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CONTENTS

Articles

| | |
|--|----|
| Ladislav Drozdík, Near-Far Distinction in the Arabic Demonstration | 11 |
| Sami A. Hanna—Naguib Greis, Dialect Variations and the Teaching of Arabic as a Living Language | 17 |
| Viktor Krupa, Morpheme in Typological Research | 25 |
| Ján Múčka, Kinship System and Terminology in Vietnam | 33 |
| Marián Gálik, Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: V. The Socio-Aesthetic Criticism of Ch'eng Fang-wu | 41 |
| Ján Pauliny, Islamische Legende über <i>Ĝirĝis</i> (St. Georg) | 79 |
| Vojtech Kopčan, Ottoman Narrative Sources to the Uyvar Expedition 1663 | 89 |

Review Articles

| | |
|---|-----|
| Marián Gálik, A Comment on Tien-yi Li's Bibliography of Chinese Fiction | 103 |
| Marián Gálik, A Comment on Austin C. W. Shu's List of Modern Chinese Pseudonyms | 113 |

Book Reviews

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1935—1968</i> . By Jozef Genzor | 123 |
| <i>Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics</i> . By Jozef Genzor | 124 |
| <i>Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics</i> . By Jozef Genzor | 125 |
| H. T. Carvell—J. Svartvik, <i>Computational Experiments in Grammatical Classification</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 123 |
| <i>Computation in Linguistics</i> . Ed. by Paul L. Garvin and B. Spolsky. By Ján Horecký | 127 |
| <i>The Genesis of Language</i> . Ed. by Frank Smith and George A. Miller. By Ladislav Drozdík | 129 |
| Louis G. Heller, <i>Parametric Linguistics</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 129 |
| Alphonse Juilland—Hans Heinrich Lieb, „Klasse“ und Klassifikation in der Sprachwissenschaft. By Viktor Krupa | 131 |
| John Lyons, <i>Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 132 |
| Bruce Biggs, <i>Let's Learn Maori</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 134 |
| David R. Counts, <i>A Grammar of Kaliak-Kove</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 136 |
| Tepano Jaussen, <i>Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue tahitienne</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 136 |
| <i>Oceanic Linguistics</i> . Ed. by George W. Grace. By Jozef Genzor | 137 |
| Albert J. Schütz, <i>Nguna Grammar</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 138 |
| Albert J. Schütz, <i>Nguna Texts</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 139 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Peter R. Sharples, <i>Sikaiana Syntax</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 140 |
| D. T. Tryon, <i>Conversational Tahitian</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 142 |
| <i>Intermediate Readings in Tagalog</i> . Ed. by J. Donald Bowen. By Jozef Genzor | 143 |
| Robert E. Longacre, <i>Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages</i> . 3 Vols. By Jozef Genzor | 144 |
| M. Blanche Lewis, <i>Sentence Analysis in Modern Malay</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 145 |
| R. Ross Macdonald—Soenjono Darjowidjojo, <i>A Student's Reference Grammar of Modern Formal Indonesian</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 146 |
| Ireneus László Legeza, <i>Guide to Transliterated Chinese in the Modern Peking Dialect II</i> . By Anna Doležalová | 147 |
| <i>English-Korean Dictionary</i> . By Jozef Genzor | 148 |
| Seung-Bog Cho, <i>A Phonological Study of Korean</i> . By Jozef Genzor | 149 |
| G. Doerfer, <i>Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen</i> . Band 1—3. Von Georg Hazai | 149 |
| J. Németh, <i>Die türkische Sprache in Ungarn im siebzehnten Jahrhundert</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan | 155 |
| Bernhard Lewin, <i>Arabische Texte im Dialekt von Hama, mit Einleitung und Glossar</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík | 156 |
| <i>Philippine Bibliography (1899—1946)</i> . Ed. by Michael P. Onorato. By Jozef Genzor | 157 |
| <i>Le Vietnam traditionnel</i> . Directeur: Nguyen Khac Vien. Par Ivan Doležal | 158 |
| Joseph Needham, <i>The Grand Titration, Science and Society in East and West</i> . By Marián Gálik | 160 |
| Edwin O. Reischauer—John K. Fairbank, <i>East Asia: The Great Tradition</i> . By Jozef Genzor | 163 |
| Roderic H. Davison, <i>Turkey</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan | 165 |
| Josef Kabrda, <i>Le système fiscal de l'Eglise orthodoxe dans l'Empire ottoman (d'après les documents turcs)</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan | 166 |
| <i>Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn</i> . Hrsg. von Karl Teply. Von Vojtech Kopčan | 168 |
| <i>Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego (Wybór)</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan | 170 |
| J. Reychman—A. Zajączkowski, <i>Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics</i> . By Vojtech Kopčan | 172 |
| <i>Vostočnyje istočniki po istorii narodov Južno-Vostočnoj i Centralnoj Jevropy II</i> . Redaktion A. S. Tveritina. Von Vojtech Kopčan | 175 |
| <i>The Middle East and North Africa 1969—1970</i> . By Vojtech Kopčan | 178 |
| P. M. Holt, <i>Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516—1922</i> . By Karol Sorby | 179 |
| <i>Britain and Germany in Africa</i> . Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule. Ed. by Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis. By Viera E. Pawliková | 183 |
| <i>Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960</i> . 2 Vols. Ed. by L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan. By Viera E. Pawliková | 186 |
| <i>Emerging Themes of African History</i> . Ed. by T. O. Ranger. By Viera E. Pawliková | 190 |
| B. A. Ogot, <i>History of the Southern Luo</i> . By Viera E. Pawliková | 198 |
| Gideon S. Were, <i>A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya, c. 1500—1930</i> . By Viera E. Pawliková | 202 |
| <i>Nguyễn Đức Đán, Mấy vấn đề văn học hiện thực phê phán Việt-nam</i> . Par Ján Múčka | 204 |
| Marián Gálik, <i>Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism</i> . By Anna Doležalová | 206 |
| Pierre Ryckmans, <i>Les "Propos sur la Peinture de Shitao"</i> . Par Anna Doležalová | 207 |
| W. E. Skillend, <i>Kodae Sosöl: A Survey of Korean Traditional Style Popular Novels</i> . By Vladimír Pucek | 209 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Dagmar Ansari, <i>Die Frau im modernen Hindi-Roman nach 1947</i> . Von Eva Štolbová | 211 |
| Svetozár Pantůček, <i>La littérature algérienne moderne</i> . Von Jaroslav Oliverius | 219 |
| Michael Gasster, <i>Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911</i> . By Marián Gálik | 221 |
| Benjamin Schwartz, <i>In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West</i> . By Marián Gálik | 223 |
| Brunhild Staiger, <i>Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China</i> . By Marián Gálik | 225 |
| <i>Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities</i> . Ed. by Chow Tse-tsung. By Marián Gálik | 226 |
| Yen Chih-t'ui, <i>Family Instruction for the Yen Clan</i> . By Marián Gálik | 229 |
| Werner Danckert, <i>Tonreich und Symbolzahl</i> . Von Ivan Mačák | 230 |
| Johannes C. Andersen, <i>Myths and Legends of the Polynesians</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 232 |
| T. F. Kennedy, <i>A Descriptive Atlas of the Pacific Islands</i> . By Viktor Krupa | 233 |
| <i>Maori Folktales in Maori and English</i> . Introduced and Translated by Margaret Orbell. By Viktor Krupa | 234 |
| D. G. Messerschmidt, <i>Forschungsreise durch Sibirien 1720—1727</i> . Band 1—4. Von Georg Hazai | 235 |
| BOOKS RECEIVED | 239 |

ARTICLES

NEAR-FAR DISTINCTION IN THE ARABIC DEMONSTRATION

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1. The aim of the present paper is to examine the Arabic demonstratives from the point of view of their ability to distinguish between nearness and distance in the process of demonstration. Although the distinction between an immediate and a non-immediate pointing out seems to be a truly universal feature of the demonstrative deixis, the formal marking of this distinction is sometimes blurred. Linguistic data having to attest to the respective measure of retention or loss of the formal distinction between near and far demonstration in particular varieties of Arabic are, in the present study, limited to only two evolutionary stages of Arabic, Classical and Modern Arabic, the latter being illustrated by a number of colloquial variants.

The type of demonstratives discussed should be identified with what Fischer classifies as nominal demonstratives¹ which cover 'this' and 'that' series of demonstratives as occurring in the varieties of Arabic under examination.

2. As far as Arabic is concerned, demonstratives of this type have to be treated at two different linguistic levels: (1) lexical or word level, and (2) sub-lexical or morphemic level. The former provides the descriptive background for items which may be defined in terms of a common part of speech membership. These items are usually referred to as demonstrative pronouns, such as the Classical Arabic *hādā* 'this (masc.)', *dālika* 'that (masc.)' or the Iraqi Arabic *hādī*, *hāy* 'this (fem.)', *dāč*, *dāčā* 'that (fem.)',² etc. The latter level underlies the set of demonstrative affixes, such as the Iraqi Arabic *hal-* (*ha* plus the article prefix) in *hal-mōz* 'these bananas', *hal-iftūs* 'this money',³ and the like. Nevertheless, the distinction between both types of demonstratives, which is drawn along the subdivision of morphological items into free

¹ Cf., W. Fischer, *Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Grammatik des Arabischen*, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 41 ff. (die nominalen Demonstrativa).

² W. M. Erwin, *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic* (Erwin, henceforth), Washington, D.C. 1963, p. 290.

³ *Ibid.*, 216.

and bound forms respectively, reappears in a discouragingly varied terminology and quite dissimilar hierarchy with various authors.⁴

3. The distinction between demonstrative pronouns and merely demonstrative affixes proves to be significant still in another direction, in most varieties of Arabic which display this bipartition. The former type, performing its demonstrative function by lexical means, does so in quite a specific way, whereas the latter type, depending on inflectional means, may exhibit, in Arabic, a formal fusion with the definiteness marker into a unique demonstrativeness-definiteness marker as a result of which its demonstrative value is considerably weakened or even missing at all.⁵ In accordance with these facts, the former type of demonstratives will be referred to as specific while the latter will be designed as non-specific. The significance of this dichotomy to the present topic resides in dissimilar ways of handling the near-far demonstration as statable with either of both types.

4. Classical Arabic

4.1. Specific demonstratives in Classical Arabic may conveniently be grouped into three series as follows:

(1) Neutral (near/far) series which obviously represents the most primitive stage in the development of the Arabic demonstrative pronouns, occurs in Classical Arabic rather exceptionally.⁶ The full set of forms may be presented as follows:

| | masculine: | feminine: |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| singular: | <i>dā</i> | <i>dī, tī</i> |
| dual: | <i>dāni (dayni)</i> | <i>tāni (tayni)</i> |
| plural (common): | ' <i>ālā</i> ' | ' <i>ālā'i</i> ' ⁷ |

The near-far distinction is not formally marked with this series, both dimensions of demonstration being rather vaguely implied by the context,⁸ e.g.:

talātun li-dā wa 'arba'un li-dā 'drei Dem und vier Jenem' (Reck., *Synt. Verh.*, 409: Mas. VIII, 115,2); *samāhata dā wa birra dā wa wafā'a dā wa nā'ila dā* 'die Mild-

⁴ See, for instance, H. Grotzfeld, for Damascus Arabic, in *Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen*, Wiesbaden 1964, 44 ff.

⁵ Cf., e.g., the Damascus Arabic the/this variation, as in 'i'fīni ha'l'annint ilkokakōla 'gib mir die(se) Flasche Coca Cola!'. This prefix may combine even with proper names in which case its demonstrative value equals zero, e.g., *haš-Šām* 'Damascus', etc., cf., ib., 46. Nevertheless, the progressive loss of the primitive demonstrative value of the definite article need not necessarily be paralleled by a formal fusion of the latter with specifically demonstrative elements (see, e.g., the accidental demonstrative value of the Classical Arabic definite article as stated in 4.2).

⁶ For the latter feature, cf., C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin 1908, p. 317; for the genetic relation between *dā* and *dū*, cf., ib., 318; M. Gauderoy-Demombynes et R. Blachère, *Grammaire de l'arabe classique* (GAC in what follows), Paris 1952, 201, etc.

⁷ GAC, 201.

⁸ Cf., ib. (viz., «démonstratif vague»).

tätigkeit des Ersten, die Lauterkeit des Zweiten, die Zuverlässigkeit des Dritten und die Freigebigkeit des Vierten' (ib.: Imr., 17, 17), etc.

(2) 'Near' series, represented by the following set of forms:

| | masculine: | feminine: |
|------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| singular: | <i>hādā</i> | <i>hādīhi, hādī</i> |
| dual: | <i>hādāni (hādāyni)</i> | <i>hātāni (hātāyni)</i> |
| plural (common): | <i>hā'ulā'i</i> ⁹ | |

The *hā* and *dā* (etc.) components of this series occur sometimes as two free forms in Classical Arabic, as in *hā 'inna dī 'idratan* 'dies ist eine Entschuldigung' (*Synt. Verh.*, 410: Nab., 5,49), etc. Typically, however, *hādā*, etc., operate as a unique free form when used both attributively and non-attributively, as in *fa-'innahu 'alā hādā d-dīni* 'denn er gehört dieser (= unserer) Religion an' (ib.: IHiš., 26,1), *hādā kitābun 'allafnāhu* 'dies ist ein Buch das wir verfasst haben' (ib.: *Kāmil*, 1,7), etc.

(3) 'Far' series:

| | masculine: | feminine: |
|------------------|--|--|
| singular: | <i>dāka, dālīka</i> | <i>tāka, tīka, tilka</i> |
| dual: | <i>dānika, dānnīka</i> (<i>dāynaka</i>) | <i>tānika, tānnīka</i> (<i>tāynaka</i>) |
| plural (common): | <i>'ulā'ika</i> ¹⁰ | |

E. g.:

summiyat dālīka l-mašra'atu mašra'ata l-fīli 'jener Landeplatz wurde Landeplatz des Elefanten genannt' (*Synt. Verh.*, 417: *Balād.*, 292,3), or, non-attributively: *tilka 'alā mā qadāynā wa hādīhi 'alā mā qadāynā* 'jenes bleibt wie wir es entschieden haben, und dies bleibt wie wir es entschieden haben' (ib., 419; *Māv.*, 112,17), etc.

It should be noted, however, that the near-far distinction cannot always be stated in formal terms even with these latter series in a quite unambiguous way.¹¹

4.2. Non-specific demonstratives are represented in Classical Arabic by the definite article *al-* which, even if rather exceptionally, retains its primitive demonstrative value. In this case, the near-far connotation is contextually controlled. Thus, for instance, *ar-rajulu* 'the/this/that man' can be interpreted as either *hādā r-rajulu* or *dālīka r-rajulu*.¹²

5. Modern Arabic

5.1. Iraqi Arabic (Muslim Baghdadi)

⁹ Ibid., 202.

¹⁰ Ibid., 202 f.

¹¹ Ibid., 307. Cf., also H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (= *Synt. Verh.*), Leiden 1895, 414 f.

¹² *GAC*, 203.

5.11. Specific demonstratives may be subdivided into two series with a distinctly unbalanced near-far distribution:

(1) 'Near' demonstratives with a casual far reference:

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| | masculine: | feminine: |
| singular: | <i>hāda</i> | <i>hādi, hāy</i> |
| plural (common): | <i>dōl, dōla, hadōl, hadōla</i> | |

E. g.:

trūd hāda? 'do you want this one?', *hāda hōš nādi* 'this (or that) is a good club',¹³ *hādi l-ṃara, hāy il-ṃara* 'this woman', *dōl in-niswān* 'these women',¹⁴ etc.

(2) 'Far' demonstratives:

| | | |
|------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| | masculine: | feminine: |
| singular: | <i>dāk, dāka, hadāk, hadāka</i> | <i>ḏīč, ḏīča, hadīč, hadīča</i> |
| plural (common): | <i>dōlāk, dōlāka, hadōlāk, hadōlāka</i> | |

E.g.:

ḏīč ma-čānat hōš dagga 'that wasn't a nice thing to do', *hadīča tbayyin tu'urfak* 'that one over there seems to know you',¹⁵ *dāk il-bet* 'that house', *dōlāk ir-riyājūl* 'those men',¹⁶ etc.

5.12. Non-specific demonstratives have in Iraqi Arabic only one representative, the demonstrative prefix *hal-*, e.g., *hal-méz* 'this table', *hal-ibṇayya* 'this girl', etc.¹⁷ The near-far implication thereof is the same as that statable with the *hāda* series above.¹⁸

5.2. Egyptian (Cairene) Arabic

5.21. Specific demonstratives¹⁹ are organized in a dichotomous system as follows:

(1) Neutral (near/far) series: *da* 'this/that (masc.)', *di* (*diyya, diyyat* as alternative forms of *di* while used attributively) 'this/that (fem.)', and *dōl* 'these/those', e.g.: *'il-kutub dōl, 'il-kutub di* 'these/those books', *'il-'alam da* 'this/that pencil',²⁰ etc.

Particular items of the latter series, however, while used contrastively to the far reference demonstratives, refer exclusively to the near (for examples, see below).

¹³ For the Iraqi Arabic examples quoted so far, see Erwin, 290 f.

¹⁴ Ibid., 349 f.

¹⁵ Ibid., 290 f.

¹⁶ Ibid., 350.

¹⁷ Ibid., 216.

¹⁸ Ibid., 349.

¹⁹ Non-specific demonstratives in the sense of § 3 do not occur in this variety of Arabic.

²⁰ Cf., T. F. Mitchell, *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*, London—New York—Toronto 1960, 54 f. It is worth-while noting that monosyllabic items of this series may freely occur as either free or bound forms, e.g., *'il-'alam dá* vs. *'il-'alám-da* 'this/that pencil' (the acute accent marks here the stress which is otherwise disregarded in our transcription; for the sake of convenience, the transcription of the quoted sources is slightly simplified and unified throughout the paper).

(2) Far reference series: *dukha* 'that (masc.)', *dikha* 'that (fem.)', and *dukham* 'those'. Demonstratives of this series are hardly ever used in Cairene Arabic unless being applied contrastively to the 5.21 (1) items, as in 'iš-šanta di 'at'al min dikha 'this bag is heavier than that', *muš da lakin dukha* 'not this but that',²¹ etc.

5.3. Moroccan Arabic (Urban Moroccan: Fez, Rabat, Casablanca)

5.31. Specific demonstratives:²²

(1) Near reference series: *hada* 'this (masc.)', *hadi* 'this (fem.)', and *hadu* 'these'. Demonstratives of this series seem never to be used attributively.²³ E.g.:

hadi mezyana 'this one is good', *aš hada?* 'what is this (one)?',²⁴ etc.

(2) Far reference series: *hadak* 'that (masc.)', *hadik* 'that (fem.)', and *haduk* 'those', while used non-attributively, (*ha*)*dak*, (*ha*)*dik*, and (*ha*)*duk*, when used attributively. E.g.:

bġit hadak 'I want that one', *hadik le-mṛa*, *dik le-mṛa* 'that woman',²⁵ etc.

(3) Neutral (near/far) demonstratives are represented by a unique form, the invariable *had* which occurs in combination with the definite article. This demonstrative is exclusively used as an attributive modifier. E.g.:

had le-ktab 'this/that book', *had le-yalat* 'these/those women', etc.²⁶

6. On the ground of these data, however lacunary they may appear, it seems to be possible to draw some important conclusions: (1) non-specific demonstratives, as far as available at all, tend to function as neutral or neutral-like items from the point of view of the near-far distinction; (2) with specific demonstratives, this tendency is inherent to that class of demonstratives which is not explicitly marked for the far reference.

²¹ Cf., *ib.* For the near-far distribution of the Cairo Arabic demonstratives, see also Fischer, 63; for the exclusive near reference of these items in other regional sub-varieties of Egyptian (and Eastern Sudanese) Arabic, cf., *ib.*, 71.

²² The full stock of the Moroccan Arabic demonstratives will be treated in terms of specific demonstratives. Even the reduced form *had*, usually combining with the definite article, will be classified in these terms despite the loss of its gender and number inflection (as against the non-attributively used forms *hada*, *hadi*, *hadu*). This treatment, largely due to distributional phenomena (*viz.*, the Moroccan Arabic *had le-ktab* 'this/that book' vs. *had atay* 'this/that tea' (Harrell, 147; for full reference see below) as contrasting, for instance, with the Damascus Arabic *hal-* in *hal-bēt* 'this house' vs. *haš-Šām* 'Damascus' (Grotzfeld, *op. cit.*, 46), proves to be incompatible with Harrell's classifying of this demonstrative as 'general demonstrative article'. This terminology is overtly misleading in the case of the far reference series (*cf.*, Harrell's 'far demonstrative article'), *cf.*, R. S. Harrell, *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic*. Washington, D.C. 1962, pp. 147, 148.

²³ Harrell, 143 f; see also Fischer, 72.

²⁴ Harrell, 143 f.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 143 f; 148.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

DIALECT VARIATIONS AND THE TEACHING OF ARABIC AS A LIVING LANGUAGE*

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Interest in the teaching of contemporary Arabic in American Institutions, though relatively recent, has been steadily growing since the introduction of the Arabic program into the Army Language School in 1947. There is evidence that Arabic studies are being gradually recognized as an important field of study. More than twenty-seven institutions are now offering courses in the culture and civilization of the Middle Eastern countries and in Arabic. During the academic year 1963—1964 Arabic, as one of seven major languages, was supported by the federal government (NDEA) in eight out of thirty-five institutions.¹

But once the interest in Arabic has been aroused and the need to study it established, the question is where to begin. There is a great diversity of Arabic dialects: Lebanese, Iraqi, Syrian, Algerian, Moroccan, Libyan, Sudanese, Saudi Arabian, Palestinian, and Egyptian. What is more, each of these dialects has a number of distinct sub-dialects. Thus, within the Egyptian dialect, Lower and Upper Egyptian forms of speech can be distinguished. The problem is further complicated by the fact that Arabic writing allows a wide range of different pronunciations.

The present practice in American institutions seems to assume a complete dichotomy of "dialect" and "literary" Arabic; there is no serious attempt to effect a smooth transition from one to the other. Thus, in many colleges two separate courses are offered under the designations "spoken Arabic" and "written Arabic". Such a situation is far from satisfactory, for if the goal in the former course is to enable the students to speak, the effort may be a sheer waste of time on the part of the majority of students who do not have the chance to go to the specific area whose dialect they have been taught. If, on the other hand, the student is to be acquainted with written forms without reference to dialect, he can hardly be said to be learning a living

* This paper was presented at ACTFL Third Annual Meeting held in New Orleans on November 29, 1969.

¹ The Linguistic Reporter, V (October, 1963), p. 5.



language. Such an approach would be not only unrealistic but also contradictory to the linguistic concept that speech is primary and writing is only its symbolization.

An acceptable approach should be both practical and consistent with modern linguistic concepts. At this point it may be helpful, and indeed instructive, to consider what is being done in the teaching of modern foreign languages. The teaching of English is a case in point. It would be inconceivable, for example to teach English without specific reference to the spoken forms actually used either in the United States or in the United Kingdom. There is no reason why Arabic should not be similarly treated as a living language. It may be argued, however, that the question remains: If we start with the spoken form, which dialect should we choose? The answer to this question can be determined only in the light of the goals to be achieved.

To refer once more to the teaching of English as a foreign language, we find that the situation is pertinent at least as far as the general principles are concerned. Of all the dialectal varieties of British English, the foreign learner usually chooses "Received English", and of all the American English varieties he usually prefers the "Northern dialect". The choice in both cases is determined by many factors but, above all, by two main criteria, namely, that it is an educated form of speech and that it has significant applicability. In other words, the forms chosen should enable the learner to achieve maximum effective communication in the sense of understanding and being understood by speakers of the target language.

Turning to the situation in Arabic, we realize that the language as a mother tongue is spoken by some ninety million people and as a foreign language is used by more than four hundred million Muslims scattered throughout Africa and Asia. We also realize that since the rise of Arab nationalism there has been an increasing awareness of a common culture and a common language. Thanks to cultural exchange and to the pervasive influence of mass media, the dialectal differences, though they still exist, have not hampered cultural unity and the educated form of speech, particularly that of large cultural centers, tends to be understood even by those who do not speak it. This is precisely why the foreign learner of Arabic should turn to a large cultural center where he can find a medium of communication which may help him understand not only a specific section of the Arab world but also a significant part of Arab culture. In almost every Arab country there is an important cultural center; thus Baghdad, Damascus, and Beirut form the most important cultural centers in Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon respectively.

There can be no doubt that by far the largest Arab country is Egypt and the largest Arab center is Cairo.² The educated speech of Cairo may therefore be considered particularly significant from the point of view of the English speaker who is looking for a means of communication with a maximum applicability throughout the Arab

² The population of Cairo (1966 estimation) is four million and that of the U.A.R. is 30 million.

countries. However, any of the other cultivated dialects (e.g., CBA, CDA, CMA etc.) may be equally useful in beginning Arabic.³

It is true that there are a number of reasons why the English speaker, or indeed any foreign learner, should find Cultivated Cairene Arabic (CCA) an especially useful dialect with which to start learning Arabic. In a sense CCA provides a relatively smooth transition from the spoken to the literary language especially as used by mass media writers. Moreover, it is the form of language spoken by a socially acceptable group representative not only of Egyptian life but of modern Arab culture as a whole. There is evidence that Cairo plays a leading role in Arabic and Islamic culture, since it possesses, among other things, two great institutions, namely, Cairo University and Al-Azhar; the one is the largest and most advanced in the Arab countries, and the other is the oldest and most influential center throughout the Islamic world. Students from all over the world, but especially from Arab countries, come to Cairo to study for long periods of time. It may also be mentioned that a great number of Egyptian teachers, who are graduates of Cairo institutions, go to teach in other Arab countries. Furthermore, a great number of important cultural Arab events take place in Cairo. Nevertheless, the success and effectiveness of a sound approach to teaching Arabic as a living language may be equally achieved through the use of the other cultivated dialects. As we have already pointed out a Cultivated Beirut Arabic, Cultivated Damascus Arabic, or any other cultivated dialect of the important Arab Centers may accomplish the goals of teaching beginning Arabic.

