature*, Shen Tse-min wrote an article on Kropotkin's book *Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature*, see Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao, a special number devoted to Russian literature, September 1921, p. 1—4. He is also a translator of *O-kuo-ti p'i-p'ing wen-hsüeh* [124] *Russian Criticism*, ibid., p. 1—8. This is actually one part of the book *Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature*. The book seems to have been successful with Chinese readers since it was translated twice. Cf. *Chüan-kuo tsung-shu-mu* p. 356. It is to be noted that Kropotkin, occupies a firm place in the intellectual history of modern China. Unfortunately, there are no articles annotated in CMCIH concerning him directly, e.g. from Tung-fang tsa-chih or Chieh-fang yü kai-tsao [125] Emancipation and Reconstruction.

and had influenced Russian thought of the 19th century. In the Chinese so-called spiritual civilization (chin-shen wen-ming) [126], literature—comprehended, of course, in a particular way—has always occupied one of the highest positions in the hierarchy of values. Early in the 'twenties, literary criticism was chosen as a heraldic figure by the Literary Association, the greatest literary group of that period.[26] In Mao Tun's endeavours, the most important critic of the Literary Association, we can clearly see the intention to achieve wide social acknowledgment for the critics and to make literature and literary criticism an effective means of influencing the contemporary society. At the beginning of his activity, Mao Tun switched over from philosophy to literary criticism since literary criticism, just the same as literature in general, appeared to be a means suitable for awakening the masses and the *avantgarde* of philosophy.[27] Also Lu Hsün started and finished his great work with literary criticism. Kuo Mo-jo's attitude towards it was sceptical at the beginning, later, however, he returned to it many times. In 1928, in the period of very ardent discussion on revolutionary literature, literary criticism was the means in the hands of the Creation Society of carrying out its attacks on politics, economics, society, philosophy, science and literature of the capitalist era.[28] Likewise, it was not an accident that literary criticism was frequently a weapon used in the hands of Hu Shih, the most influential personality among the anti-communist intellectuals, originally a philosopher. Many communist philosophers, e.g. Yün Tai-ying, Mao Tse-tung, Lin Mo-han [134] and others paid great attention to literary criticism. Also the campaigns led after the year 1949 against literary critics beginning with Yü P'ing-po [135] (1954) up till Chou Yang (1966) demonstrate that the problem of literary criticism has remained a very important question of Chinese cultural policy up to the present time.[29]

Literary criticism is one of the most important sources for the study of modern

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[26] Cf. *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao kai-ko hsüan-yen* [127] *A Manifesto of the Reform of the Short Story Magazine*, in *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi*, vol. 10, p. 77.

[27] Shen Yen-ping [128] (Mao Tun), *Wen-hsüeh yü jen-ti kuan-hsi chi Chung-kuo ku-lai tui wen-hsüeh-che shen-fen-ti wu-jen* [129] *The Relation of Literature to Man and the Old Chinese Mis-conception of the Writers Position*, Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao, 12, 1, 1921, p. 8—10. Also P'ei Wei (Mao Tun), *Hsien-tsai wen-hsüeh-chia-ti tzu-jen shih shen-mo ni?* [130] *What Are the Duties of the Contemporary Men of Letters*, Tung-fang tsa-chih, 17, 1, 1920, p. 94-96. Cf. also M. Gálik's treatment of this theme in *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, I. and II. Asian and African Studies (1967—1968).

[28] Ch'eng Fang-wu, Chu-tz'u [131] *Inaugurating Address*, Wen-hua p'i-p'an, 1, January 1928, p. Also Feng Nai-ch'ao [132], *I-shu yü sheng-huo* [133] *Literature and Social Life*, ibid., p. 2—13.

[29] An excellent book on this subject has been written by D. W. Fokkema, *Literary Doctrine in China and Soviet Influence: 1956—1960*, The Hague 1965. In his book, the author deals also with older developments ranging up to Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature* in 1942.

Chinese intellectual history. Hence, far greater attention should be paid to it.

Let us mention some minor shortcomings in the work of Professor Liu. Wang Ching-hsüan [136] (1.3.4) was not a living personality but an invention of the adherents of the literary revolution.[30] The periodical Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an (1.4. 34—37) was published in the years 1922—1924.[31] B. Russell was the author of the works *Political Ideals, Roads to Freedom* and not as indicated by Professor Liu in 3.1. 6. The title of the book annotated in 4.2. 44 should read *Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* and not as given on p. 124. It is regrettable that Professor Liu, annotating so many articles from the journal Min-to tsa-chih [137] People'e Bell (4.2. 25—38) devoted to H. Bergson, paid no attention to any of the articles in the number devoted to F. Nietzsche, published in the same journal in 1920.[32] The influence exerted by Nietzsche on the intellectual history of modern China was not less than that by Bergson.

A great deal of time and effort has been sacrificed by Professor Liu to her book for which she deserves the grateful acknowledgment of all scholars interested in the intellectual history of modern China. Unfortunately, the numerous deficiences diminish to some extent the value of the book.

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The present reviewer thinks that his comparison of the period of the Warring States with that of around the May Fourth Movement was not superfluous. He believes that in the time around the May Fourth Movement a remarkable creative atmosphere came into being which was the renaissance of the atmosphere which in the era B.C. had created the foundations of ancient China. Hence, the period of the May Fourth Movement should be studied more thoroughly and endeavours should be made to evaluate it. Apart from the epoch of the Warring States this period is perhaps one of the most remarkable as far as the question of intellectual history of China is concerned. It was a time which not only moulded the ideological shape of the generation existing on the historical scene up to the present, but was also helpful in creating of modern China. This modern China has to be taken into account by the world as an important factor, by now unseparable from the world's existence or non-existence.

Controversies in modern Chinese intellectual history (and not only the material presented in CMCIH) are apt to make contemporary China and its problems appear in a much brighter light than seen up to the present.

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[30] Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1960, p. 66.

[31] Fairbank and Liu, *Modern China: A Biblographical Guide to the Chinese Works 1898—1937*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1961, p. 4 86.

[32] In vol. 2, no. 1.

1.康有為 2.莊子 3.孟子 4.韓非子 5.東方文庫 6.宋
春舫論劇 7.周作人 8.藝術與生活 9.郭沫若
10.文藝論集 11.趙家璧 12.中國新文學大系 13.文
藝自由論辯集 14.胡適 15.李大釗 16.陳獨秀
17.魯迅 18.成仿吾 19.梁實秋 20.胡風 21.周揚
22.文學研究會 23.創造社 24.中國左翼作家聯盟
25.新月社 26.唐俟 27.遠堂進 28.現代中國作家
筆名錄 29.沈鵬年 30.魯迅研究資料編目 31.
陳仲甫 32.杜荃 33.周起應 34.中國現代文學史
35.中國現代文學史參考資料 36.冷楊 37.易嘉
38.瞿秋白 39.仲密 40.丹仁 41.馮雪峰 42.王瑤
43.中國新文學史稿 44.叔桐 45.章士釗 46.
朱孟實 47.孟實 48.朱光潛 49.孟實文鈔 50.
化魯 51.胡愈之 52.標點古書與提倡舊文學
53.婦綿 54.方綸 55.鄭振鐸 56.我們有什么
遺產? 57.文學遺產與學人腔 58.所謂
「歷史問題」 59.不算恭賀 60.茅盾 61.對於
所謂「文言復興運動」的估價 62.芳 63.風
64.蘭 65.惠 66.文學 67.佩韋 68.學衡 69.鄭
學稼 70.丙塋 71.陳煨 72.白華 73.宗白華 74.
韻氣 76.汪馥泉 77.實秋 78.柳哈林 79.楊
羅霏夫 80.托洛克 81.中國歷史之理論的分析
82.東京大學文學部中國哲學中國文學研究室
藏書目錄 83.佛里萊 84.馬扎亞 85.中國經濟
大綱 86.中國農村經濟研究 87.全國總書目

88. 扣苍苔 89. 东方杂志 90. 小说月报 91. 创造周报 92. 清华学报 93. 语丝 94. 新青年 95. 新潮 96. 郁达夫 97. 邓中夏 98. 恽代英 99. 中国青年 100. 从文学革命到革命文学 101. 创造月刊 102. 李何林 103. 中国文艺论战 104. 新中华 105. 创造 106. 新月 107. 现代评论 108. 创造季刊 109. 太阳社 110. 洪水 111. 文化批判 112. 太阳月刊 113. 拓荒者 114. 萌芽 115. 奔流 116. 大众文学 117. 北斗 118. 文学月报 119. 前哨—文学导报 120. 现代 121. 文艺月刊 122. 沈泽民 123. 俄国文学论 124. 俄国的批评文学 125. 解放与改造 126. 精神文明 127. 小说月报改革宣言 128. 沈雁冰 129. 文学与人的关系及中国古来对文学者身分的误认 130. 现在文学家的责任是什么呢？ 131. 祝词 132. 冯乃超 133. 艺术与社会生活 134. 林默涵 135. 俞平伯 136. 王敬轩 137. 民铎杂志

BOOK REVIEWS

P. H. Clyde and B. F. Beers, *The Far East: A History of the Western Impact and the Eastern Response* (1830—1965), Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey and London 1966, XV + 511 pp.

The book under review was first published in 1948. This is its fourth, revised edition. This fact alone is a proof of its popularity. As it appears from the *Preface* of both authors, the book is "addressed to college and university students and to general reader seeking a systematic introduction to the history of Eastern Asia during the past century". We think that this is an understatement. This book will attain also the interest of scientific workers in the field of the Far East, first of all historians.

Since the history of Western impact and Eastern response is treated here, the authors are concerned particularly with recent and the most recent history of China, Japan, Korea and South-East Asia. Of course, the greatest part of the book is dedicated to China and Japan. It appears that the parts dealing with Japan are the best. In a very concise way, also the old history of these countries is treated.

Many experts have been interested in the problem of Western impact and Eastern response in the last decades. The consequences of this tendency and its manifolds results have not been fully dealt with up to the present. Only history is able to offer us a satisfactory picture. In the future, it will be necessary to carry out much more serious work in the field of philosophy, literature, jurisprudence, social life, etc. In the field of Western impact and Eastern response, the picture offered by the book under review is, to a certain extent, insufficient with the exception of history. This is not casting any doubts on the scientific competency of the authors; the reason of the deficiency of the work lies in an unsufficient knowledge of the branches treated, a fact which is typical for present-time oriental studies.

Otherwise, it must be admitted that the book is abundantly documented and presents extensive bibliographic material, particularly as far as history is concerned.

Marián Gálik

125

O. L. Fischman, *Kitaĭskiĭ satiricheskiĭ roman. Epokha Prosveschenia.* (The Chinese Satirical Novel. The Era of Enlightenment.) Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1966, 195 pp.

Olga Fischman, a collaborator of the Leningrad Institute of Asian Nations, with the abundant material compiled in her book about the Era of Enlightenment in China, starts out from the complexity of the ideological and artistical development which applies not only to Europe but—in analogous socio-historical conditions—also to other cultures. Dealing with the Era of Enlightenment, she demonstrates that there is a great number of congruent characteristics between European Enlightenment on the one hand, and Chinese thought and literature of the same period on the other. The author arrives at the conclusion that beginning with the 17th century, an ideology of Enlightenment was developing in China, and that in Chinese literature, too, the existence of the Enlightenment novel can be detected; in the view of the author, the topical creation of the Chinese satirical novel constitutes the Chinese novel of Enlightenment. In the last chapter of her work the author presents an interesting statement of views concerning the opinion of European Men of Enlightenment on China.

In the first part of her work the author demonstrates that in the period starting from the 17th century until the early years of the 19th century, Chinese scholars, philosophers and literates were expressing views very similar to those of the Men of European Enlightenment. Particularly the authors Huang Tsung-hsi (1610—1695), Ku Yen-wu (1613—1682) and Wang Fu-chih (1619—1692) who in China critized the political and economic system of their time, are considered as representatives of early Enlightenment in China. With the exception of Wang Fu-chih, all the authors of Chinese Enlightenment were postulating a return to the past, to the "golden age". The views of these early authors were further developed by T'ang Chen (1630—1704), also by Yen Yüan (1635—1704), Tai Chen (1724—1777) and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738—1801), the latter being an incisive critic of Neoconfucianism. This epoch is closed by such authors as Kung Tse-chen (1792—1841) and Wei Yüan (1794—1856) both of whomc an already be considered as fore-runners of the later reformists. They were calling for reforms to be carried out according to the European model, they requested the cancellation of the system of examinations, and they postulated social justice. In the author's view the Chinese Men of Enlightenment arrived at an ideal similar to that of Voltaire's "enlightened absolutism" and of J. J. Rousseau (here the author reminds us that T'ang Chen's views were near to Rousseau's postulate concerning the Republic); however, unlike West-European Men of Enlightenment, the Chinese did not have concrete ideas on future social systems; they concentrated more on criticizing feudal despotism.

In the subsequent three chapters, O. Fischman, on the hand of an analysis of concrete literary works, demonstrates the existence of Enlightenment literature

in China. Works of this kind are considered by the author the satirical novel *Ju-lin wai-shih Informal History of Scholars* by Wu Ching-tzu and Li Ju-chen's novel *Ching-hua-yüan Flowers in the Mirror*. As fore-runners of these novels, the author believes to be the satirical elements in a number of works written shortly before the two novels mentioned above. Thus, in the view of the author, the novel *Hsi-yu-chi Pilgrimage to the West* by Wu Ch'eng-en, and *Hsi-yu pu Supplement to the Pilgrimage* by Tung Yüeh, further the anonymous *Chung Kui t'i-kui chuan Chung Kui The Ghost Catcher*, travelogue the fantasticism of which serves as a criticism of contemporary conditions, are direct fore-runners of the novel *Flowers in the Mirror*. The author thinks that the novel Chin, P'ing, Mei, due to its structure, is the fore-runner of the novel *Hung-lou-meng, Dream of the Red Chamber* by Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in who—in the author's view—is a Man of Enlightenment. She concludes that the novel Chin, P'ing, Mei with its concentration on details of life and its extensive description of society, has exerted influence also on the *Informal History of Scholars*. Other considered fore-runners of the novel of Enlightenment are P'u Sung-ling's *Liao-chai chih-i Strange Tales of Liao-Chai* and *Yüeh-wei ts'ao-t'ang pi-chi Notes of Yüeh-wei Hermitage* by Chi Yün.

Based on the artistic and ideological analysis of the novel *Informal History of Scholars* the author believes to have found a number of features this novel has in common with European contemporary works: typisation based on exaggeration, emphasis on the negative, criticism of contemporary conditions. Like authors of European satires of Enlightenment, Wu Ch'ing-tzu also applied the method of the character's self-exhibition, pointing out the contrasts between them, the characters' self-evaluation in contrast to their actual character, the grotesque, the satirical allegory, and he endeavours to present a linguistic characterisation of the characters. O. Fischman also looks for and finds a similarity between the properties of the European satire of the Era of Enlightenment and the novel *Flowers in the Mirror* (besides the characteristics mentioned in relation to the novel *Informal History of Scholars*, the novel *Flowers in the Mirror* contains also elements of satirical fantasticism and allegory). In the descriptive parts of both novels the author finds new approaches to reality: a more democratic conception of the notion of the State, an independent thinking of the individual, putting emphasis on his value, postulating equality in the family. However, from the phraseological, lexicographical and expressive viewpoint, the author's opinion is that the Chinese satirical novel of Enlightenment lags behind the European one.

After having analysed the works described above, the author arrives at the conclusion that Chinese literature, too, has passed through an Age of Enlightenment.

In the fifth, and last chapter under the title "China and European Enlightenment", the author deals with the interest displayed by the European authors of the Age of Enlightenment in China and China's interpretation by them. She enumerates and comments on books written by Europeans of that period on China and deals

127

with translations of books on the Confucian canon. O. Fischman concludes that the Men of European Enlightenment, with a few exceptions, have seen China in an idealized light, and China appeared in their eyes as a realisation of their ideals. In this respect the most extreme view has been taken by the French Men of Enlightenment who in their struggle against European absolutism set China as an example to be followed. In the eyes of the Russian Men of Enlightenment, China was the homonym of an ideal state actually, they were in Chinese reality even less interested than their European contemporaries. The foundations of this idealisation of China can be sought for in the material from which the Europen Men of Enlightenment were borrowing, i.e. from the books of missionaries of the 17th century who very often were forming their notion on China according to their wishful thinking.

I should like to add some technical points which apply particularly to the fifth chapter: for non-Russian and perhaps also for Russian readers it would be very useful to always indicate besides the Russian transcription of European names at their first occurrence these names also in the original; a procedure of this kind would very much facilitate work on the book. Also differences in transscription should not occur such as the name La Mothe le Vayer on page 142 transcribed as Lamott-Le- -Vaie, and the same name on page 178 as Liamot Le-Vaie. Small inconveniences of this kind should not be in an otherwise well founded work.

The explanations of O. Fischman concerning the parallels between European and Chinese Enlightenment, and her views on the existence of an Age of Enlightenment in Chinese literature and ideology can, of course, be accepted, judged sceptically or refused. In any case, however, her endeavour to demonstrate a unity between the ideological and artistical development in Europe and China in the 17th and 18th centuries is to be considered as interesting and stimulating (no doubt, it would be interesting to find out whether there were points of contact of this kind also with other, non-European literatures).

The author's conception of the unity of literary and ideological development in European and Chinese cultures, her refusal of a classical periodisation of the history of Chinese literature, and finally the richness of the material analysed and interpreted make the book under review a very interesting and particular contribution to the re-evaluation of Chinese literary and ideological heredity.

<div style="text-align: right">Anna Doležalová</div>

I. S. Braginskiĭ, ed., *Problemy teoriii literatury i estetiki v stranakh Vostoka* (The Problems of the Theory of Literature and Aesthetics of Eastern Countries), Nauka, Publishing House, Moscow 1964, 340 pp.

The collection under review contains 13 contributions to different problems of

theory, aesthetics and literature of Asian countries, introduced by an article written by Professor I. Braginskiĭ, a well-known organizer of scientific life of Soviet orientalists. Among the themes there are old-Indian and Sanscrit poetry, Indian aesthetics, the formal influence of Arabian and Persian poetry on the formal aspect of poetry written in the Turk languages, and some other questions touching Japanese, Korean, Chinese and Iranian literature.

Of course, the reviewer, being a Sinologist, paid more attention to three studies concerned with Chinese literary theory. In chronological order there is first of all the article of B. Riftin *Teoriia kitaĭskoĭ dramy* (*The Theory of Chinese Drama*) dealing with Chinese opinions on the drama of the period from the 12th to the early 17th century. At present, the Chinese literary theory in the field of poetry is fairly well known due to the merit of the pioneering work of Chinese scholars such as Kuo Shao-yü, Lo Ken-tse and Chu Tung-jun; however, as far as the drama is concerned, development has been very slow, and for this reason Riftin's work constitutes a really valuable contribution. Much of his attention is given to two authors, both from the 17th century: Lü T'ien-ch'eng and Ch'i Pao-chia. The works of the latter were found in China not earlier than in the years 1951—1952, thus they are new and almost entirely unknown to Sinologists. Anybody concerned with the study of the history of Chinese literary theory is astounded by the measure of Chinese literary theory being a theory of poetry. Likewise, the old Greek literary theory was first of all a theory of drama. In the old Chinese literary theory we do not find much material related to the novel or drama, but here again we are very surprised seing how much both these genres are influenced by the theory of poetry. In the case of the theory of drama this influence is visually conspicuous. The theoreticians select from the theory of poetry a method, a way of how to evaluate a work. They classify it into categories (*p'in*) in a way applied by the critic Chung Jung as early as the 6th century A.D., they even utilize short emotional characteristics so richly present in old Chinese poetics (shih-hua).

V. Semanov is the author of the second study entitled *Teoriia prozy v Kitaĭe na rubezhe XIX—XX vv.* (*The Theory of Fiction in China at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Century*). As far as we know this is—just as is Riftin's article—a first work in an European language discussing somewhat more thoroughly this problem. As to the extent of the study, if we take into consideration the amount of problems discussed and the number of authors analysed, we can state that even among Chinese works there is nothing like it as far as this question is concerned. Great attention is given to the numerous followers of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. A deficiency of this, otherwise highly instructive study, is its unsatisfactory arrangement; the amount of the material compiled is surprising but gives no satisfaction: it is too exacting from the reader's point of view.

t Another study in the collection under review comes from K. Golygina under the itle *Literaturno-esteticheskiie vzgliady Lin Shu* (1852—1924) *Literary and Aesthetic*

Opinions of Lin Shu). Lin Shu was a very important translator of European novels and dramas into the Chinese language. The author is concerned particularly with two works of his: *Ch'un-chüeh-chai lun hua* (*On Pictures from the Studio of Spring Awakening*) and *Ch'un-chüeh-chai lun wen* (*On Literature from the Studio of Spring Awakening*). This study constitutes a novum for Western Sinologists since this aspect of Lin Shu has been unknown to them up to the present.

For students of modern Chinese literature there is an interesting article written by B. Pospelov, *Iz literaturno-esteticheskikh vozzrenii v Japonii* (*From the History of Literary and Aesthetic Opinions in Japan*) in which the author discusses Japanese literary criticism from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, there is the unknown fact that it was just the Japanese naturalistic theory, first of all the article by Shimamura Hogetsu titled *Naturalism in Literature,* that exerted such a deep influence on Chinese naturalistic or—to put it more correctly—realistic theory of the early 'twenties.

This collection constitutes a "stepping-stone" for the creation of an extensive monographical work on the aesthetics of the Orient. We have to wish Soviet Orientalists every success and to hope that they will be able to manage it.

<div align="right">Marián Gálik</div>

Jean Chesneaux, *Les syndicats chinois 1919—1927.* Répertoire-Textes-Presse Maison des sciences de l'homme. Matériaux pour l'étude de l'Extrême-Orient moderne et contemporain. Textes II. Paris, Mouton 1965, 305 pp.

This is the author's second, complementary volume to his large study *Le mouvement ouvrier chinois de 1919 à 1927,* Mouton 1962. In my review of this momentous contribution to the history of modern China in Archiv Orientální 31 (1963), p. 497 I have already pointed out the principal importance of the material on trade unions new being reviewed. The word "material" must be stressed since the book under review does not present any systematic account of the problems involved.

This fact does not decrease but increases the value of the book since much of the material is either completely inaccessible outside China or cannot be used by the general historian. The material is undoubtedly, of great use even for specialists in modern China since it represents one of the many "instruments of production" still missing (on p. 9 the author mentions the necessity of *"la production des instruments de production"*). Finally, this *thèse complémentaire* is large enough (305 pages) to guarantee a relatively full coverage of the relevant issues.

First there is the introduction including i.a. *Chronologie du mouvement ouvrier chinois de 1919 à 1927* (pp. 9—18), which undoubtedly represents a small part of another of the author's welcome projects his huge chronology of the period

1840—1937. The first part of the book lists 470 trade-unions (*Répertoire des principales organisations ouvrières*, pp. 21—81) on an all-China level, as well as in the fourteen provinces of China as well as at Hong Kong, while special attention is paid, of course, to Kuan-tung, the centre of the revolutionary movement.

Because of their special character the railway trade-unions are treated separately. The original name in Chinese characters is always given, then follows a French translation as well as some condensed information quoting the relevant sources. It may be noted that an explanation of special terms was given recently by the author in his study *Quelques termes relatifs à la vie ouvrière chinoise vers 1920* (in Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville. Bibliotheque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Volume XX. Paris 1966, pp. 17—25).

The second and largest part (pp. 85—295) *Choix des textes relatifs à l'évolution du mouvement ouvrier*, presents 31 texts printed in Chinese, translated fully in French with abundant and exact notes, indispensable for their proper understanding. All the texts themselves are the products of the workers' movement, including the 23rd on the evaluation of the right-wing trade-unions of the anarchist martyrs Huang Ai and P'ang Jen-ch'üan on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of their death on January 17, 1922. The first and the last texts represent two proclamations of the Workers' Party on the occasion of the strikes following the May Fourth Movement and of the General Trade-Union of Shanghai to the Central Committee of the Kuomintang in protest against the coup d'état of Chiang Kai-shek in April 1927 respectively.

The last part *Inventaire sommaire de la presse ouvrière chinoise* (pp. 287-295), is relatively small because of the lack of more thorough information on the great quantity of workers' journals. Thirty newspapers are listed, almost all of which were inspected personally by the author. The newspapers are also enumerated according to the places of publication; this is definitely a sound principle of the whole book as it shows the developed as well as underdeveloped regions of the workers'movement.

Finally, there are two appendices giving full titles of journals quoted in the book under abbreviation only and a list of Chinese terms and names (allow us to mention a misprint there on p. 303: bu-er-*se*-wei-ke instead of bu-er-*si*-wei-ke for the Bolsheviks). An index which probably was not included because of the high cost of the book, would have been desirable. Of course, in this regard the numerous quotations of *Le mouvement chinois de 1919 a 1927* are helpful to a certain degree.

I have already pointed out in Archiv Orientální 34 (1966), p. 616 the importance of the existing eight volumes of *Matériaux por l'étude de l'Extrême-Orient moderne et contemporain*, devoted to China and there is no doubt that J. Chesneaux's contribution is one of the most significant of these series.

.   Timoteus Pokora

E. D. Grinstead (ed.), *Chinese Periodicals in British Libraries*, Handlist No. 2, The Trusteers of the British Museum, London 1965, 102 pp.

The bibliography under review is the successor of a preliminary union catalogue (Handlist No. 1) of the holdings of all periodicals and the microfilms of periodicals in the Chinese language of the main British libraries, especially of the British Museum, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Cambridge University Library and the Oriental Institute, Oxford. Merit for its publication is deserved by J. Lust and K. T. Fan, both of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

It is an encouraging fact that in recent years the attention of Sinologists has been turned to the elaboration of the stocks of periodicals dislocated in many different libraries. Besides the exceedingly helpful *Catalogue des périodiques chinois dans les bibliothèques d'Europe* by Professor Y. Hervouet and the complementary of this bibliography *Ergänzungs-Katalog der Zeitschriften der Lu-Hsün's Bibliothek in Prag*, Archiv orientální, 33, 1965, pp. 463—470, by M. Stolzová—Boušková, the librarians and scholars have now this bibliography at their disposal. Here, of course, only materials from European libraries are mentioned.

Grinstead's bibliography contains 1603 titles encompassing periodicals of 17 British libraries. For comparison, Hervouet's *Catalogue* contains 600 titles encompassing material from 35 libraries of Western Europe. Among the material contained in Grinstead's bibliography there are very important or rare periodicals such as Che-chiang ch'ao [17], Che-hsüeh tsa-chih [30], Chia-yin chou-k'an [82], Chiao-yü tsa-chih [106], Ch'ingi-pao [205], Fu-nü tsa-chih [435], Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [502], Hsien-tai [514], Hsin ch'ing-nien [538], Hsin-min ts'ung-pao [565], Hsin shih-chi [575], Hsin yüeh (597), Hsüeh-heng [613], Hsüeh-lin [617], Mei-chou p'ing-lun [590], Min-to tsa-chih [980], Ta-chung sheng-huo [1275], Tung-fang tsa-chih [1423].

In the bibliography there are some inconsistencies, probably due to errors in transcription of the text: Ch'uang-tsao chou-pao hui-k'an [234] is from the years 1923—1924 and not from 1933—1934, Ch'uang-tsao jih hui-k'an [235] if from the year 1923 and not 1929, the periodical Wen-hsüeh [1495] started to he issued in 1933 and not in 1935, the periodical Hsüeh-heng started to be issued in 1922 and not in 1923, the periodical Kai-tsao [735] originally bore the title Chieh-fang yü kai-tsao. Another shortcoming is that no Chinese characters are indicated with several titles, and that—with a few exceptions—the titles of the periodicals are not translated into European languages.

However, these minor deficiences cannot diminish the value of this book which will be very helpful to Sinologists in their work with periodicals written in the Chinese language.

Marián Gálik

V. M. Alekseĭev, *Kitaĭskaĭa narodnaĭa kartina* (The Chinese Popular Picture).
Editor-in-chief Ejdlin L. Z., Compiler Bankovskaĭa M. V., Commentary and
Bibliography Riftin B. L., Foreword Riftin B. L. and Rudova M. L., Nauka
Publishing House, Moscow 1966, 259 pp.

Fifteen years after the death of Vasiliĭ Mikhaĭlovich Alekseĭev, the prominent and
versatile Soviet Sinologist, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet
Union, this cummulative volume of his articles, with the characteristic sub-title
of *The Spiritual Life of China in the Popular Picture* was published with the help
of his daughter, M. V. Bankovskaĭa and of Moscow and Leningrad Sinologists. The
volume contains six studies, most of which have not previously been published.
The folk-lore and subjects of Chinese popular woodcuts are studied by the author,
in accordance to their themes, such as the theatre or religion. The first article,
"The Chinese Popular Picture and Perspectives of its Research" is an exception as
in this the author presents a thorough characterization of this branch of popular
art and he points at the necessity of its study.

V. M. Alekseĭev was the first scholar to devote himself fully to the research
of the Chinese popular pictures. In China itself, scholars started to pay attention
to this branch of art only during the forties of this century (A Ying, Wang Shu-ts'un
and others). European researchers, too, started to be interested in this theme at
a later date than V. M. Alekseĭev. One exception is E. Chavannes whose study,
De l'expression des voeux dans l'art populaire chinois, was published in the Journal
Asiatique, XIe série, 1901, pp. 193—233. Simultaneously with the first work of
V. M. Alekseĭev, H. Doré's *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* vol. I-V,
Shanghai 1911—1919 was issued but as this author's work was based on the study
of pictures ordered by Chinese Christians, his interpretation is biased. During his
travels in China, which began in the year 1906, V. M. Alekseĭev collected popular
woodcuts. His collection of popular New Year pictures contains 3000 pieces from
different workshops (they are now in the State Eremitage and Museum of the
History of Religion and Atheism in Moscow). Scientific works on this field, as
revealed by the bibliography of the cummulative volume under review, were first
published by V. M. Alekseĭev in 1911.

In the works included in this volume, the author deals with various questions.
The article on the Chinese theatre discusses many aspects of this kind of art, so
widely popular in China: on the sources of drama, its position in the Confucian
system; the relationship of drama to the onlooker; the scenery, music, actors,
specificities of the Chinese theatre. The most extensive part of the volume is the
study titled Religions and Beliefs of Old China in popular illustrations. Based on
the conclusions of his study of popular woodcuts, V. M. Alekseĭev demostrates how
Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism transformed and penetrated into popular
consciousness. He further demonstrates that in the popular illustrations one can

see a marked appearance of syncretistic tendencies of the different religions. He also deals with the different cults, devoting an independent chapter to the cult of Ts'ai-shen—God of Wealth. Likewise, in an independent chapter the author points at the unfriendly and satirical acceptance of Christianity and missionaries penetrating in China, a fact clearly seen in the popular woodcuts. The author's polemic with L. Y. Shternberg's work *The Antique Cult of Twins in the Light of Ethnography* (Cumulative volume of anthropology and ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, vol. III., 1916, pp. 133—189) concerning the interpretation of the rebus *Ho-Ho*—Unity-Harmony, displays the high erudition and the wide knowledge of the author. V. M. Alekseïev polemizes with L. Y. Shternberg's view, according to which this cult of twins is the same as known in other cultures, for, by analyzing woodcuts, Alekseïev arrives at the conclusion that this is an exclusively Chinese cult of doubles. This question still remains unsolved in folk-lore. The next study: Exorcists of Daemons in Chinese Popular Belief and Illustrations, like the other articles, is abundantly illustrated. It describes and analyzes the subjects of the woodcuts, and demonstrates their great ethnographical importance. The author, simultaneously, deals with the question of graphical exorcism and deciphers some of the formulae. The last, and the shortest study of this volume of V. M. Alekseïev's articles is based on the analysis of epigraphs. It shows that the historical personality of Szu-ma Ch'ien became a local deity in popular religion. This work is considered by the author as a complement to the work of his teacher E. Chavannes: *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (vol. I-V, Paris, 1895—1905).

The cummulative volume of V. M. Alekseïev *The Chinese Popular Picture* has been given a really representative workmanship. It contains 105 coloured and black-white reproductions of woodcuts signed by the artist or by M. L. Rudova. The list of works by V. M. Alekseïev, compiled by B. L. Riftin, is also of great value as it encompasses the archives and has an extensive bibliography of works published in European languages and in Chinese, concerning the problem treated. The scientific approach of the epilogue by B. L. Riftin and M. L. Rudova, besides interesting data on the personality and work of V. M. Alekseïev, also contains materially well founded information on the state of research being carried out on the Chinese popular picture and the results of such work both in Europe and in China. Thus, this is a book worthy of a great Sinologist and at the same time is a valuable contribution to the study of Chinese folk-lore.

Anna Doležalová

Tung-ching ta-hsüeh wen-hsüeh-pu Chung-kuo che-hsüeh Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-shih tsang-shu mu-lu (The Catalogue of Books of the Department of Chinese Philosophy and Literature of the Tokyo University), Tokyo University Press 1965, 234 + 87 + 100 + 7 pp.

The book under review is one of those books which are not present in sufficient numbers on the book market. It demonstrates the richness of sinological literature in one of the most famous Japanese universities. It is divided into two great parts. In one of them we can find all the classical works according to traditional arrangement: Classics (*ching-pu*), History (*shih-pu*), Philosophers (*tzu-pu*), Collections of literature (*chi-pu*) and Series of books (*ts'ung-shu-pu*). In the group Collections of literature are included also dramas, short stories and novels which have been traditionally considered as unorthodox literature. In the second part of the work there is a relatively far greater number of different groups. To mention only some of them: The national heritage (*kuo-hsüeh*), Catalogues of books (*tsang-shu mu-lu*) Reference books (*shih-tien, tz'u-tien, so-yin*), Journals (*tsa-chih*), Collections of essays and lectures (*lun-wen chiang-yen chi*), Philosophical thought (*che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang*), History (*li-shih*), Social sciences (*she-hui k'o-hsüeh*), Politics (*cheng-chih*), Natural sciences (*tzu-jan k'o-hsüeh*), Linguistics (*yü-hsüeh*) and Literature (*wen-hsüeh*). Finally, two extensive indexes complete the work: the first one indicates works arranged according to the initial character of the title of the respective work, the second one shows the works arranged according to their authors.

It is to be emphasized that the bibliography under review has been very carefully and adequately compiled. It encompasses about 10,000 books (considering the number of volumes a multiple of this amount). The most remarkable groups are Philosophical thought, Social sciences, Linguistics and Literature, the latter very rich in works of modern Chinese literature. One cannot fail to see that first of all Professor Ono Shinobu and his students, who were in the recent past responsible for this field of Sinology at the Tokyo University, have done a lot of valuable work.

The present reviewer considers that there is one thing to be criticized, with respect to the entire book stock of the Tokyo University: not enough attention has been paid to the so-called translated literature (*fan-i wen-hsüeh*), i.e. to books from various fields translated into Chinese. Without knowledge of them modern sinology— if concerned with certain problems in the field of philosophy, literature, history and even other disciplines—will encounter difficulties.

Marián Gálik

135

Hans Andreas Poetzelberger, *Einführung in das Indonesiche.* Wiesbaden, in Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz 1965, S. 147. Preis DM 14.—.

Die „*Einführung in das Indonesische*" von H. A. Poetzelberger soll „einem unmittelbaren Zugang zur lebendigen Sprache in ihrer inneren und äusseren Struktur eröffnen und mit zunehmendem Verständnis der sprachlichen Form einen ersten Einblick in die Literatur und Kulturgeschichte Indonesiens gewähren". Sie dient damit nicht allein denjenigen, die sich mit dem direkten Studium der Indonesistik zu befassen haben, sondern auch Vertretern verschiedener Spezialberufe — Ingenieuren, Technikern, Handelsvertretern, Künstlern, Dozenten und Wissenschaftlern — die im Exportgeschäft oder kulturellen Austauschprogramm in Indonesien tätig sein müssen. Besonders für die letztgenannte Gruppe kann die Ausstattung der Lektionen mit interlinearer Texinterpretation als nützliche methodische Stütze angesehen werden, während sie für Studenten eher störend wirken mag. Zudem wird es dem Anfänger sicherlich schwer genug fallen, den jeweiligen Bezug, d. h. die richtigen Zuordnungen, in der Interlinearversion ausfindig zu machen, obwohl sich der Verf. bemüht, möglichst Wort für Wort zu übersetzen. Aber auch bei der in späteren Abschnitten gebotenen ganztextlichen Übersetzungshilfe (linke Seite indonesisch — rechte Seite deutsch) ist es nicht immer leicht, die einzelnen syntaktischen Äquivalente einander gleichzusetzen, da es sich ja beim deutschen Text mehr um eine Übertragung als um eine wörtliche Übersetzung handelt und somit keine vollständige textliche Kongruenz vorliegen kann.

Das mit zwei Bildtafeln („Die indonesischen Reiche und austronesischer Sprachkreis" S. 6; „Die Schriften Indonesiens" S. 10) ausgestattete Buch untergliedert sich in folgende Hauptteile:

A. „Einleitung" (Das Indonesische als Zweig des Malayo-Polynesischen — seine Sprachstruktur und Schriftsysteme).
B. „Grammatikalischer Abriss".
C. „Die Umgangssprache".
    a) Übungen mit interlinearer Übersetzung. Thematik:
       Ankunft in Indonesien, Auf dem Markt, Im Hause, Verkehrs- und Imformationswesen.
    b) Übungen mit gegenübergestellter Übersetzung. Thematik:
       Natur, Geschichte, Literatur, Kunst.
D. „Die Literatursprache" (mit ausgewählten Stücken aus der indonesischen Nationalliteratur; dazu wiederum die gegenübergestellte deutsche Übersetzung als Schlüssel).
E. „Indonesisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis".

Bei den Literaturangaben (S. 146) vermisst man den Hinweis auf die für Europäer leicht verständlich gehaltenen Schulgrammatiken von S. T. Alisjahbana („*Tatabahasa*

baru bahasa Indonesia", Teil I und II, Djakarta 1962) oder C. A. Mees (*,,Tatabahasa Indonesia"*, 4 Aufl. Djakarta-Groningen 1954). Neben dem methodisch gut angelegten Lehrbuch in englischer Sprache von E. Pino wäre das besonders für das Selbststudium hervorragend geeignete kleine Büchlein von A. E. Schmidgall Tellings *,,Indonesian for Today — A Practical Course for English Speaking People"* (Djakarta 1957) zu erwähnen. Für denjenigen Lernenden, der zumindest in der Lage ist, russische Wörter in kyrillischer Schrift zu lesen und notfalls im russisch-muttersprachigen Wörterbuch nachzuschlagen, wäre noch das *,,Indonezijsko-russkij slovar"* von R. N. Korigodskij et al. zu nennen (Moskau 1961), das mit seinen 45 000 Eintragungen zu den besten indonesischen Wörterbüchern in Europa zählt. Der deutsche Benutzer hätte auch noch auf das deutsch-indonesische Wörterbuch (*,,Kamus bahasa Djerman — djilid I: Djerman/indonesia"*, Bandung 1963) von Datje Rahajoekoesoemah und die im VEB Enzyklopädie Verlag, Leipzig, erscheinenden Wörterbücher von Kahlo und Bärwinkel-Simon aufmerksam gemacht werden können. Wenn in der Abkürzungstabelle (S. 147) die veralteten und vorwiegend in Java gebrauchten Formen *Nj. = Njonja* und *Tn. = Tuan* erwähnt werden, so hätten dem auch die allgemeingebräuchlichen Abkürzungen *Sdr. = Saudara* und *Sdri. = Saudari* hinzugefügt werden müssen, zumal von dem provisorischen Volksparlament Indonesiens mit dem Erlass Nr. 31 vom 5. Juli 1966 verfügt worden ist, die ebenso bei P. angeführten Höflichkeitsformen aus dem politischen und staatlichen Leben *,,Paduka Jang Mulia"* (*PJM.* = ,,Ex. Exzellenz"), *,,Jang Mulia"* (*JM.* etwa = ,,Exzellenz" bei Ministern u. dergl.) und *,,Paduka Tuan" (PT.)* durch die volkstümlichen Begriffe *Bapak/ibu* oder *Saudara/Saudari* zu ersetzen.