The form of Arabic suggested as a basis for the beginning stage, be it CCA or CBA, is that which is usually heard in the speech of native Arabs who have had a college education. It is used as informal Arabic by mass media and some writers of literary prestige. It may be said that it is widely understood throughout the majority of the Arab countries, thanks to mass media.⁴ Although it would be inaccurate to describe this form of Arabic as uniquely standard, it may be considered as socially acceptable and statistically significant.

What is suggested here is that one form of beginning Arabic can be practically helpful, if not actually necessary, and that for linguistic as well as cultural considerations, any of these Cultivated Arabic dialects can be appropriately used as a first step toward understanding contemporary Arabic. Other forms of Arabic may be of value to those who are interested in the study of dialects in general or one particular dialect for individual reasons.

The relationship between "colloquial" and what is often called "standard" Arabic should be clearly defined. In any language there are cultural levels of usage and functional varieties, and to make effective use of Arabic one has to be aware

³ Cultivated Beirut Arabic; Cultivated Damascene Arabic; Cultivated Moroccan Arabic.

⁴ Egyptian television service, for example, started in the summer of 1960 and now operates on four channels. Some Egyptian programs are relayed to other Arab countries.

of these levels and functions. Furthermore, Arabic has not remained static over the centuries. We may therefore distinguish at least three major designations:

1. "Classical Arabic" or "Koranic Arabic" refers specifically to the grammar and usage of the Koran up to the period of the Caliphs.

2. "Literary Arabic" or "Contemporary Literary Arabic" refers specifically to Arabic grammar and usage in the modern time. Within the category we may emphasize "formal" written Arabic though it would be a gross error to ignore writings including "informal" or spoken Arabic.

3. "Colloquial" or "Spoken Arabic" refers to the form of Arabic used by educated Arabs in everyday conversation. It should be noted, however, that even uneducated Arabs occasionally use formal and classical patterns in their speech.

Needless to say, these three categories are overlapping and it is the proportion used that determines the type of Arabic. Our contention is that the educated form of speech provides a transition from the spoken to the literary. To illustrate this, we may note that the use of (*q*) occurs more often in educated speech. Besides, educated speech is characterized by more "learned" vocabulary and more grammatical distinctions than any other form of spoken Arabic.

While linguistic change is most limited on the syntactical level, it is noticeable on the morphological and phonological levels and, above all, in the amount of loan words. "Contemporary Formal Arabic" can be easily distinguished from Classical Arabic on the lexical level because of the large number of foreign words contained, particularly French, Italian, and English, e.g. (*tilivizyo:n*), (*supra:na*), (*villa*). On the morphological level, Contemporary Arabic tends to make fewer distinctions.

Colloquial Arabic,⁵ on the other hand, makes even fewer distinctions and incorporates a larger number of foreign terms. On the phonological level, colloquial is characterized by:

1. Use of stress and final pause in place of vowel ending

Examples: *Kátab* "he wrote" instead of *Kataba*

Wálad "boy" instead of *Waladun* (nominative)

Waladan (accusative)

Waladin (genitive)

2. Use of the front vowel in place of the low vowel

Examples: *?ilwálad* "the boys" in place of *?alwaladu* (nominative)

?alwalada (accusative)

?alwaladi (genitive)

yíftak "to open" in place of *yafṭaku*

⁵ The examples given are taken from Cultivated Cairene Arabic.

3. Use of *t* or *s* instead of *θ*

z or *d* instead of *θ*

z or *d* instead of *θ*

tánya "second (in order)" [f. s.]

sánya "a second (1/60 minutes)"

zá:b "it melded" instead of *da:ba*

?íza "if" instead of *?ida*

záhar "he appeared" instead of *dahara*

đáhr "black" instead of *dahr*

4. Use of pharyngealization on a larger scale

Examples: *fard* "individual" and *fard* "duty" in Classical Arabic

fard for both forms in Colloquial Arabic

The assumption is that in learning any language we move from speech to writing or from sound to script. For that reason, phonemic writing method can be used at first to represent the sounds of Arabic as accurately as possible. It should be noted that habitual and accurate production of sounds is basic to progress in the beginning stage. Careful attention is therefore to be paid to segments of minimal contrasts where there is only one significant difference, to stress, and to intonational patterns. Listening naturally comes before speaking and the ability to distinguish significant speech sounds comes before the ability to produce them. These two skills, however, should be simultaneously developed.

Once the student has developed a degree of facility in recognizing and producing basic Arabic sound patterns, he can effectively be introduced to Arabic script and eventually to literary Arabic.

Introducing Literary Arabic

Not long ago the student would begin his study of Arabic with such verbs as *qatala* "kill" and *daraba* "hit", while in learning Latin he first studied *amare* "love". It did not matter what content items were given him, so long as they illustrated certain grammatical points. To add to the student's difficulties, no attention was paid to the idea of gradation in presenting the sounds, the sentence structure, or the morphological distinctions. The main emphasis was on vocabulary and "frequency lists" which were, in many cases, controversial.

In more recent times writers of Arabic texts have attempted to reduce all varieties to what is designated "Modern Standard Arabic", and in doing so, they have failed to present Arabic as a living form with its cultural levels and functional varieties. The written symbols are given as the only acceptable forms and, as a result, the

student finds it difficult, if not impossible, to understand a great deal of *modern* Arabic as presented in political speeches, literary writings, and mass media literature. Furthermore, if he ever used the "standard" forms he would be speaking "like a book", which might be desirable but hardly consistent with the principle of usage and linguistic appropriateness.

To achieve mastery of this "standard" Arabic, modern techniques, such as the audio-lingual, must be used. But techniques do not render content acceptable. They are meaningful only when they are carefully related to a linguistically and pedagogically sound content.

It is with these criticisms in mind that we propose the following guidelines for constructive teaching material in Arabic at the beginning stage.

1. The structural content must be presented in a gradated manner, utilizing the criteria of simplicity, frequency, and relevance. Thus, the *phonologically* "difficult" Arabic sounds are kept at a minimum in early stages; the *syntactically* unfamiliar verbless sentences come before patterns; *morphological* distinctions are kept at a minimum in the early stages. For example, the student first may concentrate on a certain pronoun, e.g., 2. s.m., 2. s.f., and 2. pl.

2. Structural patterns must be presented within a matrix of significant cultural context. Here, again, the principle of gradation is applied so that the student may move from the immediate environment (i.e. the classroom) to typically cultural situations (e.g. the family activities).

3. By applying gradation and relating structure to culture, two aims can be realized. On the one hand, the student has a sense of achievement with the minimum use of "absolute memorization" and, on the other, his interest is aroused in the new culture. In other words, linguistic patterns become meaningful, and help make the learning process both pleasant and effective. Experience shows that the first contact with a foreign language is crucial to learning in the later stages.

4. The present writers believe that a sound method of teaching Arabic as a living language is to move from sounds to letters, from spoken patterns to written forms, and from the familiar to the formal. It is suggested therefore that the Arabic writing system be introduced in steps and only after the fundamentals of the sound system have been adequately mastered. Thus the student may start, with a limited number of rules and apply them to a few familiar words (e.g. *ba:b* "door", *bint* "girl", *kita:b* "book").

The transition to literary Arabic may not always be smooth because the Arabs sometimes use one form in speaking (e.g. *ra:h* "he has gone") and another in writing (e.g. *dahab* "he has gone"). The gap between the spoken and the written has led many teachers as mentioned earlier, to the view that the form of Arabic to be taught to foreigners should be either the formal or the colloquial. Anything else is considered as undesirable mixing of levels.

This point of view should be carefully examined in the light of our goals in teaching

Arabic at the beginning stage. Is the student to learn the colloquial only and as a result have no access to the formal? Or is he to concentrate on the formal and thus have no knowledge of the actual speech of native speakers? It is our contention that any realistic approach consistent with modern concepts in linguistics and language teaching must take into consideration the role of *cultivated speech* in the continuity of language. This cultivated speech consists of words and expressions that constitute a common language core. And at the beginning stage it is not the gap between the spoken and the formal language but rather the common core that should be emphasized. It is this common core that also provides the foreign learner with the basis for further study of the language. Thus, while the student is aware of functional varieties, he is prepared to proceed smoothly in the study of language.

Starting with the spoken form is the natural beginning to language study. Furthermore, experience has shown its considerable appeal at the beginning stage which, undoubtedly, is the most crucial. It is the stage which may help the student *develop his interest* in the language or it may fill him with frustration and discouragement.

In beginning Arabic the student is introduced to cultivated spoken Arabic. At the same time through writing Arabic he is gradually acquainted with writing system of contemporary Arabic in its colloquial and formal varieties. The two steps may be combined in one term of semi-intensive study (i.e. about five hours per week). By the time he finishes these two steps he should have mastered the basic sound and writing systems in addition to a grammatical core to prepare him for the next step.

In this proposed third step an attempt is to be taken to acquaint the student with modern formal literary Arabic. Here the emphasis is on the *formal* whether it occurs in a letter, description, or narrative. But, the same basic principles are followed, namely, gradation, repetition, and continuity. Thus, many of the vocabulary terms and expressions previously used in the spoken are reinforced by being used again in a formal context. However, while the spoken usually refers to a specific dialect center (e.g. CCA, CBA) the formal refers to a broader environment so that the student moves from a specific cultural center to the Arab culture as a whole.

With this view in mind, the *cultural* content must be carefully considered in the structure of the units. We propose units which deal with significant cultural aspects such as religious customs and significant traditions. Furthermore adapted selections from well-known stories and folk literature may be included. For example, one autobiographical passage may describe the changing Arab culture and one interesting story from Arabian Nights may depict the Arab sense of humor.

Like the cultural content, the *grammatical content* should be based on what has been covered in the spoken phase. Basic sentence patterns and verb forms should be gradually introduced and consistently reinforced. To help master the grammatical core structural drills of the simple and progressive substitution and transformation

types can be included before and after the main text. An important assumption is that mastering the language is most effectively achieved through *structural drills* rather than grammatical rules.

Vocabulary should also be carefully controlled to allow greater concentration on basic structures. One related feature that must be emphasized is the use of idioms. This, we feel is more helpful than simply listing synonyms and definitions.

To sum up, the question often raised is how to start teaching Arabic. In this respect it is suggested that we move from the Cultivated Spoken to the Literary Arabic. Both linguistic and cultural contents should be carefully selected so as to make the transition smooth and learning the language effective. The goal to be achieved is to provide a basis for beginning Arabic as a living language in its informal and formal varieties.

MORPHEME IN TYPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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The typological study of languages concentrates upon the morphological level (although other aspects of language are also amenable to typological investigation) because morphology is, no doubt, the most arbitrary phase of the language structure.¹ The limits of morphology coincide with the morpheme on one side, and with the word on the other. Insofar as these two basic units are concerned, the latter seems to have been studied more thoroughly than the former.² This is understandable if we take into account the fact that the word is a more complex unit which is more central from the point of view of grammar than the morpheme.

What are the aspects to be described in a typological study of the morpheme? The aim of this article is to give an answer to this question. One can imagine that such aspects should include the features (or parametres) of *form*, *occurrence*, and *meaning*. In addition, the *segmentability*, i.e., the attitude of the analyst to the material to be analyzed is to be somehow accounted for. This fact has been stressed by C. E. Bazell³ who has proposed the so-called "problem typology". Naturally enough one cannot do without the frequential aspect. This aspect should be incorporated in the typology of morpheme since it can serve as a basis for the objectivization of the method of investigation and it warrants that the results of the typological examination of different languages are commensurable. However, the frequency will not be taken as a separate aspect or parametre simply because it underlies (whether covertly or overtly) virtually all the parametres used here.

The present article has been stimulated by a highly interesting work of

¹ Cf. Vladimír Skalička, *Vývoj jazyka*, Praha 1960.

² E.g., Edward Sapir, *Language* (Especially Chapter VI: Types of Linguistic Structure, pp. 127—156), New York 1921; Joseph H. Greenberg, *A Quantitative Approach to the Morphological Typology of Language*, *International Journal of American Linguistics* XXVI, 3 (1960), pp. 178—194.

³ C. E. Bazell, *Linguistic Typology*, London 1958.

E. Slavičková,⁴ one of the first of its kind. In her study, E. Slavičková has made an attempt to construct a scheme enabling a typological comparison of the morphemes in genetically related languages. Such a scheme would be merely a particular instance of a more inclusive scheme, namely of a scheme that would be suitable for a comparison of both related and unrelated languages. However, in the latter instance (i.e., when comparing unrelated languages) the investigator has to give up a contrastive evaluation of the particular morphemes simply because there are no cognate morphemes in two unrelated languages, and he is compelled to confine his attention to a wholesale comparison of the morphemic stocks of the languages concerned. Here an attempt will be made to sketch a typological scheme of this sort which would cover as many relevant aspects of morpheme as possible. In carrying out such a task one must try to establish as many independent parametres as possible. It will be more realistic, however, to speak of relative independence only, for even the three basic features mentioned above (form, occurrence, and meaning) are interrelated to a certain degree. To quote an example, the Polynesian languages usually express their grammatical meanings by means of very short morphemes which occur very frequently in the text. However, this is no hundred per cent correlation and occasionally root morphemes can be found that are also very short and occur fairly frequently.

Thus, there are three relatively independent features here which can be utilized in constructing a general scheme for the typological characteristics of the morpheme. To complete the scheme, another feature may be added, i.e. that of segmentability (= the readiness with which the speech flow is amenable to the morphemic segmentation). These four features will now be discussed in detail so as to cover as many relevant aspects of the typology of morpheme as possible. A decimal notation will be adopted here because it enables an infinite expansion of the scheme at any spot.

The feature of *form* (1) can further be specified as including *formal variability* (11) and *formal constitution* (12). Formal variability is determined by the number of morphs identifiable as one and the same morpheme. In addition, the automaticity of the alternations is taken into account. Thus there are *nonvariable* morphemes (111), *predictably variable* morphemes (112) which in turn can be subdivided into *phonologically conditioned* (1121) and *grammatically conditioned* (1122), and, finally, *unpredictably variable* morphemes (113). If we were interested in calculating the total amount of variability, we would have to account also for the number of morphs displayed by each morpheme (two or more morphs in the case of both predictably and unpredictably variable morphemes). *Formal constitution* (12) is to be viewed in terms of the phonemic composition of a morpheme. Basically, a morpheme can

⁴ E. Slavičková, *Towards a Typological Evaluation of Related Languages*. Travaux linguistiques de Prague 3. Prague 1968, pp. 281–290. See also Rulon Wells, *Archiving and Language Typology*, IJAL 20 (1954), pp. 101–107 (and especially pp. 106–107). However, his list of typical properties is rather inexhaustive.

be *phonetically independent* (which means it contains at least one syllabic phoneme, 121) or *phonetically dependent* (122). The phonetically dependent morphemes can be further subdivided into such types as *C* (1211), *CC* (1212), *CCC* (1213), etc. Similarly, the phonetically independent morphemes can be subdivided into *monosyllabic* (1211) with possible subtypes *V*, *CV*, *VC*, *CVC*, *CCVC*, *CVCC*, etc., *disyllabic* (1212) with possible subtypes *VV*, *CVV*, *VVC*, *VCV*, *CVCV*, *VCVC*, *CVVCV*, etc., and *polysyllabic* (1213). The parametre of formal constitution (12) is a very promising field for those linguists who specialize in quantitative methods, since many structural regularities—laws and tendencies—can be discovered here which might contribute considerably to typology and classification of languages.

The feature of *occurrence* (2) includes first of all the parametre of *distribution* (21) which can be either *nuclear* (211) or *peripheral* (212). The following types can be distinguished in the latter category: *prepositional* (2121), *postpositional* (2122), *internal* (2123) and eventually *discontinuous* (2124). The feature of occurrence is manifested also by *utilization* (22). From the standpoint of utilization (in text), a morpheme can be *highly recurrent* (221), which means high frequency in text and an even dispersion, *moderately recurrent* (222), which means a lower frequency in text and a less even dispersion, and *occasional* (223). It is obvious that the bulk of the so-called grammatical morphemes are highly recurrent while the lexical morphemes belonging to the basic vocabulary are moderately recurrent. Archaisms and very special terms are occasional as to the frequency in the corpus of texts. It is to be kept in mind that the latter two categories (222 and 223) are not separated in a clear-cut manner.

The feature of *meaning* (3) is reflected both in *semantic type* (31) and *semantic valency* (32). The former parametre is concerned with the functioning of the morphemes. Thus, there are *formative* morphemes (311) and *designative* morphemes (312). These two terms are explained by U. Weinreich.⁵ The former are subdivided into *derivative* (3111) and *inflective* (3112). The inflective morphemes can be of two sorts—those which can be termed word-formative (e.g., case suffixes in Latin) and those which can be termed phrase-formative (e.g. the possessive 's in English).⁶ As far as the *semantic valency* is concerned, the morphemes can be classed as either *productive in derivation* (321) or *unproductive in derivation* (322). The productivity in this sense can be explained as the size of the class of items substitutable for a particular morpheme.

Finally, the feature of *segmentability* (4) remains to be dealt with. The particular morphemes in various languages can differ both as to the *transparency* (41) of their formal constitution in respect to their environment, and as to their *segmental type*

⁵ U. Weinreich, *On the Semantic Structure of Language Universals*. In *Universals of Language*, ed. by J. H. Greenberg. Cambridge, Mass. 1963, pp. 114—171.

⁶ Cf. B. Uspenskiy, *Principy strukturnoy tipologii*, Moscow 1962, esp. pp. 27—31.

(42). As far as transparency is concerned, any morpheme can be labelled either as *clearly delimited* (411) from the other morphemes in the immediate environment, or as fused (412). In terms of its segmental type, a morpheme is either *identified* (421)—which means that it occurs in combination with at least two different morphemes—or residual (422)⁷—which means that the particular morpheme occurs always in combination with one and the same identified morpheme. The feature of segmentability reflects the difficulties to be overcome by the analyst in segmenting the speech flow into a sequence of discrete minimum meaningful units, i.e., morphemes. Various languages (e.g. Greek and Maori) differ as to their segmentability and this authorizes us to include this feature in the characteristics of a morpheme.

Let us now summarize all parameters incorporated in the suggested scheme for the typological description of the morpheme. They are as follows:

(1) *Form*

(11) Formal variability

(111) Nonvariable

(112) Predictably variable

(1121) Phonologically conditioned

(1122) Grammatically conditioned

(113) Unpredictably variable

(12) Formal constitution

(121) Phonetically independent

(1211) Monosyllabic

(1212) Disyllabic

(1213) Polysyllabic

(122) Phonetically dependent

(1221) Monoconsonantal

(1222) Biconsonantal

(1223) Triconsonantal

etc.

(2) *Occurrence*

(21) Distribution

(211) Nuclear

(212) Peripheral

(2121) Prepositional

(2122) Postpositional

(2123) Internal

(2124) Discontinuous

⁷ E. Slavičková, o. c.

- (22) Utilization
 - (221) Highly recurrent
 - (222) Moderately recurrent
 - (223) Occasional
- (3) *Meaning*
 - (31) Semantic type
 - (311) Formative
 - (3111) Derivative
 - (3112) Inflective
 - (312) Designative
 - (32) Semantic valency
 - (321) Productive in derivation
 - (322) Unproductive in derivation
- (4) *Segmentability*
 - (41) Transparency
 - (411) Clearly delimited
 - (412) Fused
 - (42) Segmental type
 - (421) Identified
 - (422) Residual

It can be seen that each parametre represents a changeable variable which acquires at least two different values. The set of these parametres enables a multi-dimensional evaluation of a morpheme. This is a sort of "measuring" the properties of a morpheme but this measuring takes place, as a rule, only on the nominal or ordinal scale (e.g., utilization and semantic valency).

The proposed multidimensional scheme can be used not only for the characterization of the individual morphemes⁸ but also for a description of the total morphemic stock of a language (and also for comparative purposes). This scheme makes it possible to construct a set of summarizing measures. Such an aim can be achieved by means of indexical methods.⁹ All the indices can be in principle of two types, intraparametric and interparametric. With the former ones the numerator of the index contains a value of the same parametre as that in the denominator and it holds that the numerator value is included in the denominator value. Thus, an index of formal variability, could be constructed as V/M , where V = the number of variable morphemes in the language and M = the number of all morphemes. Similarly, we might suggest an index of predictability in variation P/V , where P = the number of predictably variable morphemes and V = the number of all variable morphemes.

⁸ This is the aim of Slavičková's study.

⁹ Analogous to those suggested by J. H. Greenberg, o. c.

Perhaps there is not so much sense in constructing an index which would express the ratio of phonetically dependent morphemes because these are necessarily very scarce in comparison with the phonetically independent morphemes in any language. However, this does not mean that the parametre of formal constitution cannot be utilized for building up typological indices. Rather we might turn to construct indices on a lower level. Thus, for example, it would be interesting to find out what is the proportion of monosyllables, disyllables, etc., in the morphemic stock of a language or, more generally, what is the relation between the length of a morphemic type and its role in the morphemic stock. The other parametres can be quantified in an analogous way.

As far as the interparametric indices are concerned, their denominators represent values different from those of their numerators. For example we might be interested in finding out what is the proportion of the phonetically dependent morphemes within the set of formative morphemes (index Pd/F), or what is the proportion of the unpredictably variable morphemes within the set of highly recurrent morphemes (index Uv/Hr), etc. The interparametric indices lead us to another interesting point—to the problem of possible interrelations between the particular parametres. It has been remarked that the three features—form, occurrence, meaning—are *relatively* independent. This means that any feature can be, but only to a small degree, explained in terms of the other features. Naturally, there is no absolute correlation holding between the particular features or parametres. Quite the contrary, the relations of the parametres can be expressed only in probabilistic terms. These formulations might be of this type: If the morpheme M displays the value x_i of the parametre X , there is such and such probability that it displays the value y_j of the parametre Y (and, e.g., the value z_1 of the parametre Z). Below, only some of the possible interrelations will be hinted at. E.g., if a morpheme is unpredictably variable (113), there is a high probability that it is also designative (312), not formative (311). If a morpheme is phonetically independent (121), there is a probability that it is also nuclear (211). If a morpheme is phonetically dependent (122), then it is very probable that it is also peripheral (212), highly recurrent (221) and formative (311). If a morpheme is nuclear (211), it is very probable that it is also phonetically independent (121), moderately recurrent (222) or occasional (223), designative (312). If a morpheme is peripheral (212), it is very probably also nonvariable (111) or predictably variable (112), highly recurrent (221), formative (311). If a morpheme is highly recurrent (221), it is very probably also peripheral (212), formative (311). If a morpheme is moderately recurrent (222), it is very probably also nuclear (211) and designative (312). If a morpheme is occasional (223), it is highly probable that it is also nuclear (211), designative (312), and unproductive in derivation (322). If a morpheme is formative (311), it is highly probably also peripheral (212) and highly recurrent (221). If a morpheme is designative (312), it is very probably also phonetically independent (122), nuclear (211), moderately recurrent (222) or occasional

(223). If a morpheme is productive in derivation (321), it is largely also nonvariable (111) or predictably variable (112), phonetically independent (121), and not occasional (223). The above remarks indicate that it might prove to be extremely interesting to find out the extent to which the individual parametres are interrelated in various languages. Here it is assumed that the individual languages differ mutually in this respect and this fact would no doubt be relevant for the typological study.

KINSHIP SYSTEM AND TERMINOLOGY IN VIETNAM

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Kinship in Vietnam embraces a far wider range of propinquity than it does in its European context. Relatives (*ba con*) may include those related by blood (*ba con bên nội*), relatives by the mother (*ba con bên ngoài*), relatives by marriage, and even neighbours may be considered as relations and are called "village kins" (*ba con hàng xóm*). This enlarged interpretation of kinship has its origin in the patriarchal character of the Vietnamese family.

Relatives by marriage are the kins of the husband (*ba con bên chồng*) or son-in-law (*ba con của rể*), those of the wife (*ba con bên vợ*) or the daughter-in-law (*ba con của dâu*). Prior to the marriage ceremony these relatives are designated as kins of the man (*họ nhà trai*) and kins of the girl (*họ nhà gái*).

Generally a patrilinear kinship system prevails in Vietnam. The terminology clearly differentiates between the patrilinear and the other kinship and thus constitutes two large basic kinship categories, namely, "the inner line" and "the outer line".¹ Kins according to the inner line (*nội tộc* or *ba con bên nội*) descend from the father's ancestor, while those of the outer line (*ngoại tộc* or *ba con bên ngoài*) come from the mother's side or, in a wider sense, represent all the other relatives.