Die einleitenden sprachtheoretischen Erläuterungen des Verfassers sind für den Normalverbraucher, der sich im Selbststudium der Bahasa Indonesia zuwendet, unverständlich. Inhaltlich und stilistisch entsprechen sie den neo-humboldtianistischen Darstellungen Weisgerbers und seiner Schüler. Vgl. insbesondere die Gleichstellung zwischen Sprachdenken und künstlerischer Ausdrucksform im Wajang-Spiel und in der Pantundichtung (S. 11 und 81). Zweifelhaft erscheint mir auch die urverwandschaftliche Beziehung Indonesiens zu China ,,oder doch zumindest dem sinisch dominierten Ostasien". Indonesiens sprachliche und kulturelle Beziehungen tendieren m. E. viel weniger zum ,,sinisch dominierten Ostasien" als zum südasiatisch-indischen Raum einerseits und zum pazifischen andererseits. Alles wird bei A. Poetzelberger übermässig vergeistigt, idealisiert und mythologisiert: das Pantun, das Wajang-Theater und demzufolge auch die Sprache. Der Verfasser spürt einen dialektischen Dualismus im malayischen Pantun, im javanischen Wajang, im balinesischen *kadja* und *kalod* auf, den er mit der chinesischen Einteilung der Welt, ihrer Geschöpfe und Gegenstände in ,,Yin" und ,,Yang" in Verbindung bringen will (S. 81). Das erscheint indessen zu weit gegriffen und zudem ist festzustellen, dass die Indonesier, allen voran die Malayen, viel erdverwurzelter, pragmatischer und konkreter in ihrem Denken, Sprechen und Handeln sind als das bei

Poetzelberger zum Ausdruck kommt; vgl. z. B. S. 13: „Entziehen sich auch die geheimnisvollen Beziehungen zwischen phonetischen und semantischen Elementen in der ursprünglichen Entwicklung der indonesischen Sprachen vorläufig der kritisch-wissenschaftlichen Analyse, so ist doch eine Ahnung von diesen Zusammenhängen ein Schlüssel zum Verständnis der ältesten indonesischen Dichtung, und dies wieder eine Vorbedingung für das Erfassen des indonesischen *Sprachdenkens* auch in den einfachsten Formen der Umgangssprache".

Ziemlich schwer verständlich für den Autodidakten wie auch für den Studenten ist die Beschreibung der Affixe auf S. 15 und ihre Unterteilung in „sinnbildende" (*me-, ber-, di-, ter-, ke-, per-*), „bezugsweisende" (*-kan, -i, -an*) und „begriffsbildende" (*ke-an, per-an, -an*). Bei eingehender Sprachanalyse lässt sich nachweisen, dass z. B. die Einbettung einer Verbalwurzel in die Affigierung *ke-an* ebenso „sinnbildend" sein kann wie die Präfigierung mit *ter-*, und die Präfigierung mit *me-* kann in bestimmten syntaktischen Bezugsverhältnissen (Transitivität) ebenso „bezugsweisend" sein wie die Verbalsuffixe *-kan* und *-i*. Wie überall im Sprachleben, lassen sich keine starren Kategorien aufstellen, die Grenzen zwischen den einzelnen Formklassen und ihren Funktionen sind fliessend, Form-Bedeutung-Funktion stehen in komplex-gesteuerter dynamischer Wechselwirkung. Beim Suffix *-kan* z. B. gesellt sich zur Funktion der Objektbezogenheit die kausative Bedeutung, während dem Suffix *-i* gelegentlich auch lokative und instrumentale „Sinnbildung" innewohnen kann. Wie schwer es fällt, derartigen grammatischen Erörterungen Poetzelbergers zu folgen, soll hier kurz einmal an den Beispielen der zuletztgenannten beiden Suffixe demonstriert werden, da sie ja bekanntlich zu den Schwierigkeiten beim Erlernen des Indonesischen gehören. Beide dienen zunächst ganz allgemein zur Transitivierung eines Verbalbegriffes, im Falle *-i* jedoch vollzieht sich die Handlung am oder im (unbewegten) Objekt (*saja menanami sawah ini* = I am planting this rice field, deutsch: „bepflanzen"), während sie bei *-kan* mit dem (bewegten) Objekt geschieht (*saja menanamkan padi* = I am planting rice, deutsch: „Pflanzen"). Dieser Umstand wird in der „Einführung" von A. Poetzelberger auf S. 15 mit folgenden, für den Anfänger bestimmt nicht allzu leicht zu begreifenden Worten beschrieben:

„-KAN = stellt Bezug her zu Gegenständen (weshalb nicht auch zu Personen? Sp.), die den aktualisierten Grundbegriff resultativ erweitern, oder die der Vollzug in ihrer Gesamtheit betrifft.

-I = stellt Bezug her zu Gegenständen, die den aktualisierten (in sich bereits resultativen) Grundbegriff indirekt aber gezielt ergänzen, oder an denen der Vollzug *partiell* stattfindet."

M. E. werden in dem unter den Literaturhinweisen Poetzelbergers ebenfalls fehlenden englisch-tschechischen Lehrbuch der Bahasa Indonesia von Miroslav Oplt (Prag 1960, S. 160) diese grammatischen Verhältnisse viel klarer und für den Nicht-Linguisten weitaus verständlicher dargelegt, wenn es beispielsweise dort heisst:

„a) In the case of the suffix *-i* the object is usually the place where, on which or

138

in which the action is occurring. The object usually does not move and is inert.
b) In the case of the suffix *-kan*, on the contrary, the object is usually moving, being put into motion by the activity described by the verb."

Dass die Affigierung mit *per-an* und *ke-an* nicht nur „begriffsbildend" (Verbal- und Nominalabstrakta), sondern auch „sinnbildend" sein können, hätte an Gegenüberstellungen wie *ketolongin* = „Hilfe" und *pertolongan* = „das Helfen" (vgl. auch *kesatuan* und *persatuan*) klargestellt werden können.

Unklar bleibt selbst auf dem Gebiet der algebraisierenden Linguistik versierten Indonesisten die auf S. 12 aus den drei Grundstrukturen abgeleitete „allgemeine phonetisch-semantische Formel: K: V_k — KV + K^v". Dem lernenden wäre gewiss mehr geholfen, wenn man ihm für das Verständnis der phonomorphematischen Struktur der Bahasa Indonesia ganz einfach sagte, dass statistische Analysen (G. Altmann, Bratislava bezw. auch N. Andrejev, Leningrad u. a.) folgende Morphemtypen als charakteristisch für die moderne indonesische Nationalsprache ergeben haben:

a) Den Typ: KVKVK (*batang, bagus, tulis*) mit etwa 35 % aller Wörter der Bahasa Indonesia
b) Den Typ: KVKKVK (*bentuk, tjantik, bangkit*) mit etwa 17 %
c) Den Typ: KVKV (*batu, lima, seru*) mit etwa 7 %.

Mit anderen Worten, der Anteil der drei genannten Haupttypen am gesamten indonesischen Morpheminventar beläuft sich auf rund 60 %.

Ein scheinbar geringfügiger, für die Beschreibung des Malayo-Polynesischen jedoch bedeutsamer Fehler ist bei der Gegenüberstellung (S. 8) unterlaufen: Malayisch *benua* — Māori *wenua/wanua*. Es muss Māori richtig heissen: *Whenua* (mit bilabialem Spiranten). Ähnliches gilt für das Kausativpräfix Malayisch *pe/r/-*, Mentawai und Makassarisch *paka-*, das zwar Samoanisch = *fa'a-* nicht aber Māori = *faka-* zu setzen ist, weil es nämlich im Māori den Konsonanten (f) überhapt nicht gibt (vgl. jedoch Poetzelberger S. 9). Das gesamte Phonemarsenal der Māori-Sprache umfasst lediglich 15 Elemente, nämlich ausser den fünf Vokalen (*a*), (*e*), (*i*), (*o*), (*u*) nur zehn Konsonanten, das sind (*p*), (*t*), (*k*), (*m*), (*n*), (*η*), (*∅*) für „*wh*", (*w*), (*r*) und (*h*).

Gutzuheissen ist demgegenüber das methodische Prinzip der exemplarischen Unterweisung (Tabellen zur Affigierung S. 29—35), und sehr willkommen für Übungen im täglichen Sprachgebrauch und für die Konversation über Geschichte, Politik, Kunst und Literatur erscheint die Gestaltung des Textmaterials. Bei der Textauswahl trägt der Verfasser einer raschen Steigerung im sprachlichen Schwierigkeitsgrad Rechnung und entspricht somit dem didaktischen Grundprinzip des aufbauenden Lernweges vom Einfachen zum Komplizierten. Er tut recht daran, bei Leitartikeln aus der indonesischen Tagespresse die Namen der betreffenden Persönlichkeiten unter der Bezeichnung N. N. anonym zu halten. Andererseits aber enttäuscht sein Parteiergreifen für die holländischen Kolonisatoren, wenn in dem Abschnitt über „Die Geschichte Indonesiens" der unter dem berüchtigten

Gesetz der Zwangskulturen verschärfte Raubbau der Holländer bewusst abgeschwächt und lediglich als Folge des javanischen Befreiungskampfes unter Diponegoro hingestellt wird (S. 63). Nicht nur die Japaner, sondern auch die Holländer behandelten Indonesien „mit schrecklicher Härte" (S. 65). Ähnliche Vorurteile finden sich, in Poetzelbergers Stellungnahme zum Aufstand von Madiun in den vierziger Jahren.

Als besonders gelungen ist der Abriss über die Entwicklung der indonesischen Nationalliteratur (S. 69—75) und derjenige über die Kunst Indoniens (S. 77—81) zu bezeichnen, worauf dann im nächsten Abschnitt einige ausgewählte Stücke aus indonesischer Prosa und Poesie folgen. Positiv zu bewerten ist auch die klare Einschätzung Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsjis als Janusfigur zwischen Altem und Neuem. Vielleicht hätte man noch kurz auf den spezifischen Charakter der historisch aufeinanderfolgenden literarischen Strömungen im Einklang mit den epochalen, gesellschaftlichen Vorbedingungen näher eingehen können: Vom allmählichen Erstarken des Nationalbewusstseins über die Propagierung des Einheitsgedankens (Sumpah Pemuda vom 28. 10. 1928) bis zur Freiheitsbewegung, die in der Proklamation vom 17. 8. 1945 gipfelt.

Die gehaltliche Dialektik als typisches Merkmal der Pantunstruktur sowie auch der Unterschied zwischen volkstümlicher Pantundichtung und dem Sjair als Kunstgattung sind überzeugend herausgearbeitet und mit Beispielen belegt worden (S. 93 f). Auf S. 71 wird zwar im Sinne des Pantjasila-Prinzips einer „kepribadian Indonesia" sehr richtig betont: „Die indonesische Kunst bildet eine vollkommene, in sich geschlossene Einheit", jedoch dürfte demgegenüber die andere Seite des indonesischen Kulturtyps, nämlich die durch über 200 verschiedene Volksstämme bedingte Mannigfaltigkeit nicht vergessen werden. So erscheint es m. E. angemessener im Anklang an den einem altjavanischen Philosophiewerk entstammenden Wahlspruch BHINNEKA TUNGGAL IKA, der neben den Pantjasila als Wahlspruch in das Wappen der Republik Indonesia eingegangen ist, von einer kultursoziologischen „Einheit in der Vielheit" zu sprechen.

<div align="right">Harry Spitzbardt</div>

Indonesian Writing in Translation. Compiled and edited with an introduction by John M. Echols. Ithaca N.Y. 1956 Cornell University, vi + 178 pp.
Modern Malay Verse (1946—61) selected by Oliver Rice and Abudllah Majid [...] introduction by James Kirkup. Kuala Lumpur 1963 Oxford University Press, xxiii + 135 pp.
Anthology of Modern Indonesian Poetry edited by Burton Raffel. Berkeley 1964 University of California Press, xiv + 158 pp.

The three anthologies seem to cover all that has been issued in English, till now as far as that type of publication is concerned. The first named seems to be worth

reviewing, even belatedly, and not only for the sake of completeness. Its absolute priority and limited circulation as a stencilled pamphlet invite discussion.

It originated from class exercises directed by J. M. Echols at the Cornell University, which accounts both for the number of translators participating (9 of the total 13 were the Editor's students), and for the rather haphazard selection seldom based on literary merit. The prose fragments taken from Abdul Muis, St. Takdir Alis-jahbana and Hamka may be called representative at least, while those by A. Pane, Suwarsih Djojopuspito, Rosihan Anwar, Amal Hamzah, Mochtar Lubis, Achdiat K. Mihardja and Sitor Situmorang are neither so nor attain the minimum literary level. Even the very much more talented Idrus and P. A. Toer have not been shown at their best, rather the contrary: Idrus with the very long and disappointing *Aki* (instead of a short Japanese occupation story or a fragment from *Surabaja*), P. A. Toer with two mediocre stories (instead of a fragment from the forcible and highly repre-sentative *Keluarga gerilja*). Speaking of poets, the 7 poems by Chairil Anwar include not less than 4 travestations of European verse, and have not been better chosen than those by Amir Hamzah, Takdir[1] and Walujati. Such important authors as Sanusi Pane, Ida Nasution and Asrul Sani have been left out altogether. All in all, a worse selection could hardly be imagined, which shows the absurdity of publishing a handful of accidentally scraped up students' homework in place of an anthology of a national literature.

This does not concern the translators' work, which seems to be adequate.

In the Introduction, however, which aspires to outline the development of modern Indonesian literature on 8 pages, all the usual clichés have been repeated, without the slightest effort to look at them critically or independently, in tone, the more convinced the more mistaken they are: from ,,modern Indonesian literature which is generally acknowledged to begin in 1920" (p. 1) to Marah Rusli's ,,complete break with the older traditional literature by depicting real-life situations" (p. 2) to eulogy on replacing traditional pantun by the sonnet (p. 3) etc.[2] Every third

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[1] This reviewer never heard Indonesians speaking of Anwar or Situmorang, as Europeans (and B. Raffel) regularly do, but well, referring to them as Chairil and Sitor respectively, which does not imply any degree of personal intimacy. European standards just do not necessarily apply to Indonesian personal names, and one has to [know, in every case, if the last component has evolved into a surname (cosmopolitan style usually, and still rather rare) or not. Why should e.g. Rivai Apin be called by his father's name, which is Apin, instead of his own, which is Rivai? This is quite a problem, for reference works and catalogues especially.

[2] Modern Indonesian literature began with the first lithographed edition of *Hikayat Abdullah* in 1849; or in 1922, with the publication of *Siti Nurbaja* by Marah Rusli and *Tanah Air* by Muhammad Yamin, to be later promoted to the position of being the first novel and the first volume of poetry written in Bahasa Indonesia; or about 1890, with the unprecedented flood of commercial publications in Bazaar and Batavian Malay, as V. V. Sikorsky pointed out; or at some other date, which not only makes Echols' statement false but also shows his outer unawareness of the problems involved. It is of no advantage to discuss further statements of the sort.

or fourth sentence of the Introduction and bio-bibliographical notes calls for reform-
ulation, very often into the reverse of what has been said, which shows the perils
of off-hand compilation.

J. M. Echols has since made himself esteemed by having compiled, in collaboration
with H. Shadily, the very useful *An Indonesian-English Dictionary* (Ithaca 1961,
2 nd ed. 1963). Let us hope that his next attempt at compiling an Indonesian antho-
logy will equal his own standard as a lexicographer, and help us to forget his first
failure in anthologizing.

The second anthology under review differs from the first in more than one decisive
respect. For one thing it is very neatly printed. The six poets represented (Usman
Awang, Masuri S. N., A. Samad Said, A. S. Amin, Noor S. I. and Salmi Manja, with
5—12 items each) come from Malaya and Singapore exclusively. The book is bilingual
throughout, Malay and English, which considerably widens its range of application.

The resemblances begin with the Introduction.

Being in no position to verify J. Kirkup's self-presentation as "an English poet"
(p. vii, in the very first sentence of his Introduction) we have no choice but to take
his word for it. The rest is a little easier to verify. For instance, we at once notice
that he did not even try to look at his subject from the historical standpoint, nor
managed to discern, at least, three components of Malayan post-war literature,
namely the Asas 50 movement and what preceded or followed it. From here he comes
to speaking offensively of Malay as "a language that so far has had little to offer"
of literary merit or interest," generously making the only exception for pantun
(p. viii). And this surely authorizes us to express the wish that the English poet
J. Kirkup had spent some time (one day would probably have done) getting some
rudimentary notion of Malay literature[3] prior to his setting out to write an intro-
duction to a volume of Malay poetry.

Among the meaningless clichés reproduced, the one about the so-called "influence
of the pantun" on modern poetry is not lacking, pantun meaning any empty talk
rhymed *abab*, as usual. This would not deserve mention but for the fact that J. Kirkup
simultaneously proves unable to detect, in his own anthology, the first and only
modern attempt to draw from the form of pantun and to reshape it creatively: we
are referring to the very interesting use of deep-reaching parallelism by A. Samad
Said, of which several most striking examples have been included, e.g. *"Peristiwa"*
(p. 62) and *"Dibawah Bintang Mengerdip"* (p. 78). So it would be better, really,
for J. Kirkup not to try to tell us anything about the hows and the whys of Malay
poetry.

The translations are models of reliability, except for rare moments when the subt-

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[3] One also wonders which of the two poets mentioned on p. ix (Pasternak and Yevtushenko)
is supposed to be Russian and which Polish? We would say that both are Russian, as Pasternak
probably stands for Boris Pasternak, and not for the very little known Polish author Leon
Pasternak. But who knows?

lety of English expression might have given more justice to the original meaning.

Both the poets and their respective poems have been rather competently selected. Unfortunately, there is little poetry to speak of, with the only exception of A. Samad Said. The remaining five simply did not deserve translating.

Here we come face to face with two important and frequently misinterpreted problems common to, and not too successfully solved, all three anthologies under review, of which the third and best has not yet been analyzed. Now let us dwell for a while upon these problems, especially as this may prove most useful from a more general standpoint. Such problems are (1) that of objective evaluation of the literary texts represented, and (2) the theory behind the translation technique.

Not one of the anthologists seems to realize how risky it is to hand around high-sounding praise without sufficient reason. One need not have read V. Ostrovsky's just evaluation of the Pudjangga Baru group and period[4] to know better than to talk of such "important landmarks" to be "compared very favourably with European novels" as *Siti Nurbaja* by Marah Rusli, *Salah asuhan* by Abdoel Moeis, or *Lajar terkembang* by St. Takdir Alisjahbana (Echols, p. 2—3). Suffice it to read them with one's eyes open, and there remains little alternative but to grant those Indonesian novels historical interest and to pass in tactful silence over their artistic and intellectual merits, let alone international comparisons. Reading how a naive effort by Masuri N.S. is supposed to be sung "almost as Dylan Thomas sings" (Kirkup, p. x) one wonders if the writer displays an unusual, for an Englishman, lack of a sense of humour, or a hypertrophy of it? Having been solemnly assured that "the poems and poets represented" had been selected "to include only the first-rate, and by that I mean poetry which is first-rate in English as well as in Indonesian," while "nothing has been included for any reason but the excellence of its translated version" (Raffel, p. 12) the reader soon feels his leg being pulled, and this rather roughly. There is namely no chance at all to convince anybody unprejudiced that e.g. Rendra's juvenile confessions or his *"Love Letter"*, or the verse by M. Akbar Djuhana, or those by the Misses S. Alisjahbana and L. Walujati (p. 137—138, 150, 92, 134 and 96 of Raffel's anthology respectively) might charm anything more than a shrug out of any reader immune to word-suggestion. The only adequate comment would be to quote a few examples of the literary rubbish thus advertized on equal terms with some really excellent poems. But this would dangerously tilt this review towards literary criticism.

We blame not the Editors' noble intention but their wishful thinking. It is a mark of our time that in most countries those trying to write poetry go in thousands: and yet, as the aphorist St. J. Lec puts it, 'Let's make it short: the world is over-populated with words." It is a rather moving tradition, too, that specialists, infatu-

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[4] К периодизации современной индонезийской литературы. „Проблемы востоко-ведения" 1959 no. 6.

ated with their subject, just as they ought to be, tend to lose their sense of proportion, both for emotional reasons and for methodical ones, resulting from overspecialization. Now this is not the XIX century any more, and most people do not need further argument to the effect that other races are equally able to pay imposing contributions to the universal culture. It is time to put an end to that patronizing approach, one by-product of which is the tendency to lovingly overestimate what happens to be average, or even mediocre. This is a disservice, if anything, and the harm so done may be considerable.

Modern Malaya has produced one promising personality in poetry, namely A. Samad Said. Modern Indonesia gave birth to one remarkably individual poet of international importance, Chairil Anwar, and three or four minor ones which still deserve to be noticed abroad, while several others have been able to produce two or three full-fledged poems per man. Quite a lot, to judge by proper standards! It is not advisable to show abroad anybody but them who can advertize for themselves and for their kin. Show more, and no advertizing will keep afloat the whole in the opinion of the world.

This reviewer (contrary to J. Kirkup) solemnly declares his deep reverence towards Malay and Indonesian literatures, classical literature included, and hopes to prove it by devoting his life mainly to studying and propagating them. But true reverence cannot be expressed in terms of offensively lowered criteria. Rather the opposite.

And now to the second problem.

Nowhere in the anthologies under review do we find any attempt to render the poems into English verse. The Editors, however, seem to suffer under an inner compulsion to make up for it theoretically. Says B. Raffel: "No rhymes have been translated: Indonesian poetry is so entirely different from that in English, in sound, syntax, and almost every other linguistic category, that a translation, if it succeeds, is necessarily a complete transmutation. Nor are the forms employed sufficiently helpful to an understanding and appreciation ..." (p. 12). Says J. Kirkup: "The difficulties of translation into English of this sort of poetry are immense. For one thing, it is impossible to render the queer loveliness of sound... etc." (p. xiii).[5]

Now this is little more than a mixture of truisms that prove specifically nothing and of amateurish nonsense. Namely, all the impossibilities referred to only haunt so long as somebody has not been able to show in practice his ableness to do the undoable. The problem of the transmutation of Indonesian verse into English is basically the same as between any other languages,[6] and linguistical categories

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[5] This is quite exceptionally misleading. Such a statement as 'on a dark night' reads *dalam malam kelam* in Malay, and was duly repeated by a few hundred Malaysian poets and rhymesters, and as many millions of ordinary speakers as well, which does not, however, imply that it is poetry. Poetic quality, namely, is not a by-product of the phonological qualities of any language.

[6] And surely less difficult than from Latin or Old English into contemporary English, which e.g. Burton Raffel, who has himself translated *Beowulf*, probably knows.

have very little to do with it. Difficulties change, somewhat haphazardly, not from language to language but from one concrete passage to another. Take any poem in the world and any language to transmutate it into (for there really is no other way of translating, poetry into poetry especially, but what is called transmutation by B. Raffel, which makes it all nothing more than word-play), and you have to solve one problem never solved before. Take any poet of marked individuality, and there is not just a problem but a new method of programming involved. Yet it somehow is accomplished every now and then, so there is little point, for those unable to do so, to seek false generalizations to justify themselves. Far wiser to resign, as not being enough of a poet, than to strive at all costs towards a misfit, as many translators with insufficient craftsmanship have done before. But this surely shows a great deal of judgement, and no additional self-justification seems necessary.

As for the possibility itself, we restrain from quoting examples unverifiable to other than the English-reading public, and refer only to A. W. Hamilton's translations[7] of Malay folk verse, which are in themselves excellent poetry and true to the original, although rhythmic, rhyming, and good English to boot! This is the more instructive as the traditional Malay idiom, and poetics, of those quatrains involves incomparably more translator's dilemmas than the cosmopolitan Indonesian-Malay idiom of the far less subtle and original poems under review.

In most other respects Raffel's Introduction (p. 1—12) is not only valid but truly interesting. This is one point to Raffel's credit, and was a badly needed relief for the reviewer. The biographical notes (18 pp. in all) introducing each poet, and also the 9 translators, are a small mine of information scarcely obtainable from other sources, and this gives Raffel two points.

Point three is scored where he surprisingly does not confide much in himself,[8] namely in his selection, which seldom calls for more argument than might be attributed to reasonable differences of taste or presupposition. Part I (the Pudjangga Baru generation) includes 13 poems by Amir Hamzah, and small selections from St. Takdir Alisjahbana, Aoh Kartahadimadja and J. E. Tatengkeng. Part II (the pioneers of Angkatan 45) consists of 17 poems by Chairil Anwar and 9 by Rivai Apin, followed by Asrul Sani, Siti Nuraini, N. Akbar Djuhana, J. Moeljono and L. Walujati Hatmoharsoio, with 1—2 poems each. Part III (the epigones of Angkatan 45) gives 22 poems by Sitor Situmorang, 6 by Toto Sudarto Bachtiar, and one by Samiati Alisjahbana. Part IV (the new generation) is represented by 7 poems by W. S. Rendra, and one by Ajip Rossidhy. This is both ample and fairly representative.

In Part I two or three poems by Sanusi Pane, however, seem indispensable.

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[7] *Malay Pantuns*, Sydney 1944. Also *cf*. A. W. Hamilton's *Haji's Book of Malay Nursery Rhymes*, Sydney 1947, including many of the Mother Goose verses delightfully "transmutated" into Malay.

[8] "I plead guilty to overstressing A, omitting B, and chosing all the wrong poems by C." (p. 12).

In Part II some more poems by Chairil Anwar would have been desirable, especially those which really show why the poet's work and his very name shoked and still shocks some of his countrymen. Asrul Sani surely deserves about four times the place granted to him, while such important names as Mahatmanto and Bandaharo Harahap are lacking altogether. The presence of M. Akbar Djuhana and J. Moeljono is inexplicable, as their poems are Dutch, and not Indonesian. In Part III Sitor Situmorang, surprisingly inflated to occupy the top place in the whole of the anthology, should have been reduced to his real and rather moderate proportion. In Part IV S. M. Ardan, Sobron Aidit, Sabarsantoso Anantaguna and one or two others might have been, very tentatively, taken into consideration. So there is not really much to criticize, except in the most important Part II.

Such leading poets as Amir Hamzah, Chairil Anwar[9] and Rivai Apin have been for the first time adequately presented to the Western reader. This is four points for Raffel. Point five is gained by his introducing the little known young poets T. S. Bachtiar and W. S. Rendra, who are of some interest, for all the intemperate advertizing the Editor gives them.

The translations are sufficiently correct, both in the linguistic and the literary respect, to score a sixth point for Raffel, who had a hand as a joint translator in most of them. That every ambition to evolve an adequate poetic form has been abandoned, we have already mentioned before. Now let us point to some minor defects of understanding or English rendering.

Examples will be taken from Chairil exclusively, but could also be found elsewhere.

Let us take the famous "Aku" for instance (p. 53). Verse 4: *Tak perlu sedu sedan itu*. Meaning: There's no need for that sobbing [i.e. 'yours', the poet speaking to his beloved girl obviously]. Translation: Away with all who cry! Verse 5—6: *Aku ini binatang djalang Dari kumpulannja terbuang*. Meaning: A rogue animal, that's what I am, Expelled from its herd. Translation: Here I am, a wild beast, Cut off from his companions. Verse 8: *Aku tetap meradang menerdjang*. Meaning: I'll keep raging and trampling [further reference to the rogue bull]. Translation: But I'll keep on. Verse 9—10: *Luka dan bisa kubawa berlari Berlari*. Meaning: I'll be carrying wounds and poison while running, Running [poison from the arrows that got him, and *lari* 'to run' means escaping, but not attacking]. Translation: Carrying forward my wounds and my pain, Attacking, Attacking. Verse 13: *Aku mau hidup seribu tahun lagi*. Meaning: I will live for a further thousand years [i.e. *'non moriar'*, with all the usual implications]. Translation: I want to live a thousand years.

Thus, we are able to witness how giving up versification does not necessarily lead to good translating, after all. It might be far worse, of course, but stopping halfway

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[9] *Sharp Gravel*, a selection from Chairil Anwar by Donna M. Dickinson, Berkeley 1960, has been justly criticized by A. Teeuw in BKI 117, p. 396—397. With his *Selected Poems*, by B. Raffel and Nurdin Salam, Berkeley 1963, this reviewer is not yet acquainted.

is not good either. Why not give up transmutation and provide the reader with a straightforward philological translation? Surely the poetic excellencies of the original would be better served so.

A few more examples.

The title "Tuti Artic" cannot be "Tuti's Ice Cream" (p. 54), if for grammatical reasons only, as this would demand the reverse word order. By the way, *Artic* (an obvious distortion of *Arctic*) does not mean 'ice cream'. It might be a trade name, and we were also told it was the name of a café in Djakarta, any of them probably used occasionally for the girl's nickname. For another thing, what are the otherwise unknown and suspiciously synonymous "Moslem Party and Mohammedan Party" (p. 68), substituted for *Masjumi + Muhammadyah* of the original? Chairil was surely less vague about ideologies, when he explicitly named the notorious Masjumi party of right-wing Moslem obscurants, and the Muhammadyah missionary organisation for inward religious propaganda. Here we come to the question, if such real-life elements should not be worth preserving in translation rather than some unnecessary exoticisms like "steer your *prau*" (p. 62) or "dogs *gonggonging*" (p. 57): and explained as well, together with Pattiradjawane (p. 69) etc. And one last thrust at the otherwise meritorious B. Raffel: the poem presented with the self-invented title "Love in a Brothel" (p. 60) might not be Chairil's at all.[10]

Summing up all that has been said before we might propose that a scholarly anthologist should be (1) extremely sceptic towards the local hierarchy of literary merit resulting from the local conditions, (2) as vastly read in the respective literature as not to overlook merit regularly overlooked by local critics because of their parochialism and other reasons, (3) have a literary taste based on a universal standard and developed to such a degree as not to be biased by his love of the object of his study, and (4) to apply the highest of international standards mercilessly.

Neither of the anthologists first discussed has met any of these rudimentary conditions.

Burton Raffel has met all except the last one, though not without an occasional slip or two. This is sufficient for his book to be hailed, in spite of criticism of details, as the first really useful modern Indonesian anthology in the English language, and probably in any language for that matter.

<div align="right">Robert Stiller</div>

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[10] The original has no title, and begins: *Biar malam kini lalu*. It was counted among Chairil's, but more probably was written by Sk. Muljadi, *cf.* H. B. Jassin, *Chairil Anwar Pelopor Angkatan 45*, Djakarta 1956, p. 149.

D. S. Walsh and Bruce Biggs, *Proto-Polynesian Word List I*. Linguistic Society of New Zealand 1966, Auckland. 133 pp. Price N.Z. 21 s.

According to the information given in the Introduction (p. III), the present Proto-Polynesian Word List I published in the series Te Reo Monographs contains preliminary results of linguistic research being carried out at the University of Auckland on the interrelationships of the Polynesian languages. The ultimate goal is to cover all Polynesian languages in an effort to reconstruct as many Proto-Polynesian words as possible. Until now the research has been confined to twelve languages (Easter Island, East Futunan, East Uvean, Hawaiian, Maori, Marquesan, Rarotongan, Samoan, Tikopian, Tongan, Tuamotuan, and Fijian) mainly because of a lack of reliable dictionaries. A few other languages are cited sporadically.

A lexical item is reconstructed as Proto-Polynesian (PPN) if reflexes occur in any Polynesian language east of Samoa or in Maori, and in a) Tongan and/or East Uvean or b) Fijian (p. III). However, if a reflex is found only in Fijian (which is not a member of the Polynesian branch of Austronesian) and in Tongan, it is not reconstructed as PPN because of lively contacts between Tonga and Fiji. Here it is suggested that this criterion might be supplemented as follows: If a form reconstructed as Proto-Austronesian has a reflex in a Polynesian language, it should be regarded as PPN (excluding Fijian borrowings in Tongan). In connection with this modification the following items might be considered for inclusion in the PPN vocabulary:

*fana "hot": MAO hana "give forth heat", PAN *panas (in addition to PPN *ma-fana);

*fafa "mouth": MAO waha, HAW waha, EAS haha, PAN *baba;

*fili "braid": MAO whiri "twist, weave", HAW hili "braid", PAN *bilit;

*hu²a "liquid, sap, juice": TON hu-hu²a, PAN *ZuRuq;

*ino "hate": HAW maa-ino, SAM ino-ino, PAN *ines;

*iti "small": MAO iti, HAW iki, PAN *iTik;

*katafa "a tree": HAW ²aakaha "fern-like plant",
PAN *katapaN;

*koli "joy": HAW ²oli, PAN*geli;

*leve-leve "spider": MAO puŋa-were-were, TON ka-leve-leve,
SAM ²apuŋa-leve-leve, PAN *lava;

*ŋaa "breath": MAO ŋaa, TON ŋaa, PAN *NaNa;

*poŋi "night": MAO poŋi "a dark variety of taro, dim",
HAW poni "purple (as of early morning)", PAN *beNi (in addition to PPN *poo);

*pua "pour out": HAW pua, PAN *buhaN;

*ra²a "branch": MAO raa-raa, HAW laa-laa, PAN *(dD)aqan;

*saki "disease": MAO haki-haki "skin desease", PAN *sakit (in addition to PPN *masaki);

*sa²i "bind": TON ha²i, SAM sai, PAN *zaqit;

*tau "put": MAO tau, HAW kau, PAN *taRuq;

*tia "pole": MAO tia "stake, peg", PAN *tiaN;

*too "cane": MAO too, HAW koo, PAN *tebu;

*tope "cut": MAO tope, PAN *tebaN;

*²apa "spread": MAO apa "layer", TON ²e-²epa "lie face upwards", PAN *qampa(rR);

*²uto "brain": TON ²uto, PAN *qutek;

Furthermore, kali "dig" should also be labelled as PPN. It is an older form than keli "dig" where an assimilation took place (cf. PAN *kali). Similarly, PPN* tusi seems to be a dissimilation of PPN *tusu, which is proved by the older PAN form. PPN *lu/a,o/ should be given as PPN *lua (cf. PAN *luwaN); luo is a result of an assimilation in Tongan.

In addition to lexical items there is a restricted stock of grammatical morphemes (particles, affixes) shared by many Polynesian languages which might be reconstructed as PPN, e.g. PPN *²a and *²o "possessive particles": MAO a and o, TON ²a and ²o; PPN *²e "predicative particle": MAO e, TON ²e; PPN *kua: "perfective particle": MAO kua, TON kuo, SAM ²ua; PPN *maa "with": MAO maa, TON maa; PPN *ma²a and *mo²o "for": MAO maa and moo, TON ma²a and mo²o; PPN *-na "his, her": cf. various Polynesian languages; PPN *na²a "past tense particle": MAO na or naa (as in na-hea "when, of past", na-poo "last night, naa-na "his, of past"), TON na²a; PPN* -u "yours": cf. various Polynesian languages. Besides, several derivational prefixes might be reconstructed for PPN (e.g., maa-∼ma-, ŋaa-∼ŋa-, taa-∼ta-).

It is questionable whether the final consonants should be reconstructed for the PPN phase or not. Their reflexes sometimes seem to be preserved before a suffix. However, it is more convenient to regard them as belonging to the suffix, not to the root. This solution is accepted by the authors of the present publication. It might be useful to include also the Proto-Austronesian phonemic correspondences with the Polynesian languages in the future edition of this list.

Walsh and Biggs have produced a work which will contribute considerably to our knowledge of the past stages in the development of Polynesian languages. If similar works are done on the other branches of Austronesian, it will be possible to undertake a revision of the Proto-Austronesian vocabulary. From this viewpoint it is useful to include in the PPN word list also such lexical items which are shared by the Polynesian (and perhaps also other Oceanic) languages and which are lacking in the Indonesian languages.

Viktor Krupa

149

Dieter Christensen—Gerd Koch, *Die Musik der Ellice-Inseln.* Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde 1964, S. 246 + IV Pl.

Gerd Koch sammelte im Rahmen seiner ethnographischen Forschungen in den Jahren 1960—1961 eine repräsentative Liedersammlung für das Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv (heute die Musikethnologische Abteilung des Museums für Völkerkunde, Berlin), die Dieter Christensen in diesem Werk einer musikalischen Analyse unterzieht.

Das Buch ist in einige Partien aufgeteilt: In der Einführung bringt Gerd Koch eine kurze geographische Beschreibung und erwähnt Probleme, welche die mit Musik verbundenen Situationen vom ethnographischen Gesichtspunkt aus aufklären. Der Schwerpunkt der Arbeit liegt in der Materialsammlung, die 48 Lieder mit Texten samt ihrer deutschen Übersetzungen und Varianten enthält. Bei allen Liedern sind Anotationen über die Sänger und die Singgelegenheiten, sowie notwendige musikalische Analysen beigefügt. Im weiteren Teil finden wir eine übersichtliche Auswertung der Stilmerkmale, die Christensen in 5 Typen aufteilte, in welchen er das musikalische Material in seiner kulturellen Zuordnung bewertet:

1. Sprachgesang — ist die typischeste Form des musikalischen Ausdruckes. Es kann eine gehobene Sprache sein, die den ältesten Typ darstellt, oder es können auch Lieder mit musikalisch formulierten Höhen sein. Für diese Gruppe ist typisch der regelmässige strophische Aufbau und die Kadenz, die oft durch den Aufruf „eia" gebildet wird.

2. Einton-Rezitation — Lieder dieses Types haben während des ganzen Vortrages einen festen Ton, der am Schluss mit einem gebrochenen Aufruf abgebrochen wird. Das Metrum besteht meistens aus dem Zweitakt (6/8 oder 2/4). Interessant ist, dass bei diesem Typ die Mehrstimmigkeit vorkommt, die Kurt Reinhard „polyplane Rezitation" nannte.

Die in der ersten und zweiten Gruppe angeführten Lieder stellen die ältesten Typen dar. Der Autor erwähnt, dass sie in ganz Polynesien bekannt sind und auch in Mikronesien oft vorkommen, und dass auf den Ellice-Inseln die Temposteigerung typisch ist.

3. Dreiklangsmelodik wird von denjenigen Typen dargestellt, in welchen den Ambitus die Quarte, Sexte aber nie die Septime bildet. Die Form ist ebenfalls strophisch, das Dreitakt-Metrum herrscht vor und MM ist 70 und 72. Für die Kadenz ist die Tonrezitation mit 4 oder 5 schnell ausgesprochenen Silben charakteristisch. Interessant bei diesem melodischen Typ ist, dass er nur auf einer Stelle vorgefunden wurde — auf der Insel Niutao.

4. Pentatonischer Wechselgesang hat einen melodischen Grundriss, der aus zwei melodischen Phrasen gebaut ist, ein Zweitakt-Metrum mit MM zwischen 51 und 72. Mehrstimmigkeit erfolgt nach einer solistischen Einführung. Bei der Analyse des Ursprungs dieses Types bewies Christensen, dass derartige Melodien in der „vor-

europäischen Zeit" in der polynesischen Kultur nicht existierten, sondern dass sie die Evolution der lokalen Stile, verbunden mit fremden Einflüssen, repräsentieren.

5. Der letzte Typ des harmonischen Liedes wurde durch die Wirkung der Missionäre in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jh. verbreitet.

In dem letzten Teil — Die Musikgeschichte der Ellice-Inseln — bestimmte der Autor auf Grund des Mangels an faktographischem Material eine grundsätzliche Periodisierung, nämlich den voreuropäischen Zeitabschnitt, der durch die erwähnten Zeichen charakterisiert ist und den nacheuropäischen mit dem Einfluss des harmonischen Denkens. Sehr wertvoll sind in diesem Zusammenhang die Zitate der ersten Forschungsreisenden über die musikalischen Gelegenheiten und über die Ausdrucksweise dieser Gebiete.

Das Buch wird mit einer sehr guten Tabelle über Stilqualitäten, mit Nummern und Anotationen der Sammlung Kochs sowie Literatur abgeschlossen und es ist eine Gramophonplatte beigefügt.

Es kann die Frage gestellt werden, ob es richtig war, dass die Forschung im Terrain nur durch einen Ethnographen durchgeführt wurde. Trotz des Vertauens zur Genauigkeit seiner Arbeit, könnte man voraussetzen, dass die Anwesenheit eines Musikers das Ergebnis dieser Sammelexpedition beeinflusst hätte: dieser hätte spezifischeren musikalischen Problemen folgen und vor allem wertvolle Impulse für die Auswertung des Materials gewinnen können, da die persönliche Erfahrung durch keine Beschreibungen und Aufnahmen ersetzt werden kann. Das ist kein unwesentlicher Aspekt, da Christensen ohne dieser Erfahrung nur die üblichen Vorgänge bei der Analyse anwenden konnte. Auch wenn er sie sehr gut durchgearbeitet hat, unterliegt es einem Zweifel, ob dadurch das Material genügend charakterisiert wurde.

Trotz dieses Bedenkens habe Gerd Koch und Dieter Christensen dennoch den grossen Verdienst, dass wir die Möglichkeit haben, mit dem musikalischen Ausdruck in der polynesischen Sphäre vertraut zu werden.

<div style="text-align: right">Ivan Mačák</div>

Viktor K r u p a, *Morpheme and Word in Maori*. Mouton and Co., The Hague 1966, 84 pp.

This book will interest at least three groups of linguists. First, as an addition to the small but growing body of quantitative typological studies of phonology and morphology, it is undoubtedly a major contribution to the literature of typological linguistics. It is the best and most detailed such study of an Austronesian language to appear, and the first of a Polynesian language; the latter group of languages is of special interest in the study of linguistic diversity because in several

structural dimensions its members lie at the extreme of the range of world languages.

Second, Krupa's book contributes a number of new insights about the structure of Maori, certain of which must be accounted for in future descriptive grammars of the language. Unlike many quantitative studies, this one is generally concerned with facts which are of central interest to structural linguistics and to current theoretical issues. In this case the quantitative treatment of structure has revealed several relevant generalizations about Maori grammar not previously made in the very considerable literature on this language.

In a third respect in which the book might have made a very significant contribution, it disappoints. Certain of the facts which emerge from Krupa's analysis are highly pertinent to current issues in the theory of grammar, and, as noted above to problems in formulating an adequate descriptive (generative) grammar of Maori. The author does not, however, explore the relationship of his typological observations to these theoretical concerns, and in this respect, therefore, obtains less than full value from his work.

The first two short chapters outline the main problems to be considered, and the basic assumption on which the author's analytic procedure rest. One of these assumptions is that grammar is "with respect to the phonemic system only a *relatively* isolated system" (p. 12) and that the two are "correlated in certain determinable ways which are not necessarily the same in all languages" (pp. 12—13). The exceptional simplicity of Maori phonemic, morphemic and word structure leads him to suspect that it may be possible to find in Maori "significant correlations between the level of expression and that of content—e.g. between the organization of the phonemic system and the stock of morphemes, between the phonemic structure of a morpheme and its grammatical rank; between the morphemic structure of a word and its morphological properties..." (p. 9). Chapters III—V are concerned mainly with testing these hypotheses. Chapters VI—VII conclude the book with a quantitative comparison of the typological characteristics of the Maori word with those of 12 other languages.

In Chapter III, dealing with the phonemic system, Krupa proceeds from the assumption that "the phonemes form a closed system that is derivative of... a far simpler set of a few distinctive features" (p. 19). Maori has only 15 segmental phonemes, which he resolves into a set of 9 oppositions, giving and efficiency index of 0.44.[1] Following Trubetzkoy, he determines whether a particular feature manifests the marked or unmarked value of an opposition (in those cases where the answer is not obvious) by regarding as unmarked that value of the opposition whose fre-

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[1] P. W. Hohepa (*A Profile Generative Grammar of Maori*, IJAL monograph series, in press) characterizes Maori phonology in terms of only six distinctive feature oppositions. However his model requires a fourth value ($\pm$), and includes no features distinguishing vowels only.

quency of occurrence is higher. A successful attempt is made to show that an orthodox distinctive feature analysis is compatible with its frequential ratio. Oppositions of the highest rank (i.e. those which are distinctive for the largest number of phonemes) also exhibit the greatest difference in frequency of marked and unmarked members. Thus the high-ranking opposition consonantal—non-consonantal has the frequential ratio 1:3, oppositions of the middle rank (such as fricativeness—non-fricativeness) have the ratio 2:3, and those of low rank (such as velarness—non-velarness) have the ratio 2.5:3.

The frequencies of phonemes in text material are also examined "in order to obtain a background for the evaluation of the degree of utilization of the phonemes as constituents of morphemic shapes" (p. 28). This problem is considered in Chapter IV, which deals with the phonemic structure of the morpheme. Morphemes are classified, in terms of their phonemic shape, into three classes; mono-vocalic, bi-vocalic and poly-vocalic, i.e. all morphemes are of the type (C)V, (C)V(C)V, or (C)V(C)V(C)V... with the number of consonants considered only as a secondary criterion. Of the 55 theoretically possible mono-vocalic morphemic shapes, only 38 (69.09 %) are actually utilized (though the number of mono-vocalic morphemes is 67, i.e., there is considerable homonymy). Significantly, all mono-vocalic morphemes "manifest elements of the grammatical structure (affixes and particles)" (p. 32). The observed number of bi-vocalic morphemic forms is 1258, out of a theoretically possible 3025, giving a utilization of 41.59%. The non-occurrence of certain shapes in the morphemic inventory is conditioned by regular rules or tendencies (in addition to the general rules of no consonant clusters and no final consonants), e.g. the type (C)u(C)o is almost never utilized, considerable restrictions apply to co-occurrence of the labial consonants, so that such shapes as wVwV, mVwV, pVmV, etc., are rarely utilized; and so on.

The positional preferences of phonemes in bi-vocalic morphemic shapes are considered, and it is found that the open (compact) vowel (a) prefers the first vowel position, the closed (diffuse) vowels (i, u) prefer the second position, and the half-open vowels (e, o) have no marked preferences. In the consonants it is found that labials strongly prefer the first consonant position, alveolars strongly prefer the second position, and only the velar consonants have no marked preference.

In the case of vowels it is found that associative tendencies hold for e—e, i—i, u—u (i.e. for most like vowels) and i—o, and dissociative tendencies for e—u, i—e, i—u and u—o. In the case of consonants it is found that associative tendencies apply to labials—alveolars, and to alveolars—labials, and dissociative tendencies hold for labials—labials, and for alveolars—alveolars.

Typologists will find very interesting the discovery that there is over-utilization of like vowels, and under-utilization of like consonants in Maori morphemes; this phenomenon has been reported for a number of languages, and has led Krupa elsewhere to suggest that it may be a linguistic universal attributable to some

153

factor independent of the structure of individual languages.[2] Moreover, these facts should be accounted for in an adequate descriptive grammar, but insofar as they manifest *tendencies* rather than *absolute rules* there exists no way of stating them formally in a generative grammar. Presumably, in evaluating the phonological correctness of hypothetical words or in forming new words, Maori speakers have a scale of acceptability, on which words that violate absolute rules (such as **taktak* which violates the rule of no consonant clusters or final consonants) are unacceptable, while words which violate tendencies (such as **muwho* or **wuwo*, which violate certain dissociative tendencies noted above), are less acceptable than forms like **kuke* or **mota*, whose absence from the lexicon cannot be said to be conditioned by any rules or tendencies.[3] Semi-grammatical phonemic sequences, like semi--grammatical sentences, constitute a problem to the grammarian. This is one extremely interesting implication of Krupa's study which I believe he could fruitfully have discussed.

Finally in this chapter, an estimate of the total number of bi-vocalic morphemes in Maori is obtained by noting the number of contrastive meanings assigned by Williams' dictionary to a sample of 100 morphemic shapes. The number of meanings (= number of different morphemes) is 227, giving an index of homonymy of 2.27. This suggests that the number of bi-vocalic morphemes is $1258 \times 2.27 \doteq 2900$. In contrast to mono-vocalic morphemes, nearly all of these have lexical rather than grammatical function. The author notes that there are a number of poly-vocalic morphemes, not treated in his study, all of which have lexical function. The significance of these last facts is elaborated in Chapter V, dealing with the morphemic structure of the word, which in the reviewer's opinion is in many ways the most exciting chapter in the book.

Krupa begins by dividing Maori morphemes according to distribution into isolating morphemes (particles), combinative morphemes (affixes) and free morphemes (roots). Roots may occur alone or with affixes. In addition, there are two main types of morphemic operations applied to roots: (1) reduplication of the root. The resultant unit is called a supra-root (symbolized R'R for full reduplication, and r'R for partial reduplication); (2) stem-forming operations, which may apply either to roots or supra-roots; a stem-forming (derivative) prefix (symbolized ps) or suffix (ss) may be added, or two roots or supraroots can be joined inseparably, as *ara* "path" and *taki* "lead" in *arataki* "guide, lead". The number of derivative affixal forms is very high, though they are all non- or semi-productive morphemes, and their distribution is grammatically unpredictable. A list of co-occurrences of stem--forming affixes and roots is given and the conclusion is drawn that all 30 stem-

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[2] Viktor Krupa, *The Phonemic Structure of Bi-Vocalic Morphemic Forms in Four Oceanic Languages*, Journal of the Polynesian Society Vol. 75, pp. 458-497.

[3] A test I conducted confirms that native speakers of Maori make precisely the distinctions suggested here.

-forming prefixes are synonymous and can be treated ,,as morphemically conditioned allomorphs of one and the same ... morpheme (C)VV-∽(C)V-'' (p. 65). This is the first attempt in the literature to systematically treat these stem-forming affixes.

In addition to the derivative affixes there are two classes of productive affixes: inflectional prefixes (p_i) and suffixes (s_l), and a small number of affixes with limited but predictable distributions.

Having so classified Maori morphemes, Krupa is able to give several procedures ''by means of which the morphemic composition of certain word types may be determined solely on the basis of their phonemic features'' (p. 51), for instance procedures (2) all mono- and bi-vocalic words are mono-morphemic, (3) any poly-vocalic word of the type mm (m—any sequence of phonemes) should be interpreted as R'R (completely reduplicated root), (4) any poly-vocalic word of the type nmm (where n and m are two different phoneme sequences) is of the type p_sR'R (if n = (C)V(V)) or p_iR'R, (5) any poly-vocalic word of the type nmmp (where n, m and p are different phoneme sequences) has the structure p_iR'Rs$_l$, p_iR'Rs$_s$, or p_sR'Rs$_i$. Words containing partially reduplicated roots can be analyzed according to similar procedures, but the composition of other poly-vocalic words can be correctly determined only if non-phonemic criteria are taken into account.

Words are then classified according to (1) their morphemic structure, and (2) their distribution. It is found that 56 combinations of the morpheme types noted above are possible within words, though this is reduced to 14 if the two types of inflectional affix are excluded. Distributionally, words are classified into interjections, nominal and verbal particles, complementary particles, and 5 classes of words containing roots: nouns, adverbs, participles, adjectives, and universals.

Many words contain structural signals which quite unambiguously indicate to which class they belong. Words of the type R (simple root) may belong to any of the 5 classes; at the other end of the scale, words containing an inflectional affix occur in one class only; in the middle of the scale, words with (for example) the structure p_s(R' or r') R, and (R' or r') Rs$_s$ are either adjectives or universals, and so on. A more peripheral affix annuls the classificatory effect of an inner affix. Moreover, the nominalizing suffix -Canga∽-nga annuls the effect of the causative prefix whaka-. These last facts, to my knowledge, have not been dealt with adequately in previous grammars of Maori, which have not stated the order in which transformative affixes take effect.

The facts revealed in Chapter V are extremely interesting, but again one wishes for some discussion of their implications for general theory, and of the way in which they might be handled in a generative grammar of Maori. The discovery that phonology and grammar are not autonomous is not new, but clearly the connection revealed here is not of the kind normally treated under the heading ''morpho-phonemics'' in structural grammars, where morpho-phonemics concerns phonemic differences between morpheme alternants (allomorphs). Nor is the relationship of

155

the kind formulated in transformational grammars, where morpho-phonemes ("systematic phonemes") rather than "taxonomic" phonemes are the starting point of phonological rules, and where the view is held that some phonetic processes depend on syntactic and morphological structure, i.e. the rules determining the phonetic value of morpho-phonemes in particular environments take syntactic and morpho-logical considerations into account. But Maori (as Krupa shows) is in fact an agglutinative language, with very little morpho-phonemic alternation.

Rather, there is in Maori the correlation already noted between the phonemic shape of morphemes and their grammatical function. Thus function morphemes (affixes and particles) are nearly all of the shape (C)V, while lexical morphemes are nearly all of the shape (C)V(C)V, or, less commonly, (C)V(C)V(C)V.

Second, there is a correlation between the phonemic shape of words and (a) their morphemic structure and (b) their grammatical properties (distribution). While the correlations are in all cases imperfect, it is clear that a good deal of redundancy will occur in any grammar which treats phonology and grammar as separate, autonomous levels. Can a grammar be constructed which minimizes these redundancies?

First, it should be noted that Krupa conceives of (or at least formulates) the link between morphology and grammar here as upwards-directed, i.e. he states that it is possible to identify some features of Maori grammatical structure on the basis of phonological signals. In a transformational grammar morpho-phonemic rules are formulated as downwards-directed i.e. information about grammatical structure is utilized in determining the phonetic form of an utterance, but not vice-versa. How, in a generative grammar, can one incorporate a general rule which states that certain formatives automatically possess certain phonetic characteristics if they are members of a particular lexical or grammatical class? Suppose there is a language in which all function morphemes have the shape CV, and all roots the shape CVCV—a situation approached in Maori; in what part of the grammar should a rule be introduced which specifies that if a morpheme belongs to the class "root" its phonetic features predictably include the values CVCV, so that these are not distinctive lexically? These values presumably need not be repeated in each lexical entry; these entries need only specify which *distinctive* phonetic features are present.

The practical value of the mechanical procedures for determining the morphemic structure and class of words from their phonetic properties is not clear to the reviewer. One possibility might be in machine-translation, but since (as the author points out) the procedures noted fall short of being exhaustive this must remain out of the question.

The final two chapters compare the typological characteristics of the Maori word with those of 12 other languages for which data are available. An initial quantitative comparison, using seven indices devised by J. H. Greenberg, shows little more than that Maori "is an analytical language situated midway between

156

Vietnamese and Modern English" (p. 79), with indices (based on a sample text of 100 words) of 1.18 morphemes per word, 1.00 roots per word, 0.13, 0.14, 0.09 and 0.06 derivational morphemes, inflectional morphemes, prefixes, and suffixes, respectively, per word, and 0.88 agglutinative intra-word morph junctures per word.

Krupa then suggests a second comparison, modifying Greenberg's indices so that they will range from 0 to 1. This provides a more satisfactory evaluating scale, and shows Maori to be a "highly analytical, highly agglutinative, highly mono-radical and highly non-affixal language" (p. 82).

Finally, it is worth mentioning certain points of interest for historical linguistics arising indirectly from Krupa's study. First, his methods for calculating the size of the Maori morpheme stock are clearly applicable to reconstructed languages, and in fact Krupa has recently applied them to Proto-Polynesian.[4]

Second, his chapter on the morphemic structure of the word points up the surprising viability of the non-productive "stemforming" prefixes *ma-*, *ta-*, *nga-*, *pa-*, etc. in Oceanic languages. Many of these prefixes can be reconstructed in Proto-Eastern Oceanic, spoken at least 3000 years ago. They were present in Proto-Polynesian, spoken over 2000 years ago, but by this time were non-productive, with grammatically unpredictable distributions. It is interesting to consider why these apparently meaningless, functionless prefixes should have persisted in *every* Polynesian language. The explanation that they came to be treated as part of the root is not satisfactory for in many cases the roots also occur with the same meaning without prefixes, e.g. Maori *tata* and *paa-tata* "near".

Third, comparative reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian word structure may show that the particular kind of connection between phonology and grammar characteristic of Maori is largely of recent origin, perhaps having arisen as a kind of compensatory redundancy related to the severe reduction in the number of phonemes and in possible morphemic shapes in Polynesian languages. A second possibility is that it may be characteristic of agglutinative languages, i.e. languages with few morphemically conditioned morpho-phonemic processes. If I understand Krupa correctly, however, he believes that while the simplicity of Maori structure makes the relationship between phonology and grammar relatively transparent, such relationships probably exist, though they are less easily observed, in *all* languages.

It is to be hoped that the author will develop further this theory that certain features of Maori phonology, morphology, and word structure reflect universal properties of languages.

<div align="right">Andrew Pawley</div>

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[4] Viktor Krupa, op. cit.

James B. Watson (ed.), *New Guinea: The Central Highlands*. Amer. Anthropologist, special publ. Vol. 66, No. 4, Part 2. Menasha 1964, 329 pp.

The special publication of the American Anthropologist (Part 2, Vol. 66, No. 4, 1964) titled *New Guinea: The Central Highlands* edited by J. B. Watson includes three linguistic studies which deserve certain attention. Two of them have a typological character: S. A. Wurm, Australian New Guinea Highlands Languages and the Distribution of Their Typological Features (77—97) and E. V. Pike, The Phonology of New Guinea Highlands Languages (121—132), the third one studies the problem from the historical point of view: H. McKaughan, A Study in Divergence in Four New Guinea Languages. It is gratifying that white places are disappearing from the map of New Guinea and that at the same time a comparison is being undertaken. The works bring really very valuable results and give a good picture both of the linguistic situation and of the linguistic work in this area. Nevertheless, we shall try to set forth some remarks which are more of a methodological character.

S. Wurm established lexicostatistically the existence of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock and of the East New Guinea Highlands (Micro-) Phylum. The hierarchy of the relationship was defined according to Swadesh on the basis of the percentage of the shared vocabulary:

> 81% and more: language of dialect,
> 28%—81%: family,
> 12%—28%: stock,
> 4%—12%: micro-phylum.

In the given Stock 50 languages and 5 families were found, within which the author trats the languages typologically, or better, he investigates the distribution of particular features in the Stock, states the shared features and the mutual distances of the families. To this end he chooses a series of phonetic and grammatical typological features by means of which he then performs the classification.

The typology searching for similarities and differences of languages and grouping, on the basis, the languages into classes is a kind of *measurement*. The higher the scale of measurement chosen the more confident are the results of the measurement and the more information they give. The lowest scale, characteristic of the majority of existing typologies, is the nominal scale on which one determines the occurrence or non-occurrence of a feature in the language. The language is first "characterized" by enumerating a series of its features, then those which are shared with other languages are stated and the language is classed with a particular group. This procedure is occurrent, e.g. in the typology of Ernst Lewy and it must be noted that in this way any classification can be attained. It depends on which features we choose as "typological". What is a typological feature? As a matter of fact, every

158

property of the language is a typological feature and the nature of their choice determines partly the reliability of classification. The giving of priority to particular features means to introduce subjectivism into the procedure. There are, of course, more and less important features but their importance is always related to a special point of view. The author frequently speaks about important, more important and very important features but he does not mention whereby this importance is given and how he measures its degree.

On the whole the typological features can be chosen in three ways: (1) *Ad hoc* by subjective decisions considering some features more important then others. This procedure is current in the reviewed article and, consequently, the results do not hold true absolutely but only from the point of view of the chosen features. A coincidence with an absolutely valid classification is, of course, not excluded. (2) By elaborating a list of all or at least of a great number of features of the given languages and then either by performing a random sampling[1] by means of methods which are current in statistics, or by using all of the features found. This procedure necessitates more work but is entirely objective. It is used somewhere by S. Wurm and E. V. Pike but it is not clear whether Wurm's samples are random or authoritative. (3) By giving the features a priori regardless of the languages investigated. A list of these features could be given, say, in the form of "yes or no" questions and its compilation would not cause considerable difficulties. The criterion features could be given as equivalent and then, within the final grouping, one could state features which are "characteristic" of the individual subgroups.

The categorical (nominal) data, adduced by the author in the form of tables with plus signs for the presence and minus signs for the absence of features, can be objectively exploited for the computation of the similarity or the difference of two languages by means of an appropriate correlation method or by giving an index of similarity or difference of two sets. Several other measures of similarity have been developed in anthropology. The author contented himself with an intuitive evaluation of the tables and gave the results mostly on the *topological* (ordinal) scale. Let us quote one of the results: "To sum up, it appears that of the five Families, E[2] and EC show *close*[3] typological similarity. EC and WC display *a measure* of typological agreement, and W resembles WC to *a very small extent.* C does not, taken as a whole, show any *considerable* typological agreement with any of the other four Families, and possesses *a greater number* of peculiar traits *than* any of the other Families" [93]. If the sense of the first three data printed with italics is *close > a measure > a very small extent* they give a certain information, in the same way as *a greater number... than...*; however, *considerable* does not give any information.

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[1] It was used by D. Chrétien and A. L. Kroeber, *Quantitative Classification of Indo-European Languages.* Language 13, 1937, 83—105.

[2] E, EC, WC, C are the names of the Families.

[3] Italics mine — G. A.

It is therefore desirable to perform the typological measurements from the beginning on the *interval* or on the *ratio* scale, where the distances or the similarities can be given in numbers. Such a procedure entails measuring the "weight" of the given property in the language. The author uses it only in computing the indices of phonological differentiation, which gives a better picture than the other results.

The lexical and the typological similarities have been correctly taken apart by the author and we must emphasize that they are entirely independent on one another, so that their coincidence is to be considered accidental, neither corroborating nor disproving one another. H. McKaughan has a different opinion: "My working hypothesis has been that if the phonostatistical results compare favorably with the lexicostatistical findings, and if the conclusions of each can also be supported by structural studies, then we can be assured of the validity of the statistical measures as tools for the study of language relationship" [103]. Whilst Wurm frequently stated the discrepancy of lexicostatistical and structural phenomena McKaughan tried to corroborate the former by the latter. It is, however, to be noted that his structural analyses have also a historical perspective, they are not purely descriptive. The formulation in the above quotation is slighty misleading and the author indicates in it certain unexpressed doubts of the adequacy of the lexico- and phonostatistics. It must be stressed that if a verified (!) statistical method was correctly use and all circumstances were appropriately taken into account, then it is not necessary to doubt the correctness of results. A method giving results that must be verified by other methods has no sense. In this case the doubts arise from the fact that the starting prerequisites are uncertain and that lexico- and phonostatistics are hitherto not mathematically verified methods. Let us consider them in short.

Lexicostatistics tries to determine the difference or the similarity of two languages by stating the percentage of shared cognates from a certain list of basic words. The method was criticized from several aspects, its main shortcomings consist of the following points: It is subjectivized by the authoritative choice of words and its reliability is further reduced by the uncertainty in determining the cognates. The author himself states that "any two investigators will come out with different answers even if they should use the same word lists, simply because the method calls for personal judgement as to what is cognate and what is not" [102]. The uncertainty of the comparison increases by taking into account only a very small part of the vocabulary. The subjective judgements are first to be excluded by exact correspondences and it is necessary to use the whole vocabulary of both compared languages. The shared percentage is to be related to the size of the vocabularies. This shortcoming can be easily removed; the glottochronological dating is a greater problem since we do not know the rate of change of the respective vocabularies. Glottochronological dating is a rough approximation. No factors are taken into account besides a certain average speed which was generalized for all languages.

Phonostatistics in the comparative sense as used here, is an evaluation of the

phonetic difference of cognate forms. The average difference per word is the index of the phonetic difference. Here the difference is determined by means of four parameters: (1) Point of articulation, (2) degree of constriction of the air stream, (3) velic action, and (4) laryngeal action which are sufficient for these languages. The parameters have several degrees which are encoded into numbers of four digits, the words are then transcribed into the code and the difference is computed from the coded numbers. The method developed K. L. Pike through E. V. Pike, F. B. Agard and J. E. Grimes. A more refined method for the determination of the phonetic difference was elaborated by G. E. Peterson and F. Harary[4] which could have been used here, too. Though both of these methods are greatest achievements in the measurement of phonetic differences and though they can be successfully exploited, they have, nevertheless, some disadvantages. First, the Grimes-Agard measure considers differences along all parameters as equivalent, Peterson and Harary also rank the importance of the parameters. The latter would be advantageous if the importance of the parameters could be determined objectively. Second, the Grimes-Agard measure[5] takes no account of the metathesis-epenthesis and other current changes. (Peterson-Harary's measure does not allow vowels to be compared with consonants whilst the Grimes-Agard's does allow it. Fourth, both these measures are, in fact, ordinal, they give the difference of the phonemes discretely in rank units though, evidently, the difference increases or descreases continuously with several parameters. Nevertheless, both these measures are, for the time being, the best and the comparative results attained by means of them are reliable.

E. V. Pike's study is purely descriptive aiming at no grouping or distance measurement. The data are merely enumerated and placed side by side. It shows phonological data including the phonological word, tones, tonal morphophonemics and the distribution of phonemes. Sixteen families of languages have been used for this description.

Similarly, as one proceeds in the lexicostatistics and in the phonostatistics which represent systemic counts, one can proceed in comparing structural properties. The only requirement here is to know how to transform the qualitative data into quantitative indices or sets of indices which then represent the coordinates of the language in an n-dimensional space. We only know what a property is if we can express it in numbers. The difference of the similarity of two languages can be then easily evaluated by means of current mathematical techniques. It seems that in the future one will pay more attention to the quantification of linguistic phenomena than hitherto. Greenberg's work[6] exploiting pragmatic counts has not yet found

[4] G. E. Peterson, F. Harary, *Foundations in Phonemic Theory*. In: *Structure of Language and its Mathematical Aspects*. Providence 1961, 139—165.

[5] The reviewer knows only Grimes J. E., F. B. Agard, *Linguistic Divergence in Romance*. Language 35, 1959, 598—604.

[6] J. H. Greenberg, *A Quantitative Approach to the Morphological Typology of Languages*.

any appropriate repercussion. It is to be noted that quantities can be introduced also into semantic systems. *Every* linguistic system has a series of properties which can be expressed numerically.

On the whole it can be stated that the situation in New Guinea linguistics is rapidly improving not only as far as the number of languages described is concerned but also as to the extent and depth of the analysis. The authors used the best methods known today and it is not their fault that these are not yet unexceptionable. The future will, no doubt, bring a refinement in quantitative procedures.

<div style="text-align: right">Gabriel Altmann</div>

C. J. Ellis, *Aboriginal Music Making, A study of Central Australian Music*, Adelaide, Libraries Board of South Australia 1964, S. IX + 373.

Die Arbeiten über die Musik der australischen Eingeborenen sind in der Ethnomusikologie nur vereinzelt vorzufinden und stellen in der Regel ein ungewöhnliches Ereignis des Verlags dar, da die Bearbeitung dieses Materials eine ausserordentliche Erforschungsbemühung für sich beansprucht. Demzufolge müssen wir allein schon die Tatsache begrüssen, dass die Arbeit Aboriginal Music Making in Erscheinung gelangt ist. Für alle jene, die ein Interesse an der australischen Musik bekunden, bildet C. J. Ellis Arbeit einen wertvollen Beitrag, und zwar ihres weitläufigen Zutritts zur Problematik, sowie auch der Kommentare zu den einzelnen Mustern und nicht zuletzt ihrer Untersuchungsmethode halber, die eine anregende Lösung mit sich bringt.

Ausser den informativen Anmerkungen im einleitenden Teil (I.), ist Ellis' Arbeit auf die Problematik der geheiligten Lieder Aranda speaking people of Central Australia (II.) und auf ihren Vergleich mit der Musik der Eingeborenen aus anderen Gebieten (III.) gerichtet, mit einer Zusammenfassung der Untersuchungsergebnisse im abschliessenden Teil (IV.). Nachdem die Musik der Eingeborenen Australiens keine fixierten Beziehungen der Intervalle besitzt, wählte die Verfasserin die rhythmischen Fragen als die Grundlage ihrer Untersuchungen. Sie stellte fest, dass, ausser einigen Ausnahmen, die geheiligten Lieder Zentralaustraliens aus rhythmischen Formeln gebildet sind, die kürzer oder länger sind, und die sich, unabhängig von den melodischen Umrissen, wiederholen. Diese rhythmischen Formeln entscheiden über die Versstruktur und mehr noch, jede rhythmische Formel besitzt eine Funktion in Verbindung mit anderen rhythmischen Formeln in der grossen Zeremonie und spielt deshalb beim Formaufbau des gesamten Liedes eine wichtige Rolle. Die Beweise für diese Behauptung liefert Mr. Strehlow mit der Feststellung, dass der Akzent im Text mit dem der gesprochenen Sprache nicht übereinstimmt, dass ein Grossteil der Textsprache archaisch ist und besonders, daß *"the syllabes are misplaced,*

the lines not representing complete words". Aus dieser Tatsache entsprang der glückliche Gedanke einer Ausbildung der rhythmischen Formeln, die als das Hauptkriterium die Anzahl der Takte (bezw. die Anzahl der Takte mit Wiederholung), weiters die rhythmische Gliederung und das Metronom enthalten. Die rhythmische Tabelle geht von den einfachsten Gruppierungen durch Zunahme der Anzahl der Takte und der Tempi innerhalb der Takte zu den zusammengesetzteren über. Aus dem untersuchten Material hatte die Verfasserin 121 solcher rhythmischer Formeln festgestellt. Bei deren Applikation stellte sie fest, dass der *"rhythm from Central Australia seem to indicate a high form of organization in the music. These is nothing haphazard to be found here, and indeed it would seem that this is a cultivated and complex art"*. Dies stellt ein überraschendes Ergebnis dar, da von der Musik der australischen Eingeborenen keine derartigen Behauptungen angenommen werden. Bisher ist diese Musik in Übereinstimmung mit der Lebensweise beurteilt worden und man vertritt allgemein die Annahme, dass sie eine der elementarsten Äusserungen darstellte. Natürlich wurde diese Annahme durch den Mangel an Tonmaterial für das Studium beeinflußt und ich lasse auch die Möglichkeit zu, daß dabei ein untypisches Material verbreitet wurde. Es kann möglich sein, dass gerade die Verbreitung dieser Ansicht einige Fragen aufwerfen lässt:

Im Zusammenhang mit den Notierungsschwierigkeiten erscheint es beispielsweise fraglich, inwiefern die problematische rhythmische Vorsignierung die Grundlage für die Zugehörigkeit zu den zwei- und mehrtaktrhythmischen Formeln bilden kann? Ähnliche Fragen hängen mit der Transkriptionsart überhaupt zusammen. Die Behauptung, dass es sich um eine hoch organisierte Form handle (natürlich nicht im europäischen Sinne), würde vielleicht mehr Beispiele und hauptsächlich eine eingehendere Beschreibung der "Didjerid"-Spieler erfordern, die, ohne die Grenzen zu kennen, auf diesem Gebiet herumwanderten, und als Musiker auf das musikolische Denken zweifellos einwirkten. Es ist somit fraglich, ob mit ihrem Wirken nicht auch noch die Tatsache zusammenhänge, dass bei bestimmten geheiligten Gesängen bei den verschiedenen Stämmen mit einem ähnlichen Totem, ein Handlungszusammenhang existiere, der auf den Ort, den der Stamm bewohnt, gebunden ist. Eine solche Frage scheint bei der Beurteilung von Ellis' Ergebnissen besonders entscheidend zu sein, da, wie ihrerseits angegeben wird, diese professionellen Musiker ihre Beschäftigung erben, und wenn wir uns sodann deren Wirken auf eine Dauer von 5—6 Generationen vorstellen, dann können wir uns die übereinstimmenden oder ergänzenden Elemente im rhythmischen Aufbau leicht vorstellen, da ja gerade diese Musiker deren Bildung beeinflussen.

Wie wir schon bereits erwähnt hatten, resultieren sich diese Fragen aus der Unterschiedlichkeit der bisherigen Vorstellungen und hängen mit der ungenügenden Kenntnis einer grösseren Material-Anzahl zusammen. Die Tatsache, dass die Verfasserin besonders die rhythmischen Probleme untersuchte, stellt zweifellos einen Beitrag dar, da ja gerade dieser Punkt zumeist vernachlässigt worden war und

durch Verschulden der europäischen Schule das Augenmerk den Tonleitern, den Tonalen Ordnungen und Intervall-Beziehungen geschenkt wurde. Und falls wir die positiven Seiten anführen — dann war von diesem Standpunkt jener Vorteil, dass das System der rhythmischen Formeln, das die Verfasserin für ihre Arbeit verwendete, aus den eigenen Eintragungen hervorging und die Verfasserin damit ihre eigene Anschauung auf den rhythmischen Verlauf in sämtlichen Phasen des Arbeitsvorgangs kundgab.

Bei der Bearbeitung der Höhen-Parameter kam zum Vorschein das sympatische Streben nach einer objektiven Analyse, wenn auch die Ergebnisse unverwendet geblieben sind. In diesen Zusammenhängen ist aber zu erwähnen, dass dieses Kapitel eine ausserordentliche gediegene Fortsetzung in der Studie Preinstrumental scales with a technical appendix by Bernard Seymour (*Ethnomusicology* IX, No. 2, May 1965, S. 126) findet, in welcher eine sehr vorteilhafte Methode für die Bearbeitung der Höhen-Parameter bei solchen Melodien-Typen angegeben wird.

Wie auch aus dieser Arbeit hervorgeht, sind wesentlich jene Arten, nach welchen dieses Material zu bewerten sei und wie der Zugang zur Untersuchung der Musik primitiver Kulturen zu bereichern wäre. Es scheint, als ob bisher die Auffassungsweise noch nicht festgelegt sei und ich glaube, dass der Wert der Arbeit heute mehr darauf beruht, wie sie von wem gemacht werden, als wozu man gelangt ist. Jedoch gerade bei den Arbeiten über die Musik der australischen Eingeborenen wird von uns oftmals die Frage gestellt — wie sind die Ergebnisse beschaffen, wir vertiefen uns über den Zutritt zu deren Bewertung, über deren Sinn und die Hierarchie der Werte. Deshalb erfreuten wir uns in der Arbeit Aboriginal music making der entdeckenden Aufmerksamkeit zu den Höhen — und hauptsächlich rhythmischen Fragen, die reichliche Verwendungsmöglichkeiten aufzeigen.

<div align="right">Ivan Mačák</div>

R. Pittman, H. Kerr (Eds.), *Papers on the Languages of the Australian Aborigines* (= Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies, 3). Canberra, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies 1964, III + 166 pp.

The third volume of this series brings 17 studies on partial grammatical problems of 6 Australian languages; Anyula, Burera, Maung (Northern Territory), Gugu-Yalanji, Wik-Munkan (Queensland) and Gidabul (New South Wales). The results furnish the evidence that the processing of these languages is in good hands and judging by the rate of publishing we can expect within a short time also some monographs individual languages.

The core of the volume is the investigation of pronominal systems to which 9 studies are devoted (B. J. Sayers—H. B. Kerr, *Wik-Munkan Locative, Temporal*

and Demonstrative Pronouns 1—12; M. Godfrey—H. B. Kerr, *Personal Pronouns in Wik-Munkan* 13—34; R. Hershberger, *Personal Pronouns in Gugu-Yalanji* 55—68; H. Geytenbeek, *Personal Pronouns in Gidabul* 91—100; K. Glasgow, *Four Principal Contrast in Burera Personal Pronouns* 109—117; H. Hinch, *The Maung Personal Pronoun* 129—138; J. Kirton, *Anyula Personal Pronouns* 139—148; H. B. Kerr, *Comparison of Anyula Base Pronouns with Burera, Maung and Wik-Munkan* 149—150; H. B. Kerr, *Specific and Generic Lexical Contrast in Pronominal Systems* 157—166). In this "specialization" one can see a concentrated effort to penetrate into the essence of a certain linguistic phenomenon. The pronouns represent a small closed system which is very suitable for making up models. The authors encounter here a problem which will frequently reappear in describing Australian languages: the semantic (micro) systems of these languages *cover* the reality somewhat "unusuall", they "look" at the reality, analyze it in a quite different way than English, there is no one-to-one correspondence with English; on the contrary, the semantic discrepancy is so great that difficulties arise not only in translating the meanings of the grammatical categories but also in defining them. It makes itself felt most markedly with temporal and spatial categories where neither our basic trichotomy exists (past, present, future), nor notions such as *in, at, on*, etc. In other words, the partition of the reality into subsets by certain grammatical categories is such that it cannot be adequately described by parallel partitions in English and consequently, the use of the logical and mathematical apparatus will be indispensable in the future. Very frequent is the problem of finding a common denominator for the members of a category, mixing of time and space relations, segmentation of the time, etc. Good examples of these phenomena are furnished by the above-mentioned Sayers-Kerr study (1—12), by the striking analysis of Burera tenses (K. Glasgow, *Frame of Reference for Two Burera Tenses* 118) or by the time indicators in Gugu-Yalanji (R. Hershberger, *-Ku 'Then'* and *-Da 'Now' in Gugu-Yalanji* 69—72) to mention only some of them; the problem of the common denominator occurs e.g. in the Gidabul "ablative" (H. Geytenbeek 91—100) where there is both spatial and temporal location, real and abstract direction (fear, desire); etc., etc. In spite of excellent results we may state that a further step in methodology should be done if the semantic components in these languages are to be described adequately. Noteworthy is especially H. B. Kerr's article (159—166) which brings the first generalization of the results acquired from the languages of New Guinea and Australia. In a 3×3 matrix the author investigates various patterning of pronominal systems. His quasi-topological analysis is notable by enabling one to chart clearly the person and number partition of the reality (here linguistic reality as to the person-dimension). The 3×3 matrix is suitable for the pronominal systems which distinguish the dual; it is an etic frame within which all observed emic systems restricted to the dimensions of person and number are investigated. If all (possible) dimensions are simultaneously taken into account, difficulties with charting will

arise. The work ends with schemes but can be carried on with the taxonomy of these systems and with the enumeration of their properties. Pronominal systems, similarly as other systems, have a number of enumerable features (efficiency, discriminability, information, symmetry, etc.); it is, of course, a task for the future. The analyses contained in this volume present both stimuli and comparative material.

The other studies describe the verb (R. Hershberger, *Notes on Gugu-Yalanji* 35—54; B. Geytenbeek, *Morphology of the Regular Verbs of Gidabul* 101—108; D. Glasgow—H. Kerr, *Burera Verb Prefixes* 119—128), the noun (H. Hershberger, *Case-Marking Affixes in Gugu-Yalanji* 73—82; E. MacDonald, *Notes on the Noun Classes of Anyula* 151—156) and the noun phrase (H. Hershberger, *Gugu-Yalanji Noun Phrases* 83—90). The above notes concern these studies, too. The marked feature of the whole volume is lucidity. The authors bring many schemes and tables, some of them, however, contain so much data that they *eo ipso* get unclear. Instead of loose descriptions the authors try to find the inner relations of the phenomena by constructing frames of reference for them.

The volume is typed with an electric typewriter, misprints are relatively scarce. The reviewer could not find the footnotes to the Godfrey-Kerr article (13—34). It si to be hoped that further volumes of the same quality will soon appear.

Gabriel Altmann

W. Oates, L. Oates, H. Hershberger, R. Hershberger, B. Sayers, M. Godfrey, *Gugu-Yalanji and Wik-Munkan Language Studies* (= Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies, 2). Canberra, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies 1964, VI + 146 pp.

The publication under review is a collective work of the members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The authentic data were being collected since 1959 till 1962 in field works of various lengths. The languages investigated are situated in Northern Queensland. Though the concentrated endeavour of this institute has brought about an essential improvement of our knowledge of Australian (and not only Australian) languages, we are still far from a satisfactory state of things in the Australian linguistics. The quick acquirement of good results is here the sequel of the team work and of the unified descriptive methodology which is used by the members of the SIL. From among several methods which are currently employed in the present-day linguistics Pike's inductive approach is, perhaps, the most suitable in the field work and in the primary processing of the collected data for at least three reasons: (1) It is *exact* and permits the language to be *described thoroughly* which is the categorial imperative of any grammar; (2) it is *easy* to be mastered and can be applied to *every* language; (3) in investigating a language one can proceed

from higher units to lower ones, but in describing it the *contrary* procedure can also be followed in terms of the same grammar, if it is necessary for pedagogical purposes. In the grammatical parts of the present publication the way of proceeding from the clause to the word is adhered to. It would be absurd to add anything to the discussion of this problem, but in reading the formulae, e.g. of clauses, the reader is incessantly forced to seek the properties of particular slot-fillers in the further pages. In reading grammars of this type the reviewer mostly proceeds from the end to the beginning.

Though the authors of grammatical parts (Hank Hershberger, *A Tentative Description of the Noun Morphology of Gugu-Yalanji* 18—23; Ruth Hershberger, *A Tentative Grammatical Statement of the Simple Clause in Gugu-Yalanji* 24—48; Marie Godfrey, *A Tentative Outline Grammar of Wik-Munkan* 57—78) call their contributions consequently "tentative", the results are very good and the structure of the languages is, due to the method, quite evident. There remains, of course, a number of semantically not identified entities which are specially mentioned and are going to be solved later. In this connection it can be mentioned that, in spite of Pike's meaning-form "syncretism", the works of the members of the SIL in the Oceanic area show a strong effort to state the forms but the description of meanings is not so precise. Further, a certain traditionalism in naming makes itself felt, e.g. the noun combining with locative suffixes is called "prepositional noun" (42) though no preposition is involved. It is no fault, of course, the terms may be chosen arbitrarily but for the readers having certain associations they are misleading. Somewhat more disturbing is the absence of any definition with some word classes and, in some places, the missing information whether the given items exhaust the whole class or are given as examples only (e.g. p. 46). These details, however, can be easily completed, however.