As to differentiation by age, we distinguish the so-called "kins of the precedence order" (this includes relatives belonging to the father's generation and the so-called elder relatives — persons belonging to the same order as elder brothers and elder sisters), and "kins of the lower order" (all persons belonging to the son's generation and the so-called younger relatives — that is the order of younger brothers and sisters).

To the Vietnamese terminology may be applied the so-called concept of nuclear terms usually employed in the analysis of Chinese terminological structure.² This

¹ M. Granet, *Catégories matrimoniales et relations de proximité dans la Chine ancienne*, Paris 1939, makes use of the expressions "inner kin" (proche interne) and "outer kin" (proche externe).

² Feng Han Chi, *The Chinese Kinship System*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1948.

is based on the fact that every nuclear term has one primary and one or several secondary meanings. In its primary meaning the term may be used either independently, or conjointly with other elements of a secondary meaning, but it retains the most important role. Here belong nuclear terms for parents, parental issue, and for descendants in general. By their primary meaning they convey appurtenance to the generation. Some of the nuclear terms are used exclusively to refer to a certain degree of kinship and thereby acquire a secondary meaning. A high degree of precision in denoting relations towards Ego is made possible by the "multisyllabicity and syntactical principles of isolation in the Vietnamese language".³

Parental Categories

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Parents | - <i>cha</i> (father) | <i>mẹ</i> (mother) | |
| 2. Grand-parents | - <i>ông</i> | <i>bà</i> | <i>bên nội</i> (inner line) |
| 3. Great-grand-parents | - <i>ông cố</i> | <i>bà cố</i> | |
| | - <i>ông cụ</i> | <i>bà cụ</i> | <i>bên ngoài</i> (outer line) |
| 4. Great-great-grand-parents | - <i>ông sơ</i> | <i>bà sơ</i> | |
| 5. Great-great-great-grand-parents | - <i>ông kỳ</i> | <i>bà kỳ</i> | |

Spoken language frequently makes use of variants such as *ông*, *kỳ bà*, *cụ ông*, *cụ bà*. "*Ông*" and "*bà*" are active pronouns employed in addresses and questions and serve also as sexual modifiers for designating numerous kins of the older generation. Their general meaning is "Mister" and "Missis". "*Cố*" implies the meaning of "forefather, forebear, ancestor": similarly, "*cụ*", "*sơ*" signify "the first-born" and "*kỳ*" means "great-great-grandfather". All these parental relations may belong either to the "inner line" (*nội*), or the "outer line" (*ngoài*) according to whether there is question of the father's or the mother's parents.

Categories of Descendants

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Children | <i>con</i> | | |
| 2. Grandchildren | <i>cháu</i> | <i>trai</i> | <i>nội</i> |
| 3. Great-grandchildren | <i>chắt</i> | <i>gái</i> | <i>ngoài</i> |

³ G. C. Hickey, *Village in Vietnam*, New Heaven and London, Yale University Press 1965, pp. 82-83.

4. Great-great-grandchildren *chút*
 5. Great-great-great-grandchildren *chút*

“Trai” and “gái” are sexual modifiers with an original meaning of “boy” and “girl”.

Parental terms from the son’s (daughter’s) position

| Father | | Mother |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>thầy</i> | con son (daughter) | <i>bu (u)</i> |
| <i>bố (cha)</i> | | <i>mẹ</i> |
| <i>cậu</i> | | <i>mợ</i> |
| <i>ba</i> | | <i>má</i> |

The most current form of addressing parents is the pair of words “*bố (cha) — mẹ*”, or “*thầy — bu*”. The terms “*cậu — mợ*” came to be used generally in clerical and better-off families, while the words “*ba — má*” are currently used in southern Vietnam (*Nam-bộ*). The appellation “u” is employed in spoken language for mother, particularly when calling out (*u đi!* — mama!).

It may be observed here that if the mother, because of some negative trait, is spoken of in mockery or disparagement, use is made in the spoken language of the term “me”, which is an abbreviation of the ironical “*me tây*” (a western, European, French mother), derived from the French “*la mère*”. When speaking with a third person about his (her) parents, the son (daughter) uses the term “*bố mẹ đẻ*” (*đẻ* — to beget, to give birth).

Terms of kinship according to marriage (in-laws)

A. From the son-in-law’s position (*con rể*)

bố vợ — mẹ vợ

father-in-law ! mother-in-law

| ! | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| ! | ! | ! | ! | ! |
| <i>vợ</i> | <i>anh vợ</i> | <i>chị vợ</i> | <i>em trai vợ</i> | <i>em gái vợ</i> |
| wife | wife’s elder brother | wife’s elder sister | wife’s younger brother | wife’s younger sister |
| ! | | | | |
| | <i>chị dâu vợ</i> | <i>anh rể vợ</i> | <i>em dâu vợ</i> | <i>em rể vợ</i> |
| | his wife | her husband | his wife | her husband |

B. From the daughter-in-law's position (*con dâu*)

bố chồng— mẹ chồng

father-in-law ! mother-in-law

!

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| ! | ! | ! | ! | ! |
| <i>chồng</i> | <i>anh chồng</i> | <i>chị chồng</i> | <i>em trai chồng</i> | <i>em gái chồng</i> |
| husband | husband's elder brother | husband's elder sister | husband's younger brother | husband's younger sister |
| | ! | ! | ! | ! |
| | <i>chị dâu chồng</i> | <i>anh rể chồng</i> | <i>em dâu chồng</i> | <i>em rể chồng</i> |
| | his wife | her husband | his wife | her husband |

Both husband and wife, when addressing directly their partner's parents, use the same terms as for their own parents, this being a matter of politeness.

Terms of kinship from the son's (daughter's) position

A. Towards parent's sibs and kins

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Bên nội</i> | <i>cha</i> (father) | | <i>mẹ</i> (mother) | <i>Bên ngoài</i> |
| | | con — | child | |
| <i>bác trai</i> | — <i>bác dâu</i> | | <i>bác trai</i> | — <i>bác gái</i> |
| (father's elder brother) | (his wife) | | (mother's elder brother) | (his wife) |
| <i>bác gái</i> | — <i>bác rể</i> | | <i>bác gái</i> | — <i>bác rể (đượng)</i> |
| (father's elder sister) | (her husband) | | (mother's elder sister) | (her husband) |
| <i>chú</i> | — <i>thím</i> | | <i>cậu</i> | — <i>mợ</i> |
| (father's younger brother) | (his wife) | | (mother's younger brother) | (his wife) |
| <i>cô</i> | — <i>chú rể</i> | | <i>đì</i> | — <i>chú (đượng)</i> |
| (father's younger sister) | (her husband) | | (mother's younger sister) | (her husband) |

B. Towards children of parents' sibs

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Bên nội</i> | <i>cha</i> (father) | | <i>mẹ</i> (mother) | <i>Bên ngoài</i> |
| | | con — | child | |
| <i>Anh, Chị</i> | | | <i>Anh, Chị</i> | |
| <i>con cái của anh chị của cha</i> | | | <i>con cái của anh chị của mẹ</i> | |
| (children of father's elder sibs) | | | (children of mother's elder sibs) | |

Em

con cái của các em của cha

(children of father's younger sibs)

Em

con cái của các em của mẹ

(children of mother's younger sibs)

These terms are reciprocal, i.e. children of father's or mother's elder sibs call children of father's or mother's younger sibs "em" and vice versa, regardless of their mutual age. All these children, corresponding in the European kinship terminology to various degrees of cousins, are denoted by the common appellation "*anh chị em họ bên nội*", or "*anh chị em họ bên ngoài*". This term differs from the one used to denote one's own sibs — "*anh chị em ruột*" (*ruột* — native, consanguinary). However, the Vietnamese language has no equivalent terms for our "cousin" (male or female), although they are unambiguously and unequivocally positioned in the family hierarchy. Hence, if an exact extracontextual expression is of consequence, a possessive relationship must be used to indicate that the son (daughter) of this or that uncle, this or that aunt is involved.

For an intrafamilial differentiation so-called kinship numeratives are frequently added to the appellations of descendants, the basic terms "*anh, chị*" (for elders) and "em" for the younger ones) remaining constant:

The eldest (first-born) son — *anh cả (con cả)* North Vietnam

— *con đầu lòng*

— *anh thủ nhất*

— *anh hai (con hai)*, South Vietnam

For younger brothers and sisters, ordinals are used (*anh thủ hai, anh thủ ba*, etc.).

A point of interest is that the term "*anh hai*" (*hai* — two, second) designates in South Vietnam the eldest son, while the term "*anh thủ hai*" (*thủ hai* — ordinal number second) designates in North Vietnam the second son. As observed by G. C. Hickey, the ordinal "first" in South Vietnam is a superlative reserved for persons deserving of great respect, such for instance, as the ruler, or the father. Hence, the terms "*anh cả*", "*anh thủ nhất*" (eldest son in North Vietnam) might be understood in South Vietnam as "father". Therefore, the order of sibs is here shifted by one degree — the second son will then be "*anh ba*", the third "*anh tư*", etc. The youngest one is usually termed "*em út*".

There also exist composite terms summarizing the family relations, for example, "*ba con cô — cậu*" (literally father's sister — mother's brother); the term "*ba con chú — bác*" expresses the speaker's relation to the father's brother, but without determining age (which of them is the elder).

The complexity of terms for mutual addressing of kins is further brought out by matrimonial terminology. In a newly-married couple the husband usually addresses his wife by "em" and she calls him "*anh*", or they mutually address themselves as "*mình*". The terms "*anh*" and "em" are normally used as personal pronouns of

the 2nd person singular. However, in intimate talk, if the husband calls his wife "em", he uses the term "anh" to indicate the first person singular; the wife addressing her husband as "anh", will use "em" for the first person singular.

After the birth of the first child a change comes on and the couple address each other as "father of so-and-so" and "mother of so-and-so". For instance, if it is a boy named *Chung*, the husband will address his wife as "*mẹ thằng Chung*" (Chung's mother) and she will call her husband "*bố thằng Chung*" (Chung's father). Similarly if the child is a girl by the name of *Thị*, the husband will be "*bố con Thị*" and his wife is addressed as "*mẹ con Thị*".

The presence of children in the family conditions also the addressing among siblings. Thus a man who already has children addresses his younger brother as "*chú*" (i.e. a father's younger brother — meaning that the speaker is already a father). His younger brothers, however, continue to call him "*anh*" (elder brother). Likewise, a married man and father addresses his younger sister "*cô*" (a father's younger sister). A married woman who already has children addresses her younger brother "*cậu*" (a mother's younger brother) and her younger sister "*đì*" (a mother's younger sister — read 'younger sister of a woman who is already a mother'), while the latter continues to call her "*chị*" (elder sister).

It may then be noted that every individual's place is exactly determined within the family in a precise and thorough way — primarily by a system of two parallel forms: on the one hand, by the position he occupies in the generative order, and on the other, by the order he attains within his own family. This system simultaneously indicates the rights and obligations of every individual according to the position he occupies in it.

Direct family connexions or kinship relations are based on the father and mother, and from this point of view, parental relation is dominant in the Vietnam family. However, besides relations deriving from consanguinity, those based on marriage living together are likewise valid in this family. Hence, matrimonial relationship may be considered as a basic family relationship in the sense that it is a causal factor in the origin of the parental relationship.

In conclusion, certain basic traits in the kinship system of the Vietnam classical family can be clearly outlined. It is, before all else, the fact that the Vietnamese make use of the same term to designate all the relatives of the same order (*vai*). There exist two main such orders: "*vai dưới*" (lower order) and "*vai trên*" (higher order). Hence, e.g., all those belonging to the same order as the grandparents, are called by the same term (*ông, bà*) without any further indication of the degree of kinship that separates them from those addressing them. Likewise, all nephews and nieces are called "*cháu*" (grandchildren). Complementary precision is given only if circumstances require it. What is of importance to the Vietnamese is not the individual kin as such, but rather the degree he occupies within the family hierarchy. Their kinship terminology takes up a negative stand towards complex descriptive terms and permits

the use of the same appellation in the function of addressing all the members of the same kinship class. This is, as stated by L. M. Morgan, "a nomenclature of classification"⁴ in opposition to one of description. It would seem that the Vietnamese use this nomenclature of classification without any difficulty. Its origin probably derives from two principal factors characteristic for the evolution of Vietnamese primary social group: on the one hand, in relationships among individuals, based on mutual protection, and on the other, in what Morgan designates as "tribal organization".

The evolutionary trends in the Vietnam family indicate efforts at forestalling dispersion in the kinship relations up to a remote boundary. The system of kinship terminology contributes to the maintenance of certain relations characteristic of the maintenance of certain relations characteristic of the family clan (*họ*) and reflects, in a certain sense, the legal relations among close kins in each family, for the same kinship term is applied to persons occupying the same hierarchical position.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, New York 1871.

STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE LITERARY CRITICISM:
V. THE SOCIO-AESTHETIC CRITICISM OF CH'ENG FANG-WU

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Ch'eng Fang-wu [1] (born 1897), is known in the history of modern Chinese literature as a critic of the Creation Society (Ch'uang-tsao-she) [2]. He started his literary activity by critical reviews of the more outstanding works of Chinese literature in the early twenties, and later took up the theory of criticism. Those first years won him, as he himself admits, the fame of a man "blowing away body hairs to find among them symptoms of disease".¹ His later activity has not been studied so far in any degree and attention in this article will be devoted precisely to this period.

1

Ch'eng Fang-wu's first and the most frequently quoted theoretical article is *Hsin wen-hsüeh-chih shih-ming* [5] *The Mission of New Literature*, written in the second half of the month of May 1923.² However, it is not the most typical of Ch'eng Fang-wu and does not bring out an adequate characteristic of his theoretical *naturel*. It expresses his attitudes in the earliest period of his critical activity. We shall return to it later.

The foundation of Ch'eng Fang-wu's critical views rests essentially on two principles. The first is sympathy, the second sociability. According to him, these are the two dominant qualities of a critic. A condition of true criticism is the critic's talent, his abilities. True criticism requires a certain amount of imaginativeness. This too, is the outcome of the critic's talent on condition that he frees himself of all prejudices and is equipped with a good general knowledge.

In the first place, the term "sympathy" in Ch'eng Fang-wu's critical conception needs to be explained. Ch'eng Fang-wu fixed his attention on the outstanding French

¹ Ch'eng Fang-wu, "Na-han"-ti p'ing-lun [3] *The Criticism of the "Call to Arms"*, in his *Shih-ming* [4] *The Mission*, Shanghai 1927, p. 173.

² Originally published in Ch'uang-tsao chou-pao [6] *Creation Weekly*, 2, 20th May, 1923, p. 1-6. Later in *The Mission* p. 175-181.

philosopher J. M. Guyau and his work *L'art au point de vue sociologique* (*Art from the Sociological Point of View*) from the closing years of the last century. In following Guyau's thoughts as expressed in this book, it may clearly be seen that social solidarity and sympathy form the nutrient soil of genius—both of creative and critical genius. Hence, they are the indispensable conditions of creation and criticism.

What is exactly sympathy (t'ung-ch'ing) [7]? Ch'eng Fang-wu fails adequately to explain the term and this word as such could easily confuse the reader and the scholar in the area of modern Chinese literature. Thus J. M. Guyau with *l'esprit poétique* which is characteristic of him, explains the content of this term as follows: Sympathy is a certain state of the soul thrilled by moonbeams in the shades of eventide, it twinkles with blue and golden stars, has in it something of the charm of butterfly wings. Man needs the first to understand the spell of evening hours, the second to perceive the charm of a clear night, and the last to enjoy the charm of spring. The same holds true also for interhuman relationships!³ When speaking of sympathy with reference to the critical area, Guyau quotes from one of Flaubert's letters:

"In La Harpe's times, it (criticism, M.G.) was the grammar, in Sainte Beuve's and Taine's, it was history. When will it be art, and nothing but art? Do you know of any criticism that is earnestly concerned solely with the work itself? An ingenious analysis is given of the environment in which the work was created, and the causes that induced it. But its composition, its style, the author's viewpoint? Never. This criticism lacks a great imaginativeness and a great goodness, I mean to say, an ever-ready pure enthusiasm..."⁴

According to Guyau, G. Flaubert showed in these words the properties of true criticism. A capacity for sympathy and sociability will by itself create a genius if it disposes of sufficient creative abilities. If the critic wishes to understand a work of art, he must immerse himself in it and concentrate exclusively on it. A critic must be capable of admiring. But not unreservedly. He cannot do without some measure of tolerance, and must be able to forgive or pass over trifles.

"A work of art" writes Guyau, "is all the more worthy of admiration, the more thoughts and personal emotions it awakens in us, hence, the more suggestive it is."⁵

A critic then makes those concepts, thoughts and feelings accessible to the reader which had been suggested to him by the work.

Ch'eng Fang-wu's ideas are very similar, though they are not presented from such a wide angle.

"An ideal critic," he writes in an article devoted to the relationships between sympathy and criticism, "succeeds in extracting as many suggestions, thoughts and

³ J. M. Guyau, *L'art au point de vue sociologique*, Paris 1926, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 47-48.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 48.

moods out of a work as possible and then in expressing them. This, however, he cannot achieve without a warm sympathy towards the work of its author. Literature is a product of feelings. If the critic is emotionally adversely disposed towards the work or its author, or feels antipathy towards them, then however excellent the work may be, the critic despises it, the beautiful becomes ugly, and he will not be impressed by those thoughts and moods that had moved its author.”⁶

In explaining the term sympathy, Ch’eng Fang-wu came to think of Ts’ao P’ei’s (187—226) famous dictum wen-jen hsiang-ch’ing [8] men of letters hold one another in contempt.⁷ He writes that the common people’s sense of the aesthetic is not as keen and polished as that of writers and critics. The measure of importance of a critic’s judgment is greater than that of the ordinary man, but the measure of his sympathy is frequently smaller. Therefore, men of letters depreciate and despise themselves mutually.

Ch’eng Fang-wu’s following words, derived from a comprehension of sympathy in relation to a literary and artistic work and with regard to its theoretical content and a practical orientation of his criticism, are very striking:

“Also imperfect work, if the author’s sincerity is manifested in it, becomes an expression of his vital force striving for immortal life. We cannot depreciate this sincerity, this will. If the critic is to fulfill his mission, he must have full sympathy for the work.”⁸

However, as shall be seen from what follows, this was nothing but a requirement of his theoretical creed. He made little account of it in his critical work.

Besides the duty of immersing himself into the analysed work and admiring it, the critic had, according to Ch’eng Fang-wu, the obligation to show how far the work implemented the author’s design—if it in fact implemented it at all. The critic should not set great store by non-critics’ judgments. A critic filled with sympathy should know thoroughly the creative atmosphere and milieu in which the work was done and deduce from these the author’s attitudes at the time of creating, and his designs. Only in this manner will he apprehend the significance of the work and its meaning.⁹

At the very beginning of his theoretical work Ch’eng Fang-wu wrote that the goal of the new Chinese literary movement is “to render concrete our strength of self-expression, in order that obstacles separating hearts and souls of individual people, be removed.”¹⁰

⁶ Ch’eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 77—78.

⁷ Quoted from Kuo Shao-yü [9], *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p’i-p’ing shih* [10] *A History of Chinese Literary Criticism*, Peking 1961, p. 40.

⁸ Ch’eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 78.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 80.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 6.

In his famous article devoted to the social significance of art, called *I-shu-chih she-hui i-i* [11] *The Social Meaning of Art* Ch'eng Fang-wu underlines the "awakening" of sympathy as one of the most important social expressions of art. Art acts socially, to a great extent, by exploiting mankind's longing for beauty, and arousing in it sympathy which is dormant. The principal cause of mankind's social unhappiness is that it lacks sympathy.¹¹

Ch'eng Fang-wu's over-ardent feelings for sympathy cooled down a bit towards the end of 1923.¹² He came out with the statement that false artists should be done away with, just as noxious bacilli are. However, Ch'eng Fang-wu did not identify any further these false artists. But later also, during the first part of his initial critical activity—i.e. about the end of the first half of the twenties—sympathy did not cease to be the basis of his system. He justified his critical attacks aimed at his opponents by a love of truth.

In contrast to Guyau, Ch'eng Fang-wu does not speak much of sociability, social solidarity, but of social meaning, social function, phenomenon, etc. He is more pragmatic than Guyau and therefore makes use of other categories also.

In this connection, it should be observed in the first place that he sees the social impact of literature in a union with and through mediation of sympathy. True artists (a favourite term of both Ch'eng Fang-wu's and Guyau's) take an interest in social questions, hate an "ugly" social organization and express their sympathy for the "good" people.

This question is connected with another one which was of first importance to young Chinese of the twenties: Can literature be useful? The view prevailing at this time among revolutionary enthusiasts was that art is valueless to real life. Considerations were debased down to vulgarity: an artistic work cannot be eaten, not can it be used to dress. Ch'eng Fang-wu writes that even those among his contemporaries who had a wider view of things, failed to grasp that art has also social duties to perform. This not only hampered social progress, but was harmful also as regards efforts at social reforms.

Ch'eng Fang-wu felt convinced that art could help mankind on its way forward, though he doubted that it "could rule the State and tranquilize the Empire", or that life follows art.¹³ Ch'eng Fang-wu believed in the social values of literature and their influence, but a considerable difference is evident between his views and those of Kuo Mo-jo [12] (born 1892), the principal representative of the Creation Society. According to Ch'eng Fang-wu, the social impact of literature embodies primarily ethical values, while in Kuo Mo-jo's view, also political ones.¹⁴ Kuo Mo-jo believed

¹¹ Ibid. p. 23.

¹² Ibid. p. 17—18.

¹³ Ibid. p. 22—23.

¹⁴ Kuo Mo-jo, *Wen-i-chih she-hui-ti shih-ming* [13] *The Social Mission of Literature*, in *Wen-i lun-chi* [14] *Studies in Literature and Art*, 4th ed., Shanghai 1929, p. 134.

in the enormous power of art, Ch'eng Fang-wu was more sceptical in his faith in the influence of art.

According to Ch'eng Fang-wu, the social and also moral impact of art becomes manifest in two ways. The former was spoken of earlier in this study in connection with "awakening" mankind's sympathy. The latter consists in orienting "life upwards".¹⁵ Mankind is becoming conscious of itself. This is an indispensable prerequisite for life to improve in both the moral and the material sphere.

As far as we know, J. M. Guyau never spoke of becoming conscious of self. Consciousness of self is written of by another author, of great significance to China and to Japan—Edward Carpenter.¹⁶ Carpenter is the author of the book *The Art of Creation*. This book was influenced by the philosophy of Indian Upanishads and the Chinese philosophy of Lao-tzu (about 3rd cent. B.C.). Carpenter was a fashionable author in China at that time. We have no evidence that Ch'eng Fang-wu read this book, but it is obvious that he knew Carpenter's work, as shall be shown later. Here we shall point to the creative aspect of what Carpenter calls "Consciousness of Self".

E. Carpenter states that mankind in its evolution passes through three stages of consciousness. The first is the stage of simple consciousness "in which the knower, the knowledge and the thing known are still undifferentiated".¹⁷ This stage prevails in little children and in some primitive peoples. The second is that in which the great mass of mankind at present is. During this stage all the three components: the knower, the knowledge and the thing known are clearly separated. The Con-

¹⁵ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 23.

¹⁶ Hsüeh-teng [15] *The Lantern of Study* which was a supplement to the Shanghai newspaper *Shih-shih hsün-pao* [16] *The China Times* published in instalments the translation of one of Carpenter's works entitled *Nan-nü kuan-hsi lun* [17] *On the Relation Between Sexes*, see 7th—14th, 16th, 18th—23rd June, 7th—18th August, 1919. The same work was published in instalments in *Ch'en-pao fu-k'an* [18] *Supplement to the newspaper Ch'en-pao*, see 29th June to 31st July, 1921. A third translation of the same work appeared in *Fu-nü chou-pao* [19] *Women's Weekly* which was the supplement of the Shanghai newspaper *Min-kuo jih-pao* [20] *Republican Daily* from 11th October, 1923 to 9th April, 1924. This may have been the translation of the book *Love Coming of Age*. This book was translated into Chinese at least three times; twice in book form, see *Ch'üan-kuo tsung-shu-mu* [21] *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*, Shanghai 1935, p. 35. One of these translations was published originally in *Min-to* [22] *People's Bell*, see 6, 5, (1925) and 7, 5 (1926). In *The Lantern of Study* Chinese readers could find an article by Kawada Tsugue entitled *Edward Carpenter tui-yü she-hui kai-tsao-ti i-chien* [23] *Edward Carpenter on the Social Reconstruction*, see 23rd—27th September, 1919. The same supplement carried a translation of Carpenter's work *Tao-te-lun* [24] *On Virtue*, see 2nd—9th July, 1922. In *People's Bell*, 10, 4 (September 1929) we can find the translation of Carpenter's famous essay *Wen-ming-ti ch'i-yin chi ch'i chiu-fa* [25] *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*, from the year 1899.

¹⁷ E. Carpenter, *The Art of Creation*, 3rd ed., London 1916, p. 54.

sciousness of Self becomes more and more distinct. Carpenter does not consider this fact as something with which mankind could be satisfied. Slowly but surely a chasm deepens between Self and objective side of things, subject and object are getting apart from each other. In the end, the Self is left face to face with a dead and senseless world. When the illusion of separation of subject and object, of self and matter is complete, the third stage sets in, which Carpenter calls cosmic, or universal consciousness. He characterizes this stage as follows:

“The object suddenly is seen, is felt, to be one with the self. The reconciliation is effected. The long process of differentiation comes to an end, and reintegration takes its place. The knower, the knowledge, and the thing known are once more one...”¹⁸

Carpenter does not mention it, but the first Chinese Taoists may have achieved this state several centuries before our era.