The phonemes of the languages investigated are described in two studies (William and Lynette Oates, *Gugu-Yalanji Phonemes* 1—6; Barbara Sayers, *The Phonemes of Coen Wik-Munkan* 51—56) in the usual way (Phonemes, Variants, Syllable, Distribution, Stress, Orthography). It is not clear why the Gugu-Yalanji vocoids [i] and [u] in the initial position were interpreted as (yi) and (wu), respectively (2). The only reason which follows from the given data is the unification of syllable patterns, nevertheless, the sufficiency of this argument is problematic. The interpretation of the vowel length and of the final vocoid glides is acceptable but there is no parallelity with the initial vocoids. Similarly unclear is the statement of the occurrence of consonants in CC clusters. In Gugu-Yalanji "all consonants except the stops and w" occur as the first consonant of a CC" and "all stops, m and η" occur as the "second consonant of a CC" (4); similarly in Wik-Munkan "the first member of a cluster is always one of the following: $(m, n, \eta, l, \tilde{r}$ and $?)$" and "the second member of a cluster is always $(m, p, t, \c{t}$ or $k)$" (55). Unfortunately, it cannot be seen therefrom whether all $C_1 \times C_2$ pairs occur or only some of them.

The *Gugu-Yalanji Vocabulary* by William and Lynette Oates (76—146) to which

167

an English index is added includes about 1,200 words. The derivatives are given together with the base. When expanding the vocabulary the authors could, perhaps, consider the possibility of marking the component morphemes of the word in parentheses. For a further, say quantitative, processing such a vocabulary would be very advantageous.

Anthropological Notes on Gugu-Yalanji by the same authors (9—17) are not customary in a linguistic publication but it was a good idea to include them here. In describing languages like these "notes" of this kind should never be missing.

The above remarks are not meant here as a criticism but rather as an eventual stimulus. The word "tentative" defends everything that has not been done and excuses everything that has been done incompletely. Not only the authors who experienced much trouble until they collected and worked up the material but also the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies is to be congratulated for this stimulating and valuable publication.

<div style="text-align: right">Gabriel Altmann</div>

Boris Nedkov, *Osmanoturska diplomatika i paleografia I*, Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo 1966, S. 215.

Wenn wir die türkischen Versuche M. Yazırs[1] und S. Bekens[2] nicht rechnen, soll das, von Boris Nedkov, Professor and der Universität in Sofia stammende Buch — der Reihe nach das fünfte Buch über die osmanisch-türkische Paleographie und Diplomatik — die Lücke auf diesem wissenschaftlichen Gebiet in Bulgarien ausfüllen.

Die einige Jahrhunderte dauernde osmanische Okkupation Bulgariens hinterliess eine Menge von schriftlichem Material, dessen Bekanntwerden für die bulgarische Geschichte unvermeidlich ist. Der Bedarf, qualifizierte wissenschaftliche Kader zur Bearbeitung des osmanisch-türkischen Urkundematerials und Handschriften vorzubereiten, war das Hauptziel der Herausgabe dieser Arbeit. Das Handbuch von B. Nedkov stellt sich also ein ähnliches Ziel, wie die Arbeiten von A. Zajączkowski—J. Reychman[3] und M. Guboglu,[4] gegenüber den älteren Werken von F. Kraelitz[5] und L. Fekete[6], die die Grundlagen dieser wissenschaftlichen Disziplin geschaffen haben.

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[1] *Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı*, İstanbul 1942.

[2] *Osmanlı paleografyası I*, Ankara 1964.

[3] *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej*, Warszawa 1955.

[4] *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana. Studiu şi album*, Bucureşti 1958.

[5] *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik.* SAW Phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 197, Abt. 3, Wien 1922.

[6] *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926.

Die osmanisch-türkische Paleographie und Diplomatik von B. Nedkov ist eine theoretische Anleitung; der Autor erwähnt nicht, dass eine praktische Partie erfolgen sollte, man kann es aber voraussetzen. Ausser den speziellen Partien über die Paleographie und Diplomatik enthält das Buch eine umfangreiche Einführung, die aus drei Teilen besteht: I. Diplomatik als wissenschaftliche Disziplin; II. Osmanische Diplomatik; III. Staatsordnung und Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches.

Was das Ziel und den Zweck des Buches anbelangt, ist diese Erweiterung sehr nützlich, da sie den Adepten nicht nur die Orientierung in der Disziplin, in die sie eingeführt werden, ermöglicht, sondern ihnen auch die Grundkenntnisse über die Verwaltung und Staatsordnung des Osmanischen Reiches gibt, ohne welchen das Studium der osmanischen Dokumente sehr schwierig sein würde. Das erste und das dritte Kapitel ist gegenüber den vorangehenden Arbeiten eine Neuheit. Beide haben in dem Buch ihre Berechtigung. Das erste Kapitel, im Hinblick auf die pädagogischen Ziele, soll die Studierenden mit den Methoden und Aufgaben, mit der Definition der Diplomatik und endlich mit der Geschichte dieser Disziplin bekannt machen. Das dritte Kapitel soll einen Überblick der Staatsordnung, der Finanz- und politischen Verwaltung, der Armee und der Gerichtsorgane geben.

Das erste Kapitel „Diplomatik als wissenschaftliche Disziplin" (S. 5—11) handelt von der Geschichte der Diplomatik seit der Zeit ihrer Entstehung im XVII. Jh. in Frankreich, von ihren bedeutendsten Repräsentanten, von ihren Aufgaben und Methoden in der historischen Entwicklung und von der Fälschung der Dokumente. Einige Bemerkungen zu diesem Kapitel: Die Diplomatik entstand und entwickelte sich in den Klöstern und ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung wurde durch die Streitigkeiten veranlasst, die die Benediktiner und die Jesuiten über die Echtheit der Dokumente in den Pariser Klöstern untereinander führten. Ein ganzes Jahrhundert bleibt die Diplomatik in den Händen der Mönche und aus diesem Grunde können diese Fragen mit dem politischen Kampf schwer verbunden werden, sowie es schwer zu behaupten ist, dass die antretende Bourgeoisie die Ergebnisse der Diplomatik ausgenützt hätte. Über diese Aspekte kann später gesprochen werden. Zum Nutzen der Arbeit wäre eine Analyse diplomatischer Methoden Th. Sickels und J. Fickers gewesen, die einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der Diplomatik auf dem lateinischen Gebiete und ebenso hätte auch die synthetische Ansicht H. Bresslaus, dessen Meinungen der Autor genauer überbringt, einen grösseren Widerhall gefunden. Das Zitat aus dem Buch Udalcovs und Skazkins ist dem Werk nicht zum Nutzen.

Im weiteren Teil des Kapitels analysiert der Autor die Definition der Diplomatik H. Bresslaus und die Diplomatik selbst kritisiert er in dem Sinne, dass sie nur auf die Echtheit der Dokumente eng eingestellt ist und eine formale Methode benützt. Die Hauptaufgaben der Diplomatik stellt der Autor wie folgt: „Die Analyse aller äusserlichen und innerlichen Merkmale, sowie besonders des Inhalts der Dokumente, um aus diesen gewisse Angaben über die politische und ökonomische Grundlage zu

gewinnen und so die breitesten und tiefsten, sowie die spezifischen Züge der gegebenen Feudalgesellschaft aufzudecken".

Das zweite Kapitel „*Osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik*" (S. 12—32) beginnt mit einer allgemeinen Charakteristik der osmanischen Kanzlei und ihres Apparates, mit den Arten ihrer Tätigkeit auf wirtschaftlichem, politischem und militärischem Gebiet. Es beachtet die juristische Stütze der Dokumente und die, ihnen gegenüber eingenommene Stellungnahme, die Präzision, mit der sie ausgefertigt und verwahrt wurden. Der Autor weist darauf hin, dass die osmanische Historiographie das Archivmaterial unbeachtet liess und es in ihren Arbeiten, bis auf gewisse Ausnahmen (*Pečevī*) nicht ausgenützt hatte. Dazu muss bemerkt werden, dass sich die Osmanen mit der Übernahme des Islam auch die Methode des historischen Ḥadīs angeeignet hatten, der eigene Methode des historischen Schrifttums hatte, wobei er vor allem die tradierten Berichte aufzugreifen, bzw. diese einfach abzuschreiben oder die Augenzeugnisse niederzuschreiben berücksichtigte. Analysierte Dokumente werden in der osmanischen Historiographie erst später benützt, obzwar wir schon vom XVII. Jh. an öfters die Anführung der Dokumente „in extenso" (*ṣūret-i mektūb*) in den Werken einiger Historiker (Rāšid, Silaḥdār usw.) vorfinden.

Der Autor schildert die ungünstige Lage in den türkischen Archiven im XIX. Jh., wo infolge der Interesselosigkeit der regierenden Kreise eine Menge von Archivmaterial, besonders durch die Brände, die einigemale das Archiv der Hohen Pforte ergriffen hatten, vernichtet wurde. Er widmet seine Aufmerksamkeit auch der Geschichte der türkischen Archive und den Ergebnissen der europäischen und türkischen Forscher auf diesem Gebiet, sowie der Veröffentlichung der türkischen Dokumente. Es wäre notwendig, der ungarischen Herausgabe der türkischen Dokumente, eine umfangreiche Edition der Defters A. Velics „*Magyarországi török kincstári defterek I—II*, Budapest 1886—90" beizufügen. Diese Edition — wenngleich in ungarischer Übersetzung — war die erste Herausgabe der in siyāqat geschriebenen Dokumente in Europa, wenn wir A. Sziládys kurzen Vortrag mit Texten, „*A defterekről*, Pest 1872", nicht zählen. Von den polnischen Arbeiten ist es der „*Katalog dokumentów tureckich I*, Warszawa 1959" von Z. Abrahamowicz. Ausführlich und interessant ist die Übersicht der bisherigen Herausgaben der türkischen Dokumente in Bulgarien.

Der Schluss des Kapitels beschäftigt sich mit der Geschichte der osmanischen Diplomatik und ihrer spezifischen Fragen. Es mangelt aber an strengeren Kriterien bei der Bewertung bisheriger Arbeiten. Was die praktische Seite und theoretische Einführung anbelangt, überholen die ersten zwei Arbeiten, Kraelitzs und Feketes, die späteren von A. Zajączkowski—J. Reychman und M. Guboglu, obwohl diese wieder ausführliche Bibliographien und verschiedene Hilfstafeln bringen.

Dieses Kapitel, das einen bibliographischen Charakter trägt, erinnert wieder an das grosse Desideratum, an die bibliographische Einführung in die osmanische Geschichte, das nicht nur auf dem Gebiet weiterer historischer Hilfswissenschaften,

170

besonders der Sfragistik, Numismatik, der historischen Geographie, sowie der chronologischen Tafeln der Würdenträger, meistens der aus den Provinzen (bisher erfolgreiche Versuche A. Gévays, F. Babingers, E. Zambaurs), sondern auch vor allem auf dem Gebiet der Bibliographie, besteht. Die französische Arbeit von G. Auboyneau—A. Fevret „*Essai de bibliographie pour servir à l'histoire de l'Empire Ottomane*, Paris 1911" ist schon ein halbes Jahrhundert alt und unzugänglich, ein gutes bibliographisches Handbuch J. Sauvaget—Cl. Cahen „*Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1961" über das Osmanische Reich ist ziemlich kurz gefasst, wenn auch sehr übersichtlich. Von den türkischen bibliographischen Arbeiten über die Geschichte ist die von E. Koray „*Türkiye tarih yayınları bibliyoğrafyası* (1729—1955), 2. *Basım, İstanbul* 1959" — in Nedkovs Bibliographie fehlerhaft 1952 — die bedeutendste. Es fehlt aber eine übersichtliche Arbeit ähnlichen Types wie die von J. Sauvaget und diese Lücke füllt vorläufig der erwähnte Entwurf von Zajączkowski—Reychman aus.

Das dritte Kapitel „*Staatsordnung und Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches*" (S. 33—83) ist in sechs Teile gegliedert.

„Osmanisch-türkischer Feudalismus. Formen des Bodenbesitzes." Das Prinzip der Verteilung und des Besitzes des Bodens im Osmanischen Reich charakterisiert der Autor als feudalistisch mit spezifischen Zügen, die aus verschiedentlichen religiös-juristischen Normen erfolgen. Aus dem Religionsgesetz „*šerᶜ*" ergab sich auch die Grundverteilung des Bodens auf die Zehnten (*ᶜöšrî*), *haracî* und *mîrî*. Der Verfasser betrachtet vor allem den staatlichen Boden (*mîrî*), der die materielle Basis des Lehnsystems des Osmanischen Reiches bildete. Im weiteren Teil analysiert er die Arten des Lehnbesitzes von allen Aspekten aus, andere Formen des Besitzes des *mîrî*-Bodens (*vaqf, havās-ı hümāyūn, mâlikâne*, usw.) und endlich die Beziehungen auf Grund der, in den Gesetzbüchern verankerten juristischen Verfügungen.

„Zentralverwaltung". Dieser Teil handelt von der Regierungsart im Osmanischen Reich, von dem Sultan, seiner unbeschränkten Macht, sowie von den Nachfolgegrundsätzen im Osmanischen Reich. Der Autor charakterisiert hier die Organisation und Gliederung des Sultanhofes (*sarāy*), die Hoforganisation, sowie die Hauptwürdenträger. Seine Aufmerksamkeit widmet er auch dem Beratungskorps des Sultans (*dīvān*), vor allem seiner Zusammensetzung, seiner Sitzungsart und der Entwicklung. Besonders beschäftigt er sich mit der Zentralgestalt des Divans — dem Grossvesir — und anderen Mitgliedern.

„Finanzverwaltung." Dieser Teil des Kapitels gehört zu den wichtigsten, da Dokumente finanziellen Charakters unter den osmanischen Dokumenten überhaupt in einer bedeutenden Anzahl vertreten sind. Der Verfasser verfolgt das Zentralorgan für Finanzen (*defterhāne*), seine Beamten und seine Gliederung und führt die Anzahl von 25 Kanzleien an (bei L. Fekete, *Siyāqat-Schrift*... S. 74 beträgt die Anzahl 27). Er beschäftigt sich systematisch mit den Steuern und führt die Gliederung der Steuern nicht nur den juristischen Normen nach, sondern betrachtet auch die

Prinzipien, nach welchen die Steuern eingenommen wurden und wem sie gehörten. (Auf Seite 53 bringt er die Masse und Gewichte, nach welchen die Zehnten gemessen wurden; es wäre sehr gut, diese mit den heutigen Mass- und Gewichtsequivalenten zu ergänzen.) Zu der Uneinheitlichkeit der Einnahme der *cizye* (nicht pro Kopf, sondern den Häusern nach) muss bemerkt werden, dass diese eine Widerspiegelung der vorangehenden Verhältnisse im Lande, das die Osmanen errungen hatten, war (z. B. die Einnahme der cizye den Häusern nach in Ungarn, ist eine Rezidive der alten königlichen Steuer). Am Schluss des Abschnittes über das Steuersystem im Osmanischen Reich sagt er zutreffend: „Es ist sehr schwer, sogar unmöglich, das Bild des osmanischen Steuersystems zu zeichnen. Diese Schwierigkeiten ergeben sich nicht nur aus der grossen Anzahl der Steuern, sondern auch aus den Umständen, dass keine diesbezügliche Einheit und kein allgemeiner Grundsatz bestanden hatte. Keine einzige Steuerpflicht bezog sich auf das Gebiet des ganzen Reiches, keine Steuer wurde in derselben Höhe eingenommen und keine floss in dieselbe Kasse, sogar auch die Benennung war nicht immer dieselbe."

In diesem Teil spricht der Autor noch über die Staatskasse (*hazīne*) und über die Sorten der Münzen.

„Provinzverwaltung." Bei dem Studium der osmanischen Diplomatik ist das Bekanntwerden mit der Provinzverwaltung von keiner geringen Bedeutung. In diesem Teil bringt der Autor eine Übersicht über die Verwaltung des Reiches von den grössten bis zu den kleinsten Einheiten, über die Beamten der Verwaltung, sowie die Liste der Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches um die Hälfte des XVII. Jh. und die Liste der Provinzen nach der neuen Organisation im Jahre 1868.

Die einzelnen Type der Truppen der osmanischen Armee und Flotille führt der Verfasser mit den Linientruppen an. Er widmet eine grosse Aufmerksamkeit der Hauptkraft der osmanischen Armee — den Janitscharen. Der Autor führt nirgends die Truppen der Martolosen an, trotzdem sich diese meistens aus der balkanischen Bevölkerung gruppierten.

In diesem letzten Teil des Kapitels, genannt „Ulema. Gerichtswesen", analysiert der Autor die Stellung und die Funktionen der geistlichen Personen im Osmanischen Reich, vor allem ihre Tätigkeit im Gerichtswesen und in der Verwaltung.

Das vierte Kapitel des Buches ist der Paleographie (S. 85—117) gewidmet. Es besteht aus sechs Teilen: 1. Materialien und Schreibinstrumente; 2. Die äussere Form der Dokumente; 3. Die Schrift; 4. Besonderheiten verschiedener Typen der Schrift; 5. Zahlwörter *siyāqat*; 6. Abkürzungen. Im Grunde genommen hält sich der Verfasser an die Gliederung der vorangehenden Handbücher der Paleographie an.

Der Autor analysiert breiter die Frage der Papiererzeugung im Osmanischen Reich und setzt den Beginn der Eigenerzeugung von Papier in die Zeit der ersten Hälfte des XVIII. Jh. Weiter berührt er die Frage der Verwendung zweier Papiersorten. Er bestreitet die Ansicht einiger Forscher, die behaupteten, dass sich auch in der Verwendung von einer oder der anderen Papiersorte bei der Korrespondenz

(weisses Papier an die Moslems, gelbes an die Nichtmoslems) die Religionsdiskriminierung widerspiegelte. Er behauptet, dass die Wahl des Papiers von der Wichtigkeit des Dokumentes und der Position des Adressaten abhing.

Eine interessante Erscheinung bei den äusserlichen Merkmalen der osmanischen Urkunden ist der sogen. Respektsraum, ein leerer Raum zwischen der Invocation und dem Anfang des Textes, der die Achtung vor dem Adressaten ausdrücken soll. Der Verfasser erweitert diese Meinung L. Feketes (Einführung, XII) indem er sagt, dass bei den sultanischen Urkunden es der Respekt vor dem Monogramm des Sultans der Tugra, die an der ersten Stelle steht, ist. Uns scheint aber diese Frage etwas komplizierter zu sein. Vor allem die Behauptung über den leeren Raum aus Respekt zu der Tugra kommt bei den sultanischen Urkunden nicht in Frage. Wenn es sich um einen Respektraum zur Tugra handeln würde, müsste ein Raum zwischen der Tugra und dem Text bestehen. Ausserdem gehört Tugra zu den festen Bestandteilen der sultanischen Urkunden und ist einer von ihren innerlichen Merkmalen. Die Unterlagen Feketes zu seiner Behauptung über den Respektraum, die dann auch weitere Handbücher, sowie auch der Autor des besprochenen Buches übernommen haben, sind uns nicht bekannt. L. Fekete ging wahrscheinlich von der Forschung der Grösse dieses Raumes bei verschiedenen Urkunden aus — je höher die Stellung des Adressaten war, umso grösser blieb der leere Raum — und er betrachtete ihn für eine Respektäusserung gegenüber dem Adressaten. Wir dürfen aber nicht vergessen, dass über dem leeren Raum immer die Invocation — die Anbetung des Gottesnamens (*hüve*) und seiner Attributen — steht. Diese Invocation kommt sowohl in den sultanischen Urkunden, als auch in den Urkunden der niedrigsten Beamten vor. Wenn es sich wirklich um den Respektraum gegenüber dem Adressaten handeln würde, müsste der Text mit einer Inscription beginnen. Kann man das aber allgemein behaupten? In den sultanischen Urkunden folgt nach der Invocatio die Tugra, bei den festlichen Formen kommt hinter ihr die Intitulatio und erst nach ihr die Inscriptio. Selbst bei Fekete (Einführung, XXXI) werden die sultanischen Urkunden nach ihren ersten Zeilen in drei Gruppen eingeteilt: „1. Urkunden, die mit Intitulatio, den Titeln des Sultans (*ᶜunvān*) beginnen; 2. Solche, die ohne Intitulatio mit Inscriptio (*elḫāb*) d. i. der Anrede an den Adressaten beginnen; 3. Solche, die ohne Intitulatio und Inscriptio, mit kurzer sachlicher Einleitung beginnen." Schliesslich der Typ berat beginnt immer mit dem sachlichen Teil der Urkunde. Ähnlich sehen wir, dass die meisten Dokumente niedrigerer Beamten mit dem sachlichen Teil beginnen und dass bei den kadischen Urkunden (hüccet) zwischen der manchmal wesentlich erweiterten Invocatio und dem Text noch die Beglaubigungsformel des *Ḳāḍī* steht. Unserer Meinung nach gehört dieser leere Raum, der sogen. Respektraum, vielleicht der Invocatio — dem Wort *hüve* (Er) d. h. Allah und seinen Attributen.

Zur Grösse dieses Raumes möchten wir bemerken, dass er vom Dokument selbst abhängig war, natürlich je höher die gestellte Persönlichkeit, an die die Urkunde

173

adressiert wurde, umso grösser die Urkunde und so auch ein grösserer Respektraum. In dieser Hinsicht kann aber unsere Meinung meistens angefochten werden. Die ganze Frage würde eine genauere Forschung verdienen, vor allem im Hinblick auf die Entstehung dieser Gewohnheit.

Nach der allgemeinen Einleitung über die arabische Schrift und ihrer, im Osmanischen Reich verwendeten Typen, sowie über die Kaligraphie, analysiert der Verfasser ausführlich folgende Typen: *nesīh*, *sülüs*, *taᶜlīq*, *dīvānī*, *riqᶜa* und *siyāqat*. Von der Schrift *siyāqat* bringt er die Tafeln der Zahlwörter von ein bis zur Million, die er aus dem Buch Feketes (*Die Siyāqat-Schrift* II, I—III) übernimmt. Der Schluss ist den Abkürzungen gewidmet, die der Verfasser, ähnlich wie die Zahlwörter *siyāqat*, aus dem Buch Feketes übernimmt.

Gegenüber den vorangehenden Handbüchern enthält der paleographische Teil keine Analyse der Siegel (*mühür*), die wir ausser den sultanischen fast auf allen übrigen Urkunden vorfinden, inkl. der des Grossvesirs. Es ist eine Tatsache, dass, was die Siegel anbelangt, eine selbständige historische Hilfswissenschaft besteht, die Sfragistik, die sich mit diesen Fragen befasst. Aber in den osmanischen historischen Hilfswissenschaften wurde diese Fachdisziplin nicht selbständig und ihre Bearbeitung wurde bis auf einige Studien (*J. von Hammer, R. Muderizović, İ. H. Uzunçarşılı*) überhaupt nicht in Angriff genommen. Eine kurze Erklärung über die Siegel würde das Buch zweckmässig ergänzen, auch wenn wir der Meinung sind, dass sie mehr zur Diplomatik gehört.

Der letzte Teil des Buches befasst sich mit der Diplomatik (S. 118—181). Nach der Meinung des Autors ist es die Hauptaufgabe der Diplomatik, „die äusserlichen und innerlichen Merkmale der Urkunden aus der Zeit des türkischen Feudalismus zu erforschen und aufzuklären, um ihre Authentizität, sowie ihre Klassenbasis und politische Bedeutung zu bestimmen."

Der Verfasser bringt auch eine neue Klassifizierung der osmanischen Urkunden, die sich von den vorherigen (Fekete, Guboglu) dadurch unterscheidet, dass sie die alte Aufteilung auf die weltlichen und geistlichen Urkunden aufhebt. Diese Aufteilung betrachtet er für eine mechanische Übernahme des Klassifikationssystems der westlichen Diplomatik. B. Nedkov geht von der Einheit des osmanischen Feudalsystems aus, der weltlichen und geistlichen Organisation — dem Staat als einer Religionsgemeinde — deren juristische Grundlage das Religionsgesetz *šerᶜ* bildete. *Ḳānūn*, der nach der Behauptung älterer Autoren die juristische Grundlage der sogen. weltlichen Urkunden war, hat nach Meinung Nedkovs gegenüber dem *šerᶜ* nur in den aus dem Leben sich ergebenen Fragen eine ergänzende Funktion. Es taucht hier die juristische Frage bei den sogen. geistlichen Schriften auf, wo der formalen Seite nach, ein Unterschied besteht, den aber der Autor für keinen entscheidenden hält.

Die Grundlage für die Klassifizierung Nedkovs bildet das System der feudalistischen Organisation, d. h. er teilt die Dokumente entsprechend der Würde und der Kompe-

tenz der Person oder Institution auf, die sie herausgegeben hat. Er führt die Auf-
teilung wie folgt an:

1. Sultanische Dokumente; 2. Dokumente höherer Organe der Zentralverwaltung
in der Hauptstadt und die der Statthalter in der Provinzen; 3. Dokumente der
niedrigeren Organe der Macht in den Provinzen und in der Hauptstadt; 4. Doku-
mente der Privatpersonen, die in einer individuellen oder kollektiven Form an ver-
schiedene Organe der Macht adressiert wurden.

Der äusseren Form nach teilt er die osmanischen Schriften in zwei Gruppen auf:
a) Einzelne Schriften; b) die Defters.

Der Grundklassifikation folgt die Aufzählung der Haupttypen der osmanischen
Dokumente der Hierarchie ihrer Herausgeber entsprechend.

Der weitere Teil beschäftigt sich mit der Form und dem Bau des Dokumentes.
Dem Autor zufolge hatte die Klassenstruktur der Gesellschaft einen Einfluss auf
die äussere Seite des Dokuments. Die gemeinsamen Züge im Bau der osmanischen
Dokumente und der Dokumente in den europäischen Ländern im Mittelalter sind
nach Nedkov das Erzeugnis der Tätigkeit der feudalistischen Institutionen. Den
Einfluss des Westens, trotzdem er klein war, schliesst er natürlich nicht aus. Es
scheint uns aber, dass diese gemeinsamen Züge der westlichen und osmanischen
Urkunden eher von der gemeinsamen Quelle der beiden Gruppen — der griechisch-
römischen Epistolographie — zeugen.

Der Teil über die Grundelemente und die Ausdrucksweise der Dokumente beginnt
mit der Analyse der sultanischen Urkunden. Der Autor geht nach den inneren
Merkmalen der Dokumente — Einleitungsprotokoll — Kontext — Eschatokoll —
vor und trennt so die einzelnen Typen der Urkunden nicht genug ausdrucksvoll
voneinander, was zur Folge hat, dass in der Erklärung ihre charakteristischen Züge
schwinden.

Sehr ausführlich löst der Verfasser die Frage der Tugra. Er analysiert alle bishe-
rigen Ansichten und akzeptiert richtig die Behauptungen *İ. H. Uzunçarşılıs*.
Wir möchten hinzufügen, dass Tugra aus dem einfachen Ausschreiben des Namens
Sultans, dem Namen seines Vaters und des Attributs „immer siegreich" entsteht.
Sie wird in eine Form stylisiert, die schon im XV. Jh. gut bekannt war und im
Hinblick auf ihren *ausweisenden Charakter* eine ähnliche Aufgabe wie das Königs-
siegel im Westen erfüllt. Dieses Unterscheidungsmerkmal — ein gewisses Emblem
des Herrschers — war notwendig mit Rücksicht auf die Unkenntnis des Lesens
und Schreibens nicht nur der einfachen Bevölkerung, sondern auch der Militär-,
Kontroll- und Dienstorgane, die durch Tugra auf den Ursprung des Dokuments
aufmerksam gemacht wurden. Mit dieser Aufgabe hängt auch die Anbringunɡ der
Tugra in der Mitte der Urkunde über dem Text zusammen. Die ähnlich stylisierte
Unterschrift „*pençe*", eine Nachahmung der Tugra, steht auf anderen Stellen des
Dokumentes, vor allem am Rande (*kenār*) oder unter und nur sehr selten über den
Text (der Verfasser führt zwei bekannte Fälle an, S. 152).

Sehr übersichtlich werden auch weitere Typen der Urkunden mit vielen Mustern der Formeln angeführt. Ein wesentlich grösserer Teil als in den vorherigen Handbüchern ist den Kopien und den Defters gewidmet. Systematisch und übersichtlich spricht der Verfasser über die Defters und konzipiert breiter ihre Aufteilung.

Das Buch wird durch eine chronologische Tabelle der bedeutendsten osmanischen Eroberungskämpfe, der Sultane der osmanischen Dynastie und durch eine Bibliographie (S. 186—202) ergänzt. Die Bibliographie enthält sowohl Angaben aus den historischen Hilfswissenschaften, als auch Katalogen der Handschriften und historische Arbeiten. Sehr vorteilhaft ist die Anführung des Registers der türkischen Termine, die die Orientierung im Buche sehr erleichtert.

Das Buch von B. Nedkov, Osmanisch-türkische Paleographie und Diplomatik, ist ein grosser Beitrag besonders vom pädagogischen Gesichtspunkt aus und wird für die bulgarischen Leser ein verlässlicher Begleiter durch die osmanischen Dokumente sein.

Nach der Ergänzung durch den praktischen Teil und nach der Übersetzung in eine Weltsprache würde das Buch die Lücke ausfüllen, die auf diesem Gebiete besteht.

<div align="right">Vojtěch Kopčan</div>

Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta; Iussu et auctoritate Unionis Universiae Studiosorum Rerum Orientalium auxilio et opera Unitarum Nationum Educationis Scientiae Culturae Ordinis une cum praestantibus turcologis ediderunt Louis Bazin, Alessio Bombaci, Jean Deny, Tayyib Gökbilgin, Fahir İz, Helmuth Scheel; Tomum secundum curavit et auxit, indices adiecit Pertev Naili Boratav; Franz Steiner Verlag; Wiesbaden 1964 [1965]; LXXI [+I] + 963 S., 8°.

C'est en 1951, au Congrès International des Orientalistes à Istamboul que fut formulé le projet des „Fundamenta" de la turcologie. Le premier volume de l'ouvrage qui devait en comporter quatre, consacrés notamment à la linguistique, à la littérature, à l'histoire et aux sciences auxiliaires, parut en 1957. La parution du deuxième volume se fit attendre encore sept ans.

De par son sujet, ce IIe volume, plus vaste d'ailleurs que le premier, a mis les auteurs en présence de problèmes autrement compliqués. En effet, il n'est que trop évident qu'une des principales difficultés lors de la rédaction d'un manuel de l'histoire littéraire de ce genre, est précisément la nécessité de traiter la matière selon des points de vue méthodiques et estétiques unitaires.

En plus d'une préface, d'une introduction extrêmement précieuse et d'un index, le volume comprend huit chapitres. Sa division et plus encore les termes techniques employés dans les titres ne sont pas sans offrir certains problèmes. Ainsi par exemple le titre du IVe chapitre nous semble nettement anti-historique, en particulier à cause

de l'emploi du terme „Turquie", produit de l'histoire des temps modernes. Des problèmes du même ordre se présentent à propos du chap. VI, dont le titre se laisse difficilement concilier avec celui du chap. VII. Enfin les sous-titres du Vᵉ chapitre ne sont pas non plus en accord avec le titre principal. On ne peut que regretter que la division et la structure du volume n'aient pas été fondées sur des points de vue géographiques et chronologiques plus unis et plus rassurants.

La limite de temps est également discutable. En principe on serait en droit d'attendre d'une entreprise scientifique de cette envergure qu'elle nous fournisse un maximum d'informations et brosse un tableau tant soit peu complet de la littérature du pays en question. Ceci bien entendu dans la mesure du possible, ce qui signifie que l'on ne demendera pas à un ouvrage paru en 1964 de rendre compte des oeuvres publiées au cours des années précédentes, par contre on désirera y trouver une appréciation de la littérature de la première moitié du XXᵉ siècle avec une limite chronologique autour de 1950. Le volume présent ne contient qu'un nombre insignifiant d'études offrant une image détaillée (ou même schématique) de la littérature des dernières dizaines d'année; la plupart des études consacrées à la littérature moderne ne va guère au-delà des années 20 et se contente de donner pour les temps ultérieures une esquisse, tout au plus un répertoire des noms.

Disons aussi quelques mots sur les inégalités de l'ouvrage en ce qui concerne la longueur des parties. Vu la richesse de certains chapitres, on est frappé de voir la pauvreté des données concernant la littérature moderne des peuples turcs de l'Union Soviétique. Nous pensons ici avant tout à quelques parties du chap. VI, où rien que le nombre des pages autorise le lecteur à se demander si l'article est susceptible de représenter convenablement le territoire en question.

L'étude d'introduction — précédée seulement par une brève Praefatio (p. IX) esquissant les circonstances dans lesquelles l'ouvrage est né — est due à Alessio Bombaci, un des meilleurs spécialistes de la littérature turque. (The Turkic literatures; Introductory notes on the History and Style, p. XI—LXXI). Dans cette brillante synthèse, fondée sur les vastes connaissances de l'auteur et qui à tous les points de vue est digne de l'entreprise, Bombaci brosse un tableau d'ensemble de la littérature des peuples turcs en traçant d'emblée les cadres aux études qui suivent. Il y traite d'importantes questions de principe, aussi bien que de problèmes historiques et estétiques qui non seulement complètent utilement les autres études, mais indiquent les méthodes à suivre par les recherches futures.

On ne peut que féliciter les rédacteurs d'avoir ménagé une place importante à la littérature folklorique. La majeure partie de la série d'études (1. Observations préliminaires; 2. L'épopée et la „ḥikāye"; 3. Le conte et la légende; 4. Les proverbes; 5. Les devinettes; 6. La poésie folklorique; 7. La littérature des ʿāšïq; p. 1—147) est l'œuvre de P. N. Boratav, tandis que le chapitre consacré au théâtre populaire a été mis au point par Helga Uplegger. L'excellent spécialiste du folklore turc a classé et analysé de main de maître les matériaux qui de par le caractère du chapitre

sont appelés à représenter l'ensemble des peuples turcs. Ajoutons cependant que l'on y discerne un certain parti-pris en faveur de l'Anatolie (dans quelques études surtout) qui s'explique par la sphère d'intérêt scientifique de l'auteur.

L'étude d'A. v. Gabain (Alttürkische Schreibkultur und Druckerei, p. 171—191) apporte des lumières sur un nouvel aspect des lettres dans l'ancien turc. L'article même est inséparable de cette autre étude parue dans Fundamenta I qu'il complète utilement par la division linguistique-chronologique des monuments. Un autre article de l'auteur (Die alttürkische Literatur, p. 211—243) offre une excellente synthèse d'une littérature scientifique extrement éparpillée et comprend nombreuses observations intéressantes sur l'histoire de la culture et des arts.

C'est entre les deux études de von Gabain que se place — conformément à la chronologie — celle de L. Bazin (La littérature épigraphique turque ancienne, p. 192—211) qui traite avec l'érudition et l'élégance propres à l'auteur d'un des problèmes les plus intéressants de la turcologie. Bazin ne se contente pas de résumer l'histoire des recherches concernant les inscriptions en ancien turc, mais dénonce la stagnation des travaux dans ce domaine qui autrefois se trouvait au centre de l'intérêt des meilleurs spécialistes, et essaye dans le cadre de cette mise au point critique de constater ce qu'il faudrait faire pour remédier à cette situation.

Dans une étude intitulée „Komanische Literatur" (p. 243—225), A. v. Gabain expose l'intérêt littéraire du Codex Cumanicus, tout en esquissant le fond littéraire en latin médiéval de l'ouvrage.

L'étude aujourd'hui classique de F. Köprülü (La métrique ʿarūż dans la poésie turque, p. 252—266) constitue un apport précieux au volume.

La vie culturelle, le milieu et les valeurs artistiques des oeuvres nées à l'époque karakhanide (La littérature turque de l'époque des Karakhanides, p. 267—275) sont traités avec compétence par A. Caferoğlu.

Les deux études de J. Eckmann (Die kiptschakische Literatur, p. 275—304; Die tschagataische Literatur, p. 304—402) sont parmi les plus approfondies et les plus mures du volume. Elles fournissent la somme d'un labeur scientifique de plusieurs dizaines d'années dans un domaine complexe et ramifié. L'auteur a eu en main à peu près tous les manuscrits et toutes les publications ce qui lui a permis de corriger nombreuses erreurs des recherches antérieures.

Les problèmes de la littérature turque osmanlie ont été résumés par W. Björkman (Die altosmanische Literatur, p. 403—426; Die klassisch-osmanische Literatur, p. 427—465); comparée aux études précédantes, l'étendue de ces deux travaux nous paraît quelque peu limitée. L'auteur n'en a pas moins le mérite de consacrer une attention spéciale à des problèmes non encore éclaircis, aux rapports qui demanderaient à être particuliérement étudiés et de renvoyer ainsi à nombreuses questions importantes.

La littérature turque moderne fait l'objet d'une étude de K. Akyüz (La littérature moderne de Turquie, p. 465—600). L'article qui n'est pas sans présenter beaucoup

de nouveaux points de vue, offre également un exemple flagrant du problème déjà signalé de la limite de temps. L'éminent spécialiste turc de la littérature qui est certainement en rapport avec la litérature vivante aurait facilement pu élargir les limites de la période traitée jusqu'à l'époque présente. Les nouveaux aspects de la littérature turque, son irruption dans la littérature mondiale auraient utilement complétés l'étude et le volume. L'article est suivie par deux bibliographies, celle de l'auteur et celle de H. Müller (p. 600—634)) comprenant les ouvrages d'histoire littéraire turcs et européens.

L'étude d'A. Caferoğlu (Die aserbaidschanische Literatur, p. 635—699) qui est la plus vaste parmi les études traitant des peuples turcs de l'Union Soviétique, trace un tableau vivant du développement de la littérature aserbaidjanaise. La partie embrassant le passé récent où, faute de matériaux, de livres et de périodiques, l'orientation est bien entendu extraordinairement malsisée, est nécessairement assez courte.

Dans le même chapitre on trouve encore les études suivantes: J. Benzing, Die usbekische und neu-uigurische Literatur, p. 700—720; du même Die Türkmenische Literatur, p. 721—741; La littérature kazakh, p. 741—760 (Annexe I: La littérature kirghiz, p. 760—776; Annexe II: La littérature karakalpak, p. 761); H. Battal-Taymas, La littérature des Tatars de Kazan, p. 762—778 (Annexe: La littérature bašqort, p. 778—779); A. Inan, La littérature des peuples turcs du Caucase du Nord, p. 779—785; A. Battal-Taymas, La littérature des Tatars de Crimée, p. 785—792. La plus importante en est celle de J. Benzing sur la littérature usbek et turkmène dont les matériaux et les bibliographies reflètent fidèlement les vastes expériences scientifiques de l'auteur. Pour des raisons qui tiennent à la rédaction, le chapitre est un peu détaché des antécédants, de l'image tracée par Eckmann. Des principes de rédaction un peu différents auraient peut-être permis de former à partir des détails un ensemble plus organique, comme cela a été le cas pour la littérature d'Anatolie ou de Turquie.

Les problèmes de la limite de temps ont été déjà signalés. Cette fois-ci ils aboutissent à des lacunes sérieuses, aussi bien en ce qui concerne les auteurs et les oeuvres que l'histoire de la presse. Nous estimons que la littérature moderne des Kirghiz ou des Bachkirs aurait mérité plus qu'un page (quoique Čingiz Aytmatov, auteur d'un rang mondial ait été gratifié de deux lignes) et la vie littéraire karakalpak plus de 14 lignes. Les auteurs n'ont pas tenu suffisamment compte de leur sujet et les proportions ne correspondent pas à la réalité.

La situation est bien meilleure pour le VIIe chapitre dans lequel la littérature des peuples turcs non islamiques sont résumées dans des études riches en données. (A. Zajączkowski, Die karaimische Literatur, p. 793—801; J. Deny—E. Tryjarski, La littérature arméno-kiptchak, p. 801—808; H. Berberian, La littérature arméno-turque, p. 809—819; J. Eckmann, Die karamanische Literatur, p. 819—835; G. Doerfer, Die gagausische Literatur, p. 835—940; J. Benzing, Die tschuwaschische

Literatur, p. 841—861; G. Doerfer, Die Literatur der Türken Südsibiriens, p. 862—885; St. Kałużyński, Die jakutische Literatur, p. 886—895). C'est ici que, sont présentées les „lettres" spéciales telles que la littérature arméno-kiptchak, arméno-turque et karamanli. Les deux dernières auraient mérité de figurer aussi dans Fundamenta I. Les matériaux qui abstraction faite des études préliminaires bien connues de J. Eckmann sont présentés ici pour la première fois, ont une grande importance aussi au point de vue linguistique, et il n'est nullement impossible qu'une étude suivie de ce grand nombre de documents en transcription marque une nouvelle étape des recherches de linguistique turque osmanlie.

Les analyses scientifiques sont utilement complétées par un chapitre consacré aux science auxiliaires (Zur Umschrift und Namensetzung [+ Bibliographischer Nachtrag], p. 896—910) et un index soigné (p. 911—963).

On aurait cependant aimé voir un chapitre traitant des rapports de la littérature des peuples turcs avec la littérature européenne indiquant les voies par lesquelles tel auteur ou telle œuvre ont rejoint les grandes artères universelles de la littérature. Des tableaux chronologiques des littératures, des auteurs et des œuvres, voir même des rapports universels auraient également été bienvenus, ainsi que quelques cartes géographiques (voir Inschriften, etc.)

La tâche que les Fundamenta sont censés assumer est de résumer le passé et de brosser un tableau de la situation, des résultats actuels des recherches. Une synthèse de ce genre implique tout naturellement la présentation des problèmes et des exigences. Or le volume présent de Fundamenta indique fort bien que nombreuses mosaïques manquent encore du tableau d'ensemble et que dans plus d'un domaine on n'en est qu'aux travaux préliminaires.

Ce qui est certain c'est que le développement ultérieur des recherches en matière d'histoire littéraire turque demanderait une collaboration scientifique internationale. Le IIe volume de Fundamenta en fournit une preuve éclatante et constitue en même temps un avertissement aux turcologues de mettre à l'ordre du jour la discussion des possibilitées de cette collaboration.

<div align="right">Georg Hazai</div>

K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert.* Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, hrsg. B. Spuler, Neue Folge, B. 2, Berlin, W. de Gruyter and Co. 1966, S. X + 157 + Karte.

Nach einer komplizierten historischen Entwicklung gelangte das bunte Konglomerat der Stämme und Völker des iranischen Gebietes, das wirtschaftlich und sogar im Glaubensbekenntnis uneinheitlich war, am Anfang des 16. Jh. unter die Hegemonie der Safawidendynastie. In der Bestrebung, dieses heterogene Ganze aufrechtzuerhalten und vor den Feinden von Aussen — vor den zwei damals

stärksten Mächten der islamischen Welt nämlich dem Osmanischen Reich und den Grossmogulen — zu schützen, mussten die Safawiden eine forsichtige Innen- und Aussenpolitik führen.

Das K. M. Röhrborns Buch stellt den ersten Versuch dar, in die komplizierte innenpolitische Entwicklung des Safawidenreiches Licht zu bringen. Da über die Safawidenverwaltung keine zeitgenössischen Arbeiten bestehen, die sich mit dem Reich als dem Ganzen befassen würden, stand dem Autor eine schwere Aufgabe bevor. Aus den vielen damaligen Chroniken, aus den Arbeiten der Provinzbeamten, aus den Urkunden und aus den Werken der europäischen Reisenden, die diesen Fragen keine grosse Aufmerksamkeit widmeten, musste der Autor eine grosse Menge von Angaben sammeln, auf Grund derer er die Haupttendenzen der Entwicklung der Verwaltung, den Charakter der einzelnen Würden und Ämter, die Befugnisse der Beamten, die sozialen, Religions- und andere Verhältnisse dokumentiert.

Das Buch ist dem Charakter der einzelnen in das Reich gehörenden Gebieten sowie ihren Verwaltern nach, in drei Hauptkapitel gegliedert: I. Die Statthalter der Reichsprovinzen (S. 3—98), II. Die Generalwesire (S. 99—114), III. Die Wesire der Domänenprovinzen (S. 115—138). Jedes von diesen Kapiteln enthält meistens historisch-geographische Bemerkungen, d.h. einen kurzen Entwurf der historischen Entwicklung und des Ausmasses der einzelnen Provinzen den Quellen entsprechend. Im jeden Kapitel werden ausser dieser historisch-geographischen Charakteristik auch die Befugnisse der einzelnen Würdenträger (militärische, fiskalische, juris-diktionelle) angeführt.

Das erste Kapitel „Die Statthalter der Reichsprovinzen" enthält eine Analyse der wichtigsten Teile des Reiches, um welche die Zentralmacht mit den selbstän-digen Statthaltern am meisten zu kämpfen hatte. In einer umfassenden historisch-geographischen Übersicht überbringt der Autor die Entwicklung und die Ver-änderungen dieser Provinzen. In den Provinzen des kaukasischen und iraqischen Gebietes sind grosse Veränderungen und oftmalige Abwechslungen der safawidischen und osmanischen Macht zu verzeichnen. Diese politische Unsicherheit hat bestimmt auch die Verwaltung beeinflusst. Das häufige Auftreten der Statthalter qïzïlbāšen Ursprungs in diesen Provinzen zeugt von der grossen Macht der Kavalleriegruppen und der Emirengefolge der Nomadenstämme, die besonders am Anfang dieser Periode (biz zur Zeit ᶜAbbās') den wichtigsten Teil der bewaffneten Kräfte des Safawidenreiches bildeten.

Der *Qïzïlbāšemir* war meistens aus seiner Funktion des Oberhauptes des Stammes in die Funktion des Statthalters ernannt. In der ersten Periode der Safawidenregie-rung wurden die einzelnen Titel der Statthalter, die wahrscheinlich die Evolution der Verwaltung der einzelnen Gebiete widerspiegelten, nicht unterschieden, und erst später wurden sie in eine gewisse Hierarchie eingereiht (*ḫān, sulṭān, beg*).

Schon am Ende des 16. Jh. und besonders im 17. Jh. kam es auf Grund der Vereinigung der einzelnen Statthalterschaften mit den Hofämtern, durch die sich

der sogen. Dienstadel meistens iranischen Ursprungs mehr oder weniger durchsetzte, zu einer Beschränkung der Macht des Nomadenadels. Am Anfang des Safawidenreiches stellte die Kavallerie der *qïzïlbāšer* Emire die militärische Grundkraft dar, aber später, nachdem sie oft revoltierte und so geschwächt wurde, mussten die Safawidenšāhs ein militärisches Equivalent schaffen. Diese neugebildete militärische Kraft sollte das Reich nicht nur von Aussen, sondern hauptsächlich innerhalb des Reiches, gerade vor der bisherigen Stütze, vor den *Qïzïlbāšen*, schützen. So waren Institutionen der Sklavengarden fremden Ursprungs im islamischen Orient sehr gut bekannt (türkische Garden auf dem Hofe der 'Abbasiden, Mamluks in Ägypten, in dem benachbarten Osmanischen Reich — Janitscharen und endlich die Sklavengarden bei den Ghaznewiden und Buiden auf persischen Boden) und es war deshalb nichts besonderes, dass schon der zweite *Safawidenšāh Ṭahmāsp* I. bestrebt war, den Einfluss der Stammaristokratie durch die Bildung einer Truppe von Königsknappen (*qullar*) zu beschränken. Diese Truppen gruppierten sich vor allem aus den christlichen Völkern des Kaukasus (Georgier, Armener) und ähnlich wie ihre Vorgänger und Zeitgenossen auf anderen islamischen Höfen, drangen sie schnell in die Staatsfunktionen ein und wie es die Tabelle zeigt (S. 33—37), übernahmen viele von ihnen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jh. die Funktion des Statthalters. Ähnlich wie andere Dynastien, z. B. Osmanen, schickten auch die Safawiden in die Provinzen die männlichen Angehörigen ihres Hauses als Statthalter. Diese Politik erwies sich als gefährlich, da aus den Provinzen oft pretendentische Ansprüche auf den Thron zur Geltung kamen. Unter der Losung „Brudermord besser als Spaltung" die in die osmanische Geschichte Mehmed III. so ausdrücklich eingetragen hatte, begannen auch die Šāhs der Safawidendynastie die männlichen Angehörigen ihres Hauses zu beseitigen.

In dem Teil über die Befugnisse der Statthalter fasst der Autor die militärischen, fiskalischen und jurisdiktionellen Befugnisse zusammen. Als wichtigste unter ihnen muss die militärische Macht betrachtet werden, die auch als Bedingung bei der Ernennung zum Statthalter galt (nämlich der Statthalter musste vorher zum Kommandanten des Stammes ernannt werden, fals er früher schon nicht ein Oberhaupt des Stammes war). Bei den fiskalischen Befugnissen der Statthalter weist der Autor auf Grund der gezeigten Beispiele auf die Uneinheitlichkeit der Befugnisse, was die Zeit und die einzelnen Provinzen anbelangt, hin und ist deshalb nicht bestrebt irgendwelche Beschlüsse zu machen. Doch das Lehensystem des Safawidenreiches würde bestimmt, eine besondere Durchforschung in der historischen Folge, wenigstens von der Zeit der Grosseldschuken, verdienen.

Im ersten Kapitel widmet der Autor seine Aufmerksamkeit auch den Vasallenstaaten des Safawidenreiches. Die Statthalter, die noch vor den Safawiden zur Herrscherhause der Provinz gehörten und an der Macht blieben, wurden Wali genannt. Weshalb die Safawiden auf diese Art und Weise regierten, dazu schreibt der Autor: „Unzugänglichkeit (*Māzandarān, Gīlān*) oder schwierige klimatische

Bedingungen (*Māzandarān, Gīlān, Makrān*) eines Landes, religiöse, sprachliche und kulturelle Andersartigkeit (*Georgien, ᶜArabistān* u. a.) oder nomadisierende Lebensweise der Bevölkerung (*Kurdistān, Luristān* u. a.) einer Provinz. Schliesslich waren alle diese Territorien Randgebiete des Reiches. Daher hatten beispielsweise die im Süden und Westen gelegenen Wali-Provinzen auch zeitweise die Aufgabe von Pufferstaaten zwischen dem Safawiden — und Osmanenreich". Bei allen diesen Gründen scheint es eine Frage der Verteidigung gewesen zu sein, da gerade die Wali-Provinzen, Georgien und andere kaukasische Provinzen, dann *ᶜArabistān, Kurdistān, Luristān* und *Sistān* am charakteristischesten waren. Die Wali-Provinzen erinnern in Vielen an die Vasallenstaaten des Osmanischen Reiches, wie z. B. an Siebenbürgen, ob schon in der Art der Regierung oder ob es die Anerkennungsgebüren — der Tribut — waren.

Einen noch viel grösseren Einfluss als auf dem Verwaltungs- oder militärischen Gebiet übten die Safawiden auf dem Gebiet der Religions aus — um jeden Preis versuchten sie, ihre „Vasallen" zum Bekenntnis der Zwölfer-Schia zu gewinnen.

Am Ende dieses Umfangreichen Kapitels zeigt der Autor, auf welche Art und Weise die Zentralregierung seit der Zeit Ṭahmāsp I. bestrebt war, durch die Einsetzung der Statthalterwesire die Positionen der Statthalter zu schwächen.

Das zweite Kapitel, das dem Problem der Generalwesire (S. 99—114) gewidmet ist, zeigt am ausdruckvollsten die Tendenzen der Zentralmacht, die Statthalterschaften zu kontrolieren und zu schwächen. Die Funktion des Generalswesirs entstand während der Zeit der Safawidenregierung als eine Form der Kontrolle der Statthalterschaften, am Anfang als eine Gelegenheits — später als eine ständige Funktion. Die Generalwesire hatten vor allem die Aufgabe, die finanzielle Kontrolle der Statthalter durchzuführen und in gewissem Masse die Bevölkerung vor einer übermässigen Ausbeutung zu schützen. Hauptsächlich kontrollierten sie die Einhebung der Steuern, so der staatlichen als auch der, die in die Hände des Statthalters kamen, die Erträge der Domänengebiete, ihre Verteilung und Verwendung, die Einhaltung der Prerogativs des Šāhs usw.

Ähnlich kam die Tätigkeit der Generalwesire auf dem jurisdiktionellen Gebiet zum Ausdruck, wo die Gerichtstätigkeit des Statthalters kontrolliert wurde. Am Ende des Kapitels analysiert der Verfasser die Ansichten über die Verteilung der persischen Provinzen und ihren gesamtlichen Charakter.

Das letzte Kapitel „Die Wesire der Domänenprovinzen" (S. 115—138) bringt die Analyse der Verwaltung jenes Gebietes, das in eigener Regie der Safawiden war. Die Verwalter dieses Gebietes hatten überwiegend eine Verwaltungs-fiskalische, event. jurisdiktionelle, weniger militärische Macht. In diesen Provinzen gelang es den Safawiden die Staatsmacht am besten durchzusetzen.

Am Schluss analysiert der Verfasser die Ausdrücke „ḫāṣṣä" und „ḫāliṣä" mit Bezug auf die Entwicklung. „Ḫāṣṣä" wurden gewisse Steuerbezirke genannt, die nicht als Lehen vergeben wurden und Einkünfte von ihnen zur jeder Zeit dem

Grossdiwān zur Verfügung standen. „*Ḥāliṣä*" waren kleine Domänengebiete innerhalb einer als Lehen vergebenen Statthalterschaft.

Insgesamt kann man die Entwicklung der Provinzenverwaltung des Safawidenreiches als eine allmähliche Schwächung der Positionen der Stämme und ein Durchdringen des sogenannten Dienstadels, das die Verwaltung und das Steuerapparat beherrschte, ansehen.

Der Dienstadel stand mit dem Hof in enger Verbundenheit, war selbst an der Stärkung der Macht des Šāhs interessiert und wegen seiner iranischen event. georgischen Abstammung eine verlässliche Stütze gegen die Emire der Stämme azerbeiğanischer und türkmenischer Abstammung.

Am Ende des Buches bringt der Verfasser die Übersicht der verwendeten Quellen und Literatur. Glücklich war auch der Gedanke, das Register in drei Teile zu gliedern. Ausserdem ist das Buch mit einer Stammtafel der Safawidenkönige und mit der Karte des Safawidenreiches um das Jahr 1660 versehen.

Die K. M. Röhrborns Arbeit ist der erste Gesamtblick auf die Entwicklung der Safawidenverwaltung und auf ihre Gliederung. Dem Autor gelang es, eine Menge der gesammelten Angaben in ein hervorragendes komplettes Ganzes zusammenzuschliessen, dass nicht nur den Forschern auf dem Gebiet der persischen Geschichte, sondern auch allen Islamisten, die sich mit der Geschichte der Verwaltung im Morgenland befassen, dienen wird.

<div align="right">Vojtech Kopčan</div>

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M. S. I v a n o v, *Novejšaja istorija Irana* (*Neueste Geschichte Irans*), „Mysľ", Moskva 1965, S.255.

Ivanovs Übersicht der neuen Geschichte Irans mit dem Titel *Novejšaja istorija Irana*[1] knüpft an sein vorheriges Werk an, das die gesamte iranische Geschichte von den ältesten Zeiten zusammenschliesst[2] und sich mit dem o. g. Buch gerade in denjenigen Partien deckt, die teilweise die sogen. neue und vor allem die sogen. Neueste Geschichte betreffen.

Die „neue" Geschichte Irans wird in der sowjetischen Literatur meistens vom Ende des 18. Jh. an bis Anfang des 19. Jh., die „neueste" von den Jahren 1917—1918 gerechnet. Diese Lösung der Periodisierung wurde sicher zum Objekt verschiedener Diskussionen, aber im breiteren Sinne wird die „neue" Qualität von einer Reihe so ernster Veränderungen indiziert, daß man sich bestimmt auf einen wenigstens ungefähren Zeitabstand vereinbaren kann, und es hängt dann von dem Zweck, Umfang und der Art der Bearbeitung der Publikation ab, wie sich der Autor mit

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[1] Weiter nur *Novejšaja istorija*... (Die neueste Geschichte...)

[2] M. S. I v a n o v, *Očerk istorii Irana*, Moskva 1952; weiter nur *Očerk*...

dem Problem ausgleicht. Natürlich ist es eine unterschiedliche Situation, wenn der Abschnitt der modernen Geschichte kontinuierlich an die vorangehenden Kapitel anknüpft, oder wenn es notwendig ist, mit einem solchen Abschnitt zu beginnen und ihn irgendwie anzuführen, das ist eben der Unterschied zwischen den zwei Büchern Ivanovs: In dem neu herausgekommenen Buch kann sich der Autor auf das erste stützen (Očerk...), beim Leser die Kenntnis des Buches voraussetzen. Der grösste Unterschied in der Bearbeitung der parallelen Teile liegt so gerade am Anfang dieser Geschichtsperiode. Novejšaja istorija... beginnt mit einem speziellen Anführungskapitel „Ekonomičeskoje i političeskoje položenije Irana v načale XX veka" (glava I), das — nach einer ganz kurzen Erwähnung der älteren Geschichte — auf die gründliche Ausführung des 12. Kapitels Očerks..., „Prevraščenije Irana v polukoloniju" anzuknüpfen scheint. Wenn wir die Thematik dieses Kapitels als einen unbestreitbaren Bestandteil der „modernen" Geschichte betrachten, dann ist der Umfang der ihr gewidmeten Partien in beiden Büchern beiläufig der gleiche. Im Očerk... ist die Übersicht genauer, in dem Buch Novejšaja istorija... ist sie in eine gedrängtere Form gebraucht; trotzdem gelang es dem Autor, eine grössere Menge von Informationen, was Fakten und ihre Einschätzung anbelangt, in ein nicht sehr umfangreiches Buch zu konzentrieren, wobei die Ausführung sorgfältig dokumentiert ist. Der Umfang der beiden Partien über den neuen Iran erfolgt schon aus dem Datum der Herausgabe des ersten der beiden Bücher (Očerk...): Dieses endet mit dem Kampf des iranischen Volkes um die Kodifizierung, Durchsetzung und Verwirklichung der Nationalisierung der Erdölindustrie im Jahre 1951, zur Zeit der Regierung des Ministerpräsidenten Mosaddek; diese Periode, die erst im nächsten Buch *Novejšaja istorija...*[3] abgeschlossen und eingeschätzt wurde, ist im Očerk... in ein sehr umfangreiches letztes, neunzehntes Kapitel mit dem allgemeinen Titel „Iran posle vtoroj mirovoj vojny" eingeschlossen, während das Buch Novejšaja istorija... mit der Ausführung weiterer wichtiger Ereignisse und Trends fortfährt. Es umfasst auch die vom iranischen Regierungsregime grosszügig aufgefasste Reformbewegung (die auf die Lösung der Agrarfrage und weiterer dringender

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[3] Diese Bewertung muss bestimmt wenigstens in zwei Punkten eine kurze Erwähnung erfahren: erstens ist es die Klarlegung der Doppelregierung im Sommer 1951 und dadurch auch die Erläuterung der Schuld der einzelnen Macht-Komponenten an den damaligen bedauernswerten Ereignissen bei der Unterdrückung der Demonstration am 15. Juli 1951 — sieh *Novejšaja istorija...*, S. 159 und S. 175, vgl. auch M. R. Š á h í n, Křížová cesta Iránu (*Der Kreuzweg Irans*), Prag 1964, S. 124—125 (bei Ivanov unabhängig von Š á h í n; die angegebene Anzahl der bei dieser Demonstration Ermordeten und Verletzten ist aber bei den beiden ziemlich unterschiedlich — vergleiche: *Novejšaja istorija...*, S. 159 mit: Š á h í n, das zitierte Werk, S. 100!), und zweitens ist es die Bestrebung, nicht nur die widersprechenden Standpunkte Mosaddeks, als Repräsentanten der Nationalbourgeoisie (was in der marxistischen Literatur üblich ist), sondern auch die Irrtümer, die die Führung der Partei Túde in der Analyse der Situation und in der Beziehung zu Mosaddek und zu der Nationalen Front begangen hat sieh *Novejšaja istorija ...*, S. 180; vgl. auch Š á h í n, das zitierte Werk, S. 123), kritisch zu erfassen.

Probleme gerichtet war und am Anfang der sechziger Jahre durch diesbezügliche Gesetzmassnahmen unterstützt wurde) und bewert ihren Charakter und ihr Ziel,[4] was auch in der unmittelbaren Gegenwart, derer Konkreta schon zum Thema weiterer Aufsätze sein werden, die aktuelle Gültigkeit nicht verliert. Das elfte, welches das Schlusskapitel des Buches Novejšaja istorija... ist, hat eine besondere Funktion: es fasst auf einigen Seiten die sowjetisch-iranischen Beziehungen während der ungefähr letzten zehn Jahre übersichtlich zusammen.[5] Es ist Schade, dass das Buch nicht mit einer ähnlichen, wenigstens kurzgefassten chronologischen Gesamtübersicht, wie Očerk..., versehen ist.

Die Titel der einzelnen Kapitel, die — wie übrigens immer — den Inhalt der Kapitel nur in groben Zügen charakterisieren, entsprechen insgesamt den Hauptabschnitten der Grundperiodisierung der modernen Geschichte Irans; innerhalb der Kapitel musste natürlich der Autor die Aufgabe übernehmen (und er meisterte sie — nebenbeigesagt — ausgezeichnet), das übliche methodisch schwierige Problem der historischen Abhandlungen zu lösen, nähmlich, wie das Einhalten des mechanischen Kriteriums der chronologischen Reihenfolge mit der logischen Anordnung des Stoffes harmonisch zu gestalten ist (als Zusammenfassung der Grundproblematik, oder z. B. die Übersicht der Entwicklung eines gewissen Vorganges, die zeitweilige Betonung eines gewissen Aspekts usw.).

In den letzten Jahren ist die wissenschaftliche Weltliteratur um eine Reihe übersichtlicher Publikationen über die moderne Geschichte Irans angewachsen, von denen die bedeutendsten und allgemein bekannten Bücher mehrmals besprochen und untereinander verglichen wurden. Wir werden sie hier nicht nochmals analysieren und mit dem neuerschienenen Buch Ivanovs vergleichen. Die meisten sind unter anderen Aspekten bearbeitet worden. Es sind dies teils knappe historische Übersichten,[6] teils Abhandlungen allgemeinerer Auffassung, deren Inhalt mitunter anders zusammengestellt ist (indem sie ausser einer geschichtlichen Übersicht noch einige mehr oder weniger moderne Auskünfte aufweisende Abschnitte oder historische Querschnitte einer bestimmten Erscheinung enthalten oder ein gewisses thematisches Ganzes dem chronologischen Standpunkt überordnen),[7] teils speziellere Werke.[8]

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[4] Vgl. auch die Erläuterung zu den Reformen und ihre sinngemässe Analyse mit einer deutlichen Unterscheidung des ökonomischen und politischen Gesichtspunkten in: Šáhín, das zitierte Werk, S. 209—211.

[5] „Das Kapitel" der sowjetisch-iranischen Beziehungen wurde, wie bekannt, auch nach dem Abschluss des Buches durch eine Reihe wichtiger Ereignisse weiterentwickelt.

[6] Z. B. Joseph M. Upton, *The History of Modern Iran: An Interpretation*, second printing, Harvard 1961.

[7] Z. B. Donald N. Wilber, *Iran, Past and Present*, fifth edition, Princenton 1963; von demselben Autor *Contemporary Iran*, London 1963; Richard N. Frye, *Iran*, second edition, London 1960.

[8] Z. B. Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, Pittsburgh 1964; Leonard Binder, Iran: Political Development in a Changing Society, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962.

Das Werk Ivanovs hat den unbestreitbaren Vorteil, dass es an die Probleme mit marxistischer Methodik herantritt, womit nicht nur die Tatsache gemeint ist, dass es die sozial-ökonomischen Erklärungen als einen untrennbaren Bestandteil praktisch in jeden Periodisierungsabschnitt enthält (da dieser Charakterzug selbst — besonders in der Gegenwart — keine ausschliesslich spezifische Eigenschaft der marxistischen Literatur ist), sondern auch die Art, wie er die Vorgänge analysiert. Bedeutend ist auch die Tatsache, dass das Werk in der Zeit erscheint, in der die Bestrebungen allmählich zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, gewisse Einseitigkeiten der „dogmatischen" Periode zu überwinden, in welcher die Applikation der marxistischen Methode eine Verschiebung verzeichnete, und zwar eben zum Nachteil der objektiven Analyse, der wirklich dialektischen Ansicht, der genauen Unterscheidung wesentlicher Standpunkte und entscheidender Faktoren vom Unwesentlichen, d. h. zum Nachteil der Grundsätze, die bei einer zweckmässigen Verwendungsart eben einen grossen Vorteil der marxistischen Methode darstellen.[9]

Interessant wäre z. B., der Entwicklung der Auffassung der Regierung des Schahs Rezá und selbst der Persönlichkeit Rezás in der diesbezüglichen sowjetischen historischen Literatur z. B. von Anfang der fünfziger Jahren zu folgen. Die Analyse und die Bewertung des Zeitabschnittes seiner Regierung, wie sie in dem besprochenen Buch überreicht wird, ist nach Vollständigkeit und Vielseitiget bestrebt. Ausser den konkreten Bemerkungen zum Buch erlauben wir uns zu erwähnen, dass dieses Thema für die neue Geschichte Irans derart wichtig ist (und gleichzeitig auch im allgemeineren Sinne), dass es bestimmt eine eingehendere, festgefügte Bearbeitung vom Gesichtspunkt der allgemeinen Theorie der Rolle der Persönlichkeit in der Geschichte verdienen würde, mit einer genauen und objektiven Auswertung der Proportionalität des subjektiven und objektiven Faktors, ohne einen oder den anderen unproportioniert zu überschätzen, wenn es auch auf Grund einer richtigen Ausgangsprämisse erfolgen würde. Es wäre z. B. interessant festzustellen, wie die subjektiven Wünsche und Bestrebungen der historisch bedeutenden Persönlichkeit durch die objektiven Bedingungen korrigiert werden (zu diesen objektiven Bedingungen gehören in ihren Folgerungen wohl auch die zustandegebrachten ursprünglichen Absichten einer solchen Persönlichkeit).

Die Entdeckung und Bearbeitung weiterer Materialien über diesbezügliche Fragen wird zur Lösung der Probleme der neueren Geschichte Irans bestimmt viel beitragen, aber die methodologischen Fragen sind nicht von geringerer Bedeutung, da sie dazu dienen, dass man zu der festgefügten Auslegung gelangt, die die verschiedentlichen, auf den ersten Blick widersprechenden Vorgänge, vereinigt.

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[9] Als Beweis zu diesen Bestrebungen kann z. B. der Aufsatz S. L. Agajev, *K voprosu o charaktere "perevorota 3 chuta"*, Narody Azii i Afriki 5/1966 angeführt werden, der einen Beitrag zur genaueren und proportionelleren Klärung der Umstände des Staatsumsturzes vom 21. Februar 1921 darstellt, durch welchen Sajjed Zijáoddín und Rézá Chan, der damalige Oberst der iranischen Kosakendivision, an die Macht kamen.

In einem Teil der marxistischen historischen Literatur wurde es schon zur gewissen Tradition, die Repräsentanten des Kolonialismus als diejenigen Faktoren aufzufassen, die eindeutig den Zerfall und die Vernichtung der Ökonomie des ausgebeuteten Landes verfolgen, wobei aber nicht genügend in Betracht gezogen wird, dass in die grundsätzlich negative Bewertung des kolonialistischen Zutrittes die unwesentlichen Bestandteile, Nebenwirkungen, u.s.w. nicht automatisch einbezogen sein müssen und dass der Kolonialismus neben seinen Hauptzielen auch seine Taktik und Methoden besitzt, die oft — besonders in der neueren Zeit — genügend vielfältig und elastisch sind und mit Hilfe derer er beabsichtigt, seine Ziele zu erreichen.[10]

Der kolonialistische Zutritt der amerikanischen Finanzmission Millspaughs zu den Problemen Irans im zweiten Weltkrieg braucht nicht sehr kompliziert bewiesen zu werden, davon zeugt auch ausser anderem eine Reihe von Stellen im Buch, dass Millspaugh selbst geschrieben hat.[11] Und doch scheinen die Umstände, unter welchen die Mission wirkte, etwas komplizierter zu sein; abgesehen von der schwierigen Situation während des Krieges, besteht hier z. B. das Problem der Reaktion der Bevölkerung Irans auf die Massnahmen Millspaughs. Die Schädlichkeit der Tätigkeit Millspaughs wird ausser anderem auch dadurch bewiesen, dass sie Empörung und Unzufriedenheit in den breitesten Kreisen des iranischen Volkes hervorgerufen hat, so dass Millspaugh zuletzt abgerufen werden musste.[12] Die iranische Öffentlichkeit bildete aber kein „unteilbares Volk" und die Motivierung der Reaktionen seiner einzelnen Gruppen[13] konnte aus ziemlich verschiedentlichen, wenn schon nicht gegensätzlichen Standpunkten, ausgehen.[14] Ein genügendes Argument von diesem Aspekt aus kann die damalige abweisende Stellungnahme der fortschrittlichen Kräfte sein, die ihren Grund in der Erfassung der wesentlichen Ursachen und des Charakters der Mission haben kann.[15]

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[10] Wenn A. I. Demin in dem Aufsatz *Agrarnyje preobrazovanija v sovremennom Irane* (*Iran, sbornik statej*, Moskva 1963), S. 87—89 die Tatsache beweist, dass die Amerikaner an der Verwirklichung des Reformprogrammes im Iran Interesse hatten, klärt er zutreffend auch die Dialektik der Beziehung der neokolonialistischen Macht USA zu den Entwicklungsstaaten auf.

[11] Sieh A. Millspaugh, *Americans in Persia*, Washington D.C. 1946, z. B. auf der S. 245, 248, 257 u.s.w.

[12] Die Gesamtbewertung sieh in: *Novejšaja istorija...* auf S. 102. Vgl. auch in dem Aufsatz *Istorija i obščestvenno-političeskaja žizn'*, Sovremennyj Iran, spravočnik, Moskva 1957, S. 329.

[13] Genauer beschreibt diese Reaktionen M. V. Popov in dem Buch *Amerikanskij imperializm v Irane v gody vtoroj mirovoj vojny*, Moskva 1956, glava IV. Konflikt amerikanskich sovetnikov s iranskoj obščestvennost'ju.

[14] Auf die verschiedenen Aspekte und verschiedenen Umstände, unter welchen die Millspaughs Mission wirkte, ausser anderem auch auf verschiedentlich motivierten Stellungen macht aufmerksam G. Lenczowski in dem Buch *Russia and the West in Iran*, 1918—1948, Ithaca, N.Y. 1949, S. 263—271; einige Anregungen sind hier beachtenswert, falls wir natürlich das offenbar Tendenziöse in Betracht ziehen.

[15] Interessant ist z. B. auch, den Vorwurf Ivanovs an Šitov über die Tätigkeit eines anderen amerikanischen Finanzberaters der iranischen Regierung, Morgan Shuster, der im Iran im Jahre

Es würde nicht schaden, in einigen Einzelheiten eine grössere Kompliziertheit einiger Umstände wenigstens anzudeuten, ob nun im Interesse einer besseren Verständlichkeit, oder — in einigen Fällen — um eventuellen unberechtigten Vorwürfen vorzubeugen.

Mehr aus formaler Hinsicht machen wir die Bemerkung, dass die provisorische Regierung, die im Juli 1909 nach dem Sturz des Feindes der Konstitution, Schahs Mohammed Ali, angetreten ist, zuerst keinen Ministerpräsidenten hatte und Sepahdár (der Kriegsminister) und Sardár Asad (der Innenminister) die Hauptrolle spielten.[16] Der Autor spricht nur von der Regierung „mit dem grossen Feudalen Sepahdár an der Spitze"[17] offiziell wurde er Ministerpräsident erst im Oktober 1909), während Šáhín anführt, dass „der provisorischen Regierung... sich der bachtijarische Chan Sardár Asad angenommen hat."[18] Auch wenn sich die beiden Angaben nicht widersprechen, kann diese Konfrontation auf den ersten Blick beirren.

Über die Umstände des Attentats auf den Ministerpräsidenten, General Razmárá, schreibt der Autor folgendes: „Diese Politik Razmárás war ein ernstes Hindernis der Verwirklichung der amerikanischen Pläne zur Beherrschung des südiranischen Erdöls und der Unterwerfung Irans. Das alles führte dazu, dass die Methode der physischen Liquidierung verwendet wurde, die die amerikanische imperialistische Diplomatie oft benützte. Am 7. März 1951 wurde General Razmárá in der teheranischen Moschee ermordet..."[19] Diese Auffassung muss nicht der Tatsache widersprechen (die nicht angeführt ist), dass Razmárá von einem der Anhänger der Gesellschaft der Islamkämpfer (Fadá 'iján-e eslám) bald nachher ermordet wurde, als er die Nationalisierung der Erdölindustrie als undurchführbar erklärte[20] — doch trotzdem wäre es vielleicht besser, auf solche empfindliche Stellen auch konkretere Angaben anzuführen.

Auch wenn das Werk evident auf die Entwicklung der inneren Verhältnisse in Iran gerichtet ist, hätte es nicht geschadet, neben den gründlich bearbeiteten Beziehungen und Verbindungen zu den Hauptmächten (am stärksten determierenden und determierten in der Beziehung zu den Faktoren der inneren Entwicklung) auch die Beziehungen zu anderen Ländern etwas breiter zu erwähnen (soweit sie natürlich erwähnungswert sind). Es geht z. B. um die Nachbar- und andere Staaten des Ostens. Die Schwierigkeiten, auf die hier der Historiker stösst, sind natürlich gross:

1911 wirkte, mit der Meinung des iranischen Marxisten Šáhín zu vergleichen, der ebenfalls über Shuster schreibt (sieh Ivanov, *Iranskaja revoljucija 1905—1911 godov*, Moskva 1957, S. 547 vgl. mit Šáhín, das zitierte Werk, S. 32—33).

[16] Sieh M. S. Ivanov, *Iranskaja revoljucija 1905—1911 godov*, Moskva 1957, S. 388—389, und auch Očerk..., S. 237.

[17] *Novejšaja istorija...*, S. 20.

[18] Šáhín, das zitierte Werk, S. 31.

[19] *Novejšaja istorija...*, S. 151.

[20] Sieh z. B. B. Shwadran, *The Anglo-Iranian Oil Dispute 1948—1953*, Middle Eastern Affairs V/6—7, 1954, S. 196; Šáhín, das zitierte Werk, S. 91.

einige Beziehungen sind sehr unbeständig oder schwer erfassbar und es ist riskant sie zu charakterisieren, solange der offizielle Akt ausbleibt, der sie auf irgendeine Art und Weise verkörpern würde.

Im ganzen ist es zweifellos, dass das Werk eines Fachmannes so unbestreitbarer Kompetenz nicht nur einen bedeutenden Beitrag für den Bereich der modernen Geschichte Irans bedeutet, sondern es ist auch die beste Zusammenfassung der neuen iranischen Geschichte, welche in den Weltsprachen bisher erschienen ist.

Eva Štolbová

Cecil Roth, *Geschichte der Juden*. Von den Anfängen bis zum neuen Staate Israel. Teufen AR (Schweiz), Verlag Arthur Niggli, 2. ergänzte Ausgabe 1964, S. 540.

Cecil Roth (geb. 1899 in London) gehört zu den bedeutendsten Historikern, die sich mit der Geschichte der Juden befassen. Er schrieb auch über die Marranen. Er ist Mitglied der Royal historical Society und Vorstandsmitglied der Jewish historical society of England.

Das hier vorliegende Werk erschien zuerst in englischer Fassung unter dem Titel „A Short History of the Jewish People" schon im Jahre 1936. Die hier erwähnte Übersetzung wurde nach der revidierten und erweiterten Ausgabe aus dem Jahre 1959 vorbereitet.

Roths Geschichte der Juden unterscheidet sich hauptsächlich in einem von den üblichen Werken dieser Art. Es stellt nicht Verfolgung, Leid und Blutvergiessen in den Vordergrund, wie dies zumeist üblich war, sondern sucht vorallem die wesentlichen gesellschaftlichen Züge der jüdischen Existenz. Er will zeigen was der Jude leistete, welche Berufe er ausübte, warum er sie ausübte und welche Erfolge er erreichte. Er will jene Merkmale erklären, die mit dem Juden im Allgemeinem in Verbindung gebracht wurden und werden. — Bei alldem vernachlässigt Roth auch die geistige Geschichte des Judentums nicht. Er bringt sie aber nicht als etwas von der übrigen Entwicklung unabhängiges, sondern schildert diese im engen Zusammenhang mit dem täglichen Leben der Juden in den verschiedenen Zeitperioden.

Bei der Beurteilung eines Geschichtswerkes wendet man vorallem der Einteilung dieses Werkes eine Aufmerksamkeit zu. Roth teilt seine Geschichte in fünf Bücher. Im ersten Teil welches er Israel bezeichnet, schildert er die Geschichte des Judentums von den ersten historisch wahrnehmbaren Anfängen bis zur Auflösung Israels, als einer politischen Einheit. Es ist dies die Epoche von cca 1900—586 vor der bürg. Zeitrechnung.

Das zweite Buch benannt der Jude umfasst die Zeitspanne von 586 vor bis 425 unserer Zeitrechnung. Er schildert die Rückkehr aus dem Exil und verschiedene Versuche zur Erneurung der politischen Einheit Israels die von den Römern end-

gültig vereitelt werden. Nach diesem traurigen Schlag bleibt nur mehr die Hoffnung das Judentum zu erhalten. Dies war auch für die Beziehung dieses Kapitels ausschlaggebend.

Das dritte Buch: die Diaspora bringt einen Grundriss der jüdischen Geschichte. Da das Judentum in mehrer geographische Zentren versprengt war, verfolgt der Autor ihr Schicksal entsprechend dieser Einteilung. Dieser Teil umfasst die Periode von 425—1492 der bürgerlichen Zeit.

Das vierte Buch beschäftigt sich mit der Epoche von 1492—1815. Hier führte die Entwicklung über das Ghetto mit all seinen Schickanen bis zu dessen Auflösung.

Das fünfte Buch schildert die Erreignisse von 1815—1948. Das 19. Jahrhundert mit seinen Revolutionen bringt in der Folge eine wirtschaftliche Emanzipation des Judentums, doch in dessen Stapfen einen neueren und schrecklicheren Antisemitismus, der dann schliesslich zur Katastrophe in den noch nicht weit zurückliegenden Tagen des zweiten Weltkrieges führt. Doch auf diese Tage des Grauens folgt eine Auferstehung: der neue Staat Israel.

Es ist kaum zu fassen, dass es Cecil Roth gelungen ist auf dem kleinen Raum von nur 500 Seiten einen klaren, wenn auch nur skizzenhaften Abriss der jüdischen Geschichte zu geben. Das Wort wird geschickt durch Illustrationen unterstrichen.

Prof. Cecil Roths Name ist eine genügende Garantie für dieses Geschichtswerk. Der gepflegte Stil und die anregende Schilderung heben nur den Inhalt hervor.

Eine Inkonsequenz zeigt sich bei der Umschreibung hebräischer Wörter und Namen, doch ist diese — wie der Übersetzer darauf hinweist — verständlich und durch die gegebenen Schwierigkeiten bedingt.

Hervorzuheben an dieser Arbeit Prof. Cecils Roths ist auch die Tatsache, dass er sich nicht mit seinem verdienten ersten Erfolg begnügte, sondern dass er sein Werk immer weiter ergänzte und den neuesten Ergebnissen wissenschaftlicher Forschung anpasste. Diese Tatsache macht Roths wissenschaftliche Arbeit besonders wertvoll.

<div align="right">Elias Katz</div>

Lexikon zur Bibel, herausgegeben von Fritz Rienecker in Verbindung mit Gerard Seewald und Lothar Coenen. Wuppertal, Brockhausverlag 1964, S. 1734.

Die Bibel gehört, auch wenn wir von ihrem religiösen Wert absehen, zu den interessanten Quellen der menschlichen Geschichte. Es verwundert einem, dass bis jetzt kein neues lexikales Nachschlagwerk zur Bibel herausgegeben wurde. Diese Lücke ergänzt das obenangeführte Buch.

Es ist ein unbestreitbares Plus, dass dieses Werk herausgegeben wurde, das jedem, vorallem dem Anfänger der mit der Bibel selbständig arbeiten will, eine tatkräftige Hilfe bietet. Dem Wissenschaftler bringt es die letzten Ergebnisse der Forschungen,

leider vermisst er bei den einzelnen Schlagworten den Literaturnachweis. Es bringt aber eine zusammenfassende Bibliographie für das Gebiet der Bibelforschung und Bibelkritik als selbständigen Anhang.