From what we know of Ch'eng Fang-wu it may be deduced that he was concerned with the second stage of evolution of human consciousness. The undeveloped individualism of the Chinese may have confirmed him in the thought that Chinese people have not even properly achieved the second stage of consciousness. In the first half of the twenties, consciousness was to Ch'eng Fang-wu a matter of epistemology, of ontology, not of politics.

In the sense in which Ch'eng Fang-wu apprehended the social impact of art, art-for-art's sake, too, had its social significance. It had only a single condition to fulfill: i.e. to be true art. If it gave society nothing but aesthetic emotions, that sufficed.¹⁹ Ch'eng Fang-wu understood aesthetic emotions in Guyau's interpretation. According to Guyau, an artistic (that is aesthetic) emotion is essentially a social emotion.²⁰

In contrast to Kuo Mo-jo—and also another one of his friends Yü [Ta-fu [26] (1896—1945)—and also in contrast to Guyau, Ch'eng Fang-wu never wrote directly about a genius.²¹ He wrote about true artists or about ideal critics. *Cheng-ti i-shu-chia* [29] *True Artists* is also a title of one of his essays.²² A basic condition to be fulfilled by anyone wishing to become a true artist is that he should possess a great heart, or as Ch'eng Fang-wu repeatedly stressed in the article just referred to, to have wei-ta-ti hsin-ch'ing [30] a great emotional capacity, great emotional reserves, that could later be transferred to others.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 59.

¹⁹ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 25.

²⁰ J. M. Guyau, op. cit. p. 21.

²¹ Kuo Mo-jo wrote about genius on several occasions, e.g. in an essay *T'ien-ts'ai yü chiao-yü* [27] *Genius and Education*, in *Studies in Literature and Art*, p. 397—410 and in *Sheng-huo i-shu-hua* [28] *Practical Aestheticism*, ibid. p. 141—150.

²² This essay was completed on 6th November, 1923 and it is one of the best of Ch'eng's articles.

“Heart! that is what an artist needs before all else. If we wish to create a great work of art, we must strive to have a great reservoir of true emotions.”²³

When using the word ‘artist’, Ch’eng Fang-wu does not mean to imply only the meaning commonly conveyed by this term. According to him, a true artist is a great man—and this may imply a holy man, a philosopher, hence, someone who differs from the common man by the richness of his inner life. An artist is the bearer of vital essence, he exemplifies life, is a creator of life. Great artists preach a religion of “love”, i.e. of sympathy. Some of them take commiseration as their starting point, others simply act. The former are the holy men, the latter the artists. Jesus, Buddha, Lao-tzu and Socrates are, according to Ch’eng Fang-wu, great artists, just as are Beethoven, Millet, Tolstoy or Dostoyevski. Great artists do not plunge into the black sea of life, do not allow themselves to be carried and tossed by its waves. The life of mankind provides them with material for creation. Do not these words hide the ideal of an ancient Taoist sage? The life of these artists is a perfect art. Their great emotional capacity is as if it contained the soul of all mankind! A true artist is then he who “has a great emotional capacity and knows how to live his life as an art, he is the superman, he is man and God at once.”²⁴

2

Ch’eng Fang-wu’s criticism contains also elements of aesthetic criticism.

The very first sentence of his first theoretical article sounds as follows: “Literature derives from inner demands (nei-hsin-ti yao-ch’iu) [31] and need not have a definite goal.”²⁵ This of course does not mean that our inner wishes have not a certain tendency and art has not its mission. In these words we may clearly feel the echo of Kant’s “Zweckmässigkeit ohne Zweck” (purposiveness without purpose).²⁶

According to Ch’eng Fang-wu, literature (and hence also art), has a triple mission. The first of them is a mission with regard to the period in which it is created. Writers are part of the contemporaneous current, their creation must have a contemporaneous colouring. Our life, our thinking must be powerfully expressed in order that people may criticize their life. Falsehood and evil of the period must be struck with the artillery fire of literature and art.²⁷

The second is the mission relative to the movement for the spoken language (pai-hua). Here Ch’eng Fang-wu expressed his sceptical view on the possibilities of

²³ Ch’eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 14.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 16—17.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1.

²⁶ *Loc. cit.* and I. Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft (Critique of Judgment)*, quoted according to O. B. Hardison, ed., *Modern Continental Literary Criticism*, London 1964, p. 3—4.

²⁷ Ch’eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 4—5.

the new Chinese literary language and reproached it with an inadequate "expressive" force. Ch'eng Fang-wu was wrong on this point, though he rightly affirmed that Chinese writers do not strive hard enough to produce valuable works. He set himself emphatically against imitating, e.g. Japanese *haiku*. Every imitation was aimed against his conception of creation.²⁸ This will be spoken of later.

The third mission relates to literature itself. The context in which Ch'eng Fang-wu characterized this mission, has often been wrongly interpreted. From certain sentences addressed to adherents of art for art's sake, some investigators have made a defence or apotheosis of aestheticism (Li Ho-lin [32] and A. Tagore), or very generally of l'art-pour-l'artism (Liu Shou-sung) [34].²⁹

"They (i.e. adherents of art for art's sake, M.G.) assume," wrote Ch'eng Fang-wu, "that literature has its own meaning and that it cannot be manipulated on the utilitarian counting frame. Whether its object be a search for beauty or of extreme joy, if we search for them sincerely, we shall not regret it, nor consider it useless... All the views of adherents of art for art's sake need not be correct, but they still are at least partly correct. Those not interested in art, cannot understand why a painter will work in extreme heat or dreadful cold, why a poet neglects sleep and forgets his meals in order that he may deeply reflect. We cannot understand l'art-pour-l'artists in about the same way as those not interested in art cannot understand artists."

And he continues directly:

"It is at least my view that if we rule out all utilitarian calculations, a search of perfection and beauty of literature represents a possibility which deserves that we devote to it all our life. And if there is nothing in some type of belles-lettres that would teach us something, yet awakens in us aesthetic emotions and comforts us, we cannot deny that these aesthetic emotions and this comforting will produce results in our daily life."³⁰

Ch'eng Fang-wu neither defended nor criticized adherents of art for art's sake, but viewed them *sub specie* of his own literary and artistic creed. He in no way denied the utilitarian function of literature and art. But neither did he make a fetish of it, as became practically a rule later in the history of Chinese literature and art. When aesthetic emotions and spiritual cleansing meant to him the realization of the social function of art, he succeeded in comprehending also art for art's sake as a utilitarian art, necessary for mankind.

Alongside purposiveness without purpose and the associated question of utilitari-

²⁸ Ibid. p. 6-9.

²⁹ Li Ho-lin, *Chin erh-shih nien Chung-kuo wen-i ssu-ch'ao lun* [33] *Modern Chinese Literary Criticism During the Last Twenty Years*, Ta-lien 1948, p. 97. A. Tagore, *Literary Debates in Modern China (1918-1937)*, Tokyo 1967, p. 53-54. Liu Shou-sung, *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh-shih ch'u-kao* [35] *A Draft of Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 1, Peking 1957, p. 135-136.

³⁰ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 9-10.

anism, two further traits characterize Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism of his "socio-aesthetic" period.

The first is disinterestedness, which together with purposiveness without purpose, is also met with in Kuo Mo-jo.³¹

Ch'eng Fang-wu relates the question of disinterestedness to that of great emotional capacity referred to earlier, and of which we shall speak again, though in another context. An artist must possess a great emotional capacity to be a great artist. He may cultivate it within himself, he may educate himself to it, nevertheless solely for his own sake, not for that of his work. Great emotional capacity will make his life great and only then will it flow out into his work. This greatness of the artist cannot of course be measured by his fame or his material gains. Neither the one nor the other has any relation to the artist's greatness. He calls those artists who create for their own glory and for money false artists. A true artist is disinterested.

"The true artist bows his head only before Beauty. His creed is Truth, Beauty and Goodness. He longs for the eternal, strives after greatness. Neither glory nor gain will move his heart. Nor will they force his heart to follow them."³²

When explaining the term genius, Kuo Mo-jo made use of, besides others, a paraphrase of Schopenhauer's definition of genius.³³ At one place of his anthology of woe, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung (The World as Will and Idea)*, A. Schopenhauer wrote that "genius is simply the completest objectivity, i.e., the objective tendency of the mind... Genius is the power of leaving one's own interests, wishes and aims entirely out of sight, of entirely renouncing one's own personality for a time, so as to remain pure knowing subject, clear vision of world."³⁴ But such views of genius were rather distant both to Kuo Mo-jo and to Ch'eng Fang-wu. The one and the other were equally influenced by traditional Chinese apprehension of genius.

Ch'eng Fang-wu's true artist or ideal critic is a man with exquisite moral qualities. His virtues represent an enormous power. When there is question of his relation to fame and to profitableness, he behaves as Chuang-tzu had done towards the messengers of king Wei of Ch'u (339—329 B.C.).³⁵ This, however, requires one

³¹ Kuo Mo-jo, *Wen-i-chih she-hui shih-ming*, p. 129—131.

³² Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 9—10.

³³ Kuo Mo-jo, *Sheng-huo-ti i-shu-hua*, p. 147.

³⁴ This translation is taken from W. Durant, *The Story of Philosophy*, New York 1943, p. 252.

³⁵ When the messengers of King Wei of Ch'u came to Chuang-tzu and offered him one thousand taels of gold and the post of prime minister, Chuang-tzu refused and said: "But have you never seen the sacrificial ox used for the suburban sacrifice? When after being fattened up for several years, it is decked with embroidered trappings and led to the altar, would it not willingly then change place with some uncared-for pigling? ... Begone. Defile me not! I would rather disport myself to my own enjoyment in the mire than to be slave to the ruler of a state." (H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzu, Mystic, Moralistic and Social Reformer*, Shanghai 1926, p. viii.) These are the words of the historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien [36] (145—190 B.C.). The text in Chuang-tzu is slightly different. Cf. p. 434.

qualification. Even though the true artist or ideal critic does not “immerse himself into the black sea of life”, he is not so much of a hermit as was Chuang-tzu’s ideal.³⁶

A few more words about disinterestedness. According to Ch’eng Fang-wu, criticism must not become “a tool of attack aimed at enemies”.³⁷ If a critic wishes to examine a work, he must achieve that which is spoken of in science as “absolute rest”, he must examine it in such a manner as to remove all obstacles and antitheses that may hinder him in his disinterested approach.³⁸

A further trait characterizing Ch’eng Fang-wu’s critical theory of this period is seriousness! This is connected with the conception of the true artist and ideal critic. Their attitudes are fair, just and serious. At one place he speaks of the “seriousness” of criticism (p’i-p’ing-ti cheng-yen) [37].³⁹ A condition for it to be achieved is that its hinterland will be created by the human characters of its creators. We observe here, solely as a point of interest, that the requirement of seriousness appeared later in the programme proclamation of the Crescent Moon Society (Hsin-yüeh-she) [38] in 1928.⁴⁰

3

According to Guyau “artistic and poetic genius is an extraordinarily powerful form of sympathy and sociability that is satisfied only when it creates a new world: a world of living beings. Genius is the powerful strength of love which, like every true love intensively tends to fecundity and to the creation of life. A genius must love everything and everybody in order to understand all.”⁴¹ Imagination predominates in a genius oriented objectively—while emotionality in one oriented subjectively. According to Guyau (and he obstinately insists on this statement), “a characteristic of true genius (who is not unequivocally either subjective or objective, M.G.) is precisely a penetration of imagination by emotionality, and that by an emotionality loving, sharing, fertile, expanding; talents with a pure imagination are false; colour and form without feeling is a chimera.”⁴²

³⁶ Ch’eng Fang-wu was always for *littérature engagée*. But in the first half of the twenties he was for some sort of a “pathos of distance”. According to him not he is a good writer or poet who only lives or participates in the life, but who lives it truly and then artistically processes it.

³⁷ Ch’eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 85.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 86.

⁴⁰ The author of this programme proclamation seems to have been Hsü Chih-mo [39] (1896—1931), well-known Chinese poet. Chiang Fu-tsung [40] (born 1898) and Liang Shih-ch’iu [41] (born 1901) included it in *Hsü Chih-mo ch’üan-chi* [42] *The Complete Works of Hsü Chih-mo*, 6th vol., Taipei 1969, p. 277—287.

⁴¹ J. M. Guyau, *op. cit.* p. 27.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 29.

Ch'eng Fang-wu speaks of great emotional capacity, but in reality he has something more in mind. Here belong, before all else, moral qualities of a true artist and an ideal critic, and all his creative abilities.

Ch'eng Fang-wu's second theoretical article is *Shih-ch'i-ti t'i-ch'ang* [43] *Emphasizing Courage*. Shih-ch'i here does not mean pugnacity, warlike valour—hence the original meaning—but an effort to achieve certain moral qualities. It is not addressed directly to critics and artists, but to all the Chinese in general, mainly to the intelligentsia. However, on reading another of Ch'eng Fang-wu's articles, *Wen-hsiieh-chieh-ti hsien-hsing* [44] *The Present State in Literature*, we note he was concerned with similar problems also among men of letters.

It has been shown earlier that a longing for fame and glory and strivings after material profit are incompatible with a true artist, i.e. a genius. In his article *Emphasizing Courage* Ch'eng Fang-wu writes also about fame, but primarily about material gains and successes. In this he sees signs of moral decadence in Chinese society. Against strivings after profit he sets i [45] righteousness, as the basic moral virtue in man—of course together with jen-ai [46], i.e. love in its most diverse forms, such as love of truth, of righteousness, of fellow-men. This is precisely the sympathy of which Ch'eng Fang-wu speaks.⁴³ Confucius (551—479 B.C.) set righteousness quite unambiguously against li [47] profitableness, when he wrote: "The Superior Man is informed in what is right. The inferior man is informed in what is profitable."⁴⁴ What is in reality righteousness? Mencius (374—289 B.C.) sets the basic virtue of Confucianist ethics jen [48] human-heartedness side by side with i (righteousness) and characterizes them as follows: "Human-heartedness is the mind of man, righteousness is man's path."⁴⁵ 'Mind' really means rational nature of man on which the system of Confucian philosophy is built. It is this nature which is a prerequisite for setting up correct interhuman relationships and relations with the surrounding world. H. A. Giles sometimes translates the term i as "one's neighbour duty".⁴⁶ And in fact, i signifies action that is beyond self-interest. He who does what he ought to and refrains from doing what he should not do, is a righteous man. Essentially this involves the demand for decorum as known in European antiquity.

"Among the inner struggles that take place in the hearts of men", writes Ch'eng Fang-wu at the opening of his article, "none causes as many difficulties as that between righteousness and profitableness."⁴⁷

⁴³ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 225—229.

⁴⁴ Quoted from Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 1, Princeton University Press 1952, p. 75. Cf. also J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, Hong Kong 1960, p. 170.

⁴⁵ J. Legge, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 414.

⁴⁶ H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 166. Cf. also *Concordance to Chuang-tzu*, Harvard University Press 1956, p. 35.

⁴⁷ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 225.

Ch'eng Fang-wu laments over the Chinese present. It can give nothing to the world. But how different was the Chinese past! He recalls the example of Lu Chung-lien [49] (3rd cent. B.C.), who stood up against the conquerors from Ch'in,⁴⁸ further the examples of the Po I [50] and Shu Ch'i [51], who as subjects of the Shang dynasty refused to eat millet of the Chou dynasty, i.e. to serve their conquerors.⁴⁹ All gave examples of cheng-i [52] righteousness. This is the term which Ch'eng Fang-wu uses most frequently. He depicts his ancestors as men "not seduced by profit", for whom "death meant a return", who "had risen above success and failure, advantages and drawbacks".⁵⁰ This attitude towards tradition and traditional ethical values, towards their practical expressions, was diametrically opposed to the attitude of recognized ideological leaders at the beginning of the twenties—e.g. the attitude of Ch'en Tu-hsiu [53] (1879—1942), Lu Hsün [54] (1881—1936) and those who were at the head of the May Fourth Movement of 1919.

Ch'eng Fang-wu gave a different portrait of his contemporaries. Profitableness, the principal characteristic of an inferior man, was, according to him, most typical for modern Chinese.

"They unite only for profit's sake", he wrote of his countrymen, "and they fight only for profit." Only when they have amassed as much as is possible and perpetrated evil in boundless measure, are they fully satisfied. Truth and righteousness are paltry in their eyes—they are indeed their enemies."⁵¹

Ch'eng Fang-wu considers love of truth to be also one of the basic moral virtues of man. In his article *Hsin-ti hsiu-yang* [55] *New Education*, love of truth is characterized as one of four goals of the new education.

Ch'eng Fang-wu wrote oftener about truth, and considered it as "the element

⁴⁸ According to H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, Shanghai 1898, Lu Chung-lien was a native of the Ch'i State "who led the life of a wandering philosopher. In B. C. 258 he happened to be in Han-tan, when that city was surrounded by the victorious forces of Ch'in after the frightful defeat inflicted by Po Ch'i on Chao Kuo, and advised the abandonment of the project of doing homage to Prince Chao Hsiang of Ch'in as Emperor, urging a vigorous resistance. The siege of Han-tan being raised in the same year, large rewards were offered to him for his services, but he disdainfully refused everything, left the city and disappeared" (p. 542).

⁴⁹ According to the same source Po I was an elder brother to Shu Ch'i, and son of the Prince of the Ku-chu. "Their father wished to make Shu Ch'i his heir; but the latter refused to deprive his brother of his birth right, and on his father's death fled from the State. Po I declared that he could not act contrary to his father's orders, and followed Shu Ch'i into retirement, leaving the throne to a third brother. In their old age they sought refuge with Wen Wang, but on reaching his domain found that he was dead and the Yin dynasty was overthrown. Declining to change their allegiance, they wandered away into the mountains, supporting themselves on a wild leguminous plant until finally they perished of cold and hunger" (p. 631).

⁵⁰ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 225.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 226.

of our existence", ⁵² without it human life would be terrible. We shall write later about his conception of truth.

Naturally, righteousness must likewise be the aim of new education. He wrote that everyone must strive after such righteousness as is befitting him and that righteousness should be the "norm of all doing".⁵³

The next goal of the new education was to be a hatred of evil. He took a clear stand against Tolstoy's principle of "not resisting evil by violence."⁵⁴ Evil cannot be tolerated, we must fight against it.

As the last aim of the new education, Ch'eng Fang-wu set down the capacity for bearing pain. If we fight against the forces of evil, then pain cannot be avoided.⁵⁵

Ch'eng Fang-wu believed that the nation's morals can be very closely related to its prosperity or its decay. If the moral life of the members of a nation is of a low standard, then the spirit of the nation, too, dies off slowly. The great Chinese nation appeared to him to be merely a living corpse.⁵⁶

Although Ch'eng Fang-wu draws considerably from Guyau and uses more or less his terminology, nevertheless, he is far more traditional than would appear at first glance.

His religion of love or *lien-ai*, or *t'ung-ch'ing* is not merely another word for Guyau's sympathy, great emotional capacity another word for Guyau's emotionality. Among the philosophers of Chinese antiquity, Mencius was evidently closest to Ch'eng Fang-wu, even though in his works he does not mention him and only once quotes his saying.

Mencius is a Confucianist philosopher, but according to A. Waley, he was influenced by Ch'i form of Taoism.⁵⁷ The whole of Mencius' teaching is based on the principle of human-heartedness, similarly as Ch'eng Fang-wu's is on that of sympathy. None among the ancient Chinese thinkers set so clearly human-heartedness and righteousness in opposition to profitableness, as did precisely Mencius. In the last chapter of his book, Mencius wrote words with which Ch'eng Fang-wu could but agree, expressing as they did the premise of this theory of creation and his world outlook. They are as follows:

"All things are complete within ourselves. There is no joy that exceeds that of discovery, upon self-examination, that we have acted with integrity."⁵⁸

⁵² Ibid. p. 223.

⁵³ Loc. cit.

⁵⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 223—224.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 224.

⁵⁷ A. Waley, *Introduction*, in *The Way and its Power*, London 1949, p. 149.

⁵⁸ W. A. C. H. Dobson, *Mencius*, University of Toronto Press 1963, p. 147. The Chinese text see in *Meng-tzu yin-te* [56] *Concordance to Meng-tzu*, Harvard-Yenching Institute 1941, p. 51.

When commenting upon these words, the famous translator of ancient Chinese canonical books, James Legge, wrote that the part in which they occur "is quite mystical".⁵⁹

But is this judgment by Mencius really mystical? Why should "all things" come to be known only on the basis of their own selves and not in virtue of their existence, or at least of their image in our consciousness? Why should creation be merely an imitation of objective reality and not be an expression of what there is of it in our own selves?

When writing of true artists, Ch'eng Fang-wu stated that "they build up themselves, create themselves, express themselves".⁶⁰ How could they build, create themselves if they did not build, did not create the inner, ethical and gnoseological aspect of their "ego"? But what would be their creative contribution to the world if they and the world were not essentially one, if "all things", the entire universe were not within their own selves?

On this occasion and in this connection Ch'eng Fang-wu quotes the following observation from E. Carpenter:

"Life is Expression."

He does not give any reference whence he took the statement, but the latter is really found in Carpenter's book of essays called *Angel's Wings*, the last of these, the ninth being entitled *The Art of Life*. By the way, this essay had been translated into Chinese and published half a year before Ch'eng Fang-wu made use of the above quotation.⁶¹

In this essay Carpenter expressed his conviction that "the evolution of the fine arts during the period of civilization is leading up in the present time towards their amalgamation again with actual Life, and towards the Reconstruction of Life itself as a thing of beauty and indeed the greatest of the arts."⁶²

He then writes that "life is expression" and this phrase like a musical motif recurs several times—also in an altered form—in the article.⁶³

To Carpenter 'Life is Expression' is the same as Life is Art.⁶⁴ These two premises are of course connected by the sign of equality. This then means that art, too, is expression.

⁵⁹ J. Legge, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 450.

⁶⁰ Ch'eng Fang wu, *The Mission*, p. 17 Ch'eng asserts the same also about "true critics". In the essay *P'i-p'ing yü p'i-p'ing-chia* [57] *The Critic and Criticism*, he wrote: "He (i. e. literary critic, M. G.) creates and perfects himself on the basis of his own literary activity" (p. 84).

⁶¹ Ch'eng Fang wu, *The Mission*, p. 17. The translation of this essay was published in Hsin shih-tai (58) *New Age*, 2, 15th May, 1923. Its Chinese title was: *Sheng-ming-ti i-shu* [59] *The Art of Life*.

⁶² E. Carpenter, *Angel's Wings*, New York 1899, p. 210.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 211, 214, 219.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 219.

The premise, life is expression, is rather general. If it is to say anything in the area Carpenter has in mind, then it must be applied to an individual, the bearer of this expressivity. Hence, according to him, one of the things to remember is "that Life must be an expression of one's Self".⁶⁵ And since life is art, then art is, or should or will be (depending on the creator) "an expression of himself",⁶⁶ hence of the creator's own self.

At another place—in his book *The Art of Creation*—Carpenter writes also of Life and of Expression, without explicitly putting between them the sign of equality. Under the art of creation Carpenter understands "a process or method by which things are made to appear in the world".⁶⁷ Hence, he is not concerned solely with artistic or literary creation.

During the second half of the 19th cent. philosophers looked upon creation as on a process of machinery; by the beginning of the 20th cent. they had altered their views and began to see in it art. Carpenter ascribes this *inter alia*—to the effect of old Indian and Chinese Taoist philosophy. The creative process is extremely important, however, the basic elements of this process can be identified relatively easily. In man they are first of all, feelings and desires that are the subjects for the rise of thoughts, and thoughts are completed by actions. This process is unequivocally extravert and is valid for creators of both material and spiritual values.

As regards the area of literary creation, Carpenter wrote as follows:

"And there are other people, Authors of novels, or Dramatists who deliberately do this—who deliberately isolate themselves and concentrate their minds till the figures and characters so created become like living men and women. And not only to themselves, but to the world at large. So that to-day to every one of us, there are scores of characters created by the great dramatists and authors of which it is hard for us at the moment to say whether they are men and women whom we actually remember, or whether they are such creations from books. The truth being that the author with immense labour has projected his own feeling, his own vitality, into figures and forms with such force, that they begin to compete in reality with the figures and forms of the actual world."⁶⁸

According to Carpenter, man has in himself will, purpose, *character* and this "tends to push outwards towards Expression".⁶⁹ Creation is not an almighty *fiat* of which we read at the beginning of *Genesis*, but a process "which we can see at any time going on within our minds and bodies, by which forms are continually being generated from feeling and desires and, gradually acquiring more and more

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 211.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 217.

⁶⁷ E. Carpenter, *The Art of Creation*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 21.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 30.

definition, pass outward from the subtle and invisible into the concrete and tangible. This process, I say, we can observe within ourselves in the passages from Emotion to Thought, and from these again to Action and the External World. It is the foundation of all human Art."⁷⁰

Carpenter's words that follow immediately are reminiscent of what Ch'eng Fang-wu has to say about beauty and perfection:

"The painter, the sculptor, the musician are for ever bringing their dreams of Beauty and Perfection forward from the most intimate recesses and treasure-houses of their hearts and giving them a place in the world."⁷¹

If we realize what concrete and useful work Carpenter had in mind when speaking of "creation", Ch'eng Fang-wu's words will appear to us in another light. And decisively not as a defence or apotheosis of art for art's sake.