Das Buch ist im gewohnten Lexikonformat herausgegeben. Es hat 1734 Spalten (864 Seiten). Das Material ergänzen 150 Photos auf 100 Kunstdruckbildseiten und begleiten 351 Zeichnungen und Kartenskizzen, sowie 3 mehrfarbige Karten.

Das Lexikon bringt rund 6000 Stichwörter die die Gebiete: Geschichte, Kulturgeschichte, Archäologie, Religionswissenschaft, Geographie, Biologie und Wirtschaft berühren. Personen, Tiere, Orte und Pflanzen die in der Bibel erwähnt sind, werden alle eingehend behandelt.

Grossen Dienst erweisen auch die Register und die grosse Zeittafel.

Es würde zuweit führen alles Positive dieses Werkes hier zu erwähnen. Es ist sicher, dass es das Lesen der Bibel erleichtert und dass es die Bibel in grossen Zusammenhängen verständlich macht.

Der Verdienst für das Gelingen des Werkes gebürt Fritz Rienecker, Gerard Seewald und Lothar Coenen, so wie allen ihren Mitarbeitern rund sechzig an der Zahl.

Es muss anerkannt werden, dass alle welche hier ihre Hand ans Werk legten, sich um strenge Objektivität bemühten und aufrichtig die letzten Resultate wissenschaftlicher Forschungen vermitteln wollten.

Wenn dies nicht ganz gelungen ist, so ist dies dem Umstande zuzuschreiben, dass an manchen Stellen vielleicht doch die konfessionelle Einstellung der Bearbeiter mitzusprechen hatte.

Der Verlag sparte bei der Ausstattung dieses Buches nicht. Seine Bemühungen und Ausgaben werden durch den Erfolg des Buches, welches in Kürze fünf Auflagen hatte, wettgemacht.

Vom Standpunkte des Hebräisten betrachtet glaube ich dieses Buch zu den Standardhilfswerken für das Studium der Bibel einreihen zu müssen.

Elias Katz

Irene Lande-Nash, *3000 Jahre Jerusalem, eine Geschichte der Stadt von den Anfängen bis zur Eroberung durch die Kreuzfahrer.* Tübingen, Verlag Ernst Wasmuth 1964.

Jerusalem ist ein Schlagwort über das gar vieles geschrieben wurde. Kann man da etwas neues dazufügen?

Irene Lande-Nash bewältigte diese Aufgabe. Sie griff zu den erst verhältnismässig jungen nicht-biblischen Quellen und zu den Ergebnissen der weit angelegten archeologischen Forschungen, welche in den letzten Jahren durchgeführt wurden. Es gelang ihr so ein einzigartig plastisches Bild der Geschichte Jerusalems zusammenzufügen, welches das bis dahin aus der Bibel bekannte bestätigt und eventuell auch ergänzt.

In diesem Buche haben wir so eine 3000-jahre alte Geschichte einer Stadt, die im Mittelpunkte des Geschehens vieler Völker, Kulturen und Religionen stand.

Die Schilderung beginnt mit einem Scherben einer ägyptischen Vase aus dem 19. Jahrhundert v. u. Zeitrechnung, wo wir das Wort Jerusalem in Hieroglyphen geschrieben finden. Sie läuft weiter fort auf einer Tontafel in Keilschrift.

Plastischer werden die Schilderung mit David um das Jahr 1000 vor unserer Zeitrechnung.

Viel Platz ist auch der Frage beider Tempel gewidmet. Mit der Wahl Jerusalems zum Sitze der Könige, wird diese Stadt zum Symbole Israels. Es wird ihrem Aufbau viel Sorge zugwandt, sie wird aber auch zum Angriffsziel der Feinde Israels.

Oft wird sie vernichtet und wieder aufgebaut. — Die schwerwiegendsten Folgen hatte wohl der berühmte jüdische Krieg, mit dem das jüdische Staatswesen auf jahrtausende ein Ende nimmt.

Trotzdem hört die Geschichte Jerusalems mit dieser beispielslosen Vernichtung nicht auf. Denn Jerusalem war nicht nur die Hauptstadt eines Volkes, sie war und ist vorallem die Heilige Stadt dreier Religionen; dreier Weltreligionen: des Judentums, des Christentums und des Islams. Mit der Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer hört zwar die Geschichte Jerusalems als Hauptstadt Israels einstweilen auf, sie wird aber zum Mittelpunkt eines Wettbewerbes zwischen Christen und später zum Zankapfel zwischen Christentum und Islam.

An Hand literarischer Quellen und an Hand verschiedener Baudenkmäler belebt Irene Lande-Nash die interessante Geschichte dieser bedeutungsvollen Stadt.

Das Buch hat 240 Seiten, bringt 15 Pläne und 94 Illustrationen auf Tafeln. Es ist ein wertvolles Buch für den auf die Bibel und die Bibelgeschichte orientierten Hebräisten.

<div style="text-align: right">Elias Katz</div>

Johannes F i c h t n e r, *Das erste Buch von den Königen,* übersetzt und ausgelegt von.... Nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Klaus Dietrich Fricke. Aus der Serie: Die Botschaft des alten Testaments, Erläuterungen alttestamentlicher Schriften Band 12/I Stuttgart, Calwer Verlag 1964.

Das erste Buch der Könige erzählt die Geschichte Israels seit der Tronbesteigung Salamos bis zum Tode Josaphats, also vom Jahre 972—848 vor der bürgerlichen Zeitrechnung. Der biblische Text ist aber sehr bündig und greift zumeist nur einzelne Erreignisse heraus.

Johannes Fichtner bemüht sich historische, archeologische, geographische und wirtschaftliche Fragen dieser Zeit auf einer breiteren Basis zu erklären und so diese Epoche der Geschichte Israels dem heutigen Leser bekannt zumachen. Er geht von dem biblischen Text aus und benützt die historischen Angaben als Knochen-

gerüst, die Notizen als Sehnen seiner Wiedergabe dieser Zeitepoche. Ausführlichere Schilderungen einzelner Erreignisse dieser Periode sind das Fleisch seiner Rekonstruktion. Mit einem besonderen Feingefühl überzieht dann Fichtner seine Rekonstruktion auch mit einer feinen Haut so dass wir beim Lesen seines Werkes eine Gestalt plastisch und farbig vor uns zu sehen meinen.

Wenn auch hie und da diese Haut runzlig zu sein scheint ist es auf einige Ungenauigkeiten bei der Übersetzung des Textes zurückzuführen. Diese kleinen Schönheitsfehler beeinträchtigen das ganze überhaupt nicht. Wir sollten dabei auch bedenken, dass es sich um eine posthume Ausgabe handelt, die der Verfasser selbst nicht ganz fertigstellen konnte.

Fichtner baut sein Werk auf eine gründliche Erklärung der einzelnen Textstellen auf. Er beurteilt sowohl die literarische Aussage als auch den historischen Wert. Beachtenswert sind seine Anmerkungen, die eine breite Literaturkenntnis beweisen.

Besonders hervorzuheben ist das Einleben Fichtners in den historischen Standpunkt. Er kann dann so sein Werk vom Gesichtspunkte der damaligen Zeitgenossen, also gesehen mit dem Auge einer längst vergangenen Zeit bringen. Und dies macht seine Schilderung besonders wertvoll und macht sie dem Menschen unserer Zeit leichter verständlich.

Trotz alldem lässt Fichtner das heutige Zeitgeschehen nicht aus dem Auge. Markant beweisen dies seine Worte auf S. 62 unten seines Buches: „Unsere Zeit hat ganz anders grauenhafte Beispiele erlebt, wie sich der Diktator seiner Gegner entledigt und darüber hinaus Millionen vermeintlicher Feinde seiner Herrschaft hinmordet."

Fichtner bringt also hier auf 347 Seiten einen erschöpfenden packenden und verständlichen Bericht aus einer vergangenen Zeit. Er bringt sie im Zusammenhange mit dem historischen, geographischen und wirtschaftlichen Geschehen.

Es ist ein Werk aus dem man viele neue Anregungen schöpfen kann.

Elias Katz

Joachim Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja*. Theologische Bücherei — Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert — Altes Testament — Band 20. München, Verlag Chr. Kaiser, 1963, S. 179.

Es ist hier wohl nicht wichtig den Begriff Deuterojesaja zu erklären. Begrich stellt sich entschieden bejahend an Seite der Deuterojesajabekenner.

Seine Studie bringt auf Grund eines bewunderungswerten Eindringens in das Werk dieses unbekannten Propheten, der bei Beginn der Perserherrschaft Cyrus leben musste eine klare Darstellung der damaligen Verhältnisse und des Werkes Deuterojesajas. Begrich stellt den Aufbau, den Gedankengang und auch den Sinn

des Werkes fest. Er arbeitet die Beziehung Deuterojesajas zur religiösen Tradition Israels heraus und befasst sich eingehend mit dem eschatologischen Sinn dieses Buches. Begrich vergisst es nicht die Eigenart Deuterojesajas in seinem prophetischen Selbstbewusstsein zu unterstrichen. Besonders untersucht er die „Gottes-Knecht"-abschnitte, die manchmal (falsch) auf den Propheten selbst bezogen werden.

Sehr anregend sind drei Bibelarbeiten, welche einzelne Abschnitte Deuterojesajas interpretieren. Das Werk hat mustergültige Register.

Diese Studie Begrichs beweist nur aufs neue, dass sein Ruf als Bibelforscher und Hebräist verdient ist. Sie ist ein klassisches Beispiel für die meisterhafte Anwendung der formgeschichtlichen Analyse. Trotz der Tatsache, dass Begrich seine Aufmerksamkeit mehr den theologischen Problemen zuwendet, ist dieses Buch auch für anders orientierte Hebräisten aufschlussreich.

Es ist vielleicht nicht am Platze bei der Besprechung eines Buches sich mit Detaillproblemen zu befassen, aber Interpretation von Jes. Kap. 42, 1—4 faszinierte mich so sehr, dass ich davon nicht ablassen kann.

Begrich befasst sich hier mit Symbolen des Rechturteils und betrachtet das Zerbrechen des Stabes und das Auslöschen der Lampe als Symbol des Strafurteils, genauer des Todesurteils. Diese Symbolik ist allgemein anerkannt. Begrich sagt dann wörtlich: „Leider fehlt es im Alten Testament an Möglichkeiten, diese Rechtssymbolik unmittelbar zu beleuchten." (S. 163, letzter Absatz, Zeile 5—3 von unten.)

Mit dieser Feststellung Begrichs bin ich nicht ganz einverstanden. Ich kann zwar auch keine direkte Zitate anführen die Begrich des Unrechts überführen würden und trotz dem wird der Stab und das Licht in der Bibel in dieser symbolischen Deutung öfters angeführt.

Lesen wir zuerst die von Begrich analysierte Jesajastelle 42, 1—4:

1. „Sie da, mein Knecht, den ich aufrecht halte,
mein Erkorener, an dem meine Seele Lust hat.
Ich lege auf ihn meinen Geist,
damit er den Völkern das Recht künde.

2. Nicht schreien wird er, noch erheben (seine Augen)
noch seine Stimme draussen hören lassen.

3. Das geknickte Rohr wird er nicht brechen
noch den glimmenden Docht löschen.
Durch die Wahrheit wird er das Recht fällen.

4. Er wird nicht ermatten und nicht zusammenbrechen
bis er auf Erden das Recht einsetze
und seiner Weisung harren die Inseln.

Sehr interessant ist dazu eine Paralellstelle in Jesaja 11, 1—5. Nur ist hier der Vers 42, 1 auf die drei ersten Verse ausgedehnt.

Es ist klar, dass hier als Rechtssymbole das Stabbrechen und das Auslöschen

des Lichtes angeführt sind und von dem Knechte Gottes aber heisst es, dass er nicht mit diesen Symbolen, aber mit und durch die Wahrheit Gottes das Recht künden werde.

Finden wir in der Bibel tatsächlich keine Hinweise auf diese Symbole. Ich glaube, dass wir recht deutliche Hinweise finden.

So für den Stab als den Symbol der Macht und somit des Richtspruches in Num. 17, 16 ff. Hier entscheidet der Stab der blühen wird, darüber wer von den Stämmen Israels von Gott auserwählt wird. Diese Symbolik hängt eng mit dem Stabbrechen zusammen, denn ein gebrochener Stab kann nicht mehr blühen. Ein gebrochener Stab gibt also keine Hoffnung mehr und ist identisch mit der Verurteilung.

Auch Ps. 44, 3: „...sie aber pflanztest du ein, ... und liessest sie wachsen...“ Scheint mit der Stabsymbolik zusammenhängen. Auch im Sirachus heisst es in 35,22 „...den Zepter der Bedränger zerbrochen hast...“

Ich will hier meine Ausführungen nicht unnötig in die Länge ziehen und begnüge mich mit diesen Hinweisen.

Für das Lichtlöschen als Symbol kann ich noch ungleich mehr Hinweise anführen: So heisst es z. B. in den Sprüchen 13, 9:
„Fröhlich brennt das Licht der Gerechten,
indes die Leuchte der Frevler erlischt!“
oder in Osea 6, 5
„...Da trat mein Recht hervor wie das Licht“
Michäas 7, 9
„Den Zorn des Herrn will ich tragen, denn ich hab gesündigt an ihn, bis er meinen Rechtsstreit schlichtet und Recht mir schafft. Er führt mich ans Licht...“
und viele andere Stellen, die ich hier nicht mehr anführen kann, da schon dies das übliche überschreitet.

Man kann zwar mit Begrich sagen, dass die Heilige Schrift das Symbol des Stabbrechens und des Lichtlöschens nicht direkt als Rechtsymbol benützt. Das biblische Israel kannte aber diese Symbole.

Ich will aber mit dieser Richtigstellung Begrichs nicht den unbestreitbaren wissenschaftlichen Wert seiner Studie hinabsetzen oder bestreiten, auch wenn ich damit noch nicht sage, dass man alles ohne Einwand anerkennen muss. Es ist aber sicher, dass in dieser Studie Begrichs viel Licht ist, um bei diesem Symbol zu bleiben, von den im Vorhergesagten soviel gesprochen wurde.

<div style="text-align: right;">Elias Katz</div>

Gershom Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala*. Studia judaica — Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums herausgegeben von E.—L. Ehrlich, Band III. Berlin, Verlag Walter de Gruyter und Co. 1962, S. IX + 434.

Das Wort Kabbala verbindet sich auch heute noch und dies sogar bei Gebildeten Leuten mit einem Schleier des Geheimnisses, das oft mit erschreckenden Assoziationen verknüpft ist. Es ist also nicht zu verwundern, dass der Antisemitismus dieses Wort als eines seiner Schlagwörter benützte und es mit einer verbrecherischen schwarzen Magie und abscheulichen Geheimlehre gleichstellte.

Das vorliegende Buch kann viele falsche Vorstellungen über die Kabbala richtigstellen. Zwar nicht bei den weiten Leserkreisen, denn es ist kein publizistisches leicht verständliches Werk, sondern wenigstens in gebildeten Kreisen.

Gershom Scholem ist die geeigneteste Person, die dieses Werk zusammenstellen konnte. Er befasst sich mit diesem Problem rund seit den Zwanzigerjahren und dies seit dem Jahre 1925 als Professor der jüdischen Mystik an der Universität in Jerusalem. Sein erstes Werk auf dem Gebiete der jüdischen Mystik ist die Herausgabe des Buches Bahir. In der gut bekannten Encyklopaedia Judaica hat er mehrer Stichwörter aus dem Gebiet der jüdischen Mystik bearbeitet, und zwar die Stichwörter: Bahir, Bibel und Kabbala, das Buch Jezira, Golem, und das Stichwort Kabbala. Das letztere ist eigentlich eine kurzgefasste monographische Studie über dieses Problem und wächst weit über den Rahmen eines lexikalen Beitrages heraus.

Weitere Ergebnisse seiner Forschung auf diesem Gebiete legt in seinem Katalog kabbalistischer Handschriften der National- und Universitätsbibliothek in Jerusalem nieder. Sein erstes zusammenfassendes und grundlegendes Werk auf dem Gebiete hebräischer Mystik ist das Buch: Die jüdische Mystik in ihren Hauptströmungen (Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1957), welches zuerst in englischer Sprache erschien (1941). Wie der Autor selbst im Vorworte zu diesem Buche sagt, konnte er aber in diesem Werke das Problem der Entstehung der Kabbala nicht behandeln.

Dieser Frage ist das vorliegende Buch gewidmet, welches zuerst unter dem Titel Reschith ha-Kabbala in hebräischer Sprache in Jerusalem erschien (1948). Jedoch ist dieses Buch eine Neubearbeitung, welche den hebräischen Text um fast mehr als Doppelte überholt.

Gershom Scholem teilt sein Werk in vier Bücher.

Im ersten Buch stellt er das Problem klar und macht mit den bisherigen Resultaten der wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen bekannt. Er weist auf die vorkabalistische Merkabalehre und auf den Sefer Jezira hin um schliesslich auf das Buch Bahir zu kommen.

Dem Buche Bahir ist der zweite Teil (das zweite Buch) dieses Werkes gewidmet. Gershom Scholem analysiert den literarischen Charakter und Aufbau des Buches und trennt die verschiedenen Schichten, dann beschäftigt er sich mit verschiedenen Momenten des Buches: mit gnostischen Elementen des Werkes, mit den Sephiroth

usw. Er weist auch auf ältere Quellen hin und auch auf die Auswirkung des Buches bei den deutschen Chassidim und ihren Elementen der Aonenlehre.

Das dritte Buch befasst sich mit den Kabbalisten in der Provence. Einzelnen Persönlichkeiten sind besondere Kapitel gewidmet.

Das letzte Buch befasst sich mit dem kabbalistischen Zentrum in Gerona und ihrem Schrifttum. Auch hier greifft Gershom Scholem einige besonders wichtige Probleme heraus und behandelt sie in besonderen Kapiteln. So z. B. die Probleme „Der Mensch und die Seele" das Buch Temuna und die Weltenzyklen usw.

Gershom Scholems Werk ist so reichhaltig, dass eine umfassende Rezension ein neues Buch darstellen würde. Ich glaube aber kurz sagen zu dürfen, dass er den Aufgaben, die er sich selbst stellte, gerecht wurde. Das erste Buch fasst das bisher Bekannte zusammen und klärt das eigentliche Problem. Das zweite Buch schildert den Standpunkt der Kabbala, wie dieser im Buche Bahir gelehrt und erklärt wird. Das dritte Buch erfasst die bekanntesten Persönlichkeiten, die die Kabbala ergründeten und lehrten. Das vierte Buch charakterisiert das erste Zentrum der Kabbala in Spanien, dessen Mystiker einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf das spätere Judentum ausgeübt haben.

Gershom Scholem bringt viel wesentlich neues und ist ein Beitrag sowohl zur jüdischen wie auch allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte. Mit ihren literarischen Hinweisen ist sie auch ein Hinweis auf das jüdische und hebräische Schrifttum dieser Epoche und somit für den Hebräisten und auch dem Orientalisten von Interesse und Bedeutung.

Bei einer neuen Ausgabe wäre es nützlich einige Ungenauigkeiten richtigzustellen, die vielleicht nicht einmal dem Autor, sondern der Übersetzung zuzuschreiben sind (der hebräische Urtext ist mir leider unbekannt). Ich will hier nur auf eine Stelle hinweisen, die einer Präzision bedarf. Auf S. 409 lesen wir (ungefähr in der Mitte): ... Jede ist eine vollständige Welt ... und besteht 7000 Jahre ...

Danach kehrt diese Schöpfung in den Zustand des Tohu zurück und wird erst durch die Wirksamkeit der ihr folgenden Sephira, nachdem sie einen Weltensabbat brach gelegen hat, rekonstruiert".

Diese Konzipierung ist nicht eindeutig, denn man kann sie sowohl so auffassen, dass erst nach dem Zyklus von 7000 Jahren ein Weltensabbath einzulegen ist, als auch so, dass dieser Weltensabbath in diese Periode einzubeziehen ist. Und dies ist ein wesentlicher Unterschied. Das letztere ist wohl das Richtige.

Die auf S. 411 angeführte Sentenz aus Sanhedrin 97 a ist nicht R. Quatina sondern R. Abaja zuzuschreiben.

Doch dies sind wahrlich nur kleine Ungenauigkeiten, die dem Redaktor dieser wertvollen Studie über die Kabbala unterlaufen sind und die ihren Wert nicht herabsetzen können, denn dieses Buch vermittelt eine Erkenntnis der religiösen Kräfte, die im Judentum fortdauernd lebendig und produktiv blieben.

<div align="right">Elias Katz</div>

Joachim Begrich, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament.* Theologische Bücherei — Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert — Altes Testament — Band 21. München, Chr. Kaiser-Verlag 1964, S. 277.

Professor Joachim Begrich gehört zu den Spitzen der deutschen biblischen Hebräistik. Leider wurde er eines der Opfer des grauenhaften zweiten Weltkrieges, so dass seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit ein vorzeitiges Ende fand. Es ist sicher ein Verdienst des Verlages Kaiser, wenn er eine Neuausgabe verschiedener Studien Prof. Begrichs den Lesern vorlegt. Der Inhalt des vorliegenden Buches ist nicht einheitlich, denn das Buch bringt Studien verschiedener Probleme. An erster Stelle befasst sich Begrich mit Widersprüchen in der Schilderung welche Genesis vom Paradies gibt (das Problem der Zahl der Bäume z. B.). Begrich befasst sich bei der Lösung des Problems eingehend mit der Frage der Herkunft der Paradieserzählung, welche auch den Schlüssel zur Lösung des Problems gibt.

In weiteren Kapiteln befasst sich Begrich mit der alttestamentlichen Denkform (Berit), mit dem davidisch. salamonischen Grossreich (Sofer und Mazkir), mit Fragen der Flutsage (Mabbul), mit dem Syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg, mit der Chronologie der israelitisch-judaischen Königszeit (Jesaja), mit dem Satzstil im Fünfer, mit dem israelitischen Klagelied und seinem babylonischen Gegenstück, mit dem priesterlichen Heilsorakel und der priesterlichen Tora.

Die hier angeführten Studien sind Nachdrucke verschiedener in mehreren Zeitschriften veröffentlichter Studien. Begrich betrachtet seine Untersuchungen vorallem vom theologischen Standpunkt. Seine Ausführungen enthalten aber trotzdem viele Anregungen für den Hebräisten sowohl vom historischen als auch sprachlichem Standpunkte. Stilistischen Fragen ist vor allem die Studie der Satzstil im Fünfer gewidmet.

Begrich ist ein Schüler Hermann Gunkels und setzt dessen Werk fort. Seine Studien sind von wissenschaftlicher Genauigkeit durchdrungen und überzeugend.

Es ist nur zu bedauern, dass Begrich wegen seines vorzeitigen Todes sein Werk nicht fortzusetzen vermochte.

<div align="right">Elias Katz</div>

Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst.* Franz Delitzsch-Vorlesungen 1963. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer-Verlag 1965. 88 Seiten mit 98 Abbildungen auf Kunstdruckpapier. Kart. DM 18.

Bernhard Blumenkranz befasst sich in dieser Studie mit den Juden in der mittelalterlichen Kunst nicht als schaffenden Künstlern, sondern als den Objekten der Kunst. Dies ist schon allein etwas neues und deshalb beachtenswertes.

Es ist unwahrscheinlich, aber wahr, dass man diesem Problem keine Aufmerksamkeit wiedmete. Der Jude als das Dargestellte in der mittelalterlichen Kunst

ist aber nicht etwas aussergewöhnliches. Blumenkranz führt in diesem Buche 98 Abbildungen an. Diese Bilder wurden zwar nicht deshalb geschaffen um den Juden darzustellen, da es sich aber in ihnen um Juden handelt, mussten die einzelnen Künstler auch diese versinnbilden.

Es ist sicher für die Wechselbeziehung zwischen Juden und Nicht-Juden interessant zu verfolgen, wie sich das Bild des Juden im Laufe der Zeit wandelt.

Das Bild unterscheidet sich anfangs fast nicht von anderen Bildern. Mit der Entwicklung der Judentracht, werden auch die Juden auf Bildern mit diesen Judenzeichen dargestellt, auch wenn es historisch widersprechend ist (so z. B. Gestalten aus dem Alten Testament usw., also aus einer Zeit die keine Judenzeichen kannte). Später kommen auch physiologische Zeichen dazu, die bis in die Lächerlichkeit verzerrt werden. In Ländern, aus denen die Juden vertrieben wurden und wo die Künstler die Juden nicht mehr kannten, werden sie nach allgemeinen Vorstellungen über Orientale auch gänzlich falsch z. B. mit Turbanen dargestellt.

Der Jude als Objekt der darstellenden Kunst verdient die Aufmerksamkeit des Historikers und nicht nur der Kunsthistoriker. Detaille in der Dartstellung geben Aufschluss sowohl über örtliche Bräuche und Sitten der Juden als auch über die Einstellung der Nichtjuden zu den Juden.

Blumenkranz bedauert mit Recht, dass diese Tatsache bis jetzt auch in grossen Geschichtswerken (z. B. Graetz und Bubnow) ohne Berücksichtigung übergangen wurde.

Der Jude und das Judentum in der mittealterlichen christlichen Kunst wiederspiegelt die Stellung, die traurige und erniedrigende Stellung des Juden im Galut. Man darf zwar die mittelalterliche christliche Kunst in ihrer Haltung zum Judentum nicht pauschal verurteilen, denn es gibt ja auch objektive, ja sogar judenfreundliche Darstellungen. Die Mehrzahl ist jedoch feindselig eingestellt. Dies ist umso schwerwiegender, da das Bild — namentlich im Mittelalter, das zum Grossteil analphabet war — einen grösseren Einfluss hatte, als die Schrift. Dies war ja auch der Grund, warum Handschriften illuminiert wurden, denn durch das Bild sprachen diese auch zum ungebildeten Menschen.

Blumenkranz bearbeitet hier Brachland. Sicher wird diese Studie eine Anregung für weitere Untersuchungen sein. Wir können nur hoffen, das auch diese so objektiv geschrieben sein werden. Mir scheint es, dass Blumenkranz vielleicht einiges zu stark betont. So z. B. das Feindselige in den karikatisierten Darstellungen. Hier müsste man auch die jüdische Tendenz in Betracht ziehen, die absichtlich z. B. in der Vogelkopfhaggada Menschen mit Vogelköpfen darstellt um nicht gegen die Vorschrift zu verstossen, die Menschen darzustellen verbietet.

Blumenkranz geht in dieser Studie aus Vorlesungen aus, die er im Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum im Jahre 1963 vortrug. Wie diese Vorträge ist auch das Buch ein Beitrag zur wahrheitgemässen Kenntnis und Erkennen der Juden und des Judentums.   Elias Katz

David Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*. Textes et documents linguistiques et ethnographiques. (Études Juives, VII). Paris — La Haye, Mouton & Co. 1964, X + 177 pp.

Un demi-siècle après l'apparition d'une description du parler des Juifs d'Alger[1], l'orientalisme français offre au public savant des renseignements détaillés sur un autre parler judéo-arabe, celui des Juifs de Tunis.

Le présent ouvrage de D. Cohen n'est qu'une partie d'un projet scientifique beaucoup plus vaste: la description linguistique détailée du parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, conçue par le même auteur (à paraître dans la Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des Hautes Études). Toutefois, une certaine autonomie de cette édition de textes est assurée par le soin de l'auteur de la faire accompagner d'une esquisse linguistique succincte touchant les traits les plus essentiels du parler d'ordre phonologique, morphologique et lexical.

Dans l'Introduction, l'auteur passe en revue l'histoire des Juifs de Tunisie de même comme la répartition de la population juive dans l'Afrique septentrionale. Une littérature abondante sur ce sujet est indiquée. Les textes sont divisés en six chapitres subséquents: I. Les manifestations cérémonielles de la vie individuelle (19—76); II. Les grandes manifestations collectives de la vie religieuse (77—96); III. Croyances populaires. Superstitions (97—118); IV. Littérature écrite et littérature orale (119—142); V. Proverbes et dictons (143—150) et, finalement, VI. La cuisine (151—154). A la fin de l'ouvrage, le lecteur trouvera un index-glossaire qui renferme toutes les indications nécessaires pour l'identification des noms des personnages bibliques ou historiques, l'explication d'un nombre de termes techniques, indispensables pour l'intelligence des textes, etc.

Le système de transcription est celui de l'Institut d'ethnologie de Paris. Les textes sont suivis d'une traduction française. Chaque groupement thématique des textes, correspondant à des chapitres signalés plus haut, est précédé d'une courte introduction ethnographique.

Les textes, contenus dans le présent ouvrage de D. Cohen, présentent un double intérêt: ils ne sont pas uniquement des spécimens dialectologiques précieux mais, en même temps, ils ont une valeur documentaire inappréciable pour les recherches ethnographiques au sens large du mot. Il ne reste qu'à espérer que l'œuvre de D. Cohen ne manquera pas de stimuler les investigations en termes pareils dans les autres sphères du domaine arabe.

<div style="text-align: right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

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[1] Marcel Cohen, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, Paris 1912.

Sami A. Hanna, *Arabic Reading Lessons* (Second Level). Middle East Center of the University of Utah. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Printing Service 1964. (9) + 195 pp.

Sami A. Hanna, *Laboratory Handbook for an Elementary Manual of Contemporary Literary Arabic*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Printing Service 1965. VI + 108 pp.

Sami A. Hanna and Naguib Greis, *Writing Arabic. A Linguistic Approach: From Sounds to Script*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Printing Service 1965. 61 pp.

Issues in University Education. Commentaries by Arab University Educators. Translated from Arabic and Edited by Sami A. Hanna. Foreword by Francis A. Young. Middle East Center of the University of Utah 1966. IX + 70 pp.

Sami A. Hanna and Naguib Greis, *Beginning Arabic. A Linguistic Approach: From Cultivated Cairene to Formal Literary Arabic*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Printing Service 1965. XXX + 192 + unpaginated Glossary.

The steadily growing interest in teaching Arabic in American institutions (more than twenty-seven institutions are now offering courses in Arabic and other Middle Eastern languages in the U.S.A.) calls for the production of suitable manuals. The University of Utah Arabic series under review (our list is, however, far from being complete) is a very successful attempt to answer this urgent need.

Arabic Reading Lessons, introduced in Arabic, is designed for students who have already had an introductory course in Standard Arabic. In the first part of the book, the reader will find a lot of useful information on the Arab World presented in simple easy-to-read sentences. The second part, including three glossed short stories from contemporary Arab authors, is a reliable introduction to reading literary texts. The third part deals with selected grammatical topics.

Laboratory Handbook is intended as an additional drill book to the first eleven lessons of 'An Elementary Manual of Contemporary Literary Arabic' (S. A. Hanna, 1964).

Writing Arabic is expected by the authors to be used either as an independent unit or as one of the units of *Beginning Arabic* (cf. below). The book is a fine introduction to the Arabic script. Special attention is paid to relevant interrelations between the Arabic sound system and its graphic representation.

Issues in University Education present various comments of a number of distinguished Arab university educators on the American educational system. The reader of this monograph will find, between the lines, some insights concerning the higher education in a number of Arab countries as well.

Beginning Arabic is, undoubtedly, the most interesting and, at the same time, we dare say, the most tentative of the whole set of units under consideration. It is

the conviction of both authors that Arabic may be approached as a living language, in teaching, without necessarily recoursing to the traditional (and well-tried as well) dichotomy of 'Colloquial' and 'Standard'. An attempt is therefore made to effect a smooth transition from what the authors call Cultivated Cairene (Cairo Arabic being selected for this experiment) to Formal Literary Arabic. As an attempt, the present textbook is certainly of interest. Nevertheless, it is ultimately the class-room experience that will be able to decide whether the authors have fully succeeded in their attempt or not.

<div align="right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

Rafā'īl N a ẖ l a, S. J., *Ġarā'ib al-lahǧa al-miṣriyya* (Peculiarittes of Colloguial Egyptian Arabic). Beirut, Qalfāt 1964. 111 pp. (In Arabic).

The booklet under review offers the reader an abbundance of useful information on the phonetic, morphological and lexical peculiarities of the Egyptian Colloquial as against Classical Arabic. Features of lexicon stand in the centre of interest of the present work. The reader will find here as many as 2100 Egyptian Arabic borrowings from Turkish, Persian, Greek, Italian, French and other languages, provided with Classical Arabic equivalents. This is, in our opinion, the most successful part of the book.

The treatment of the phonetic (more rarely phonemic, the latter by implication only) and morphological features of Egyptian Colloquial exhibits, unfortunately, nearly all shortcomings characteristic of the Arab scholars' approach to describing linguistic phenomena. A rather strong feeling of the etymological status of the described features as well as the preservation of the traditional orthography lead to frequent misrepresentations which perceptibly distort the phonemic and morphological picture of the dialect. To this type of inconsistency belongs the unjustified notation of vowel quantity in *kātba* (8) (please note, the account of the passage of **kātiba* into *kātba* (i.e. *katba*) is insufficient (ib.)). Neither is it possible to accept the notation of vowel quantity in cases like *taḥtānī* (i.e. *taḥtāni*) "lower", *fōqānī* (i.e. *fo'āni*) "upper", *miǧlāwānī* (i.e. *miǧlawāni*) "profiteer", *baṣṣāmātī* (i.e. *baṣṣamāti*) "finger-print maker" (28), *barāmīlǧī* (i.e. *baramilgi*) "producer of barrels" (31), *rusūmāt* (i.e. *rusumāt*) (34), etc., etc. The loss of the etylomogical quantity is very rarely noted, e.g. *'igzahāna* "drugstore" (as compared to the Standard Arabic borrowing *'aǧzāhāna*) (33), etc.

Further, we find cases which can be identified neither with Classical nor with Egyptian Colloquial, notably the word initial CC cluster in *tkassar, tsallā* [i.e. *(i)tsalla*] (8), *tfaʿʿil, tfāʿil* (10), etc. The word initial CC cluster can hardly be recognized as really statable in Egyptian Colloquial unless assuming the occurrence of a cluster preventing (viz. prothetic) vowel, either *i* (*itkassar, itsalla*, etc.) — which is certainly

not the case the author has in mind — or any other vowel occurring at the end of a word immediately preceding the (elided) cluster preventing *i* as it is, for instance, the case in *huwwa-tsalla* "he recovered". Incidentally, the whole mechanism of the Eg. Ar. anaptyxe has not been taken into account.

The illustrative material pertaining to *naht* shows a fairly heterogeneous picture. Besides true compounds of the type *rasmāl*, *ʿirqsūs* (i.e. *ʿir'isūs*), etc. the author quotes various types of agglutinative and other constructions such as *gāb* (*ǧā'a bihi*), *dilwaqtī* (i.e. *dilwa'ti*) (37), *mā katabtiš* (i.e. *ma katabtiš*), *lahsan* (38), etc., etc., which have nothing in common either with *manhūtāt* in the sense of the traditional interpretation of Arab scholars or, much less, with compounds from a linguistic point of view.

The author's way of quantifying is rather impressionistic too. As it is, a number of "mostly"'s should be replaced by "always". For instance, this is the case in the description of the passage of *alif* (i.e. **w*) into *y* with *verba tertiae infirmae*. Relics of the type *'argūk*, possibly still some others, are not significant in this context.

The terminology adopted by the author frequently echoes a very ancient stage of grammatical reasoning influenced by purely orthographical features, so *fathatā at-tanwīn* in *dayman*, *abadan*, etc. (8), and in many other cases.

Most of the inconsistencies, as evident, are due to the cultural milieu. Nevertheless, the lexical records, esp. the classification of borrowings will help the reader to get a deeper insight into the lexicon of Egyptian Colloquial.

<div style="text-align: right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

A Selected Word List of Modern Literary Arabic. Compiled by the Middle East Centre For Arab Studies, Shemlan, Lebanon. Second Edition. Beirut, Khayats 1965. 266 pp.

The anonymous Selected Word List of the MECAS language course is appearing now in a new, improved edition after five years of classroom experience. The Word List is intended for the study of Modern Literary Arabic and aims, at the same time, to comprise the intelligent layman's vocabulary. The authors were certainly right to include a substantial part of the most important colloquial terms, regardless of whether they can be considered a part of the Standard Arabic lexicon or not (the latter category are bracketed).

The words in the List are arranged in the order of their frequency in Arabic and are divided into ten sections, each of them consisting of some three hundred words. Apart from this, nine appendices comprising words grouped thematically are included. A number of the most frequently used Arabic names of countries and towns may

be found in the Gazetteer. Two cumulative indexes (English and Arabic) facilitate the orientation of the user.

The present work is a valuable lexicographic tool for intensive and semi-intensive courses in the present-day Standard Arabic.

<div align="right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

Günther K r a hl, *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch* (German-Arabic Dictionary). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1964. XXIII + 480 (XXVII) pp.

As evident from the Introduction and the very structure of the work, Krahl's Dictionary is designed to be used by Arabic speakers in learning German as their second language and, in a rather limited extent only, it is expected to serve Germans whose profession brings them into contact with Arabic. The dictionary contains approximately 12,000 entries arranged in a strict alphabetical order. Relative frequency (Verwendungshäufigkeit) is said to be the main criterion of selecting both the German and Arabic items. The introductory grammatical sketch of German (viz. Hinweise für die Benutzung) is given both in German and Arabic.

Although the merits of this really successful work are evident (especially its well-balanced selection of material, so important in dealing with such an archaizing language as Standard Arabic is), we cannot agree with the author in some single points.

First, the way of handling borrowings. Here, it must be said that the author's way of restricting the notation of short vowels to an unavoidable minimum is fully satisfactory. But, on the other hand, the pronunciation of such *muᶜarrabāt* as for instance *kīlūsaikil* (the anaptyctic *i* occurring in pausal, i.e. the most frequently used reading) "Kilohertz" (221), *Tišīkūslūfākyā* "Tschechoslowakei" (396), etc., where the correct reading cannot be guessed at without some experience, should have had additional notation to be of real help to the German user.

The selection of a number of terms, alternating with some other variants of the same term, has not always been quite suitable. Thus, for instance, "Zentrifugalkraft" (centrifugal force) is rendered by the Arabic term *al-qūwa an-nābiḏa* (464). The correspondence between both is certainly adequate. But unfortunately, as far as we know, the Arabic equivalent quoted is used rather rarely and that despite the fact that even the Cairo Academy terminological issues (viz. *Maǧmūᶜat al-muṣṭalaḥāt...*) hesitate between *al-qūwa an-nābiḏa* resp. *al-qūwa aṭ-ṭārida min al-markaz* (vol. 2, 194) and *al-qūwa aṭ-ṭārida ᶜan al-markaz* (vol. 1, 193). The Egyptian sources, at least, rather unanimously use various variants of the last two coinages such as *qūwat aṭ-ṭard al-markazīya* (Hassan El-Sayed Fahmy, *Pocket Military Dict.*, Cairo 1957), *qūwa ṭārida markazīya* (cf. *Muḥ. Čamāladdīn al-Fandī, al-Faḍāʾ al-kaunī*, pp. 22, 27, etc., Cairo 1961). Substantially the same variant is proposed by both Wehr and

<div align="right">205</div>

Baranov, viz. *qūwa markazīya ṭārida* with, however, a different word-order of the last two components of the term.

Further, we should have expected to read *muqāwim (mānī, muḍādd) li'l-mā'* instead of/besides *lā yanfuḏu minhu'l-mā'* "wasserdicht" (waterproof) (448) despite, otherwise, the relatively frequent occurrence of the adjective-like expressions of this syntactic pattern (viz. relative clause).

A rather astonishing singular-plural relation between *ra'smāl* (i.e. compound word) and *rasāmīl* (i.e. non-compound word, from a synchronic point of view), as established by the author (cf. p. 217), can in no way be agreed with. For the plural form *rasāmīl*, exhibiting a unique quadriliteral root *r-s-m-l* should be, as evident, related to an equally 'quadriliteral' singular, viz. *rasmāl*, while the singular *ra'smāl* can be related to no plural form of its own. This missing form is sometimes substituted by that of *ru'ūs (al-)amwāl*, the latter being plural of the construct-patterned (i.e. non-compound, viz. syntactic) *ra's (al-)māl*, as it is, in this latter case, correctly stated in the dictionary (viz. ib.).