Earlier we quoted one of Ch'eng Fang-wu's statements on literature deriving from inner demands. What else can these inner demands be as the feelings, desires, writer's own vitality, of which we read in Carpenter? Ch'eng Fang-wu, however, places the greatest emphasis on the writer's *s character*, his moral qualities and knowledge. He does not write on this explicitly, but it can be deduced from his individual judgments.

"Inner demands" are the basis of the theory of artistic creation not only in Ch'eng Fang-wu's own theoretical and critical system, but in that of all the members of the Creation Society, in so far as they followed these questions. This expression appeared for the first time in Kuo Mo-jo, in the second number of the first volume of the journal Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an (Creation Quarterly):

"Our society is a free union of friends. Our views, our thoughts are not always unanimous. What unites us is that, led by inner demands, dictates of the heart, we wish to devote ourselves to literary activity."⁷²

Carpenter did not write about creation only as an artistic category. He was interested in creation in a wider sense of the word: he saw a manifestation of creation in the green bud, in the embryo of a woman's womb, in the house where men live — hence, in every manifestation of human life or of nature.

Somewhat different views on this question were expressed by the Japanese scholar Kuriyagawa Hakuson [62], the most translated critic in China in the twenties. He stated that inner demands are an expression of the so-called sheng-ming-ti li [63] vital force, something that H. Bergson called *elan vital*.⁷³ Kuriyagawa's work

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 31—32.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 32.

⁷² Kuo Mo-jo, *Pien-chi yü-t'an* [60] *Editor's Notes*, Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an [61] *Creation Quarterly*, 1, 2, 1922, p. 21.

⁷³ Kuriyagawa Hakuson, *K'un-men-ti hsiang-cheng* [64] *The Symbols of Sorrow*, in *Lu Hsün i-wen-chi* [65] *The Translations of Lu Hsün*, vol. 3, Peking 1958, p. 7.

dealing with this topic was translated into Chinese twice.⁷⁴ According to Kuriyagawa, *élan vital* is found everywhere—even in man, in whom it becomes adequately transformed and when it manifests itself, it characterizes his individuality. Driven by his inner demands, man endeavours to express his own individuality. In this consists the “creative life of creation”. In other words, “an expression of one’s own life is an expression of individuality, an expression of individuality is creative life”.⁷⁵

From what has been said so far, it clearly ensues that Ch’eng Fang-wu is nearer to Carpenter than to Kuriyagawa, or to Bergson. And this for one reason: *élan vital* is a superfluous item in Ch’eng Fang-wu’s critical conception. The critic Cheng Po-ch’i [66] writes that H. Bergson was a favourite philosopher to members of Creation Society,⁷⁶ but it does seem that he influenced Ch’eng Fang-wu; however, he did exert an influence on the critical conception of Yü Ta-fu.⁷⁷

Ch’eng Fang-wu’s colleagues understood the question of self-expression as one of creation. He himself also considered criticism as a matter of self-expression. In a literary work he saw “the creative spirit” as the visible part of literary activity, and in a critical work, “the critical spirit” as the visible part of literary activity.

“The true critic”, Ch’eng Fang-wu wrote, “devotes himself to literary activity. He expresses his own self and thus creates literary criticism which may be trusted. That is his literary work. Just as a truly literary work must be supported by the writer’s personality, so must the work of a literary criticism be backed up by a critic’s personality...”⁷⁸

Similarly as Kuo Mo-jo or Yü Ta-fu, Ch’eng Fang-wu, too, made attacks against contemporary Chinese critics.⁷⁹ He pursued in particular the members of Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-hui [72] The Literary Association, insisting that they did not grasp the essence of criticism, its self-expressive filling, and that they misused it. Evidently, all the members of the Creation Society had before their eyes Mao Tun’s criticism

⁷⁴ See *Ch’üan-kuo tsung shu-mu*, p. 351.

⁷⁵ Kuriyagawa Hakuson, op. cit. p. 8.

⁷⁶ Cheng Po-ch’i, *Chung-kuo hsün wen-hsüeh ta-hsi hsiao-shuo sa-nchi tao-lun* [67] *An Introductory Study to the 3rd Volume of Fiction in the Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 5, Shanghai 1935, p. 11.

⁷⁷ Yü Ta-fu, *Wen-hsüeh kai-shuo* [68] *Outline of Literature*, Shanghai 1927, p. 1–3. The question sheng [69] is treated by A. Doležalová, *A Survey of the Views of Yü Ta-fu on Society and Literature*, in *Universitas Comeniana, Philologica*, XVII, 1965, p. 53–54.

⁷⁸ Ch’eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 84.

⁷⁹ Cf. Kuo Mo-jo, *P’i-p’an I-men-hu i-pen chi ch’i-t’a* [70] *The Critique of the Translation of Immensee and Other Questions*, *Ch’uang-tsao chi-k’an*, 1, 2, 1922, p. 29 and Yü Ta-fu, *I-wen ssu-chien* [71] *A Personal View on Literature*, *ibid.* 1, 1, 1922, p. 1–2.

of the first issue of *Creation Quarterly* from May, 1922.⁸⁰ They—and Ch'eng Fang-wu also—were vexed mostly by the critical views of others on their works. Members of the *Creation Society* considered these critical views as attacks and affirmed that criticism in the eyes of their opponents is but an instrument of attack aimed at the enemy.⁸¹ Ch'eng Fang-wu condemned criticism looked upon in this light, for it “constituted an offence” against the postulate of sympathy. It should, however, be observed here that the criticism by members of the *Literary Association* was not such as members of the *Creation Society* made it out to be.

4

Ch'eng Fang-wu was likewise considerably interested in the question of truth as a form of sympathy and gnoseological phenomenon. To him truth was an indispensable condition and the filling of true criticism.

“The feeling of approving and disapproving belongs to all men”, Mencius had written long before, and these words — the only ones Ch'eng Fang-wu ever quoted from Mencius, form the basis of his faith in truth.⁸² The terms “approving and disapproving” imply a critical spirit. Ch'eng Fang-wu set himself against the conception of a “nonexistence of objective truth”. Objective truth, or the “right” truth—as he also called it—was in his eyes a prerequisite for the life of an individual, the entire society and the whole social life. The double of this truth was to have been true righteousness.⁸³ The former was the implementation of Truth, the latter of Goodness. At the same time it should be noted here that Ch'eng Fang-wu does not strive after a recognition of the existence of absolute objective truth, but vindicates the truth of “a scientific spirit”; he is not concerned with dogmatic truth, i. e. truth already codified in certain scientific or artistico-scientific disciplines, but one that becomes revealed in the process of a concrete investigation.⁸⁴ He is not interested, e.g. in concepts which the investigator acquires in his study of aesthetics, but in those which he arrives at while investigating facts related to aesthetics. These truths are not sufficiently general, but embody something of the absolute. And the fact that from the point of view of the absolute their impact is inadequate, is no reason to deny that they are truths. They are parts of absolute truths. We repeat, however, that Ch'eng

⁸⁰ Sun [73] (Mao Tun's pseudonym), *Ch'uang-tsoo kei-wo-ti yin-hsiang* [74] *The Impressions From Reading Creation Quarterly*, Wen-hsüeh hsün-k'an [75] *Literary Decade*, 37—39, May 1922.

⁸¹ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 85.

⁸² Cf. J. Legge, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 402. My translation was slightly changed because of stylistical reasons. For the Chinese text see *Meng-tzu yin-te*, p. 43. Ch'eng Fang-wu's quotation is in *The Mission*, p. 58.

⁸³ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 223, 226—227.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 67—68.

Fang-wu was not concerned with absolute truths. He was more interested in the relative aspects of individual phenomena than in their absolute values, and this applied also to literary criticism.

When Ch'eng Fang-wu began to write more systematically about questions of literary criticism, he took no stand either as regards Guyau's sociological criticism, or any aesthetic criticism from Kant to B. Croce. He set out his ideal of criticism in two articles called *P'i-p'ing-ti chien-she* [76] *The Construction of Criticism* and *Chien-she-ti p'i-p'ing-lun* [77] *The Constructive Criticism*. However, this constructive criticism remained but a theoretical fragment. Ch'eng Fang-wu did not find the time to think it over and work it out. He flung himself too soon into the maelstrom of practical political life and later began to study and propagate the principles of proletarian criticism.

The idea of this constructive criticism took shape in Ch'eng Fang-wu's mind sometime in the second half of 1923, at a time when it was already possible to read in the Chinese press essays and thoughts by Teng Chung-hsia [78], Yün Tai-ying [79] and others. Demands had then been made for art and literature fully to be put to the service of society and politics.

Ch'eng Fang-wu starts his first article on this theme in the following words:

"Those who have matters of the nation at heart, are conscious of the fact that things go badly. There are no written laws, good is not rewarded and evil is not punished. Gold has become the moving force of everything, force has become the measure of all things..."⁸⁵

According to Ch'eng Fang-wu, the world of literature is the "shorthand" (shu-hsieh) [80] of the political world.⁸⁶ If in the area of national matters people are urged e.g. to keep the laws, then in the literary area the construction of criticism should be propagated.

Just as truth, so also criticism and a faculty to criticize are an indispensable element of human existence. Our senses and our reason are capable to differentiate. Reason is capable to judge what is good or bad for us, what is dangerous and what is not. Of course, only when simple problems are implied. If there is question of complex matters, then study alone will help. It is impossible in the present world to get on without a solid education. This applies equally to the world of technology, science, and to the social, political and cultural life.

The greater the progress in the world, the higher the degree of evolution, the more complex are individual phenomena, and thereby the more critics are needed by the society.

The critic in the proposed Ch'eng Fang-wu's conception is not a mere literary

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 55.

⁸⁶ Loc. cit.

or artistic critic. His critic must have an extensive knowledge and must be able to hold his own in all the spheres of human civilization. Progress cannot be made from nothing. A condition of progress is a conscious effort and this is possible only on the basis of critical activity. In other words: a critic is like the sage (to use a term from ancient Chinese philosophy), or "an intellectual fountain-head", or "a measure of all things".

Mencius' words quoted above about "approving and disapproving" are not only the basis of Ch'eng Fang-wu's faith in truth. They embody a sort of *spiritus agens* of his criticism. In every man there is something that enables him critically to think and to consider, to judge. And likewise Mencius' above words about us in whom are all things, i.e. the universe, are not only the basic premise of Ch'eng Fang-wu's theory of creation and world outlook. They are also the basic premise of his criticism during the first half of the twenties. That is to say, in every man there is a little or much of which it is possible critically to think or judge. The first source—that true intellectual source—of Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism but also of his critical method may be looked for in Mencius.

When reflecting on obstacles that impede the evolution of literary criticism, Ch'eng Fang-wu makes use of Mencius' words quoted above, as arguments. Criticism that ignores truth, cannot be good. Truth is hidden in the essence of things, not on the surface of events. Criticism is then a revealing of truth.

Ch'eng Fang-wu was of the opinion that there was no "good criticism" in his time. In 1923—1924 when he made attempts at "constructive criticism", he failed to find among various types of modern criticism one that would suit his ideal. At that time he was not acquainted as yet with proletarian literary criticism. He was probably the first among Chinese critics to come up with the idea that criticism is a "compass" of creation and a "necessary activity for achieving literary progress."⁸⁷ He did not measure successes of literary criticism by the same yardstick as then used in Europe and America: hence, he was not concerned with new methods, depth of perception or insight, novelty of approach and the like. He had before his eyes only literary successes derived from the application of critical principles to literary creation.

Before setting to solve the question as to what should "constructive criticism" be like, he first concentrated on the criticism of that critical trends which did not suit him. Among foreign critics Ch'eng Fang-wu objected most to Anatole France. The latter's conviction that a good critic is a man "who relates the adventures of his soul among masterpieces"⁸⁸ was a thorn in his flesh, for he refused to admit that anything similar could be an act of judgment. "Adventures" of this kind are only

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 66.

⁸⁸ A. France, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, Paris 1926, p. 5.

acts of appreciation, according to Ch'eng Fang-wu. Ch'eng Fang-wu approved of A. France's procedure only when there was question of real masterpieces, but not when minor works were involved, among which he ranged the majority of contemporary Chinese production.⁸⁹ To Ch'eng Fang-wu, criticism was essentially an act of judgment, he endeavoured to restore to it its original Greek meaning *krinein*, i.e. to judge, to discern.

Ch'eng Fang-wu did not express any words of sympathy for any type of pre-proletarian literary criticism. Had he done so, his at least partial admiration would probably have belonged to the so-called judicial criticism, that is, to theoretical and critical practice which had begun to admire Aristotle, lasted throughout the entire Renaissance, classicism, and persisted in a certain measure until the advent of W. Pater and A. France. Ch'eng Fang-wu did not do this for an evident reason: he intended to negate all the existing kinds of criticism and to set up a new one that would be capable of evaluating better than any other the qualities, and of criticizing the deficiencies of the works examined. He did not hit on anything new under the sun, he only endeavoured to set up a certain type of markedly normative criticism.

In the first paragraph of his first article on constructive criticism we find the following words:

"When doing literary criticism, we find it hardest to achieve critical norms (*piao-chun*) [81]. We must not let ourselves be deceived by momentary feelings or shallow impressions. We must find some measures that will serve us as norms. But what are critical norms? It is of course self-evident that no absolutely objective norms can exist. We can only achieve relatively objective norms..."⁹⁰

Ch'eng Fang-wu never attempted to define the contents of these norms—that is the main reason why his constructive criticism has remained a fragment. He only implied that they must be original, bear signs of life and cosmic sensations, of a lively and rich expressivity. He only characterizes their nature. According to him they should be "transcendental", created in view of old norms, but at the same time they should be above them. They should likewise be constructive, i.e. a successful continuation of what he had termed "transcendental".

Ch'eng Fang-wu's idea of the programme of setting up norms of constructive criticism was as follows:

"To transcend all the norms of the past and to create new norms on a new base and with the aid of an incessant constructive effort. This is the mission that literary criticism must achieve."⁹¹

In his article *Constructive Criticism*, he qualifies this conception of criticism in these words:

⁸⁹ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 61 and 55.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 62.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 63.

“Criticism is an endeavour to distinguish what is good and bad, beautiful and ugly, true and false...”⁹²

While in his preceding article the object of his criticism was A. France, this time the object became an unnamed critic who had reportedly declared that “criticism is only an appreciation.” This critic was Chou Tso-jen [82] (1885—1966), Lu Hsün’s younger brother, the only outstanding representative of Chinese impressionistically-oriented literary criticism. The quotation is somewhat inexact and its original form is found in Chou Tso-jen’s *Tzu-chi-ti yüan-ti chiu-hsü* [83] *Old Preface to Cultivating One’s Own Garden*.⁹³ Likewise in contrast to the preceding article in which he attacked contemporary Chinese critics (without naming a single one of them), in this article his dissatisfaction turned against outstanding modern European critics. And it is of interest to note that precisely against those whom Kuo Mo-jo for the most part commended and extolled: Sainte-Beuve and Walter Pater.⁹⁴ He did say of them that they are the most talented among critics, but also that they failed to understand criticism. Sainte-Beuve’s criticism was to him naturalistic and hence, little constructive.

He devoted most attention to Pater’s criticism. Was it not perhaps because Kuo Mo-jo had raised him most in his time? After having quoted Pater’s words: “... in aesthetic criticism the first step towards seeing one’s object as it really is, is to know one’s impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realize it distinctly,”⁹⁵ he remarked that the whole of this work is but “a perverse process” (ni-ti kung-tso) [87].⁹⁶ Ch’eng Fang-wu, in contrast to Pater, did not think that a critic should strongly experience the impressions which he has following reading or perceiving a work of art and then discriminate and analyse them.

This kind of sensitivity and this kind of analysis did not suit Ch’eng Fang-wu’s critical conception.

“A critical work”, wrote Ch’eng Fang-wu, “does not consist in discrimination of one’s impressions, nor in efforts to find some rules on the basis of the investigated reality. On the basis of this reality we must know the principal and general principles (yüan-li) [88]. I call this kind of work an effort at constructive criticism.”⁹⁷

And he adds:

“... the role of constructive criticism is to find and to discern common laws of good and evil, of beauty and ugliness, of truth and falsehood.”⁹⁸

⁹² Ibid. p. 66.

⁹³ Chou Tso-jen, op. cit. in *T’an lung chi* [84] *On Dragon*, Shanghai 1927, p. 49.

⁹⁴ Cf. Kuo Mo-jo, *P’i-p’ing, hsin-shang, chien-ch’a* [85] *Criticism, Appreciation and Study*, in *Mo-jo wen-chi* [86] *The Collected Works of Kuo Mo-jo*, vol. 10, Peking 1959, p. 271—272.

⁹⁵ Ch’eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 69.

⁹⁶ Loc. cit.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 70.

⁹⁸ Loc. cit.

Another point of interest is that both Kuo Mo-jo's and Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism of the first half of the twenties ended precisely with W. Pater.⁹⁹ The former found in him his ideal and in his criticism the realization of his own critical conception, while the latter repudiated him. Ch'eng Fang-wu could not agree with Pater for several reasons. For instance, their aims already differed, nay were antagonistic. While the aim of the constructive critic was to know the general principles of good, evil, etc., hence, to arrive at certain definitions of Truth, Goodness and Beauty, and then to believe in the first two and bow before the third one, this was not the aim of the aesthetico-impressionistic critic (or simply the aesthetic critic as W. Pater characterized him). Pater asserted that abstract definitions of beauty will be of little help to the critic.¹⁰⁰ In fact they will not show what is good and what is bad in art and in literature. Ch'eng Fang-wu preferred Truth (a critic was to serve primarily Truth), Pater extolled Beauty. In addition Pater eulogized also Curiosity and Strangeness, while it did not even occur to Ch'eng Fang-wu that a critic should be interested in anything of the kind. If he propagated anything, then it was Seriousness which may be considered, in a certain sense, as the antithesis of Pater's last two objects of commendation. It may further be noted that Ch'eng Fang-wu's system of criticism was introvert, nonetheless, his method was, at least in theory, fully objective. Pater's critical system was extrovert, but his method on the contrary, was subjective. All his considerations on literature were likewise subjective. Perhaps the only thing that was common to both was the insistence on an extensive knowledge which both required from the critic. The difference lay in the fact that Ch'eng Fang-wu had in mind rather the area of gnoseologic and scientific methods, while Pater was more concerned with the aesthetic area—the practical rather than the theoretical one.

It should further be underlined that Ch'eng Fang-wu strove (perhaps fairly unconsciously) to make literary criticism serve that typical goal which was very self-evident in China after the May Fourth Movement: i.e. to make up, in a large measure, for philosophy. Hence, that marked emphasis on the gnoseologic, cognitive function of literature.

It has been mentioned earlier that according to Ch'eng Fang-wu, criticism is one of the forms of self-expression. In his article *Constructive Criticism* he wrote more on this kind of self-expression.

"A critical work" wrote Ch'eng Fang-wu, "is an incessant introspection in objects (he has in mind objects of criticism, M. G.). Self-criticism is introspection of introspection. We may also term it re-introspection. No true criticism can exist without this re-introspection. Such criticism moves away from an elucidation of truth.

⁹⁹ Kuo Mo-jo, *Wa-t'e Pei-te-ti p'i-p'ing-lun* [89] *The Criticism of Walter Pater, Studies in Literature and Art*, p. 243—252.

¹⁰⁰ W. Pater, *Preface*, in *The Renaissance*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1967, p. vii.

When criticizing a thing, we first distinguish whether it is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, true or false. Only thus can we elucidate truth. Our work must not stop at discriminating things, but must achieve the finding or elucidation of truth."¹⁰¹

These words are not quite clear. Ch'eng Fang-wu, however, explains self-expression in criticism also at another place. He pictures it to himself as a form of self-searching, of examining one's own acts, procedures and relations, etc.¹⁰² This form of self-criticism together with introspection in objects then creates the true criticism that had for long been Ch'eng Fang-wu's ideal.

And even after he had become the foremost herald of proletarian criticism he wrote that he still believed in literary criticism as a form of re-introspection.¹⁰³ Even at this time his relation towards the world, life and criticism was still determined, at least partially, by the words of Mencius' wise old age.

However, Ch'eng Fang-wu's words quoted above are clear in so far as his orientation of criticism, very lucidly determined gnoseologically, is concerned. While the most important factor in criticism is to show truth, in creation—as has been seen above—it is the richness of inner life. Ch'eng Fang-wu did not point to pictures of saints and philosophers by chance. The former were to be the embodiment of Goodness, the latter of Truth. In creative work Goodness is rather at the top of values. It is not accidentally that he mentions Jesus, Buddha in the first place, and Lao-tzu and Socrates in the second.¹⁰⁴

5

Cheng Po-ch'i was probably the first to note that in the theoretical area Ch'eng Fang-wu did not take contact with romantic traditions, but with those of the so-called literature for life.¹⁰⁵ To be more exact, we dare state that Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism was essentially oriented realistically — similarly as Guyau's had been. And this view is expressed not only because Ch'eng Fang-wu is the author of the article *Hsieh-shih-chu-i yü yung-su-chu-i* [92] *Realism and Trivialism*, which by its very title finely alludes to its source. It was written on the basis of the fifth chapter of Guyau's book referred to earlier. However, they differ to a certain extent as regards contents. Ch'eng Fang-wu is concerned with a certain kind of subjective realism.

Guyau sets idealism (i.e. romanticism) and realism in one plane when judging them from the axiological point of view. Not so Ch'eng Fang-wu. The latter con-

¹⁰¹ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 72.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 71.

¹⁰³ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *Hsü* [90] *Introduction*, in *The Mission*, p. 3—4.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Cheng Po-ch'i, *op. cit.* in *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi tao-lun-chi* [91] *Introductory Studies to Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, 2nd ed., Shanghai 1945, p. 160.

demns romanticism as aloof from life and life experience, as a literary movement whose subject-matters are unrealistic and which relies too much on phantasy in its portrayings. He appreciates the results and the technique of romanticism, but simultaneously writes that "they cannot rouse our warm sympathies".¹⁰⁶ According to Ch'eng Fang-wu it is necessary in our modern times to stand up against romantic literature. Modern literature should strive after an agreement with life, it should create with it unity, and hence, it is necessary to move away from a "dream's palace", i.e. the realm of romantic literature.¹⁰⁷

The most important idea which Ch'eng Fang-wu expressed in this connection is contained in the following sentences which sounded somewhat as follows: the subject-matters have to be taken from "our life", have to express "our experience".¹⁰⁸ Only in this way can literature awaken warm sympathies in its consumers. Sympathy is a *sine qua non* condition for the creation of a literary work. It proceeds from the creator and if the work is good, is transferred to the consumer. A literary work is in reality self-expression and expresses a smaller or a greater experience of the author, or the creative abilities of his inner self. For this reason Ch'eng Fang-wu liked best the short stories in Lu Hsün's work, which could be defined as works of self-expression.

Since Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism was oriented realistically, it is not surprising that he joined the idea of self-expression with the realistic method. In this article, too, he asserted that literature is created on the basis of incessant introspection. The writer's aim is to force the reader to a similar introspection and thus lead him to understand the life which the writer portrays. It should be observed that Ch'eng Fang-wu does not recognize as realistic (or modern and of artistic value) those works that only describe "bare reality" and are "gramophones".¹⁰⁹ He proposed reality to be observed and expressed with the help of every ability, not only its "external" but also its "inner life". At the same time, suggestion was to be an indispensable component of art and literature. He gained this last conviction likewise from a study of Guyau.

The realism which he had in mind, he called chen-shih-chu-i [93] truth-ism.¹¹⁰ Guyau had termed it true realism.¹¹¹ Ch'eng Fang-wu's realism is the result of creation whose basis is given by experience. The character of this experience is of no account. What imports is that the work can be said to be piao-hsien [94] expression. If it be only tsai-hsien [95] representation,¹¹² then it cannot be said to be of artistic value.

¹⁰⁶ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 45-46.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 46.

¹⁰⁸ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 47.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 48.

¹¹¹ J. M. Guyau, *op. cit.* p. 84.

¹¹² Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 48.

Expression in this case is self-expression. Only a valueless representation is possible without an artistic subject adequately characterized. From this it then follows that realistic works must be self-expressionistic.

Guyau expressed anxiety about the fate of realism if it falls into the hands of writers and artists of mediocre talent. Hence, he endeavoured to point out the difference between realism and trivialism—as he termed bad realism. Ch'eng Fang-wu did the same. Only their advice differs. Guyau advises to utilize the so-called poetry of remembrance, feeling for nature and colourfulness, outside stimuli (e.g. influence of the Bible), and also descriptions.

Ch'eng Fang-wu took over from Guyau's suggestions only the poetry of remembrance. Otherwise, for realistic works to be of artistic value, he considered it necessary that they be able to create the so-called world of art, that they satisfy the so-called capacity, that they be a "prolongation of suggestiveness", that they produce "effect", that they possess something from music and be written in a fine style.

The first requirement to create a "world of art" is nothing but the state described by the theory of empathy. Here we quote Ch'eng Fang-wu's words in his review of Wang T'ung-chao's novel [96] (1898—1957), *I yeh* [97] *One Leaf*:

"A true work of art is capable to cause that we immerse ourselves totally into its world, that we entirely forget the writer's or the reader's world, the borders between subject and object disappear, we are simultaneously the one and the other. Although the aim of the artist's technique is to express himself, yet the mystery of the technique consists in how to draw the reader into the world of the work and cause all the differences mutually to remove one another."¹¹³

By capacity of a literary work Ch'eng Fang-wu understands emotional intensity that results from its effect. A work is trivial if it does not act emotionally. If it acts too strongly, it is sentimental.

Ch'eng Fang-wu uses the term "effect" fairly often—and this not only in the article imitating Guyau. It would seem that "effect" should, according to him, be the omega of all literary strivings.

Everything, "world of art", "capacity" and "effect", all are possible on condition sympathy exists.

Ch'eng Fang-wu mentions the requirement of a "prolongation of suggestiveness" also in other articles. He took as his starting premise that men of letters have to do with dead tools—words—and with their aid they have to create living pictures. Writers and poets must count upon the reader's imaginativeness.

As regards W. Pater's statement that "all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music",¹¹⁴ it does not seem that Ch'eng Fang-wu grasped its meaning.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 165.

¹¹⁴ W. Pater, op. cit. p. 135.

He stated that "music can prolong the effects of literature and the moods they produce can extend the effects of Beauty". Here, Ch'eng Fang-wu places literature above music. W. Pater saw in music a model of art.

According to Ch'eng Fang-wu, a beautiful style has a *raison d'être* even when it is an end in itself. It is the supreme expression of beauty embodied in the language of a nation. At least a certain dose of "beautiful style" is necessary for a work to be a literary work and to produce an aesthetic effect.

6

As already stated earlier, Ch'eng Fang-wu's application of criticism differed to a certain extent from his theoretical considerations. Nearly all his articles of this type are reviews of publications that appeared on the Chinese market or in literary journals. Only exceptionally do these articles have a more general character. One of the latter, for instance, deals with contemporary Chinese poems¹¹⁵ and another with translating into Chinese.¹¹⁶ All were written in the period between November 1922 and December 1923.

Ch'eng Fang-wu entered upon his literary career with poems and short stories.¹¹⁷ His first review was an article concerned with *Ch'ao-chen* [100] *The Superman*, by Ping Hsin [101] (born in 1902),¹¹⁸ and the last dealt with a collection *Na-han* [102] *Call to Arms* by Lu Hsün.¹¹⁹ Ch'eng Fang-wu had written all these reviews, except the last one, before he introduced himself to the public by his first theoretical articles. This may perhaps explain in part the differences between his theoretical and practical criticisms.

We shall not take up all his works of this type here, but shall confine ourselves to an analysis of those that entered into the most significant controversies of those times.

Let us examine the first of them.

Ping Hsin's short story *The Superman* appeared in the 4th number of the journal Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [103] *The Short Story Magazine*, in 1921. Together with Yü Ta-fu's short story *Ch'en-lun* [104] *The Drowning*, which will likewise be dealt with, this was the most discussed short story of the year. The discussion was started by the

¹¹⁵ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *Shih-chih fang-yü-chan* [98] *Poetry's War of Defence*, in *The Mission*, p. 101—121.

¹¹⁶ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *Lun i shih* [99] *How to Translate the Poems*, in *The Mission*, p. 194—205.

¹¹⁷ His first short stories and poems were published in *Creation Quarterly* (1922—1923).

¹¹⁸ This article by Ch'eng Fang-wu was originally published in *Creation Quarterly*, 1, 4, 1923, p. 12—18. Later was reprinted in *The Mission*, p. 140—151.

¹¹⁹ This article was originally published in *Creation Quarterly*, 2, 2, 1924, p. 1—7 and later reprinted in *The Mission*, p. 172—182.

most prominent opponent of the Creation Society of those days—Mao Tun (born in 1896) [105], then known under his courtesy name as Shen Yen-ping [106], and who signed his translations and shorter commentaries with—among other pseudonyms—that of Tung Fen [107]. He began the discussion by adding some remarks after the short story. Later, a critic signed as P'ei Wei [108] wrote in his contribution *P'ing Ping Hsin nü-shih-ti san p'ien hsiao-shuo* [109] *On Three Short Stories by Ping Hsin*, that *The Superman* “has already drawn many tears from the eyes of the young.”¹²⁰ According to the Japanese sinologist Hiromi Matsui [114] P'ei Wei is probably also one of Mao Tun's pseudonyms.¹²¹ Wang T'ung-chao, writing under the pseudonym of Chien San [116], remarked that when reading certain sentences, “he could not restrain a stream of tears of sympathy.”¹²²

Contemporary investigators do not set great store by the short story *The Superman*, but in 1922 it really meant a literary achievement. Critics of the Literary Association then welcomed with open arms short stories and novels with “problems”. And the story of *The Superman* was one of them.

In her study *The Stories of Ping Hsin*, M. Boušková makes mention also of *The Superman*. She characterizes the little boy Lü-erh [117] as the Child, i.e. as the embodiment of the child symbol, her aesthetic and ethical ideal of those days, while the figure of Ho Pin [118] is to her “the gloomy, nihilistic misanthrope.”¹²³ In my opinion, both these figures are symbols. The former is an ideal, the latter is at first its contrary, but finally he, too, becomes transformed into an ideal, some sort of a big Child.

Ho Pin provides money in order that Lü-erh might get well. However, he does do it from any humanitarian motives, but simply not to have to listen continually to the meanings of a sick child. Lü-erh sends him flowers and a letter in which he speaks of the love for a mother as the uniting force of mankind. Every man must have a mother and the mother is the embodiment of love.

Ch'eng Fang-wu read the story as soon as it appeared in its magazine form and immediately felt disappointed. Disappointed, because when picking it up, he expected to find an artistic portrayal of “the superman”—then a term greatly in vogue

¹²⁰ The article was originally published in *The Short Story Magazine*, 13, 8, 10th August, 1922 and reprinted in Huang Jen-ying [110], ed., *Tang-tai Chung-kuo nü tso-chia lun* [111] *Modern Chinese Women Writers*, Shanghai 1936. The quotation is from page 151. Here it should be mentioned that in the reprinted article in the name of the author the character Heng [112] instead of Wei [113] is indicated.

¹²¹ Hiromi Matsui, *Ma-jun hyōronshu* [115] *The Critical Works of Mao Tun*, vol. 5, Tokyo Metropolitan University, Tokyo 1966, p. 275.

¹²² This article was originally published in *The Short Story Magazine*, 13, 9, 10th September, 1922. For the quotation, see Huang Jen-ying, op. cit. p. 78.

¹²³ M. Boušková, *The Stories of Ping Hsin*, in J. Průšek, ed., *Studies in Modern Chinese Literature*, Berlin 1964, p. 115.

in China. He also had the impression that the story suffered from some drawbacks, but at first he did not pronounce himself. However, when he read all the considerations on it from the year 1922 (Ping Hsin was then generally applauded), he also decided to write something about it.

Right at the start of his critical analysis Ch'eng Fang-wu admitted he had not read much of Ping Hsin's works, but from what he knows of her, he may judge that she is a talented poetess and that her works are good from the technical point of view. *The Superman*, however, is not a successful work.

According to Ch'eng Fang-wu the content of this story is between two end sections, the first of which he calls *Verneinung* (Negation) and the second *Bejahung* (Affirmation), which are otherwise frequent terms of modern German philosophy. Between these two sections is the so-called ai-ti shih-hsien [150] the realization of love, an expression taken over by Ch'eng Fang-wu from Wang T'ung-chao's article.¹²⁴

He finds the description in the first section to be too negative. If Ho Pin was to be a typical hero of his time, he could not be so negative. Young Chinese did not intend to negate everything, they only doubted and were sad. Their sadness and doubting resulted from that they could not totally either negate (*verneinen*) or affirm (*bejahen*) anything. It seemed to Ch'eng Fang-wu that Ping Hsin is incapable of getting over phenomena, at their essence, that she allows herself to be deceived by appearances.

He further finds in this story a lack of an adequate description of what he and Wang T'ung-chao call "realization of love". There is no medium in the story that would join the two end sections. And even if one appears—as in the form e. g. of Ho Pin's of Lü-erh's letter—then it is a forced one. Ho Pin—already as a positive character—is sentimental. Likewise, the strength that made him positive is nowhere to be seen.

Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism lacks feeling. He failed to grasp that this story is symbolical, even mystical. Not always did Ping Hsin strive to express the author's experience. She certainly did not do it in her "philosophical" stories. Mao Tun wrote at one place that "among the writers of the May Fourth Movement Ping Hsin belonged most to herself. In her works not society is reflected, but they reflect the personality of her self, they reflect her so clearly that it is not possible to do it in a way more clear."¹²⁵ If Ch'eng Fang-wu thought an artist should create something which he termed truth-ism and the role of criticism was to show truth, Ping Hsin had quite a different view on the matter:

"Cold and dry definitions of scholars" we read in her short story *Wu* [120] *Awaken*, "show only how the earth's crust was formed, how stars move along their orbital

¹²⁴ Chien San, op. cit. in Huang Jen-ying, p. 175.

¹²⁵ Mao Tun and others, *Tso-chia lun* [119] *On Writers*, Shanghai 1935, p. 207.

paths, how hoarfrost and dew occur, how plants bloom and what fruit they have. Scholars only know "how" things are. Poets, philosophers, saints, little children, however, know "why" they are such!... Scholars pronounce their definitions, quietly retire and put on wise airs. At that time, however, poets, philosophers, saints and children look with a smile in front of them, fold their arms and bowing call out with a joyous voice: "All this is for love's sake."¹²⁶

Ping Hsin did not try to show objective, scientific truth. Love was the basis of her world outlook, but this love differed from Ch'eng Fang-wu's sympathy. The latter was derived from creators, from men, was earthly. Ping Hsin's love had its source in God. God's great love was according to Ping Hsin, the source of the origin of all that existed.

We do not know which of Ping Hsin's short stories Ch'eng Fang-wu had read. We can state it with certainty only of *The Superman*. The Superman is a self-expression of Ping Hsin, but this self-expression was not a realization of Mencius' conviction, or Ch'eng Fang-wu's conception. It was an expression of her faith in "love" in which he did not believe. We wish to say by this that he did not believe in the love in which Ping Hsin believed above all.

Ch'eng Fang-wu who overestimates self-expression in the critical area affirms that Ping Hsin failed to apprehend the Truth (chen-ti) [121] of love.

"True, pure love", writes Ch'eng Fang-wu, "offers, but does not accept, gives, but does not take. Love is like a bird flying in the dusk looking for a bough on which to rest. If it fails to find it, it cannot be satisfied."¹²⁷

Ch'eng Fang-wu endeavoured to explain things, phenomena, terms from himself and according to himself and hence, he could not come into agreement with someone having different views, a different world outlook.

In the years 1921—1924 the poetess Ping Hsin was satisfied with her symbols of the Child, of a loving and beloved Mother, her ideas of jen-lei-chih ai [122] all-embracing love, realization of love, her motives of stars, moonlight and flowers blooming in the yard, the quiet Chinese yard where man could live only for himself, away from the rush of life. This was not enough to Ch'eng Fang-wu. He wanted to see in literary works a full-blooded and rich expression of life, its realistic and artistic representation. Guyau's pupil could hardly understand Tagore's disciple.

The second greatly controversial work of this period was the first and best known Yü Ta-fu's short story *The Drowning*.¹²⁸

Of this work Ch'eng Fang-wu did not wish to write either critically, nor laudably. And this applied also to two further short stories that were published together with it. As has been seen earlier, criticism to Ch'eng Fang-wu was an act of judgment,

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 197.

¹²⁷ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 150.

¹²⁸ The short story was published in a collection of the same name.

a critic had to pronounce himself whether the work or works of which he wrote are of value or not. He was convinced that *The Drowning* is a valuable work and also that this is a generally known fact, therefore he decided not to write a criticism, but only his own "observations".¹²⁹

He was against the view that *The Drowning* is a description of "antitheses, contradictions, between body and soul". According to Ch'eng Fang-wu, nothing of the kind is involved in this short story, for demands of the soul are not even mentioned in it. And even as regards bodily demands, he asserts that this is not the most fitting term: the hero of the story *The Drowning* was concerned with "demands of love" (ai-ti yao-ch'iu) [123].

The review of *The Drowning* was atypical for Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism. Ch'eng Fang-wu did in it what he occasionally appreciated in Anatole France: *The Drowning* was an outstanding work — hence, he could afford to write of it as of a "masterpiece", to present not a critical picture, but his own impressions.

The best known of Ch'eng Fang-wu's critical articles is his review of the first of Lu Hsün's short stories in the collection *Call to Arms*. This was due to Lu Hsün's popularity and also to a whole series of misunderstandings attendant upon this event. In fact, very few, besides Lu Hsün himself, had read the article, and those interested in Lu Hsün did not give it much thought.

Lu Hsün himself did not understand this article rightly either, though it should be said in justice that he was provoked to his interpretations, such as they were, by Ch'eng Fang-wu himself.

In *The Criticism of Call to Arms*, Ch'eng Fang-wu wrote:

"... it is extremely difficult to find among works of our most recent literature one that could be an object of criticism. Therefore, if criticism is 'adventures of the soul' (lin-hun-ti mao-hsien) [124], are not these daring sounds (i.e. short stories from *Call to Arms*, M. G.) worth that we attempt 'such adventures of the soul'?"¹³⁰

These words and the content of the criticism drew forth the following retort from Lu Hsün's pen:

"At that time our critic Ch'eng Fang-wu stood at the gate of the Creation Society, wielding an axe under the banner 'adventures of the soul'. He condemned *Call to Arms* as trivial (yung-su) [125] and chopped it up to pieces. He found only one of the short stories to be a remarkable work, that of *Imperfect Mountain* [126] *Pu-chou-shan* though, of course, in it too he found some bad places."

It should be observed in the first place, that Ch'eng Fang-wu put one across both the reader and Lu Hsün himself, writing as if with his tongue in his cheek. From what has been said, it is clear he condemned 'adventures of the soul' as the

¹²⁹ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 173.

¹³⁰ *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi* [127] *The Complete Works of Lu Hsün*, vol. 2, Peking 1961, p. 303—304.

contents of criticism. In addition, Lu Hsün read Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism with a bias against the author and accused him of more sins than he had committed. For instance, it is not true that Ch'eng Fang-wu acknowledged only the story *Imperfect Mountain* as a masterpiece. *Imperfect Mountain* was only one of these he liked. It seems, though, that the one he liked most was *Tuan-wu-chieh* [128] *A Double-Ninth Festival*. And to it he also devoted the most space. He stated that the methods of expression which the author employs resemble those used by his friends, i.e. of the Creation Society.

But first, some more details on *Imperfect Mountain*, of which Ch'eng Fang-wu wrote as follows:

"*Imperfect Mountain* is the most remarkable work of the whole collection. By this work the author has expressed his unwillingness convulsively to adhere to reality. He wishes to enter the palace of pure art. In my view, this conscious transformation is something that should be welcomed with pleasure. Even though there are places in it that cannot satisfy, it is the first masterpiece of the whole collection."¹³¹

Ch'eng Fang-wu wrote this review less than a month after his article *True Artist* in which he expressed in the most distinct terms his conception of self-expression and of creation. To him this short story must have been a real discovery, something that was at least partially an "embodiment" of his artistic ideals.

Goddess Nü-wa [129], the principal character in this story, was, according to old Chinese mythology, the creator of mankind. In the story she awakens from a heavy dream. It seems to her that something is going on about her. She takes up clay into her hand and unconsciously crumbles it between her fingers. She is surprised to see living beings, much like her, coming up from under her fingers. She is surprised indeed, but also pleased at this and continues in her creative work. Then she falls asleep. The story goes on, but that is irrelevant to our analysis.

In writing this story, Lu Hsün had at hand some fragmentary Chinese mythological narratives and was equipped with Freud's teaching on the strength of the "unconscious", a faith in evolution and his own artistic talent. Ch'eng Fang-wu was mostly taken up by the process of this creation. That was the central point of his interest.

It was a process which differed from Ch'eng Fang-wu's concepts. First, Lu Hsün looked upon the process of creation as an unconscious one, a subconscious activity. Goddess Nü-wa created subconsciously, her work was not the outcome of some plan, but rather of chance, of some contingency. Berta Krebsová has shown in her article on Lu Hsün's historical short stories that Lu Hsün did not like the idea of a creator. According to him a creator was "a cowardly weakling", who "forces men to desire death as much as they desire life", by keeping them in a state of "mild intoxication",

¹³¹ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 180.

wishing "them to retain their consciousness and forget everything".¹³² The idea of creator was in Lu Hsün strongly related to the idea of a teleological purposefulness of the world and universe, of divine providence and goodness."¹³³

The idea of creator as God, of the so-called First Creator, did not fit in with Lu Hsün's world of thought. He too was against an almighty *fiat* similarly as Carpenter or Ch'eng Fang-wu. Ch'eng Fang-wu evidently liked in Nü-wa, portrayed by Lu Hsün, the idea of creation on the basis of one's own abilities, dispositions. He saw in this process, the process of self-expression, and this is precisely what concerned him most.

It is not easy to say why certain places in this story seemed unsatisfactory to Ch'eng Fang-wu. Perhaps he did not consider it correct on Lu Hsün's part to have, in the course of the story, digressed from the serious and indulged in irony. But then, was Ch'eng Fang-wu serious when beginning this review?

It is easier to grasp why Ch'eng Fang-wu liked the story *A Double-Ninth Festival*. This was due to the very self-expressive character of this short story.

Fang Hsüan-ch'o [130], the principal character, is an official at the Ministry of Education and a University teacher. Already these two facts exactly correspond to facts in Lu Hsün's life. Chou Tso-jen states that even the name of the hero points to Lu Hsün. One of Lu Hsün's assumed names (pien-ming) was also Fang Lao-wu [131].¹³⁴ The name Shou-shan hsüeh-hsiao (The best School of the Capital) likewise points very clearly to Peking University where Lu Hsün lectured on the history of Chinese novel. Of course, not everything in the short story could be related to Lu Hsün. Thus for example, Fang Hsüan-ch'o was married, while Lu Hsün was not at the time. Fang was the type of man bowing down before authority, but a tyrant at home: he was an educated weakling and an opportunist. Therefore he possessed qualities that in no case could be ascribed to Lu Hsün.

Ch'eng Fang-wu does not analyse this short story. The half-page or so of text which he devotes to it implies that he was totally taken up with the idea of "self-expression" when reading it. He writes of it as follows:

"Be it as it may, our writer (Lu Hsün, M. G.) has come closer to us thanks to his effort at self-expression. He has risen from the dead and has replenished himself with new life. In this sense the story *A Double-Ninth Festival* has an enormous significance for our writer..."¹³⁵

It could hardly be presumed that Ch'eng Fang-wu knew nothing or only very little of Lu Hsün when writing this review. It was certainly plain to him that the short

¹³² B. Krehsová, *Lu Hsün's „Old Tales Retold“*, Archiv orientální, 28, 1960, p. 239.

¹³³ Loc. cit.

¹³⁴ Chou Hsia-shou [132] (pseudonym of Chou Tso-jen), *Lu Hsün hsio-shuo li-ti jen-wu* [133] *The Characters in Lu Hsün's Short Stories*, Shanghai 1954, p. 115.

¹³⁵ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 180.

story is not Lu Hsün's autobiography. Self-expression does not presume either an autobiographic or a photographic portrayal of life.

Lu Hsün included 15 short stories into his collection *Call to Arms*. When analysing them, Ch'eng Fang-wu divided them into two parts. The first of these included *K'uang-jen jih-chi* [134] *The Diary of Madman*, *K'ung I-chi* [135] *K'ung I-chi*, Yao [136] *Medicine*, *Ming-t'ien* [137] *Tomorrow*, *I-chien hsiao-shih* [138] *An Accident*, *T'ou-fa-ti ku-shih* [139] *The Incident with Queues*, *Feng-p'o* [140] *A Storm in a Teacup* and *A Q cheng-chuan* [141] *The True Story of A Q*. Those included in the second part were: *Ku-hsiang* [142] *My Old Home*, *A Double-Ninth Festival*, *Pai-kuang* [143] *White Light*, *Tu'i ho mao* [144] *The Cat and the Rabbits*, *Ya-ti hsi-chü* [145] *Comedy with Ducks*, *She-hsi* [146] *Village Theatre*, and *Imperfect Mountain*.

He qualified those of the first part as being works of "representation" and those of the second, as works of "expression". He called the former naturalistic works and refuted them: he gave no specific term to the latter, but it appears evident that he considered them as modern realistic works.

In the naturalistic works Ch'eng Fang-wu found fault with the description and the typical characters. To him typical meant something special, exclusive, the opposite of general.¹³⁶

The heroes in the first part of Lu Hsün's short stories appeared to Ch'eng Fang-wu as people from half- or a whole century back. Only with the story *My Old Home* did Lu Hsün enter the present.

Only the short stories of the second part, and not all of them, were to Ch'eng Fang-wu's taste. An exception was *White Light*, which he considered as extremely weak and reproached it for its "insufficient expressivity". What is this story about? *White Light* describes the literate Ch'en Shih-ch'eng [147]. It is a story without autobiographical traits. "The prototype" of Ch'en Shih-ch'eng was, according to Chou Tso-jen, a neurotic literate Chou Tzu-ching [148], the son of the brother of Lu Hsün's great-grand-father, hence, a distant relative. Lu Hsün describes in it his luckless career, his vain attempts at passing State examinations and thereby assuring for himself a contented life.¹³⁷

The remaining short stories of this part which pleased Ch'eng Fang-wu are more or less autobiographic in character—with the exception of the last one.

May it then be said that Ch'eng Fang-wu put the question of self-expression and artistic value in relation with autobiographicalness, or at least with some measure of it?

Certainly not, as is borne out by the story *Imperfect Mountain*.

According to Ch'eng Fang-wu, every work—and hence also an artistic work—

¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 175.

¹³⁷ Chou Hsia-shou, op. cit. p. 122—124.

could be self-expressive if it contained something that he termed piao-pai [149], i.e. confession, self-revealing, declaration, a piece of one's soul that wants to create but from itself and according to itself.¹³⁸

"In a word, if *Call to Arms* is worth reading", wrote Ch'eng Fang-wu, "it is worth reading for the sake of the second part. When the author has something to reveal to us from himself, then that is his resurrection."¹³⁹

If such self-revealing, such confession, a piece of his own soul is lacking in the work, then the latter is "trivial". He considered as such, e.g. Lu Hsiün's short stories *K'ung I-chi, Medicine, Tomorrow*.¹⁴⁰ Hence, trivial is not only that which is artistically weak, but all that is descriptive, factological, portraying reality without self-expression.

*

Ch'eng Fang-wu's criticism has remained a fragment. He did not find enough time and perhaps also enough strength to think it to the end, to complete it and then to employ it as a tool.

It is a noteworthy type of criticism. Sympathy and sociability were its two basic principles. Great emotional capacity, an emphasis on the ethical in man and particularly in an artist, a genius, on character as a condition of creativity, all this was not solely an ethical and gnoseological requirement, but also an indispensable requisite of his theory of creation and criticism.

We saw that he attempted to mould certain normative principles. He was led to this by an absolutization, or at least a hyperbolization of Truth in which he saw the alpha and omega of criticism.

The idea of self-expression in the area of Truth, relatively frequent in critics and authors of the twenties in China, found in him its herald and exegete.

His critical theory represents one of the most peculiar aspects in the history of modern Chinese literary criticism: an attempt at self-expression also in this area itself—the area of criticism.

By his critical efforts Ch'eng Fang-wu created an attractive, even though not fully thought-out symbiosis of old Chinese philosophy and modern individualistic endeavours in the area of art and critical strivings, of the end of the last and the beginning of the present century.

¹³⁸ Ch'eng Fang-wu, *The Mission*, p. 181.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 180.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 177.