We find it rather strange that some of the very common terms have been omitted, such as e.g. "Vokal", "Konsonant", etc., though on the other hand, the author pays attention to notions like "passive /Gramm/", "aktiv /Gramm/", "Fall /Gramm/", etc. Incidentally, the terminological distinction between vowels and consonants, as reflected by the Arabic version of 'Hinweise für die Benutzung', is not quite irreproachable. "Vowel" is usually referred to as *ḥarf ṣautī* (cf. p. /ṣ/) or, simply, *ḥarf* (cf. *ḥarf* "e" (p. /f/)) as against "consonant", the latter being termed *ḥarf sākin* (p. /t/) or, once again, *ḥarf* as well (cf. *ḥarf* "r"; *ḥarf* "s", etc. (p. /f/). The distinction between *ḥaraka* and *ḥarf*, as used in describing the phonemic features of Arabic, is in full harmony with the traditional Arab interpretation. It should probably be noted that recently the Cairene Academy have made an attempt to break with the somewhat old-fashioned "orthographic" terminology by proposing *ṣaut layyin* for "vowel" as opposed to *ṣaut sākin* "consonant" (cf. *Maǧmūʿat al-muṣṭalaḥāt...*, Cairo 1962, vol. 3, 139—40).

Further, we cannot agree with the author in the following German-Arabic correspondences: "(Radio) Sendung"— *barnāmaǧ* (355) instead of the correct *iḏāʿa*; "Unterricht"—*dars ǧ.durūs* (415) instead of the more adequate *taʿlīm*; "vergessen"—where besides *nasiya yansā* we find also *ǧafala ʿan* (424), the latter conveying rather the meaning of the German "vernachlässigen", etc.

Krahl's Dictionary is in spite of this a valuable lexicographical tool which will serve both Arab and German users.

<div align="right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

M. Mansoor, *Legal and Documentary Arabic Reader. With Explanatory Notes, Exercises, Vocabularies and Model Answers.* Foreword by Aziz S. Atiya. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1965. I vol., XXII + 300 pp.; II vol., VIII + 277 pp.

Mamun al-Hamui, *Diplomatic Terms. English-Arabic. (Ma'mūn al-Ḥamawī, al-Muṣṭalaḥāt ad-diblūmāsīya fī'l-inklīzīya wa'l-ʿarabīya).* Beirut, Khayats 1966. 22 + /57/ pp.

Both items under review deal nearly with the same subject and in some respects complement each other. However, the authors' aims differ widely.

Mansoor's Reader, after McGraw-Hill's *English-Arabic Dictionary of Political, Diplomatic, and Conference Terms* (University of Wisconsin, 1961), is another U.S. contribution to meet the needs of students in this field of specialized instruction. The work was developed pursuant to a contract between the United States Office of Education and the University of Wisconsin.

The purpose of the author was to introduce the student to modern Standard Arabic with special emphasis laid on the style employed in documentary texts. Both units of the present Reader are designed for English speaking students of intermediate and advanced levels. The student who uses them intelligently is rightly expected by the editor to experience no difficulty in reading Arabic documentary sources.

From the several hundred Arabic documents studied, thirty-eight selections are presented in the first volume. Each unit contains the following sections: A—the original text presented in unvocalized Arabic; B—a comprehensive vocabulary relative to the respective unit; C—vocalized common phrases and idioms; D—unvocalized supplementary sentences from and into Arabic, and finally, E—additional exercises for drill and practice. Apart from this, a very good selection of supplementary texts is appended.

The second volume presents to the student two keys (viz. Key to the Basic Units and Exercises and Key to the Supplementary Texts) and, equally, two cumulative vocabularies (English-Arabic and Arabic-English).

The fact that each unit has a glossary of its own permits the student to read each unit without referring to the glossaries of the previous units. This method, although highly advantageous to the user, leads to a considerable overlap in the vocabulary. The selection of material is indeed excellent.

In handling the terminology pertaining to legal and documentary texts, no attempt was made by the author to normalize it in any way, neither in proposing modifications and restrictions as to the choice of English equivalents nor in replacing some Arabic terminological units by 'more adequate' ones. Therefore the texts, as presented by the author, reflect a very realistic picture of modern documentary usage.

Thanks to Brill's craftsmanship and skill, the photomechanical technique used in reproducing the typed original is excellent, too.

In conclusion it may be said that Mansoor's book is highly valuable to the student learning documentary Arabic in the intermediate and advanced levels of instruction.

Hamui's collection of diplomatic terms has been compiled by an expert (Dr. Hamui has had a long career in the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is at the same time the author of several books on international law and foreign affairs).

The booklet is divided into an Arabic (57 pp.) and an English part (22 pp.). The former includes twelve short chapters on various relevant topics (such as "State", "Ministry of Foreign Affairs", "Diplomatic Representatives", etc.) where the basic notions are explained. The English part presents a cumulative English-Arabic vocabulary of the most important diplomatic terms.

It is to be deplored that the author's attention is focussed exclusively on nominal units, neither verbs nor verbal phrases are quoted at all in spite of the real importance of such verbal items as for instance "to enjoy" (viz. diplomatic privileges and immunities), "to present" (viz. credentials), and many others.

Further, the non-Arab reader will probably be disappointed by the total lack of plural forms.

The general usefulness of the work is considerably limited by the fact that a number of units quoted are not so much taken from the living diplomatic usage as rather proposed by the author. This subjective factor can be seen in the amount of (partly obsolete) terms like *ʿuṣba* "league" (p. 14) (cf. *ʿuṣbat al-umam* "League of Nations", instead of *ǧāmiʿa*, viz. *ǧāmiʿat al-umam*, etc.); "charter" (p. 8) is rendered by *ṣakk* (in "Charter of the United Nations", by *šarʿa* (viz. *šarʿat al-umam al-muttaḥida*)) instead of the commonly used *mītāq*; "credentials" (p. 10) are faced with *kitāb al-iʿtimād*, instead of the currently employed *aurāq (waṯāʾiq) al-iʿtimād*. These proposals as well as the author's attempt not to use the term *ittifāqīya* except in the meaning of "convention" (viz. pp. 46—47), that is neither meaning "treaty" (here, the author seems to be right) nor "agreement", resemble very much a 'one-man-crusade' against the prevailing usage backed by a rather long tradition. Hamui's reasons for doing so, as given in p. 24 and elsewhere, are not convincing.

As an attempt to codify the basic diplomatic terminology, Hamui's book is of interest. Though it is not too useful to those who are desirous to become familiar with the present day diplomatic jargon.

<div style="text-align: right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

Régis Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J. C.* Paris. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, vol. I, 1952; vol. II, 1964; vol. III, 1966. XXXIII + 865 pp.

Après plusieurs exposés français sur l'histoire de la littérature arabe (Huart, Abd-el-Jalil, Pellat), destinés au grand public, l'ouvrage du professeur Blachère

présente une synthèse ambitieuse. Renfermant trois volumes, parus successivement aux intervalles assez inégaux (1952—64—66), le travail s'adresse aux arabisants de même comme aux spécialistes de la littérature comparée. Les trois volumes publiés jusqu'ici n'embrassent qu'une partie relativement petite (bien que la plus importante) du programme envisagé, notamment les cent cinquante années de ce que l'auteur appelle "littérature archaïque". Le lecteur n'a qu'à espérer que l'auteur savant, fin connaisseur des lettres arabes, pourra bien achever son entreprise scientifique géante, unique de son genre.

L'étendue de l'ouvrage ainsi que la méthode adoptée déterminent à la fois le caractère du livre: malgré sa nature synthétique, il présente en même temps une recherche fouillée, un effort tout pénétrant pour découvrir le détail.

Le travail du professeur Blachère est novateur à plusieurs égards. La tentative de Ch. Pellat (*Langue et littérature arabes*, Paris, 1952) d'étudier l'histoire de la production littéraire conjointement avec celle de l'idiome a reçu, dans l'œuvre de Blachère, une base scientifique solide. C'est précisément sur ce point que nous allons reparler un peu plus tard.

En outre, à l'auteur revient le mérite d'introduire d'une façon définitive la notion de la „littérature archaïque" qui est beaucoup plus en accord avec la périodisation adoptée. Cette notion a rendu possible de traiter les lettres arabes d'une période de cent cinquante années environs (c.-à-d., depuis les origines jusque vers 725) substantiellement sur le même niveau, justement dans le cadre de cette littérature archaïque. Ensuite, l'évitation du terme „préislamique" permit à l'auteur de pousser la date de la plus ancienne étape de cette production littéraire, contrairement à l'usage courant, jusqu'à l'an 670. L'importance d'une modification pareille ne saurait être assez exagérée pour des raisons qu'on devine aisément.

Les trois volumes parus jusqu'ici constituent le premier livre de ce projet hardi (L'hégémonie du domaine arabe dans la littérature en cette langue (des origines aux environs de 725)), celui-ci étant subdivisé en trois parties subséquentes:

Première partie: Le domaine arabe et ses habitants. Les facteurs historiques. Les apports extérieurs. Adoption d'un parler arabe comme langue littéraire. (3—82 pp.).

Deuxième partie: (La littérature archaïque (des origines jusque vers 50/670)). Recension des textes poétiques et des données biographiques et historiques. La littérature archaïque (suite). La prose rimée et rythmée. Le Coran. Les conséquences culturelles du „fait coranique". La poésie dans le monde des Nomades jusque vers 50/670. Le poète archaïque dans son milieu, avant 50/670. Les thèmes traités par le poète archaïque jusque vers 50/670. (83—453 pp.).

Troisième partie: (La littérature archaïque des environs de 50/670 jusque vers 107/725). Apogée de la prévalence péninsulaire et prélude à un nouvel essor. La poésie archaïque des environs de 50/670 jusque vers 107/725 (Les œuvres de la mouvance syro-iraqienne et l'apogée de la poésie des grands Nomades (deux chapitres).

La poésie au Hedjaz et la première phase d'une évolution (deux chapitres)). Vers la création de la prose littéraire: l'art oratoire. Premiers matériaux pour la formation d'une prose littéraire. La littérature narrative jusque vers 125/742. (455—803 pp.)

L'index des noms propres et des notions, qui se trouve à la fin du livre, facilitera la lecture.

L'apport linguistique du présent travail est considérable (v. Chap. III: Adoption d'un parler arabe comme langue littéraire). En ce qui concerne l'origine de l'arabe „littéral", Blachère, en s'écartant de la théorie des auteurs musulmans ainsi que de celle de Vollers (*Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, Strasbourg, 1906), admet „que cette langue dérive à la fois de celle des poésies 'préislamiques' et de celle du Coran, en rectifiant toutefois la théorie islamique sur un point essentiel, à savoir que la langue du Coran n'a point pour base le dialecte de la Mekke, mais l'idiome des poésies ‚préislamiques'" (p. 79). Cependant, bien que Blachère tienne compte des particularités linguistiques qui marquent la différence entre les parlers hedjaziens (en premier lieu la disparition du *hamza*) et les dialectes de l'Arabie centrale et orientale, l'assertion que la langue du Coran a pour base l'idiome des poésies dites préislamiques nous semble trop catégorique. A notre avis, il n'y a, pour le présent, aucune preuve vraiment décisive qui permetterait de rejeter même une telle vague conjecture à ce propos comme celle formulée par Ch. Rabin qui, en principe, admet l'existence possible d'un rejeton mekkois de l'arabe classique (cf. „a Meccan variety of Classical Arabic used perhaps in writing and public speaking", dans *EI*, nouv. éd., l'art. ʿ*Arabīya*: Sources for the investigation of Cl. Ar.). L'attitude de Rabin à l'égard de l'idiome coranique, v. „as far as we can see the language of *Ḳur'ān* stands somewhere between the poetical standard koinē and the *Hidjāzī* dialect" (quot. ib.), nous semble plus en accord avec les faits. Cette conclusion, paraît-il, pourrait être, essentiellement, tirée même à la base des preuves examinées par l'auteur. Par conséquent, l'emploi du terme „koinè coranico-poétique" (v. p. 82) paraît impliquer une relation beaucoup plus étroite, sinon une identité, entre les deux idiomes qu'il ne l'est possible d'établir par les données qui sont à notre disposition à présent.

Dans son ensemble, le livre du professeur Blachère, par sa méthode critique et la masse de renseignements précis ne peut être comparé à aucun ouvrage composé sur ce sujet jusqu'ici. La valeur du livre est soulignée par de nombreuses références bibliographiques. La lecture en est absolument indispensable.

<div style="text-align: right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

David Cohen (avec la collaboration de Mohammed el Chennafi), *Le dialecte arabe ḥassānīya de Mauritanie (parler de la Gəbla)*. (Études arabes et islamiques. Études et documents, V). Paris, C. Klincksieck 1963, IX + 292 pp.

La description du *klǟm əl-bīḍān* („parler des Blancs"), comme les arabophones de Mauritanie appellent parfois le dialecte *ḥassānīya*, est le résultat d'une enquête linguistique prolongée, guidée et menée à bonne fin par M. David Cohen. Malgré l'existence d'une littérature considérable consacrée aux aspects particuliers de ce dialecte,[1] ce n'est probablement que l'étude de G. S. Colin (cf. n. 1) qui peut être, dans certains égards, considérée comme un point de départ du présent travail.

Les deux parties principales du livre: „Phonologie" (1—86) et „Morphologie et éléments de syntaxe" (87—234), sont précédées par une courte introduction (cf. Avant-propos, VII—IX). A part cela, une petite mais non moins intéressante collection de textes est donnée à la fin du livre dans la transcription de Mohammed el Chennafi, suivie de sa traduction française (235—277). L'ouvrage se termine par un sommaire bibliographique (279—287).

La phonologie, dans son ensemble, est traitée en termes de l'École de Prague. Plusieurs constatations de l'auteur ont une valeur révélatrice et touchent des problèmes qui, par leur importance, dépassent par loin le domaine du *ḥassānīya*. Tel est, pour n'en citer que quelques exemples, le traitement du phénomène, décrit par C. Brockelmann en termes de l'absorption de la semi-voyelle labiovélaire *w* (Brock. *u̯*) par une labiale.[2] Cohen décrit ce phénomène par rapport à l'emphase tout en considérant le groupe théorique **lw* (où *l* indique les labiales *b*, *m* de même comme la labiodentale *v*) comme pré-emphatique, c. à d. comme produisant un *lḷ* ou un *lḷʷ*, p. ex. **bw > ḅḅ* dans **bwayr > ḅḅēʸr*, diminutif de *bīr* „puits"; **vw > ff* (la relation **lw > lḷ* n'exclut pas l'alternation allophonique) dans **vwēʸl > ffēʸl*, diminutif de *vǟl*, nom propre; **mw > ṃṃʷ* dans (**mwalli >) ṃṃʷalli* „aussi", (**mwassah̲ >) ṃṃʷassah̲* „sali", etc. (Cf. pp. 3, 4 et 9).

Si l'on peut considérer la documentation de l'auteur comme suffisante pour marquer une nette différence entre une labialisation simple (par l'effet d'un *w* adjacent, soit dans un sens diachronique: **lw > lḷ*, soit dans un sens synchronique: (**lw >) lḷʷ*) et une réelle vélarisation emphatique, tout en excluant la première éventualité

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[1] Marie Bernard, *Méthode d'arabe parlé* (idiome du Sénégal), 2 vol., Paris, 1893; A. Reynier, *Méthode pour l'étude du dialecte maure*, Tunis, 1909; G. S. Colin, „Mauritanica", Hesperis XI (1930), 131—143; R. Pierret, *Étude du dialecte maure des régions sahariennes et sahéliennes de l'Afrique Occidentale française*, Paris, 1948; A. Leriche, *Terminologie géographique maure*, Études mauritaniennes No 6, Saint-Louis, 1955; V. Monteil, „Notes sur la toponymie, l'astronomie et l'orientation chez les Maures", Hesperis, 1949, 1er et 2e trimestre, 31 p.; etc., etc.

[2] Cf. GvG, I, 158: „In Tripolis und in Marokko assimilieren die Labiale sich ein folgendes *u̯* unter Mitwirkung des Dissimilationstriebes: tripol. *bau̯āgīl > bu̯ǟgȳl > bbǟgȳl* „Wasserkrüge", ..., marokk. *mu̯āgen > mmǟgen* „Uhren" ".

hors de considération, l'étude des ressources historiques de l'emphase s'en voit considérablement enrichie.

Il est curieux de noter que, malgré l'existence des relations emphatogènes *lw > ll, *lw > ll^w dans le parler ḥassane par opposition, évidemment, au parler du Caire, par exemple, la fréquence relative des labiales (labiodentales) emphatisées est beaucoup plus rare dans le ḥassāniya que dans le parler du Caire. En ḥassane, les b, m et f se trouvent sous la limite des fréquences statistiquement négligeables avec leurs occurrences respectives 3,5 et 2, soit (calculées sur un total de 10 782 phonèmes[3]) 0,02; 0,04 et 0,01 %%. Dans le parler du Caire, la fréquence relative de b, m et f, basée sur les occurrences respectives 67,61 et 11, révèle les valeurs suivantes: 0,66; 0,60 et 0,10 %% (sur un total de 10 010)[4]. La vélarisation emphatique, due aux effets de l'environnement sur un niveau synchronique, reste donc toujours un facteur déterminant en ce qui concerne la fréquence relative des emphatiques dans la totalité des parlers arabes modernes.

Ce qui est tout particulièrement à être apprécié c'est le dénombrement des fréquences relatives des groupements de consonnes à L'initiale et à la finale de syllabe (pour un corpus qui en présente 1400 (cf. 76—79)). Une évaluation pareille peut servir de base pour des analyses statistiques plus poussées.

Dans la partie morphologique, l'auteur, décrivant les schèmes bilitères, relève un exemple qu'il se voit autorisé de traiter comme une racine monolitère. Il s'agit du mot ḫət „soeur" qui doit être, à l'avis de l'auteur, reporté à une racine monolitère ḫ, le -t „étant senti comme une désinence féminine" (cf. 174, rem. 1). Le traitement en ces termes ne nous parait guère possible. Une telle racine-minimum une fois établie, il serait extrêmement difficile, sinon impossible, de tracer une ligne de démarcation suffisemment claire entre les thèmes segmentables en racines et schèmes (suivant la terminologie française) d'un côté et les thèmes non-segmentables, de l'autre. La mesure de segmentabilité, il est vrai, n'a pas été clairement définie dans la littérature jusqu'ici. Le Père Fleisch, par exemple, traite même les bilitères en termes des non-segmentables quand il parle des „37 mots, qui sont à eux-mêmes leur racine, par ex.: yad „main" „(cf. L'arabe classique, 22). La notion de segmentabilité, quelle limitée que soit sa valeur, est, néanmoins, un instrument de travail utile par rapport au présent niveau des considérations théoriques en tant qu'appliquées aux notions fondamentales de la morphologie des langues sémitiques, telles que thème, racine, schème, etc. Contrairement à ces deux extrêmes, soit dans un sens minimum (Cohen) soit dans un sens maximum (Fleisch), nous préférons de considérer les bilitères comme les segmentables au sens minimum et, par conséquent, de traiter

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[3] Cf. p. 68; y compris, naturellement, toutes les réalisations de b, m et f, notamment celles qui sont dues à ce que l'auteur appelle „contagion d'emphase" (p. 4), c. à. d. les variantes combinatoires, ainsi que les rares occurrences des „emphatiques par nature".

[4] N. Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris—La Haye, 1964, p. 64.

ḫət soit en termes des non-segmentables soit en termes des bilitères aux radicales regroupées par rapport à l'état étymologique: *ḫ-t*.[5]

En ce qui concerne l'emploi des termes *thème* et *schème* dans le livre analysé, notamment la distinction entre les ,,thèmes'' verbaux (cf. 86—145)[6] et les ,,schèmes'' dans les formations nominales (v. surtout pp. 173—195), celle-ci, bien qu'elle soit conséquente et même systématique dans le cadre du livre analysé, s'avère inconsistante dès qu'une taxonomie de ces universels doit être établie. La distinction entre *thèmes* et *schèmes*, sous ce rapport, ne devrait être employée que dans le sens d'une distinction entre les niveaux, sans tenir compte des réalisations morphologiques particulières d'ordre qualitatif.

Le terme ,,pré-thématique'' (cf. p. 118; la voyelle pré-thématique *u* dans yuCCiC ou yuCCaC), bien que claire ,,par intuition'' et partiellement même ,,par tradition'', sans une définition exacte de ce que l'auteur entend par la notion de thème, contribue à son tour à cette confusion terminologique. Dans le dernier cas, les segments —CCiC et —CCaC sont considérés par implication comme thèmes tandis que, tout au long, de l'exposition subséquente des ,,thèmes dérivés'', la notion de thème inclut non seulement les segments thématiques tels quels définis plus haut correspondant aux ,,bound stems'' de W. M. Erwin[7]) mais, de plus, aussi les affixes relatifs à ces segments thématiques (,,complex stems'' dans la taxonomie erwinienne, cf. n. 7 cidessus).

Nos remarques portent naturellement sur les implications possibles de la terminologie employée par l'auteur par rapport à une hiérarchisation de ces notions générales, sans la moindre idée de déprécier la haute clarté de l'exposition ou la méthode de description adoptée.

Le traitement de la morphologie, présentée conjointement avec une exposition des particularités syntaxiques du parler, s'est avéré bon et économique. La description morphologique, grâce à l'étendue de son intérêt et aux références nombreuses aux autres parlers arabes maghrébins (pour un nombre de phénomènes d'une validité plus générale l'auteur tient compte même des parlers orientaux), permet au lecteur d'acquérir non seulement une connaissance profonde du parler ḥassane mais, bien au-delà, elle permet d'étudier la grande majorité des phénomènes décrits dans un cadre comparatif.

Le livre de D. Cohen, malgré l'existence de la littérature signalée plus haut, est une vraie découverte pour la dialectologie arabe. C'est bien pour la première fois que le *ḥassānīya* soit l'objet d'une enquête aussi largement conçue et d'une de-

[5] Pour la racine *ḫ¹* dans l'arabe marocain, cf. R. S. Harrell, *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic*, Washington, D. C., 1962.

[6] Même ici on trouve une distinction terminologique inacceptable entre ,,forme'' (forme simple) et ,,thème'' (thèmes dérivés).

[7] Cf. W. M. Erwin, *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*, Washington, D. C., 1963, p. 47.

scription aussi minutieuse. Par son recours constant à des procédés linguistiques les plus modernes, le livre de Cohen marque, sur le plan dialectologique, une étape nouvelle dans les études mauritaniennes.

<div align="right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

H. G. Farmer, *The Sources of Arabian Music,* an Annotated bibliography of Arabic manuscripts deal with the theory, practice, and history of Arabian music from the eight to the seventeenth century. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1965, S. XXVI + 71, Pl. V.

Bei jeder Interessensphäre sind die Voraussetzungen für deren Erforschung von einer vollständigen Bibliographie abhängig. Für jeden Mitarbeiter ist es jedoch heutzutage schwer vorstellbar, eine solche Bibliographie für sich selbst zusammenzustellen, besonders dann, wenn das betreffende Thema lediglich in die Randsphäre seines Interesses gehört. Die Nützlichkeit von Farmers Buch im Zusammenhang mit den Quellen der arabischen Musik wird für die europäischen Forscher zunächst durch die linguistischen und finanziellen Schwierigkeiten unterstrichen, von der Kompliziertheit, sämtlichen Interessenten die Originale zugänglich zu machen, schon ganz zu schweigen.

Mit der Registrierung der arabischen Musikquellen hatte Farmer noch im Jahre 1932 begonnen, als er zum Vorsitzenden der Commission on History and Manuscripts ernannt worden war, die ein Verzeichnis über die arabischen Musik-Handschriften zusammenzustellen und sodann die ausdruckvollsten von ihnen zur Veröffentlichung und Übersetzungen in andere Sprachen herauszugliedern hatte. Er ist dabei auf verschiedene Schwierigkeiten gestossen, da — wie sich dies schon in den Anfängen erwiesen hatte — der Buchtitel selbst keine genügende Aussage bezgl. des Inhalts bildete und ausserdem die Erwähnungen über Musik in den verschiedensten Gebieten, wie z. B. in der Geschichte, Bibliographie, im Rechtswesen, in der Religion, sowie auch in der Literatur und in der Enzyklopädie anzutreffen waren. Das Ergebnis dieser Arbeit, die in der vorliegenden Ausgabe 353 annotierte Angaben bezgl. der Handschriften aus dem Zeitraum vom 9. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert enthält, bildet nicht nur eine vorzügliche Orientation für das Studium der arabischen Musik, sondern sie beleuchtet auch die Probleme der griechischen und byzantinischen Musik. Die einzelnen Titelangaben sind chronologisch nach den Jahrhunderten geordnet, um die historischen und kulturellen Kreise besser verfolgen zu können. Bei jedem Werk befinden sich ausser einer kurzen Beschreibung auch noch Informationen über die Arbeiten, wo die Handschriften veröffentlicht wurden und, falls sie lange Zeit unbekannt waren, auch noch die Namen von deren Entdecker angegeben, im Falle aber, dass diese bereits veröffentlicht, oder das betreffende Werk in andere Sprachen übersetzt worden ist, so wird der Titel mit dem Register angegeben. Zuletzt darf auch noch die Buch-Einleitung nicht über-

214

sehen werden, worin der Verfasser ausser der Beschreibung der Arbeit auch noch eine bewundernswerte Anzahl von anregenden Gedanken über die Geschichte der arabischen Musik und hauptsächlich über ihre Beziehung zur europäischen Musik, abgekürzt zum Ausdruck brachte.

Farmes Arbeit bekundet eine grosse Informiertheit, sowie auch eine bewundernswerte Kenntnis der bearbeiteten Materialien und eine ausserordentliche Erudition. Dank diesen Eigenschaften des Verfassers sind wir imstande, die grundlegenden Angaben über die Quellen der arabischen Musik mit derartigen ausgewählten Anotationen zu studieren.

Ivan Mačák

Donald N. Levine, *Wax and Gold. Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture.* Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1965. XVI+ 315 pp.

The book under review represents a fresh evaluation of several important aspects of the past and present of Ethiopian society. Skillfully using his tools of a modern social scientist, especially those of sociology and psychology, the author is able to unveil some trends, both beneficial and inhibitive of modernizing aims, underlying its complicated structure. As an empirical social scientist, D. Levine examines the nature of traditional culture, as a social analyst, the author is concerned with the situation of action, and in his role of a sociological theorist he raises questions and suggests hypotheses (the nature of ambiguity, the function of oral literature, the concept of individualism).

The book is an outcome of the author's field research in Ethiopia (1958—1961) where he also served as lecturer in the University College of Addis Ababa. Faced with the multi-tribal and multi-lingual society of Ethiopia, he decided to focus on the Amhara. This limitation permitted a more intimate insight into the culture of the ruling race of Ethiopia, on the one hand, and it resulted in the impression of a certain cultural isolation, on the other.

The study of the Amhara society in the sixties means examining a society in transition, confronting its traditional culture with modernist aspirations. The first question arising from the confrontation of these two sorts of orientation is the question about the nature of the traditional culture and its values. The author, having defined his point of view as that of a pragmatist (viz. "Given the commitment to modernization he would sustain traditional values whenever possible; would modify them whenever feasible; and would reject them where necessary." (p. 13)) is oriented to the optimum realisation of the traditional values.

An example of this attitude is the analysis of the Amhara poetry with the resulting notion of ambiguity, viewed as a key to the Abyssinian society. This 'wax-and-gold' pattern ('wax' being the obvious meaning of the verse, 'gold' the

215

hidden meaning), though in opposition to the demands of modernity with its straightforward ways of expression, is nevertheless considered valuable for the fusion of the traditional symbols with the modern ones.

Other positive cultural values are found in the Amhara regionalism and in the world of the Amhara peasant. The chapter dealing with the latter topic, though least equipped with statistical data, is of special interest. It reveals the author's aesthetic motives as revealed in the Preface, but nevertheless represents a good piece of empirical examination. The Amhara peasant's outlook is valued both for its realism and its humanitarian attitudes which are qualities indispensable for a society in transition.

However, the author is aware of the necessity of a certain cultural discontinuity if any modernizing aims are to be reached. This discontinuity manifests itself clearly in at least two subsystems of traditional society: that of preparing the young for the responsibilities of the adult and that of allocating social status to different members of a society in accordance with the new values of this society. Thus, the chapters IV and V ('The Emerging Adolescent' and 'The Old and New Elites' resp.) deal with the utmost complicated social phenomena of a nation trying to identify itself with the requirements of modernity. A confusion of values and attitudes is carefully analysed in a way that reveals the aesthetic stimulus as joined by the moral, urging the author to trace some of the factors which affect the capacity of the Amhara society to make substantial reforms and innovations. These are, according to the author, the absence of creative leadership and the lack of solidarity action.

As for the first of the above factors, some psychoanalytic concepts are stressed. Levine treats the oral zone as an object of greatest importance and a source of behavioral modes and symbolism with the Amhara. Three kinds of phenomena are differentiated here: oral erotism, oral sadism and oral ambivalence, each of them being examined from various angles. This orality is viewed as lying at the root of the Amhara overdependence and, consequently, inhibitive of their capacity of leadership. Although appreciating the creative force of the Freudian conception, still highly productive and not losing the power to enlarge the scope of human thinking and feeling, we may ask if the concept of orality is not too narrow and one-sided as to explain the phenomenon as a whole. The author himself seems to be aware of this and he may be thinking of producing a more exhaustive solution to this problem in the future.

A thorough analysis of Amhara individualism forms the climax of the Levine's book on Ethiopia. All forms and manifestations of individualism are viewed from the perspective of providing a developing society with the benefits of modernity. Some useful hints and suggestions are given here, stressing the value of a developed individuality as opposed to pressures toward conformity characteristic of the traditional patterns.

The observational techniques employed by the author include the analysis of

texts and oral traditions, interviews, the technique of questionnaires and various tests combined with the author's own observation.

The book, richly illustrated, is equipped with valuable Notes, a short Glossary of Amharic words occurring in the text and an Index.

The book can be appreciated as a real achievement in the field of Ethiopian studies, throwing new light on some important problems facing Ethiopia as well as other modernizing nations.

<div style="text-align: right">Jarmila Drozdíková</div>

Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. University of California Public-ations: Near Eastern Studies, vol. 1. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press 1963. XVI + 240 pp.

Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Background. I. Harari*. Uni-versity of California Publications: Near Eastern Studies, vol. 7. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press 1965. XII + 262 pp.

Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopian Argots*. Janua Linguarum: Series Practica, XVII. London-The Hague-Paris, Mouton et Co. 1964. 65 pp.

The first two of these units are devoted to various aspects of Harari (*gē sinān* 'the language of the city' by its indigeneous name), one of a number of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, spoken exclusively in the walled city of Harar. The importance of these works of Leslau's on Harari is stressed by the fact that apart from a few Harari texts, accompanied sometimes by modest word-lists (cf. bibliographical references in *Etym. Dict.*, 1-2), most of which are of rather ancient date, neither an autonomous dictionary nor a good and sufficiently large collection of modern Harari texts have been available hitherto.

Considering these facts, Leslau's Dictionary will be useful not only to Semit-ologists concerned with Harari and other Semitic languages of Ethiopia but it will prove helpful to ethnographers, dialectologists and linguists in general as well. Furthermore, Leslau's Dictionary will be profitably used also by scholars of Cushitic because of the great number of Cushitic loanwords in Harari quoted by the author (Galla and Somali are the neighbouring languages of Harari, Eastern Sidamo being, in turn, its substratum language). Even from the non-Ethiopic Semitic languages one or two quotations are regularly given with the majority of Harari entries.

In setting the comparative correspondences it would have been probably more advantageous to have kept closer to the morphologic shape of the underlying Harari item, whenever allowed by the structure of the paralleling language. Thus, for instance, the Harari *ḥaǧīs* "new" (p. 81) is compared with the Sem. Heb. *ḥāḏāš* "new", Ar. *ḥaduṭa* "be new", etc. As evident, a more direct relation between the Arabic and Harari quotations would have been obtained by facing the Harari

ḥaǧīs with the Arabic, equally adjectival, *ḥadīṯ* "new", as it is done in the case of Hebrew. Naturally, our suggestion is of secondary importance.

The versatility of the Dictionary is kept high by three indexes: Index of the Semitic Roots (171—175), Index of the Arabic Loanwords, compiled for the benefit of the Arabist (176—186) and a reverse English-Harari Index (187—240).

The second book of Leslau's (*Ethiopians Speak. I. Harari*) presents a fascinating collection of Harari texts reflecting the everyday life of different ethnic groups of Ethiopia in its very various aspects. Texts, presented in Romanized transliteration, are divided into several thematic units such as 'Harar', 'Buildings', 'The Inhabitants', etc. The Harari text is immediately followed by a literal translation and, once again, by a free English translation. Numerous notes will help the reader during perusal of the text.

For a grammatical description of Harari the reader is advised to consult the works of M. Cohen,[1] E. Cerulli[2] and W. Leslau[3]; for the vocabulary, those of E. Cerulli (viz. fn. 2) and W. Leslau (*Etym. Dict.*).

Leslau's collection of Harari texts will render invaluable service to a large circle of Ethiopists and social scientists in general.

Substantially the same audience is expected to be interested in the last of the reviewed units, *Ethiopian Argots*. The first argot with which the author is concerned is that of a Gurage secret society (14 — 30)[4], the second is specific to people possessed by the spirit called *zar* (31 — 43)[5], the latter being collected in Amhara community. The remaining argots are professional ones, one of them pertaining to merchants (44—51)[6], the other to Ethiopian minstrels (52—65)[7], both of them having been collected in Amharic speaking regions. The author gives a linguistic description of each argot mentioned and at the end of each study a vocabulary of the respective argot is appended. The linguistic mechanism of various Ethiopian argots is studied in a more general way in the introductory chapter.[8]

Leslau's studies are of utmost interest to Ethiopists and social scientists in general. For the time being, no one is more competent to treat this subject than Professor Leslau.

<div align="right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

[1] M. Cohen, *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional* (Paris, 1931), pp. 243—354.

[2] E. Cerulli, *Studi etiopici, I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*. Roma, 1936.

[3] W. Leslau, *The Verb in Harari*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 21. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958.

[4] *An Ethiopian Argot of a Gurage Secret Society*. Reprinted from Journal of African Languages, 3.52—65 (1964).

[5] *An Ethiopian Argot of People Possessed by a Spirit*. From Africa, 19.204—212 (1949).

[6] *An Ethiopian Merchants' Argot*. Reprinted from Language, 25.22—28 (1949).

[7] *An Ethiopian Minstrels' Argot*. Reprinted from JAOS, 72.102—109 (1952).

[8] *Ethiopian Argots. Linguistic Principles*. From the Journal of Semitic Studies, 9.58—66 (1964).

History of East Africa, Two Volumes. Vol. I. edited by Ronald Oliver and Gervaise Mathew, XII, 500 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, first published 1963, reprinted lithographically at the University Press, Oxford from corrected sheets of the first edition 1966, 63s. Vol. II. edited by Vincent Harlow and E. M. Chilver, XIII, 768pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1965, 84s.

The initial conception of the Oxford three volume history of East Africa was laid at an East African Governors' conference in 1952, thanks to the parallel initiative on the part of the then Governments of Tanganyika and Uganda and of the Colonial Social Science Research Council. These two volumes which have already appeared, as will the last one, are the outcome of an attempt to present a comprehensive history of this region. According to its authors and editors this, in many ways valuable, publication is to be an experiment in the sense that the approach to the history of East Africa is inconvenient and differs from common histories of this area.[1] To quote the editors of the first volume: "It has become realistic to visualize a time when the majority of the readers of such a history will be East Africans who will be looking at the colonial period in retrospect as an episode, albeit a most important episode, in the history of their own countries. Even of the colonial period, such readers will want to know primarily what it has done to them."[2]

The first volume, including two introductory chapters on the East African Environment and the Stone Age of East Africa, conveys directly the results of original research. Owing to the lack of literary evidence of this period of history, its authors often relied upon oral historical traditions, later recorded in writing, upon myths and legends and on by-products of the research done by ethnographers, social anthropologists, archeologists or even linguists so that they could reconstruct the true and genuine history of the East African peoples from the time archeology, ethnology and tribal tradition has hitherto been able to take it, through the history of the nineteenth century up till the time when Europeanoverrule was imposed.

The second volume, as will the future, cover the period of European rule from the 1890's to about 1960, roughly seventy years; the second one ends at the close of World War II in 1945. As Miss Margery Perham puts it in her introduction the intention was "to view African history from Africa", or we should rather say from the African point of view with emphasis stressed "upon the effects of European government and influence upon the peoples and their reactions".[3] Thus, "History

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[1] Among the older standard works are:

Coupland, R.: *East Africa and its Invaders*, 1938.

Marsh, Z.— Kingsworth, G.: *An Introduction to the History of East Africa*, Cambridge 1957.

Reusch, R.: *History of East Africa*, Stuttgart 1954.

[2] See Volume I. of the *History of East Africa*, Introduction, p. 1.

[3] See Volume II, Introduction.

of East Africa" was planned to attempt not only the history of European exploration; the first steps of European powers into the East African interior; the history of the "scramble" for Africa; the partition of this part of the African continent and the history of the European overrule; but both the traditional history of the East African peoples and the history of the colonial period, though not solely as a record of the initiatives of the colonial powers in administering the region. The history of the evolution of colonial policy, the European initiatives in various spheres of life of the ruled peoples play undoubtedly an important role, it is an inseparable part of the history of East Africa and its peoples, however, what is far more important is not the history of the "rulers" but the history of the "ruled", i.e. the history of the African internal response to all the aspects of external challenge.

The aim of the present reviewer is to try to find out how and to what extent the authors and editors of the books under review have met their task. The chief limitation of the work, in the reviewer's opinion, is that despite all the efforts of its authors it nevertheless does not capture both sides of the historical process, rather it stresses the far-reaching effects and changes the European overrule wrought in African life thus omitting, with the possible exception of the chapters on Uganda, the African side of the problem. It is true that African political initiatives before World War II. were hardly a significant factor, yet their subtle manoeuvres, often confined in this period of history to the economic sphere, influenced the policy of the colonial power.

There are various reasons why the chapters on Uganda and above all those on the Kingdom of Buganda, seem to be the best in that sense they present the above-mentioned African side of the story. Professor Low is an authority on Buganda and the author of some outstanding studies on its history[4], yet he may have had better opportunities regarding the African sources, both oral and written, and thus more material at his disposal as scholars writing of other East African peoples, due to the fact that this area is far better and richer documented than, say, the former German East Africa. Owing to the efforts of missionaries in the latter half of the nineteenth century there had long been a class of literate Baganda who have left their own records of the events, thus giving their own interpretation of the same events from their own standpoint, often diametrically different from that of their colonizers. Even here, however critical the author is, he sometimes cannot help seeing some aspects of history, e.g. the Kabaka Mwanga's rebellion of 1897—1899, through the eyes of the British, though the best way of understanding the African attitude and response to the imposition of the European overrule is through the local movements and rebellions. By far the most disappointing chapters, in this

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[4] E.g. Low, D. A.: *Religion and Society in Buganda*, 1875—1900, East African Studies 8, Nairobi 1957. *The British and the Baganda*, International Affairs, vol. 32, No. 3, 1956.
Low, D. A. and Pratt, R. C.: *Buganda and British Overrule*, 1900—1955, London 1960.

220

respect, are those on Tanganyika, which do not go beyond seeing numerous local upheavals as problems of pacification of the country by colonial governments.

Another possible limitation of this History seems to be that despite the above-cited task of its authors and editors, much more space was devoted to the history of the colonial period and European administration (more than two full volumes!) than to the pre-colonial period and especially to the history economic and social of the East African peoples themselves. On the other hand, however, because of the lack of data it seems to be still hardly possible at the present time to write such a well-rounded book on the early history as can be written on the period of European endeavours in Africa.

Notwithstanding these remarks, *"History of East Africa"* is doubtless a most useful contribution to the study of East African history, including as it does a lot of new unpublished yet interesting material. However, there are many complex problems arising from its interpretation. There still remains much to be done on the African side so as to enable us to draw a really genuine and true history of East Africa and its inhabitants. Particularly invaluable about this History is a pretty full bibliography giving a broad survey of the historical source material both published and unpublished which may serve as a good introduction to the official records, parliamentary sources and the most important collections of missionary and private material and be a first guide for future research of East African history.

Viera E. Pawliková

Ivan Hrbek ed., *Dějiny Afriky (History of Africa)*. Nakladatelství Svoboda, Praha 1966, 2 volumes, 482 and 655 pp. respectively, 150 crowns.

For some years now there has been an urgent need for a good, comprehensive history of Africa from the earliest times up to the days the young African states emerged on the scene. There has been nothing in Czechoslovakia, suitable for both the general reader and the Africanist scholar or historian, that offers such an overall view of African history. Drawing on the rich material included in different works of prominent Western and Eastern Africanists, the new "History of Africa", in two volumes, not only assembles the most authoritative views of some of these, but analyses and interprets their conclusions and presents facts often in a completely new and unusual way, thus coming to some interesting original conclusions.