[1]成仿吾 [2]創造社 [3]「吶喊」的評論
 [4]使命 [5]新文學之使命 [6]創造週報
 [7]同情 [8]文人相輕 [9]郭紹虞 [10]中國
 文學批評文 [11]藝術之社會的意義
 [12]郭沫若 [13]文藝之社會的使命 [14]
 文藝論集 [15]學燈 [16]時實新報 [17]
 男女關係論 [18]晨報副刊 [19]婦女
 週報 [20]民國日報 [21]全國總書目 [22]民
 金譯 [23]對於社會改造的意見 [24]道德論
 [25]文明的起因及其救法 [26]柳達夫 [27]論
 天才與教育 [28]生活藝術化 [29]真的藝術
 術家 [30]偉大的心情 [31]內心的要求 [32]
 李何林 [33]近二十年中國文藝思潮論
 [34]劉綬松 [35]中國新文學史初稿
 [36]司馬遷 [37]批評的尊嚴 [38]新月社
 [39]徐志摩 [40]蔣復璁 [41]梁實秋 [42]
 徐志摩全集 [43]士氣的提倡 [44]文學界
 的現形 [45]義 [46]人愛 [47]利 [48]仁 [49]
 魯仲連 [50]伯夷 [51]叔齊 [52]正義 [53]陳
 獨秀 [54]魯迅 [55]新的修養 [56]孟子引得
 [57]批評與批評家 [58]新時代 [59]生命的得
 藝術 [60]編輯餘談 [61]創造季刊
 藝刊 [62]刊刊餘談 [63]創造季刊

[62] 厨川白村 [63] 生命的力 [64] 苦悶的象
征 [65] 魯迅譯文集 [66] 鄭伯奇 [67] 中國
新文學大學小說三集導論 [68] 文學概說
[69] 生 [70] 批判意門 嘲譯本及其他 [71] 藝
文私見 [72] 文壇研究會 [73] 損 [74] 創造給
我的印象 [75] 文學旬刊 [76] 批評的建設
[77] 建設的批評論 [78] 鄧中夏 [79] 悼代
萊 [80] 縮寫 [81] 標準 [82] 周作人 [83] 自己的
園地舊序 [84] 談龍集 [85] 批評, 欣賞, 檢察
[86] 沫若文集 [87] 逆的工作 [88] 原理 [89] 瓦特
悲德的批評論 [90] 序 [91] 中國新文學大學
導論集 [92] 寫實主義與庸俗主義 [93] 真實
主義 [94] 表現 [95] 再現 [96] 王統照 [97] 一葉
[98] 詩文防禦戰 [99] 論譯詩 [100] 超人
[101] 冰心 [102] 內喊 [103] 小說月報 [104] 沈滄
[105] 茅盾 [106] 沈雁冰 [107] 冬芬 [108] 佩蕪
[109] 評冰心女士底三篇小說 [110] 黃人景
[111] 當代中國女作家論 [112] 蕪行 [113] 蕪行
[114] 松井博光 [115] 茅盾評論集 [116] 劍三
[117] 綠兒 [118] 何彬 [119] 作家論 [120] 悟 [121]
真諦 [122] 人類之愛 [123] 愛的要求 [124] 雷
魂的冒險 [125] 庸俗 [126] 不周山 [127] 魯迅

全集 [128] 端午節 [129] 女媧 [130] 方玄綽
[131] 方老五 [132] 周超壽 [133] 魯迅小說裏的
人物 [134] 狂人日記 [135] 孔乙己 [136] 藥 [137]
明天 [138] 一件小事 [139] 頭髮的故事 [140]
風波 [141] 阿Q正傳 [142] 故鄉 [143] 白光
[144] 兔和貓 [145] 鴨的喜慶 [146] 社戲
[147] 陳士成 [148] 周子京 [149] 表白 [150] 愛的
實現

ISLAMISCHE LEGENDE ÜBER ĞIRĜĪS (ST. GEORG)

JÁN PAULINY, Bratislava

Vorbemerkungen

Während das lateinische Europa in St. Georg vor allem den Patron der Ritterschaft sah, verehrte ihn die Orthodoxe Kirche als einen grossen Märtyrer für den Glauben Christi.

Für das Entstehen der islamischen Legende über Ğirĝīs haben vor allem jene Traditionen eine Bedeutung, die sich über diesen Heiligen in der hagiographischen Literatur des christlichen Ostens erhalten haben. Schliesslich lässt auch der lateinische Wortlaut dieser Legende, so wie er z. B. in der von Jacob de Voragine, dem Erzbischof von Genua, vor dem Jahr 1260 zusammengefassten Sammlung, Lebensläufe der Heiligen (*Legenda aurea*), erhalten blieb, einen starken östlichen Einfluss merken.

Wie und wann die Legende über St. Georg in den islamischen Kontext geriet, kann nicht genau festgestellt werden. Die älteste vollständige Version dieser Legende finden wir in den Annalen *Ṭabarīs*.¹ Andere Versionen dieser Legende finden wir in den Werken *Ta'labīs*,² *Ibn Aṭīrs*³ und *Kisā'īs*.⁴

¹ *Ṭabarī, Ta'riḥ II* (Kairo, *Dār al-ma'ārif* 1961), 24–36.

² *Ta'labī, Kitāb 'arā'is al-maġālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (ed. Kairo, *Ḥalabī*), *Maġlis fī dīkr Ğirĝīs 'alayhi al-salām*, S. 386–392.

³ *Ibn Aṭīr, Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'riḥ I* (ed. Tornberg, Brill 1867), 264–270.

⁴ *Kisā'īs* Buch *Kitāb qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* wurde zwar im Druck herausgegeben (= *Vita prophetarum...* edidit dr. I. Eisenberg, Brill 1922, 1923), doch ist der edierte Text unvollständig und enthält keine Legende über Ğirĝīs. Deshalb übernehmen wir die Version der Legende über Ğirĝīs (*Ḥadīṯ Ğirĝīs ibn 'Abdallāh*) aus den Handschriften: Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* 2702, ff. 296b–300b; Kairo *Taymūriya* 854, S. 266–271.

Die Legende über Ğirĝīs kommt auch in weiteren Handschriften *Kisā'īs* vor, z. B. in der ältesten vollkommen erhaltenen Handschrift dieses Werkes; Brit. Mus. Suppl. 497, fol. 260a seqq.; weiter in den Handschriften: Berl. 1023, Pm 627, fol. 207 seqq.; Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* m 135, 182b seqq.

Die selbständige Bearbeitung dieser Legende, wahrscheinlich nach *Kisā'īs*, finden wir in der Handschrift Berl. 8972, We 733,4, ff. 25b–31a (*Qiṣṣa Ğirĝīs al-nabī*).

Von den weiteren Werken, wo die Legende über Ğirĝīs angeführt wird, ist die persische Handschrift *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* von *Būšanġī* zu erwähnen. Vergl. Browne J. 21, fol. 284 seqq.

Während die obenangeführten Autoren bestrebt waren, die gesamte Legende über *Ġirġīs* so zu bringen, wie sie von der islamischen Tradition überliefert wurde, beschränkten sich die übrigen Autoren in ihren Werken nur auf kurze Erwähnungen über *Ġirġīs*. Zu den Autoren des zweiten Typus gehört z. B. *Ibn Qutayba*,⁵ *Mas'ūdī*,⁶ *Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḡdisī*⁷ und *Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī*.⁸

Ṭabarī führt seine Legende über *Ġirġīs* folgendermassen an: *Kamā ḥaddatanā Ibn Ḥumayd qāla ḥaddatanā Salama 'an Ibn Ishāq 'an Wahb ibn Munabbih wa ġairihi min ahl al-'ilm innahu kāna bi al-Mawṣil...*⁹

Aus dem, was angeführt wurde, ergibt sich, dass laut *Ṭabarī*, *Wahb ibn Munabbih* einer der ältesten Tradenten und Verbreiter dieser Legende war. Derselben Meinung ist auch *Ta'labī*, der seine Legende über *Ġirġīs* wie folgt beginnt: *Aḥbarānā Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Dabbī bi isnādihī 'an Wahb ibn Munabbih qāla kāna fī al-Mawṣil...*¹⁰

Eine ähnliche Ansicht vertritt auch *Mas'ūdī*, der in der Einführung zu dieser Legende schreibt: *...wa dālīka mawġūd fī Kitāb al-mubtada' wa al-siyar li Wahb ibn Munabbih wa ġairihi*.¹¹ Und schliesslich muss gesagt werden, dass auch *Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḡdisī* sich in seiner kurzen Erwähnung über *Ġirġīs*¹² auf *Wahb* beruft.

Zum Unterschied von den obenangeführten Autoren wird von *Kisā'ī Ka'b al-Aḥbār*, als Tradent und Verbreiter der Legende über *Ġirġīs* angeführt. *Kisā'ī* beginnt die Legende über *Ġirġīs* folgendermassen: *Qāla Ka'b al-Aḥbār radiya Allāh ta'ālā 'anhu kāna Ġirġīs...*¹³

Es scheint also, dass die islamische Tradierung der Legende über *Ġirġīs* mit den Namen *Wahb ibn Munabbih* und *Ka'b al-Aḥbār* verbunden ist. Allen Ansichten nach waren es eben diese zwei Tradenten, die sich um das Eindringen der christlichen und jüdischen Stoffe in den Islam am meisten verdient gemacht haben.¹⁴

⁵ *Ibn Qutayba*, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (ed. Kairo 1934), 25.

⁶ *Mas'ūdī*, *Murūġ al-dahab* (ed. Kairo 1964), I, 66.

⁷ *Maḡdisī*, *Kitāb al-bad wa al-ta'riḥ* (ed. Huart), III, 134.

⁸ *Dīnawarī*, *Aḥbār tiwāl* (ed. Kairo 1960), 45.

⁹ *Ṭabarī*, op. cit., 24. Zu *Ibn Ḥumayd* vgl. *GAS*, I, 29, 30 usw.. s. *Ta'riḥ Bajdīd*, II, 259.

¹⁰ *Ta'labī*, op. cit. 386.

¹¹ *Mas'ūdī*, op. cit. 66.

¹² *Maḡdisī*, op. cit. 134.

¹³ Cod. Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* 2702, fol. 296b; cod. Kairo, *Taymūrīya* 854, S. 266.

¹⁴ Über *Ka'b* und *Wahb* als Schöpfer der „traditional Muslim information“ wurde viel geschrieben. Vergleiche in diesem Zusammenhang die zusammenfassende Studie: F. Rosenthal, *The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography* (in: *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis, P. M. Holt, London 1962), 40 seqq.

In diesem Zusammenhang muss jedoch erwähnt werden, dass neben der schriftlichen Registrierung der Legende über *Ġirġīs*, die allem Anschein nach sehr alt ist, existierten in dem islamischen Kontext auch viele lokale Traditionen über *Ġirġīs*. Diese standen in engem Zusammenhang mit

Die islamische Legende über *Ġirġīs* ist von der christlichen Tradierung des Lebens St. Georgs ziemlich abhängig. Diese Abhängigkeit kommt schon in der ältesten erhaltenen Version dieser Legende, deren Autor *Ṭabarī* ist, zum Ausdruck. *Ṭabarī* — wie es die gewisse Geschlossenheit des Inhalts und das Narrative in seiner Überlieferung beweisen — fasste seine Version wahrscheinlich auf Grund einer breiteren Vorlage zusammen. Der Autor der Vorlage musste mit dem legendären Leben St. Georgs, so wie es die christliche Hagiographie überliefert hatte, gut vertraut gewesen sein. Den Einfluss der christlichen Tradierung der Legende über St. Georg verraten natürlich auch die Versionen *Ta'labīs*, *Ibn Afīrs* und *Kisā'īs*.

Damit will aber nicht gesagt werden, dass die Legende über St. Georg bei den angeführten Autoren dem islamischen Gedankenrahmen nicht angepasst sei. Ihre Anpassung an die islamischen Normen und an die Einschätzungskriterien ist ganz deutlich.

Die Version Ta'labīs

Die geschlossenste und vollkommenste Überlieferung der Legende über *Ġirġīs* finden wir bei *Ta'labī*. Deshalb bringen wir auch in dem Artikel den Inhalt dieser Legende auf Grund der Überlieferung von *Ta'labī*, jedoch gleich zu Beginn muss betont werden, dass *Ta'labī* seine Legende über *Ġirġīs* auf Grund der Überlieferung *Ṭabarīs* zusammengefasst hat. Er übernahm *Ṭabarīs* Überlieferung vollkommen und restlos.¹⁵

Wie schon Schützinger¹⁶ beachtete und Nagel¹⁷ sehr genau ausführte, ist der Einfluss von *Ṭabarīs Ta'rī'* und *Tafsīr* in dem gesamten Werk '*Arā'īs al-maġālīs*

der christlichen Anbetung dieses Heiligen und entfalteten sich besonders in der späten islamischen Zeit. Diese lokalen Traditionen waren und sind auch heute noch in Palestina, Libanon und Syrien sehr verbreitet. Sie bilden eine gewisse Mischung der christlichen und islamischen Elemente und haben ziemlich örtlichen Charakter. Nach ihnen z. B. wird *Ġirġīs* sehr oft in Verbindung mit *al-Ḥadr* und anderen Propheten angeführt. Über diese Traditionen schreibt Rudolf Kriss sehr ausführlich in der Monographie: Rudolf Kriss — Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volks Glaube im Bereich des Islams, I, Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1960, S. 154 seqq. Zu den Lokalitäten, wo Moslems gemeinsam mit Christen das Andenken *Ġirġīs* (St. Georg) ehren vergleiche den Namenindex. Auf die angeführte Problematik geht Rudolf Kriss in dem Artikel: *St. Georg — al-Ḥadr* (Bayr. Jahrbuch für Volkskunde, München 1960) separat ein.

¹⁵ An *Ṭabarī* stützt sich auch *Ibn Afīr*. Die Version *Ibn Afīrs* ist aber kürzer gefasst. Dieser Autor liess einige kleine Episoden aus dem Text der Legende aus, z. B. die Geschichte *Ġirġīs* mit *iblis*. (Vergl. *Ibn Afīr*, op. cit., 269 — *Ṭabarī*, op. cit., 34, 35.)

¹⁶ Heinrich Schützinger, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der arabischen Abraham-Nimrod-Legende* (phil. diss.), Bonn 1961, 58.

¹⁷ Tilman Nagel, *Die Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā, Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (phil. diss.), Bonn 1967, S. 84—100.

von *Ta'labī* beweisbar. Die Legende über *Ġirġīs*, wie sie von *Ta'labī* gebracht wird, ist dafür ein markanter Beweis. Beide Legenden sind nicht nur dem Inhalt nach identisch, sondern *Ta'labī* übernimmt von *Ṭabarī* oft ganze Ausdrücke.

Zum Unterschied von *Ṭabarī*, dessen Stil oft ungleichmässig ist, bemüht sich *Ta'labī* seine Überlieferung der Legende über *Ġirġīs* stilistisch zu ordnen und dem Sinne nach zusammenzulegen.¹⁸ Dies ist ihm tatsächlich gelungen und seine Version hat deshalb eine geschlossene und zusammenhängende Wirkung.

Kurze Inhaltsangaben dieser Legende¹⁹ lauten nach *Ta'labī* (ed. Kairo, *Ḥalabī*, 386—392) wie folgt:

Ġirġīs als treuer Anhänger Gottes

In Mosul lebte ein mächtiger König, der *Zādān-h*²⁰ hiess. Er herrschte über ganz Syrien und betete einen Götzen an, der den Namen 'f-l-w-n²¹ trug. *Ġirġīs*, der aus Palestina stammte,²² folgte der Lehre Christi. Er war ein reicher Kaufmann, freigebig und liebenswürdig. Eines Tages kam er zu dem König von Mosul, um ihm Geschenke zu übergeben. Er wollte ihn dadurch gewinnen und erreichen, dass dieser keine heidnischen Verwalter in sein Land entsenden möge. Als er zum König von Mosul kam, stellte er fest, dass dieser alle Menschen zwang, seinen Götzen anzubeten. Diejenigen, die sich diesem widersetzten, bestrafte er so, dass er sie ins Feuer werfen liess. *Ġirġīs* war über das Verhalten des Königs von Mosul empört. Gott gab ihm ein, dass er gegen den König kämpfen solle. *Ġirġīs* übergab deshalb dem König keine Geschenke und das ganze Geld, das er gebracht hatte, verteilte er unter die Menschen seines Glaubens, so dass ihm nichts übrig blieb. Dann trat er vor den König und begann ihm zuzureden. Er sagte dem König, dass er sich von anderen Menschen durch nichts unterscheide, da über ihn ein wahrhaftiger Herr und Herrscher stehe. Es ist derjenige, der jeden von uns schuf, jeden nährt und der über das Leben und den Tod aller Menschen entscheidet. Dem König warf er dabei vor, dass er einen Götzen anbetete, ihn mit Silber und Gold schmücke, um das Volk zu verführen. Die Rede *Ġirġīs'* nahm den König gefangen und er fragte *Ġirġīs*, woher er käme und wer er sei. Da erklärte ihm *Ġirġīs*, er sei ein Diener Gottes, der Sohn eines Dieners Gottes und der demütigste unter jenen, die Gott aus Staub schuf. Der König von Mosul wunderte sich über diese Rede und fragte, warum er so arm sei, wenn sein Gott so mächtig ist. Dabei zeigte er auf seinen Götzen und betonte, dass er seinen Ruhm und seinen Reichtum ihm zu verdanken habe. *Ġirġīs* liess sich durch diese Worte nicht abbringen und begann über die Grösse Gottes, des Herrn der Welt, der den Himmel und die Erde schuf, zu erzählen. Dann fing er an, über verschiedene Gnaden zu erzählen, mit denen

¹⁸ Vergl. Nagel, op. cit., 100.

¹⁹ Einen sehr kurz gefassten Inhalt dieser Legende bringt auch Bn Carra de Vaux, *EI, II* (New Edition), 533.

²⁰ *Ṭabarī*, op. cit., 24: *Dādān-h; Kisā'i*, cod. Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* 2702, 297a: *Zādān*; cod. Kairo, *Taymūrīya* 854, S. 266: *Dādār-y-n-h*. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um den Kaiser Diocletian.

²¹ *Ṭabarī*, op. cit., 24: 'f-l-w-n.

²² Gegenüber dieser herrschenden Ansicht behauptet *Dīnawarī*, op. cit. 45, ganz überraschend: *Wa kāna Ġirġīs min ahl al-Ġazīra*.

Gott den Propheten Elias und Christus beschert hatte. Der König von Mosul glaubte es nicht und bezeichnete *Ĝirĝis* als einen Lügner. Als *Ĝirĝis* seinen Götzen beleidigte und es ablehnte, diesen anzubeten, traf der König die Entscheidung, *Ĝirĝis* martern zu lassen.

Die Wunder Ĝirĝis'

Zunächst befahl der König von Mosul, eiserne Kämme glühend zu machen. Damit liess er Stücke Fleisch aus dem Leibe *Ĝirĝis'* herausreissen, seine Venen zerreißen und die verletzten Stellen mit Essig und Senfkornbrühe begiessen. Jedoch bewahrte Gott *Ĝirĝis* vor dem Schmerz und erlaubte nicht, dass *Ĝirĝis* ums Leben kam. Als der König von Mosul sah, dass *Ĝirĝis* nichts geschah, befahl er, unter einen Kupferkessel Feuer zu legen. Dorthin wurde *Ĝirĝis* geworfen und eine Weile festgehalten, jedoch fügte ihm dies ebenfalls keine Verletzungen zu. Dann liess der König von Mosul *Ĝirĝis* zu sich rufen und fragte ihn, wie es möglich sei, dass ihm das Martern keinen Schaden zufüge. *Ĝirĝis* sagte, dass Gott, von dem er dem König bereits erzählt hätte, rettete ihn vor den Grausamkeiten des Todes. Diese Rede versetzte den König von Mosul in Schrecken. Er fürchtete, dass Gott *Ĝirĝis* rächen werde. Aus diesem Grunde entschloss er sich, *Ĝirĝis* in ein Dunkelarrest zu werfen. Aber die Hofberater warnten den König *Ĝirĝis* nicht nur so zu lassen, da dieser gegen ihn einen Aufstand organisieren werde. Deshalb befahl der König, *Ĝirĝis* festzunageln und auf seinen Rücken eine Marmorsäule zu legen. Als es Nacht wurde, entsandte Gott Engel zu *Ĝirĝis*, die ihm geholfen haben. Dies war das erste Mal, dass Gott dem *Ĝirĝis* durch die Engel behilflich war und zum erstenmal, dass er ihm eine Offenbarung herabsendete. Die Engel befreiten ihn, gaben ihm zu essen, zu trinken und trösteten ihn. Sie sagten ihm, er solle es aushalten und gegen den Feind kämpfen. Sein Kampf mit dem Feind und alle Martern, die noch später an ihm verübt werden, würden sieben Jahre dauern. Während dieser Zeit wird *Ĝirĝis* viermal sterben, jedoch dreimal davon wird ihm Gott den Geist zurückgeben. Das vierte Mal wird aber Gott seine Seele zu sich nehmen. Als *Ĝirĝis* diese Rede hörte, begann er das Volk noch eifriger aufzufordern, sich auf den Weg zu Gott zu begeben. Dadurch wurde der König von Mosul wieder zornig. Er befahl den Dienern, alle Folterwerkzeuge vorzubereiten. Dann sagte er, sie mögen *Ĝirĝis* zwischen zwei Holzstücke strecken und ihn entzweihauen. Als dies geschehen war, zerkleinerten sie weiter seinen Körper und warfen ihn in die Grube. In der Grube waren wilde Tiere, die *Ĝirĝis* auffressen sollten. Das war also der erste Tod *Ĝirĝis'*. Aber Gott verjagte die Tiere und als es Nacht wurde, klaubte er die Stückchen von *Ĝirĝis'* Körper zusammen und atmete ihnen den Geist ein. Dann schickte er einen Engel in die Grube, der *Ĝirĝis* herauszog, gab ihm zu essen und zu trinken und tröstete ihn mit einer fröhlichen Nachricht. Er sagte, dass Gott, der Adam geschaffen hatte, auch *Ĝirĝis* aus den Klauen des Todes gerissen hätte. *Ĝirĝis* solle auch weiterhin, bis zu seinem Märtyrertod, unermüdlich mit dem Feind kämpfen. Der König von Mosul und seine Hofberater waren sehr erstaunt, als *Ĝirĝis* vor ihnen wieder erschien. Der König wollte es nicht glauben und dachte ein Phantom stehe vor ihm. Da begann *Ĝirĝis* den König zu überzeugen, dass derjenige, den er sieht, tatsächlich er, *Ĝirĝis*, sei, da ihn Gott wiederbelebt hätte. Menschen, die dort anwesend waren, wollten es nicht glauben. Sie dachten, jemand hätte ihre Augen verzaubert und sie hätten schlecht gesehen.

Der König von Mosul und seine Zauberer

Da befahl der König von Mosul, dass alle Zauberer seines Landes zu ihm kommen sollten. Als diese eintrafen, sagte er zu dem ältesten und erfahrensten unter ihnen, er solle seine grösste Zauberei zeigen. Dieser liess zunächst einen Stier vorführen. Als der Stier ankam, spuckte er in

dessen Ohr, das sich in zwei Teile spaltete. Dann atmete er in das zweite Ohr und aus einem Stier wurden zwei. Dann zeigte er noch einige sehenswürdige Zaubereien. Als der König von Mosul diese Zauber sah, fragte er den Zauberer, ob er nicht *Ġirġis* in einen Hund verwandeln könne. Der Zauberer sagte, es wäre möglich und bat, sie mögen ihm Wasser holen. Als sie Wasser brachten, spuckte der Zauberer hinein und sagte zu *Ġirġis*, er solle davon trinken. Als *Ġirġis* dies getan hatte, wurde er gefragt, ob er nichts empfinde. *Ġirġis* antwortete er empfinde nichts, das Wasser wäre sehr gut gewesen und hätte seinen Durst gelöscht. Da ging der Zauberer zu dem König von Mosul und sagte ihm, dass es nicht möglich sei, an *Ġirġis* Zauberei zu treiben. *Ġirġis* sei ein Mensch, der von dem Herrn des Himmels und der Erde, dem unüberwindbaren König, geschützt werde.

Ġirġis und die arme Frau

Eine arme syrische Frau erfuhr von *Ġirġis*' Zaubereien und kam ihn besuchen. Sie sagte, ihr ganzes Eigentum wären zwei Stiere gewesen, die zu Grunde gegangen wären. Sie bat *Ġirġis*, er möge die Tiere wieder zum Leben bringen. *Ġirġis* bat Gott um Hilfe und überreichte der Frau einen Stock. Er sagte ihr, sie möge die toten Stiere berühren und sagen: — Steht mit Erlaubnis Gottes auf! Er ist erhaben. — Die Frau antwortete, sie könne so etwas nicht tun, da ihre Stiere von wilden Tieren zerrissen wurden. *Ġirġis* sagte, es genüge, wenn sie die Überreste von den Stieren berühre. Als sie es getan hatte, erschienen die Stiere tatsächlich lebendig vor ihr.

Weitere Wunder die Ġirġis getan hatte

Nach all dem wendete einer der hervorragendsten Hofleute des Königs von Mosul seinen Glauben zu dem einzigen Gott. Er wurde vom König und seinen Anhängern deswegen ermordet und auch weitere vier Tausend Nachfolger *Ġirġis*' wurden erschlagen. Nachher forderte einer von den Hofleuten des Königs von Mosul, der *M-h-l-y-t-s*²³ hiess, *Ġirġis* auf, weitere Zauber zu treiben. Er bat *Ġirġis*, Stühle und andere hölzerne Gegenstände, die vor dem König standen, in Bäume und Holzbestände zu verwandeln, aus welchen sie erzeugt wurden. Als dies geschah, sagte der Hofmann, er werde *Ġirġis* so martern, dass er nicht im Stande sein werde, weitere Zauber zu treiben. Zu diesem Zweck liess er ein grosses Abbild des Stieres aus Kupfer verfertigen. Er legte verschiedene Brennstoffe und auch *Ġirġis* hinein und zündete sie an. So starb *Ġirġis* zum zweiten mal. Da liess Gott einen grossen Sturm und ein Donnerwetter auf die Erde nieder. Die ganze Erde wurde mit Staub und Dunkelheit bedeckt, so dass niemand wusste, ob es Tag oder Nacht wäre. Dann schickte Gott den Engel *Mikā'il* auf die Erde, der den Kupferstier zerschlug. *Ġirġis* kam aus diesem lebend und gesund heraus. Nach diesem Wunder kam zu *Ġirġis* ein anderer von den Hofleuten des Königs von Mosul, der sich *T-w-f-l-yā*²⁴ nannte und bat ihn, die Toten die im Friedhof lagen wiederzubeleben. *Ġirġis* hat auch dies mit Hilfe Gottes getan. Unter den Toten war ein Greis, der vor 400 Jahren gestorben war und *T-w-b-y-l*²⁵ hiess. Als der König von Mosul dieses Wunder sah, entschloss er sich, *Ġirġis* mit Hunger und Durst quälen zu lassen. Er sperrte ihn deshalb in das Haus einer armen alten Frau ein. Nach einiger Zeit begann dort *Ġirġis*, gemeinsam mit der alten Frau zu hungern. Gott jedoch vollbrachte ein Wunder. Die höl-

²³ *Tabarī*, op. cit., 26; *M-ġ-l-y-t-y-s*; *Ibn Aḡīr*, op. cit., 265; *M-h-l-y-t-y-s*.