From the time that students of African history rejected the standpoint, common in European historiography, from which Africa and its inhabitants were regarded as having no history at all, that they were a passive object of history not an active factor, attempts have been made to compile such a history. One of the reasons for this change of viewpoint is that most of tropical Africa has gained independence

from alien rule. The shift in political power has corrected the vision of a European-centred world. At the same time the young western-educated minority, fully literate in English or French, has become deeply interested in Africa's past. This interest brought along with it a desire to learn the history of Africa, to have its history for the first time fully written. Africa has been slowly granted a history beyond foreign intrusion.

Thanks to the efforts of some Western scholars who began to make use of new techniques of recording and analysis, and to an interdisciplinary approach to African history, much interesting and stimulating material has already been assembled on African history, both ancient and modern. However, in its analysation and interpretation some students still persist on viewing African history from the standpoint of Europe, regarding it through the eyes of colonizers. Thus, some periods of African history, in especial that of European domination and overrule, were given predominance to the economic and social history of the African peoples themselves. Regarding it from this viewpoint, African history has often been falsified and distorted.

As a reaction to this, there have appeared several works written by young African historians who, however, in their efforts to prove Africa's right to a glorious history independent of any foreign-European—influence, are often liable to over-emphasize its role in world history in rather a chauvinistic way.

In socialist countries Africanists have also attempted to present the history of Africa. *"Histoire de l' Afrique Noire"* is one, rather an unsuccessful attempt at a history of Africa viewed from the Marxian point of view.[1]

This new Czechoslovak "History" is the result of a collaborative study by prominent Czechoslovak Africanists. In it not only historians but also archeologists, anthropologists, ethnographers and even linguists took part. Its authors have done their best to avoid those shortages and limitations typical of old standard histories of Africa, i.e. the conception of regarding world history from the standpoint of Europe—the vision of a Europen-centred world—which always resulted in paying more attention to the colonial period and various aspects of European colonial policy than to the independent development of the continent and internal development of African peoples, and especially to pre-sixteenth century history.

This publication is the first history of African drawn on such a large scale. None of the published histories[2] presents the history of the whole continent from the earliest, dawn of history times up till 1960, the year of Africa; the history of Madagascar included. Also, in its basic conception and structure, this "History" differs considerably from other common works in that it stresses more than it has ever

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[1] Sik, Endre: Histoire de l' Afrique Noire, 3 volumes, Budapest 1961.

[2] Apart from their relatively small scope, "A Short History of Africa" by Ronald Oliver and J. D. Fage, Penguin Books, Penguin African Library 1962, 280 pp. and Julien Ch.—A.: Histoire de l' Afrique, Paris 1958, 123 pp., neither of these publications include Madagascar. Some other histories do not include as well the northern parts of continent.

been done before, that African history is the history of African peoples, not solely the history of foreign intrusion, foreign invasions, impacts and overrule. However decisive and whatever deep changes the periods of slave trade and colonial overrule wrought in African society influencing its progress, they, nevertheless, form just a part of the whole historical development of the continent, not its exclusive contents. Moreover, European colonial policy had also to be adjusted to the local political, social and economic conditions created by the previous historical process. Therefore, the authors did not concentrate only on describing the causes, internal and external, which drove European powers into the "scramble for Africa", but by limiting it as much as possible they tried and managed to assemble the most decisive causes as well as consequences of this decision into an absorbing narrative. Thus, this part of the "History" lays due stress on the African internal response to external challenge, on the African armed resistance against the imposition of European overrule, on describing how the "ruled" and the "rulers" impinged upon each other's consciousness and influenced each other's activities.

In the reviewed publication, African history has been divided into six long periods differing from each other both on the stage of internal development and on the intensity with which world-wide factors worked; also the present level of our knowledge of Africa's past in the different regions had to be taken into consideration. Yet the study of African history has hardly begun. The unusual character of the historical material and its sources makes this study often very difficult. At the present level of the development of African historiography and due to the fact that from the late Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age, North Africa has developed differently than Sub-Saharian Africa, it is most difficult to find turning-points in African history which are valid for the whole continent. The common "periodization" of world history as such, can, in its full time scope, be applied only to North Africa. In many regions south of the Sahara during the course of its history, there existed at one and the same time, peoples of quite different levels of development and often in one society and at a given time there were elements of the origin of the "feudal" state emerging on the kin-bound social structure alongside with survivals of the traditional kinship organization and with elements of the slave society. The whole "History" is therefore divided into the following six sections corresponding to the six long periods of world history:

1. Africa in Primeval Ages—the most ancient period of African history from the origin of man and human society till the first class society made its appearance in Egypt. Before this period ended, the development of the continent had split and Sub-Saharian Africa started to lag behind the North.

2. Africa in Antiquity—the connotation corresponding with the period in world history when the slave social order prevailed in Mediterranean region. Chronologically this period extends from 4,000 B.C. till the first half of the first millenium A.D., when in North Africa the slave social order came to an end.

3. African Medieval Times or Middle Ages. The Era of Independent Development—in Europe corresponds with the period of the feudal social order. Most of Africa was beyond any foreign contact or intrusion. By the conclusion of this period, in the sixteenth century, many African peoples established strong centralized states, early class societies and their own civilization.

The last three sections are in the second volume.

4. The continuation period, from the sixteenth century to early nineteenth century, is entitled—The End of Independent Development. The Era of Firearms and the Slave Trade.

5. The last but one section of the book, entitled The Struggle against European Expansion, covers the nineteenth century. The commercial relations between Africa and the outside world, which were centred upon the slave trade and were limited to the coastal areas, were slowly being changed and efforts were made to control the whole continent. In the nineteen-seventies it resulted in the territorial expansion in Africa, the European scramble for African colonies, and the partition of Africa among European powers, which ended early in the twentieth century.

6. The twentieth century era of colonial administration and European overrule is entitled Colonial Oppression and the National Liberation Movement. Characteristic features of it are the rise of new progressive classes and, after World War II., also of the national liberation movement. It ends in the year 1960—the year of Africa.

Apart from this, considering the differences and specialities of the geographical environment and historical development in different parts of the continent, within the above-mentioned sections, Africa was divided into ten large geographical regions: 1. Egypt, 2. East Sudan, 3. North Africa (Maghrib), 4. Ethiopia, 5. Western and Central Sudan, 6. Guinea Littoral, 7. West Equatorial Africa, 8. East Africa, 9. South Africa, 10. Madagascar.

In the last section, dealing with the twentieth century, this geographical division is disregarded, as the authors found it more useful to keep the continent divided into the large colonial units.

It may be said that judging by to-day's knowledge of Africa's past, *"History of Africa"* most successfully fulfils the need for a good comprehensive history of Africa. The authors having a perfect knowledge of their subjects, have made the most of it and making also every use of the results of their own research work, with certain original conclusions have helped to take the study of African history a stage further. Both books are fully illustrated, abounding in a large number of very good pictures, photos, maps and tables.

<div align="right">Viera E. Pawliková</div>

Margaret Shinnie, *Ancient African Kingdoms*. London, Edward Arnold Ltd. 1965, 126 pp., 21 s.

Apart from Egypt and parts of North Africa which has an undisputable place in world history, the importance of Africa in the history of mankind has only recently been recognized. There are various reasons for our ignorance of the ancient history of Africa, south of the Sahara. It has been common in European historiography to divide nations into two categories: those abounding in historical material of various kinds and others which due to the lack or even complete absence of historical material of such kinds, that is to say especially of written records, were excluded from the former category as if they had had no history at all. And such was the case with Africa, at least of some regions of the African interior. The present generation of historians have rejected a standpoint from which Africa was regarded as having no history but that of European colonization and overrule. The situation has considerably changed since the time students of African history began to make use of oral historical traditions and of results of the research carried out by archeologists, ethnographers or even linguists. Much work and fruitful research has already been done in this field, yet there are some gaps in our knowledge and many wrong and false interpretations of certain aspects and events in African history must be analyzed and formulated anew.

This book, interesting in some respects, is intended to give the general reader some basic information about Africa before the arrival of the first Europeans, an outline of the history of some ancient African states. The author of the book under review has selected a number of ancient kingdoms scattered throughout the whole continent, to show the events in different parts of Africa. Another reason for this selection may have been that these states are more richly documented than some others as they attracted attention and have been studied by many scholars. Egypt and other countries of the North African coast have been left out altogether.

The book consists of eight chapters. The first is just an introduction to problems of African history in which the author tries to sketch in a few sentences what ancient nations and Europeans themselves knew about the land shadowing with wings as Africa was described in the Bible, in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah and why all knowledge of Africa was hidden behind mists and shadows.

The second chapter deals with the origins and the early development of man in Africa, now considered to be one of the cradles of man.

The rest of the book is devoted to the histories of the selected states: Kush, Ghana, Mali, and Songhai, Kanem-Bornu, the forest states as that of the Yoruba, the Nok Culture, the Akan of Ashanti, the peoples of the Congo and of Uganda; the last two chapters dealing with the lands of Zanj and Zimbabwe.

The *"Ancient African Kingdoms"* is only a modest addition to the number of books dealing with the ancient history of Africa. Avowedly popular in scope, the

book does not seek to produce anything new. While making use of the results of recent research work carried out by prominent Africanists and combining the work of archeologist and historian it tries to present basic facts in a simple, clear narrative form familiar to the general reader and thus inspire him or her to read further. A really valuable feature of this tiny book are some very good photos, small maps and numerous pictures drawn by the author herself.

<div align="right">Viera E. Pawliková</div>

F. F. Odendal, *Die struktuur van die afrikaanse wortelmorfeem*. H. A. U. M., Kaapstad—Pretoria 1962. 219 pp.

The book under review is in fact a slightly modified doctoral thesis that was defended by the author in December 1957 at the University of Stellenbosch. It is a description of the formal structure of the Afrikaans morpheme. Its scope does not comprise the total morphemic stock of Afrikaans. Two types of morphemes are excluded from the survey: 1. proper names, interjections, dialectisms, Dutch elements, technical terms and foreign elements, i.e., items which are in a sense peripheral to the morphemic stock of a language; 2. affixal morphemes. Thus the book is confined to root morphemes. The author mentions, however, that he is going to pay attention to the problem of affixal morphemes in future.

Odendal classifies the root morphemes of Afrikaans into mono-, di-, tri-, quadri-, and polysyllables. In addition to the number of syllables, another criterion is applied, i.e., arrangement of consonants and vowels inside the morpheme, which yields a multitude of subtypes.

Odendal's method is largely qualitative. However, first steps in the direction of quantitative analysis are evident. The author records possible and impossible combinations of phonemes in morphemes, frequencies of the specific phonemes in certain positions, percentages of really occurring morphemes from all theoretically possible morphemes of given types. Numerous tables accompany the explanation. The author's remarks on homonymy (p. 176) are useful; homophony has been found to be strongest with the monosyllables and to be inversely proportional to the number of syllables in the morpheme. This seems to be a universal phenomenon which has been found by the reviewer e.g. in Polynesian languages. Its strength obviously varies as to the language, which makes this feature useful in typological studies.

No statistical techniques are used in the present book to test significance of structural features of morphemes discovered by the author. As a mere comparison of observed data need not always yield reliable results, no conclusions and generalizations should be made before statistical evaluation of the data has been carried out.

E.g., McNemar technique applied to the data on pp. 177—178 by the reviewer

proves that the morphemic anlaut differs significantly from the auslaut as far as bi-consonantal clusters which are admissible in those positions are concerned (In this case, the $\chi 2 = 20.28$, which is significant at the 0.001 level with 1 degree of freedom).

In a similar way, examination of vocalic combinations in disyllabic morphemes by means of the chi-square test has resulted in the conclusion that the combinations a—a, a—$ɔ$, oe—$ə$, $ɛ$—$ə$, and $ə$—$ɛ$ can be characterized as associations while combinations a—$ə$, oe—$ɔ$, and $ɛ$—$ɛ$ can be characterized as dissociations (all are significant at least at the 0.05 level with 1 degree of freedom).

Statistical investigation of Odendal's data for morphemes of the type CVC (pp. 60—62) indicates that combinations of like consonants (classified from the viewpoint of the place of articulation) are significantly avoided while those of unlike consonants are significantly preferred) $\chi 2 = 23.85$, which is significant at the 0.001 level with one degree of freedom). Interestingly enough, similar results have been obtained by the reviewer for Hawaiian, Tuamotuan, Maori, Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, and Arabic.[1]

The examples presented above are intended to show that Odendal's data about the structure of the Afrikaans morpheme are amenable to statistical techniques and that the statistical methods are useful both in testing the significance of hypotheses and in the very process of formulating them.

Odendal's work does not make use of the statistical procedures in describing the structure of the morpheme in Afrikaans. However, it is of great value for a linguistic statistician who, unfortunately, has not too many works of this kind at his disposal as yet.

<div align="right">Viktor Krupa</div>

Milka Ivić, *Trends in Linguistics* (= Janua Linguarum, Series Minor 42). The Hague, Mouton and Co. 1965, 260 pp.

In this book, the author presents a concise account of the history of linguistics. This handbook is intended to provide basic information about the most important developments in the field of linguistics from its very early beginnings up to this day. Besides, it may be used by students as a textbook. In fact, the present volume is a revised version of the Serbo-Croatian original written in 1961/2 and published in 1963.

Milka Ivić, as a rule, does not go into either biographical or bibliographical details; rather she tries to draw overall characteristics of various schools, periods and pro-

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[1] Cf. Viktor Krupa, *Dissociations of Like Consonants.* Asian and African Studies III, 1967, pp. 37-44.

minent personalities concentrating upon their basic views and most remarkable contributions to various linguistic disciplines. In important instances the whole cultural background and the prevailing atmosphere in science are briefly characterized, which has seldom been done in publications of this kind. This makes the reader well aware of the fact that linguistics has not grown up in a sort of a vacuum. Quite the reverse, it has received numerous stimuli and ideas from more advanced branches of science.

The publication is divided into three main sections, i.e., Linguistic Research before the Nineteenth Century (pp. 13—34); Linguistic Research in the Nineteenth Century (pp. 37—66); and Linguistic Research in the Twentieth Century (pp. 69—242). Each section is further subdivided into several chapters and each chapter is furnished with Bibliographical References where brief comments on basic relevant publications are given.

The first section discusses the rise of linguistics and of philosophizing about the language in ancient Greece, in India as well as modest advances made in linguistic studies before the end of the 18th century. In this section the author also touches upon linguistics of the Islamic world. Perhaps Mahmud al-Kashgari, a forefather of comparative linguistics, should have been mentioned here.

Linguistics did not enter the age of maturity earlier than in the 19th century. Moreover, it still continued to have scarcely any theoretical foundations of its own. Most linguists of this period have taken over ideas from other branches of science (biology, psychology) and applied them uncritically to the linguistic material, failing thus to grasp the essence of language. This is made clear in the second section where the first comparativists, August Schleicher, "Humboldtism", psychologism, the Leipzig school, and Hugo Schuhardt are dealt with.

The one-sided approach to language did not die with the 19th century. It hase continued to live in what is termed non-structural linguistics by Milka Ivić (esp. the French linguistic school, aesthetic idealism, Marrism).

The most rapid advance of science in this century has exerted a far-reaching influence upon linguistics. Language comes to be regarded as a coherent system which serves the purpose of communication. Linguists have begun describing its functioning, its structure. Thus structural linguistics comes into existence in various parts of the world. It ought to be appreciated that the author has devoted a considerable amount of pages to structural linguistics (pp. 113—185). After having drawn the basic tendencies in the development of structural linguistics in a very apt and competent manner (pp. 113—122), Milka Ivić proceeds to Ferdinand de Saussure and to the three main branches of structuralism, i.e. to the Prague school, to American linguistics, and, finally, to the Copenhagen school (pp. 122—185). Anthropological linguistics (= ethnolinguistics) and psycholinguistics are discussed here as well. It is a pity that nothing has been said about the componential analysis of meaning which is certainly a most important contribution of ethnolinguistics to semantics.

228

Another issue worth mentioning is the well-known controversy concerning the "God's truth" linguistics and the "hocus-pocus" linguistics in American linguistic circles. While the adherents of the "God's truth" linguistics maintain that linguistic categories do exist in the material independently of the investigator whose task it is to discover them, the "hocus-pocus" linguists think that the various linguistic categories are constructed by the investigator whose task is to explain the phenomena observed in accordance with his aims. It is to the merit of American linguists that attention has been drawn to the possibility of non-unique solutions of some linguistic problems (cf. Yuen Ren-Chao).

The 16th chapter deals with semantics. However, it is too short to be sufficiently instructive (pp. 186—202). The same is true of the next chapter discussing generative grammar (pp. 203—211) and to a lesser degree also of the last chapter devoted to mathematical linguistics (pp. 212—242).

It ought to be stated that the present publication by Milka Ivić is a most useful and on the whole very well balanced handbook which provides all scholars and students with reliable information about basic trends in linguistics.

<div align="right">Viktor Krupa</div>

Report of the Fifteenth Annual (First International) Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 17. (Edited by C.I.J.M. Stuart). Georgetown University: Institute of Languages and Linguistics. Georgetown University Press, Washington D.C., 1964.XVI + 222 pp.

Report of the Sixteenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 18. (Edited by Charles W. Kreidler). Georgetown University: Institute of Languages and Linguistics. Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C., 1965. VIII + 212 pp.

Continuing the tradition of the past decade and a half, Georgetown University provides a forum for the discussion of new and controversial problems in linguistics and related disciplines. The reviewed volumes present proceedings of these meetings (the fifteenth RTM was held 1964, the sixteenth, 1965).

No. 17 of the Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics is devoted to three main topics: Panel I—*Current Research in Syntax Outside the United States* (1—56); Panel II—*Achievement in Linguistic Theory* (73—138), and Panel III—*Subject-Matter Relations Between Linguistics and Other Disciplines* (139—198). Apart from this, two Luncheon Addresses are included (cf. further).

Professor Bazell's account "Three Misconceptions of Grammaticalness" (3—9) deals with those aspects of grammatical theory which are liable to frequent misunderstanding. One of these 'misconceptions' is the assumption that the syntactic

deviations of the 'colourless-green-ideas' type are not linguistic deviations but 'ontological' ones. The second is the conviction that each morpheme-class is a category of "values", and each morpheme has its fundamental meaning (instead of being neutral in respect of semantics (4)). As for the third misfit, it is the non-differentiated approach to syntactic deviations which, according to Bazell's suggestion, should be treated separately as either *ungrammatical* (ungrammatical sentence being *corrigible*) or *non-grammatical* (i.e. *not corrigible*).

What limitations are imposed on the work of a linguist by the needs of the consumer? Do various aims presuppose different ways of description? Etc. These are roughly the questions M.A.K. Halliday is trying to answer in his report "Syntax and the Consumer" (11—24). In the subsequent discussion of what Halliday calls 'scale of delicacy' the author attempts to illustrate one aspect of the current work of that group of linguists with whom he is associated.

Functional aspects of syntax are treated at some length in the last two contributions of Panel I (viz. A. Martinet, "The Foundations of a Functional Syntax" (25—36) and A.G.F. van Holk, "Functional Syntax and Syntactic Operations" (37—46)).

In his contribution to the semology (viz. "A Chapter of Semology in the English Verb" (59—72)), presented as the first luncheon address, Professor Joos gives a short survey of the state of affairs with respect to meaning in American linguistics. His own way of handling meaning which differs radically from the current semantic approach is based substantially on the same principles as the author's earlier investigations in this field (cf. "Semology: A Linguistics Theory of Meaning", in: *Studies in Linguistics*, 13.53—69 (1958)). Nevertheless, this time a substantial part of grammar (sc. the English verb) is taken into account. Each lexical unit makes a double meaning-contribution to the sentence which can be described in terms of two distinct components (*additive* vs. *privative*). While focussing on the semology of the English verb, Professor Joos defines the meaning-contribution of the latter as 'privative and nothing but privative' (64).

"The Organization of Language: A Stratificational View" (75—95), by H. A. Gleason, Jr., is the first Panel II report. A language, viewed as an apparatus for the transduction of information from one form to another, that is as a code, is divided into four different *subcodes* corresponding to four relevant structures, notably *phonemics*, *morphemics*, *lexemics* and *sememics* (the respective order of these structures corresponds, as evident, to the 'speech-experience' sense of the transduction process). Each subcode is described in terms of three kinds of components: inventories, tactic rules and recoding rules. The structure defined by a subcode is a *stratum*.

Some useful patterns for the analysis of ambiguous (i.e. exhibiting more than one meaning) sentences are provided by H. Hiż in his report "The Role of Paraphrase in Grammar" (97—104).

A number of key-notions are analysed in the contribution of S. Lamb "On Alter-

230

nation, Transformation, Realization, and Stratification" (105—122), from the point of view of their validity for linguistic formulation.

The relationship between 'sequence' and 'order' is studied by R. F. Palmer (viz. " 'Sequence' and 'Order' " (123—130)).

Relations between linguistics and other disciplines are discussed in the following Panel III contributions: J. Bastian, "The Biological Background of Man's Languages" (141—149); D. S. Boomer, "Linguistics and Speech Behavior" (149—154); N. Geschwind, M.D., "The Development of the Brain and the Evolution of Language" (155—169), and J. F. Glastra van Loon, "Language and the Epistemological Foundations of the Social Sciences" (171—185).

Some very interesting aspects of 'linguistic information' are discussed by Ch. A. Ferguson from the point of view of the very various tasks of the Center for Applied Linguistics (cf. "On Linguistic Information" (201—208)).

No. 18 of the Monograph Series presents three 'panels' as it follows: Panel I— *Approaches to Linguistic Analysis* (1—66); Panel II—*Language and Society* (67—136), and Panel III—*Teaching Language Skills* (137—186).

The report of E. Bach "On Some Recurrent Types of Transformations" (3—18) which opens the first panel is concerned with the problem of nominal modifiers (illustrated on the Japanese and Swahili material). The author discusses here certain aspects of syntactic universals from the point of view of the proponents of transformational theory.

The question of what layers in a language can be distinguished and what methods of linguistic analysis may be developed for each of them is treated in a rather unusual wording by H. Glinz (cf. "The Relation Between Inner and Outer Form" (19—26)). Summarizing his views, Glinz distinguishes three language layers. Two in the domain of content (das Gemeinte): (1) *nomosyntax* and *nomolexicon* (geltende Strukturen und Inhalte), and (2) *morphosyntax* and *morpholexicon* (dienende Strukturen und Inhalte). The first layer comprises phenomena having the same semantic values for all members of a linguistic community, the second potentially containing subsemantic phenomena as well which can differ from one speaker to another without thereby altering the mutual understanding. More in the direction of what the author calls 'outer form' is located the third layer labelled as *Phonomorphie* (or allo-layer). The latter incorporates different phonemic shapes of the units of the morpholexicon and of the signals of the morphosyntax. Suprasegmental phonemes are represented as extending over the whole of language layers. For a more intimate acquaintance with the author's theory the reader is advised to consult earlier works of the author.

Phonetic aspects of language analysis are studied in P. Ladefoged's contribution "The Nature of General Phonetic Theories" (27—42). In discussing the problem of whether phonetic phenomena could be formalized in a set of 'rewrite' rules of the type '(t^h) → voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive' (p. 27), the author examines the validity of the Jakobson-Halle distinctive features as a potential basis for construct-

ing general phonetic theories. Although Ladefoged finds himself agreeing with the arguments advanced in favour of some set of distinctive features as a classificatory matrix (viz. Halle, "Phonology in Generative Grammar", in: *The Structure of Language* (ed. J. Fodor and J. Katz), Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall 1964) as well as with the attempt of Jakobson and Halle to establish a set of phonetic features reflecting some universals of language, despite all this he seems to be convinced 'that the Jakobson-Halle distinctive features can be shown to be most unsatisfactory as part of a general theory of phonetics' (41).

Some relevant interrelations between transformational grammar and tagmemics are hinted at in the last Panel I report "Transformational Parameters in Tagmemic Field Structures" by Robert E. Longacre. The proper aim of this paper is to provoke a thoughtful dialogue between the adherents of both schools which would be more profitable to both of them than the recent ideological warfare.

The report of Joshua A. Fishman "Varieties of Ethnicity and Varieties of Language Consciousness' (69—79) inaugurates the sociolinguistic series of Panel II. In spite of the fact that linguists experience considerable embarrassment in defining *languages* (as distinct from dialects, registers, patois, etc.) just as sociologists meet difficulties in defining *ethnicity* (as distinct from nationality, race, religion, etc.), Fishman attempts to prove the validity of both these terms for ethnolinguistic considerations. In order to show various dependences between ethnicity and language maintenance, some relevant data are provided.

John Gumperz in "Linguistic Repertoires, Grammars and Second Language Instruction" (81—90) sumes up some important linguistic developments in the last decade which show a radical break with the basic position of post-Bloomfieldian linguistics (viz. serious attempts to re-introduce semantics into grammar, etc.). Despite these major events the linguistic description continues to make sharp disctinctions between grammars and the social context. Unlucky consequences of a similar situation are illustrated on the current American Hindi courses which provide no satisfactory statements about the social distribution of language features. With regard to the necessity of reconsidering the set of relationships between linguistic and social facts, Gumperz introduces the notion of *linguistic* (or *verbal*) *repertoire* which is defined in terms of 'the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed within the community in the course of socially significant interaction' (85). This concept, if consistently applied in the preparation of teaching materials, is expected to introduce realism of social context into language teaching.

The systematic interdependence between purely internal relations within a given language system and sociolinguistic relations serves as a basis for the explanation of linguistic change as given by W. Labov in his report "On the Mechanism of Linguistic Change" (91—114). Labov's study is an analysis of linguistic change on the island of Martha's Vineyard and in New York City, primarily focussing on the process of sound change. The *re-cycling process*, outlined by the author,

presents a highly useful framework for the linguistic change investigations in general.

A grammatico-semantic sketch of the noun and adjective form-class of 'contrived speech' in the ethno-linguistic community of Howard University (= H.U. of the title) is presented by N. B. Levin in his contribution "Contrived Speech in Washington: The H.U. Sociolect" (115—128). By 'contrived speech' the author means "the deliberate use of a new form or an established form in a new or different sense, tenatively not sanctioned by conentional standard usage" (115).

C. A. Lefevre's report "Linguistics and the Teaching of Reading" (139—147), being the first Panel III contribution, is addressed to educators interested in the potential contribution of linguistics to classroom teaching of English to native speakers.

Didactic aspects underlie the subsequent Panel III studies as well (viz. W. F. Mackey, "Method Analysis" (149—162); W. C. Stokoe, Jr., "Repairing the Gaps in the Vocal-Auditory Symbol System" (163—169), and P. Strevens, "Recent British Developments in Language Teaching" (171—179).

Each Panel is followed by a discussion.

Finally, Martin Joos gave a very interesting survey of the activities of the Center for Applied Linguistics [viz. "The Role of the Center for Applied Linguistics", (189—200)], presented as the closing luncheon address.

In conclusion we can say that the Georgetown University Round Table program, as reflected in both volumes under review, is a valuable medium for the dissemination of the most important results of investigation in the field of linguistics and related disciplines.

<div align="right">Ladislav Drozdík</div>

Jerry A. Fodor—Jerrold J. Katz, *The Structure of Language. Readings in the Philosophy of Language.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1964. 612 pp.

The chief aim of this selection that has been edited by Fodor and Katz is to acquaint philosophers interested in questions of language with some basic papers on the theory of language. The editors have restricted the scope of the present anthology to those works which are thought to represent what is called a new approach to philosophizing about language. The selection may be representative of the American philosophy of language but it produces an impression that no work of relevance has been carried out in other parts of the world.

The editors have selected 23 papers (almost half of them published for the first time) by 13 authors. In the Introduction (pp. 1—18) Fodor and Katz have explained why both positivism and ordinary language philosophy has failed to offer an adequate understanding of the language: while positivists were unable to free themselves

from seeing a realization of logical syntax in the language as well as from simplifying its structure, ordinary language philosophers concentrated upon material evidence from the natural languages and failed to construct a satisfactory theory of language. The editors are right when asserting that "basing the philosophical study of language upon the theoretical insights and concrete results of empirical linguistics is the only way to obtain a philosophy of language sharing the systematic orientation characteristic of positivism and the attention to details of usage characteristic of ordinary language philosophy" (pp. VII—VIII). It would be hard to deny that the formalization of a language is acceptable only provided the structure of the language is taken into account (see p. 4). This is closely connected with the problem of irregularities and the so-called exceptions in the language. It is true that it is without doubt a good methodology to assume natural languages to be highly systematic (p. 5). However, it must be kept in mind that all living natural languages are in a process of constant change and are realized by thousands or millions of speakers, which means that there will always be room enough for irregularities, doublets, and anomalies. Therefore our generalizations about languages will never be a hundred per cent exhaustive. This is why the notion of probability should be incorporated into the theory of language itself. However, this point seems to be neglected by the supporters of transformational grammar whose papers prevail in the present selection.

The second section is titled Linguistic Theory (pp. 19—151). It includes two older papers (Willard V. Quine: The Problem of Meaning in Linguistics; Zellig S. Harris: Distributional Structure) and three recent works (Noam Chomsky: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory and On the Notion "Rule of Grammar"; Paul M. Postal: Limitations of Phrase Structure Grammars). The transformational generative approach determines also the character of the two following sections, i.e. Grammar (pp. 153—352) and Extensions of Grammar (pp. 353—416). The former contains the following papers: Co-occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure by Zellig S. Harris; A Transformational Approach to Syntax by Noam Chomsky; Negation in English by Edward S. Klima; and two contributions by Morris Halle, i.e. On the Bases of Phonology and Phonology in Generative Grammar. The section Extensions of Grammar incorporates Discourse Analysis by Zellig S. Harris; Degrees of Grammaticalness by Noam Chomsky; On Understanding "Understanding Utterances" by Paul Ziff; and Semi-sentences by Jerrold J. Katz. The fifth section, i.e. Semantics (pp. 417—543) betrays the philosophical background of the transformational generative grammar. Here Rudolf Carnap's paper Foundations of Logic and Mathematics is followed by Alonzo Church' The Need for Abstract Entities in Semantic Analysis, by Willard V. Quine's Speaking of Objects as well as Meaning and Translation, by Jerrold J. Katz and Jerry A. Fodor's The Structure of Semantic Theory, and, finally, by Jerrold J. Katz' Analyticity and Contradiction in Natural Languages. The last chapter on Psychological Implications (pp. 545—612) consists

of A Review of B. F. Skinner's Verbal Behavior by Noam Chomsky, of The Capacity for Language Acquisition by Eric H. Lenneberg, and of Speech Recognition: A Model and a Program for Research by Morris Halle and Kenneth N. Stevens.

Despite the fact that the transformational generative grammar claims to be the only adequate theory of language, it has undergone quite a few changes in recent years.[1] The range of both internal and external criticism varies considerably. The most critical attitude has been expressed perhaps by Anton Reichling[2] who denies that this methodology might ever produce a grammar for linguists. However, his criticism seems to be based upon misunderstanding of methods and aims of the transformational grammar.

Many linguists would welcome if the transformational generative grammar would pay more attention to the problems of typology and linguistic universals as well as to possible links with historical and comparative linguistics. There is at least one field in which the transformational grammar is the only useful model, and namely the translation process. Unfortunately it seems that the importance of translating has been underestimated by most linguists.

The present volume has been intended for philosophers; but there can be no doubt that it will serve as a valuable reference book also to linguists.

<div style="text-align:right">Viktor Krupa</div>

The Ethnography of Communication, ed. by John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, special publication of the American Anthropologist, Part 2, Vol. 66, Number 6, December 1964, 186 pp. Price $ 2.75.

In the Introduction to the volume reviewed the term "ethnography of communication" is defined by D. Hymes as an investigation of the use of language in contexts of situation, which must take as context a community, its communicative habits as a whole (pp. 2—3). The new science comprising language". The most striking fact in the attempt, is that taking into consideration the two main phenomena, the message and its context, this science in fact analyses the relations between human behavior and the reality surrounding human beings. Every science must limit the field of its activity. In this case, however, all the universe of human experience can be involved. Several of the contributors of this volume mention as a characteristic feature of the science, that the new social and cultural phenomena relevant to language behavior are constantly being discovered. Hence it follows that the

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[1] Cf. William Orr Dingwall, *Recent Developments in Transformational Generative Grammar.* Lingua 16 (1966): 292—316.

[2] Anton Reichling, *Principles and Methods of Syntax: Cryptanalytical Formalism.* Lingua 10 (1961): 1—17.

new science is in the first stage of its development and is limiting the field of its activity. The problem is not one of superabundance of relevant phenomena but rather of the non-existence of a reliable method of abstraction. It seems indubitable that there exists one limitation. In all the papers in this volume, the analysed messages are assessed by a criterion which may be called subjectivity: the subjectivity of a single person (messages with a "normal" content obtained from informants) and a collective subjectivity (for example proverbs). On the other hand there are objective messages defining such notions as social class, community, relation, correlation etc., which are used as a measure of the former messages. The process of analysis can be characterized as proceeding from the objective to the subjective. Not all the criteria used here have the same degree of objectivity. For example, there is no doubt that the statistically defined term correlation, as it occurs in the exellent paper by W. Labov (pp. 164—176), differs in its degree of objectivity from the notion *setting* characterized in the paper by S. Ervin-Tripp (pp. 86—102). The publication has revealed the main problem of the new science to be too wide a dispersion, and neither the editors nor any of the authors try to cover up this fact.

The phenomena described by the ethnography of speech can be generally characterized as follows: If a "generative" characterization is used, it could be said that a message is sent in a situational context; the sender has at his disposal a repertoire of structured language units. The message then represents a sampling from the repertoire affected by certain restricting factors, of two categories. The first is represented by grammatical rules, which are evident. The second is given by the situational context. It can be asked whether the substitution of linguistic context for situational context would be useful as a means towards discovering and structuring the resticting factors. More so, since some relatively objective methods of content analysis exist, and it is hoped that in the future there will also be semantic analysis of texts. Thus, the second as well as the first descriptive science comprising languages could be limited to texts.

Let us add to the above impressionistic and vague suggestion a further more concrete one which was put forward by Norbert Wiener in his book *The Human Use of Human Beings,* where he quotes John von Neumann's theory of games in connection with communication in natural languages (Chap. VI, Czech edition Praha 1963, pp. 106—112). The theory of games is characterized there as a contribution to linguistics. The theory itself evidently represents a decisive step towards formalization in such sciences as anthropology and sociolinguistics. This will be the formalization of similar qualities as used in the papers by W. Labov and Y. Malkiel, both of them dealing with a different problem.

There are, of course, many more interesting papers in the volume under review, particularly valuable for its mass of data quoted from different linguistic areas, including those of the Asian and African languages.

L. Hřebíček

István Fodor, *The Rate of Linguistic Change. Limits of the Application of Mathematical Models in Linguistics* (= Janua Linguarum, Series Minor XLIII). The Hague, Mouton & Co. 1965. 85 pp.

The present book is a revised and enlarged version of an article by Fodor which was published in Nyelvtudományi Közlemények as early as 1963.

The author, inspired by lexicostatistics, has undertaken an attempt to disprove the basic assumption on which glottochronology rests, i.e. the thesis that the rate of linguistic change remains constant through time. Fodor, however, does not confine his attention to the vocabulary only; the scope of his book covers all the main levels of the language. The author incorporates a variety of elementary ideas of cybernetics (e.g., transformation, operator, transform, operand, feedback) into his terminology.

Eleven factors are listed on pp. 12—13 as capable of causing linguistic changes. Since they come from various sources (e.g., Curtius, Whitney, Zipf, Martinet, Trubetzkoy, neolinguistics, Whorf, Humboldt, Jespersen, Schuchardt, Meillet, Marr) it is no surprise that the list is not homogeneous and the factors themselves are not independent upon each other. Thus, historical events and social changes may often be interrelated, and both of them may, at least partly, explain differences observed in the speech of succeeding generations. Out of these six factors Fodor has selected those which are thought to affect the rate of change, i.e. 1) the historical effect, 2) the social effect, 3) the cultural effect, 4) the geographical effect, 5) the effect of neighbouring and foreign peoples, 6) the national character (p. 15). Fodor discusses external factors only; the internal ones are omitted because so little is known of them.

According to Fodor "...it is very important to set apart the linguistic levels because they do not change at an equal rate in proportion to each other, sometimes the phonemic system changes more rapidly, sometimes the syntax, sometimes the morphological structure" (pp. 15—16). However, from the existence of these inequalities we cannot derive the view that there are no theoretical or practical limits to the total amount of change in the language. Such limits do exist and they keep the total amount of change within such a range as not to hinder efficient communication.

The author seems to be right when assuming that the number of the elements of a system is in inverse ratio to the measure of its stability (p. 18). This might perhaps be explained through psychological factors.

In the second part of the book the author discusses all the six external factors influencing the rate of change. A careful study of this chapter reveals that his conclusions concerning the possibility of measuring these factors are rather pessimistic.

In the third part Fodor manifests a rather guarded attitude toward the applicability of mathematical models in linguistics. However, one must admit that quanti-

237

tative methods are often applied to peripheral methods and sometimes in a very superficial way.

On p. 55, the author touches upon Greenberg's quantitative typology of word. Computing average indices would lead to no useful results but this cannot be regarded as a sufficient reason to reject Greenberg's indexical method. Rather an attempt should be made to discover interrelations between the individual indices and to follow how these interrelations change through time.

Syntax seems to be the least suitable for measuring the rate of linguistic change. For example, the variability of the word order is so restricted that we would hardly obtain any interesting results. As far as glottochronology is concerned, it is admittedly applicable for subgrouping of related languages or dialects (p. 57).

In the fourth part a mathematical model of the rate of change is sketched. However, according to the author "...this mathematical model and diagram serve only to demonstrate that the complicated and complex phenomena we are faced with cannot be constructed in simplified models like the glottochronologists have done" (p. 73).

Finally, a small correction should be carried out on p. 51; the Slovak verb *"posielať"* is imperfective, not perfective. The next example on the same page should read *"vypáliť dom"*; *dům* is a Czech form.

Fodor has tried to prove that the rate of linguistic change varies with the language level and that sometimes a certain level changes more rapidly than others. However, it is questionable whether something like this can be proved at all. The reviewer feels that the lack of positive conclusions can be qualified as a certain shortcoming of the book.

<div align="right">Viktor Krupa</div>

Statistique et analyse linguistique. Colloque de Strasbourg (20—22 avril 1964). Presses Universitaires de France 1966, Paris. 134 pp.

The present volume has been published by organizers of the Strasbourg colloquy on the value of quantitative methods in linguistics which took place between the 20th and the 22nd April 1964. Most papers included are in French, the remainder in English.

The first part (pp. 3—16) contains information about various institutions specializing in quantitative linguistics both in France and abroad. The inclusion of this information was a happy idea since the reader may learn of their respective programmes, methods, publications, etc. However, the main body of the publication consists of papers delivered at the Colloquy. G. Herdan has undertaken an attempt to answer the question as to how quantitative methods can contribute to the understanding of language mixture and language borrowing (pp. 17—39). P. Guiraud maintains

in his contribution (pp. 51—54) that since meaning is a continuum, it resists any structuration. Few modern linguists would accept this opinion without objections. In discussion, M. Togeby states (p. 54) that the vocabulary is structured in the same way as phonology and morphology are. Most of us, however, would be of the opinion that the vocabulary is structured but only tos ome extent. An interesting contribution is Étienne Évrard's Étude statistique sur les affinités de cinquante-huit dialectes bantous (pp. 85—94). The author compares fifty-eight Bantu dialects through correlating their basic vocabularies. In this way he has obtained a classification of these dialects. He is very careful about his results because he is well aware of the fact that a correlation ought not to be confounded with the genetic closeness. It should be added, however, that ninety-five lexical items is too small a sample for an entirely reliable classification. The Swedish linguist Hans Karlgren deals in his paper (pp. 111—112) with the quantitative treatment of syntax. According to him a mere frequency count gives little information; it is necessary to define syntactical sequences as sequences of not necessarily consecutive units. He also touches upon the problem of syntactic homonymity and the role of context in removing it.

There are more papers in the book under review, some of them are concerned with stylostatistics, others with the applicability of quantitative methods in various fields of linguistics (in syntax, vocabulary, or in diachronic studies).

To characterize the present publication briefly, it might be said that it still reflects an early phase in the quantification of linguistics. After all, this is confirmed by the conclusions given on pp. 133—134.

<div align="right">Viktor Krupa</div>

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