²⁴ *Tabarī*, op. cit., 25; *T-r-q-b-l-y-nā*; *Ibn Aḡīr*, op. cit., 265; *T-r-q-l-y-nā*.

²⁵ *Tabarī*, op. cit., 31; *Y-w-b-y-l*.

zerne Säule, die das Haus stützte, lebte plötzlich auf, begann in Zweige zu schießen, blühte auf und wurde von Früchten überschüttet. Auf einmal wurde aus ihr ein wunderschöner Baum. So wurden *Ĝirĝis* und die alte Frau gesättigt. Diese alte Frau hatte einen taubstummen, gelähmten Sohn, dem *Ĝirĝis* seine Gesundheit wiedergab. Als der König von Mosul sah, was geschah, ordnete er an, das Haus niederzureissen und den Baum auszuwurzeln. Man konnte aber den Baum nicht auswurzeln, weil er immer wieder aufwuchs. So haben sie den Baum lieber in Ruhe gelassen. Der König von Mosul begann dann *Ĝirĝis* noch grausamer zu martern. Er liess ihn in drei Stücke zerreißen und verbrennen. Die Asche, die übrigblieb, liess er in das Meer werfen. Gott jedoch befahl dem Meer und dem Wind, diese Asche zusammenzuklauben. Aus einem Berg von Asche stand *Ĝirĝis* wieder auf und war derselbe wie vorher.

Ĝirĝis und iblis

Darauf liess der König von Mosul *Ĝirĝis* zu sich rufen und sagte ihm, er solle nur ein einziges Mal seinen Götzen anbeten. Wenn er dies tun werde, würde ihm nie mehr Unrecht getan. Zum Schein stimmte *Ĝirĝis* mit diesem Vorschlag überein. Der König führte ihn dann in sein Schloss, wo er ihm anbot, in seinem Gemach zu schlafen. *Ĝirĝis* betete vor dem Schlaf und rezitierte Psalme. Seine Stimme war so mächtig und herrlich, dass die Königin sie hörte. Sie fing an zu weinen und wendete ihren Glauben Gott zu. *Ĝirĝis* sagte ihr jedoch, sie möge ihren Glauben verheimlichen. Am nächsten Tag ging *Ĝirĝis* in den Tempel, wo sich der Götze befand. Neben ihm standen auch viele andere Götzen. *Ĝirĝis* wurde von einer grossen Schar von Menschen, unter welchen auch die Frau war, deren Sohn er die Gesundheit wiedergegeben hatte, gefolgt. Im Tempel befahl *Ĝirĝis*, alle Götzen zu ihm wälzen zu lassen. Als dies geschah, stampfte er auf die Erde und alle Götzen verschwanden, samt ihren Sockeln. Aus einem sprang *iblis* heraus, den *Ĝirĝis* bei den Haaren fasste und fragte, weshalb er die Menschen verdamme und weshalb er sich selbst verdammt hätte. *Iblis* und diejenigen, die ihn folgen, erwartet doch höllisches Feuer. Als es ihm *iblis* erklärte, erlaubte ihm *Ĝirĝis* zu verschwinden. Wie behauptet wird, ist *iblis* seit dem nie wieder in einen Götzen eingetreten und wird auch nie eintreten.

Der Tod Ĝirĝis' und der Untergang des Reiches des Königs von Mosul

Diese Handlungsweise *Ĝirĝis'* versetzte den König von Mosul in Zorn. *Ĝirĝis* sagte ihm aber, dass er durch seine Tat bewiesen habe, dass die Götzen keine Macht besässen. Dann trat die Königin vor den König und sagte, sie hätte sich dem einzigen Gott zugewendet. Sie forderte auch die anderen auf, dasselbe zu tun. Dies brachte den König auf und er befahl, die Königin zu martern. Sie etrug die Martern leicht, weil sie bei sich Engel sah, die ihren Kopf hielten. Als sie zum letzten Mal ausatmete, legten ihr die Engel eine Krone auf den Kopf und flogen mit ihr in den Himmel. Nach dem Tode der Königin, dankte *Ĝirĝis* Gott dafür, dass er aus ihm einen grossen Märtyrer gemacht habe. Er bat Gott vor seinen Augen diejenigen zu bestrafen, die ihn gemartert haben. Als *Ĝirĝis* sein Gebet beendet hatte, sandte Gott einen Feueregen auf die Stadt Mosul herab. Als es der König von Mosul und seine Anhänger sahen, erstachen sie *Ĝirĝis* mit ihren Dolchen. So kam das in Erfüllung, was gesagt wurde, nämlich, dass *Ĝirĝis* erst bei seinem vierten Tod sterben werde. Die ganze Stadt Mosul und ihre Umgebung wurde verbrannt und ist vom Erdenrund verschwunden. Alle diejenigen, die an *Ĝirĝis* glaubten und gemartert wurden, es waren deren 34 Tausend und eine Königin. Dies geschah in der Zeit, als die kleinen Könige herrschten (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*), jedoch nur Gott kennt die Wahrheit am besten.

Dieser Überlieferung nach ist *Ġirġīs* ein ergebener Diener Gottes (*‘abd ṣāliḥ*), der aus Palestina stammt. Auf dem Hof des Königs von Mosul verheimlicht er seinen Glauben nicht und wird deswegen von den Heiden gemartert.

Gott half aber *Ġirġīs* und erwählte ihn zu seinem Kämpfer und Märtyrer. Gott befiehlt *Ġirġīs*: *ilḥaq bi ‘aduwwika fa ġāhidhu fī Allāh ḥaqq ġihādihī fa-inna Allāh yaqūl laka iṣbir...* (S. 387). Ferner verkündet Gott *Ġirġīs*, dass er sieben Jahre lang gemartert, inzwischen dreimal sterben, jedoch immer wieder auferstehen werde. Erst nach dem vierten Tod werde Gott seine Seele zu sich nehmen und den heidnischen König von Mosul vernichten. *Ġirġīs* erfüllt genau die Befehle Gottes und verübt dabei grosse Wunder, die aber die Herzen der Heiden nicht erweichen und ihre Ansichten nicht verändern. Der Kampf *Ġirġīs* erreicht den Höhepunkt, als er die Götzen der Heiden vernichtet und den Satan verjagt, so dass dieser sich nie wieder traute, in einen Götzen einzugehen: *fa mā dahala iblīs min yawma ‘idin ġawf ṣanam wa lā yadḥuluhu ba‘dahā fīmā yadkurūna abadan* (S. 391).

Die ganze Legende hat, wie zu ersehen ist, eine gewisse innere Struktur und die Handlung erreicht in dem Schlussakt der Vernichtung der Nichtgläubigen ihren Höhepunkt. Auch die Einlagen und kleinen Erzählungen, die in die Handlung eingeschoben sind, wie z. B. die Geschichte mit der armen Frau, oder die Geschichte mit den Zauberern, helfen das Dramatische in der Legende zu steigern.

Die Persönlichkeit und das Schicksal *Ġirġīs*; obwohl er kein Prophet war (wenn es auch bei *Ta‘labī* nirgends betont wird), erinnern ziemlich stark an das Leben der islamischen Propheten, so wie es uns die islamische prophetologische Literatur erhalten hat. Es kann sogar gesagt werden, dass das von *Ta‘labī* überlieferte Prophil *Ġirġīs* der Vorstellung eines Propheten, so wie sie von den Autoren der populären *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* gebracht wird, genau entspricht. Wenn wir z. B. das legendäre Leben *Ṣāliḥs*, *Hūds*, *Moses* usw., so wie es *Kisā‘ī* schildert, mit dem Leben *Ġirġīs* vergleichen, stellen wir fest, dass alle diese Persönlichkeiten vieles gemeinsam hatten, dass sie alle gegen die Nichtgläubigen kämpften, sich martern liessen, Wunder vollbrachten usw.

Wir würden mehrere ähnliche Parallelen finden. Das beweist, wie sich die islamische prophetologische Tradition auch das fremde christliche legendäre Material ihrer eigenen Gedankenorientierung anpassen wusste. Sie gliederte diesen christlichen Heiligen in die grosse Gruppe der islamischen Propheten und Märtyrer, obzwar er weder im Koran noch in den Traditionen erwähnt wird.

Die Version Kisā‘īs

Dem Inhalt nach wirkt die Version *Kisā‘īs* gegenüber *Ta‘labī* ziemlich unvollständig. Ausserdem ist auch ihr Anfang und ihr Ende etwas verschieden. Die ganze Überlieferung über *Ġirġīs* ist hier auf eine freie, zusammenhängende Art gebracht,

wobei *Kisā'i* eine einfachere Sprache und andere stilistische Mittel als *Ṭabarī* und *Ta'labī* verwendet.

Vor allem befindet sich bei *Kisā'i* nicht die Passage, wo Gott *Ĝirġīs* beauftragt, mit den Feinden zu kämpfen und wo er *Ĝirġīs* mitteilt, dass er viermal sterben werde.²⁶

Daraus erfolgt, dass bei *Kisā'i* auch die Gradation der Handlung unwillkürlich entgeht und dass die einzelnen Ereignisse aus dem Leben *Ĝirġīs'* eigentlich nur als hintereinanderfolgende Erzählungen gebracht werden. Diese Erzählungen sind gegenüber *Ta'labī* ziemlich durcheinandergeworfen und manchmal auch unvollständig. Bei *Kisā'i* kommt z. B. die Geschichte mit *Ĝirġīs* und den Hofleuten des Königs von Mosul überhaupt nicht vor.²⁷ Auch die Geschichte mit *Ĝirġīs* und der Königin ist bei *Kisā'i* kurz gefasst. Die Schlusspassage über *Ĝirġīs*, über den Satan und die Götzen²⁸ findet man bei *Kisā'i* überhaupt nicht vor.

Am Anfang seiner Version sagt *Kisā'i* wörtlich: *Kāna Ĝirġīs hādā 'abdan ṣāliḥan wa lam yakun nabīyan.*²⁹ Wahrscheinlich aus diesem Grunde treten dann bei *Kisā'i* keine Passagen auf, wo *Ĝirġīs* von Gott Aufträge bekommt und mit Engeln spricht.

Der Anfang der Legende über *Ĝirġīs* unterscheidet sich bei *Kisā'i* von dem bei *Ta'labī*. Wir bringen davon einen kurzen Inhalt:³⁰

Ĝirġīs erbt von seinem Vater ein Vermögen. Er begab sich mit seinen Freunden nach Mosul. Hier stellte er fest, dass die Menschen Götzen anbeten und Greuel begehen. Er verteilte das Vermögen unter seine Freunde und ging zu dem König. In Mosul war gerade Feiertag. Auf einem weiten Gelände, das mit teuren Stoffen belegt war, sass der König und vor ihm lag eine Menge von Ehrengewändern und Geschenken. Der König befahl den Menschen, seinen Götzen anzubeten. Jeden, der vor dem Götzen sein Haupt neigte, kleidete er in ein Ehrengewand. Als alle dem Götzen Ehre erwiesen hatten, begannen sie zu essen und zu trinken. Darüber war *Ĝirġīs* sehr empört und begann dem König zuzureden.

Die Schlussstellen in der Legende *Kisā'īs* sind auch etwas verschieden und wir führen deshalb einen kurzen Inhalt an:³¹

²⁶ Vergl. *Ta'labī*, op. cit., 387; *Ṭabarī*, op. cit., 27.

²⁷ Vergl. *Ta'labī*, op. cit., 389; *Ṭabarī*, op. cit., 30 seqq.

²⁸ Vergl. *Ta'labī*, op. cit., 391; *Ṭabarī*, op. cit., 34 seqq.

²⁹ Cod. Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* 2702, 296b; cod. Kairo *Taymūrīya* 854, S. 266.

Dagegen finden wir aber in einer anderen Handschrift *Kisā'īs* und zwar in Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* m 135 (fol. 182b, *Ḥadīṭ Ĝirġīs al-ḥawāri*) folgendes: *Qāla Ka'b inna Ĝirġīs kāna raġulan ṣāliḥan wa qīla kāna nabīyan wa kāna fī zamānīhi malik...*

³⁰ Cod. Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* 2702, fol. 297a.

In der Legende über St. Georg, so wie sie von *Kisā'i* und anderen moslemischen Autoren erhalten wurde, befindet sich keine Erwähnung über den Kampf St. Georgs mit dem Drachen. Das Drachenkampf-Motiv kommt erst in den späten lokalen moslemischen Traditionen, z. B. in der Beiruter Tradition vor (vergl. in diesem Zusammenhang R. Kriss, H. Kriss-Heinrich, op. cit., 157). Es scheint, dass dieses Motiv im Zusammenhang mit St. Georg durch die Vermittlung von Kreuzrittern oder Pilgern nach dem Orient gekommen war (vergl. *ibid.*).

³¹ Cod. Kairo, *Dār al-kutub* 2702, 299b—300b.

Der König von Mosul wendete Gott nicht einmal dann seinen Glauben zu, als *Ġirġīs* die Toten belebt hatte. Aus Zorn sperrte er *Ġirġīs* in einem Haus ein. Da begann *Ġirġīs* laut zu beten und Moses' Gesetz sowie Davids Psalme zu rezitieren. Die Gattin des Königs hörte ihn und fing an zu weinen. Dann wendete sie ihren Glauben Gott zu. Da erschien an dem Königshof die Frau, in deren Haus *Ġirġīs* eingesperrt war und brachte ihren kranken Sohn mit. *Ġirġīs* gab ihm seine Gesundheit zurück. Darüber hatten sich alle sehr gewundert. Dann liess der König seine Frau holen. Er war darüber empört, dass sie Gott ihren Glauben zugewendet hat und entschloss sich sie deswegen martern zu lassen. Er liess sie nackt ausziehen und an ihrem Haar anbinden. Dann begann man mit eisernen Zangen Fleisch aus ihrem Leibe zu reissen. Da bat die Königin *Ġirġīs*, er möge ihr Leid mildern. *Ġirġīs* sagte ihr, sie solle hinaufschauen. Die Königin hob den Kopf und lachte. Dann hob sie den Kopf das zweite Mal und fing an zu weinen. Der König fragte nach der Ursache ihres Lachens und ihres Weinens. Sie antwortete, dass sie, als sie den Kopf das erste Mal hob, das Paradies und all das, was Gott für seine Gläubigen vorbereitet hatte, gesehen habe. Als sie aber den Kopf das zweite Mal hob, sah sie die Teufel, die die Seele des Königs holen würden. Als die Königin dies sagte, starb sie. In diesem Augenblick befahl Gott seinen Engeln die Bewohner der Stadt Mosul zu vernichten. Dies geschah noch in demselben Augenblick und die Seelen der Sünder kamen in die Hölle (= *fa 'inda dālīka amara Allāh ta'ālā malā 'ikat al-'adāb wa al-saḥaḥ an yuḍammirū 'alā ahl al-Mawṣil wa an yaġ'alū a'āliyahā sāfilahā fī aqall min ṭabaq al-ġafn 'alā al-ġafn fa ḥalakū 'an āḥirihim wa 'aġġala Allāh bi-arwāḥihā ilā al-nār wa ya'isa al-qarār.*³²

Aus dem Schluss der Legende *Kisā'īs* geht klar hervor, dass *Ġirġīs* nicht starb. Also auch hier wurde bei *Kisā'ī* die Steigerung der Handlung nicht eingehalten. Aus dem Text erfolgt, dass auch die Strafe, die über das Volk von Mosul herabkam, bei *Kisā'ī* anders als bei *Ta'labī* oder *Ṭabarī* sei.

Zusammenfassung

Die Entstehung der islamischen Legende über *Ġirġīs* ist irgendwo bei den Schöpfern der „traditional Muslim information“ zu suchen.

Die älteste erhaltene Version dieser Legende befindet sich in den Annalen *Ṭabarīs*.

Die vollständigste und am besten bearbeitete Version dieser Legende finden wir bei *Ta'labī*. *Ta'labī* übernahm die Version *Ṭabarīs* vollkommen und restlos. Er ergänzte sie durch nichts Wichtiges und gab ihr eine geschlossene Form.

Kisā'īs Version der Legende über *Ġirġīs* ist wesentlich kürzer. Ihre Abhängigkeit von *Ta'labī* oder *Ṭabarī* kann nicht bewiesen werden.

³² Ibid., 300b.

OTTOMAN NARRATIVE SOURCES TO THE UYVAR EXPEDITION 1663

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This question has not been the object of a special study so far, although essential sources, both Ottoman and Western were made use of by earlier historians in their works.¹ And translations of some Ottoman sources relating to this expedition² and special studies on the history of this campaign were published even in Hungarian, though of course they were far from embodying the whole problem either historically or heuristically.³

The aim of the present study is to summarize the essential data on all the known Ottoman narrative sources relevant to this expedition, to report their precise bibliographic annotations with details of their contents, to make a heuristic analysis and appraisal and finally, to assign these sources to groups according to their character.

The introduction presents a brief outline of the events around the expedition to which the sources refer: at the same time, full use is made here of the latter and of their mutual confrontation.

As many times before, so also now, the cause for an armed conflict between the Ottoman and the Habsburgs came on through Transylvania. The *Jidve Boğazi*

¹ J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches III*², Pesth 1835, 536 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa IV*, Gotha 1911, 909 ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches IV*, Gotha 1911, 112 ff.; Among contemporary Turkish historians: *İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi III. 1*. Ankara 1951, 144 ff.; *İ. H. Danişmend, İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi III*, İstanbul 1951, 430 ff.

² J. Thúry, *Az 1663—1664 hadjárat Rásid effendi nyomán*. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények III, Budapest 1890, 361—382; I. Karácson, *Az 1663. évi török hadjárat Magyarországon*. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények VIII, 1896, 73—100; I. Karácson, *Evlia Cselebi török világotutató magyarországi utazásai 1660—1664*, Budapest 1904. L. Fekete, *Mehmed Chalife „Tárich“-ja az 1625—1664. évek eseményeiről*. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények XXVI, 1925, 387—427.

³ M. Matunák, *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom* (N. Z. under Turkish Domination) 1663—1685. Slovenské Pohľady XVIII, 1898, 129 ff.; and also in Hungarian, Nyitra 1901. For earlier works, see Kosáry D., *Bevezetés a magyar történelem forrásaiba és irodalmába*. Budapest 1951, 375—387.

Peace Treaty (1606) observed for over half a century and repeatedly renewed—the last time in 1649—had been broken occasionally only by ravaging raids on either side. However, the skirmishes in these cases were always successfully settled at the diplomatic levels. In the Transylvanian question itself Habsburg side exercised a great deal of caution, not to mention its hesitant approach to the long drawn-out war between Venice and the Ottomans.

During the last two years of Mehmet Köprülü's Grand Vizierate, events around the Transylvanian question began to move rapidly. An open quarrel with the Ottoman in Transylvania resulted in their conquest of the Great Varadin (August 1660) without any resistance on the part of the imperial army present there. The short-lived Kemény's governorship, which however, was not ratified by the Porta, was accompanied by Ottoman devastation of Transylvania. Porta explicitly protested against his nomination to the imperial Resident Reninger. Michael Apaffy's election likewise took place under the threat of Ottoman arms.

In the meantime Mehmet Köprülü died (October 1661) and was succeeded by his son Ahmet who continued in his father's policy concerning the Transylvanian question. Kemény's resistance ended in his defeat and death (February 1662)—again without any support from the imperial army stationed in Transylvania. The Habsburg policy in Transylvania had by then ceased to be active enough to be a direct cause for an armed intervention by the Ottoman against the empire. And finally, neither Apaffy's position was quite secure, and he was to play his Viceroy's role only until the principality should pass into a direct-governed province.⁴

A further cause of conflicts between the Habsburg and the Ottoman was the newly-erected fortress between Csaka and Kanizsa built on the orders of Nicolas Zrínyi to protect his holdings against Ottoman raiders.

All these events took place against the background of Ottoman war with Venice, which dragged on for many years without any important success being scored either by the Ottoman fleet or their army. Exhausted, Venice attempted to form a new coalition of European States which was to include Spain, France, the Italian States with the papal support. However, the subsequent Franco-Spanish war over Portugal and the conflict between the Pope and France frustrated all hopes of a united action. In this situation the Austrian Emperor also would evidently have given preference to a peaceful solution of his quarrel with the Ottoman in order to support Spain against France.

During the course of the year 1662 the imperial policy exerted strenuous efforts to achieve a renewal of the peace treaty. But the journey of the Councillor of the Court Chamber Beris to Istanbul and later to Temesvar proved fruitless, just as

⁴ J. von Hammer, *GOR III*, 535 asserts that Porta had in mind to carry out an earlier plan and change the principality into a *vilayet*. Imperial objection to this made the war more and more imminent.

did the conciliatory efforts of the Resident Reninger who submitted proposals for a peace treaty to the Grand Vizier.

In January 1663 von Goes carried a new message, though this time not to Istanbul but to Temesvar to the Serdar Ali Pasha who had been empowered by the Porta to administer Transylvanian affairs. The Porta immediately demanded the surrender of two former Rákóczy's fortresses—that of Székelyhíd and of Szentjob, the destruction of Zrínyi's fort opposite Kanizsa and made several further requests. It seems the negotiations with Goes at Temesvar were only part of delaying manoeuvres, for the Porta had already decided to undertake an expedition into Hungary.⁵

In March of 1663 the sultan and the Grand Vizier left for Adrianople where the armies were to be assembled and the Grand Vizier was to be given command of the expedition. The army then moved through Plovdiv, Sofia and Nish to Belgrade,⁶ where the Grand Vizier was accompanied also by the Resident Reninger. At Belgrade this army was joined by units under the command of Ali Pasha, and at the same time von Goes and Beris arrived there as envoys. At the audience with the Grand Vizier they were received with cold restraint and essentially had to listen to Ottoman demands. At the renewed negotiations at Osijek at which von Goes and Reninger took part with the Emperor's consent to sign peace, the Grand Vizier submitted an additional demand, dating from the times of sultan Süleyman, to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats, and the European sources mention the demand of a free passage of Ottoman armies across the imperial territory against Venice.⁷ The envoys did not accept this proposal and the armies continued on their way to Budin where they arrived in the second half of July 1663.

However, the imperial side took no measures whatsoever during this time that could have prevented Ottoman's further progress, in the naive hope that the conflict would be settled in a diplomatic way. The attempt to recall the envoy and interrupt negotiations came too late, for both the envoy and the Resident were made prisoners.

According to Ottoman sources a council was held at Budin where the Grand Vizier decided to change the direction of the expedition. Against the original plans of marching against Raab or Komorn (Slovak Komárno)—i.e. the road of access

⁵ I. Acsády, *Magyarország története I*, Budapest 1898, 169— the Grand Vizier is reported to have mentioned this as early as autumn 1662 in a letter to M. Apaffy.

⁶ The manuscript of Necati's work *Tarih-i Uyvar* 1a—3b contains the itinerary of the expedition from Istanbul to Budin with an exact statement of distances between individual marches in hours, and time of rest. A similar itinerary of this expedition is found in the work *Tevarih-i Al-i 'Osman* — National Bibliothek, Wien, H. O. 46, Flügel II, 220. Fekete, o. c., 406.

⁷ G. Brusoni, *La Campagne dell'Ungheria degli anni 1663 e 1664 raccolte da diversa Relationi e Lettere Oltramontane e discritte da...* Venetia 1665, 4 — according to Zinkeisen, 910.

to Vienna, they gave priority to Uyvar (Slovak Nové Zámky), reportedly because of its easier approach and its hinterland rich in prospective booty.⁸

This plan evidently surprised even the imperial defenses responsible for the safety of the access route to Vienna. The Court Military Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) hurriedly drew up a plan according to which the imperial army was to operate with four independent corps, with the defense of the Danube line (Raab—Komorn—Neuhäusel) falling under the command of field-marshal R. Montecuccoli. At the time when the Ottoman army was already at Budin, all the units had not even been mobilized along the threatened boundary.⁹

New pourparlers took place at Budin with the *serdar* Ali Pasha who essentially repeated the conditions from Osijek, hence, besides the proposed measures from Transylvania and the destruction of Zrínyi's fortress, an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats or a single gift of 200,000 thalers were to be paid—the so-called Murat Pasha's peace. The *serdar* gave them a fortnight's delay reserving himself the right of marching on Uyvar.

By the beginning of August, Ottoman armies reached Gran (Hungarian Esztergom, Slovak Ostrihom) where it stopped for some days because the bridge across the Danube which was being built by an advance army, was not completed. Some detachments under the command of *serdar* Ali Pasha, Gürcü Mehmet Pasha crossed to the other side of the river and set up camp not far from *Ciğerdelen Parkanı*. On the basis of spurious information,¹⁰ the commander of the Uyvar fortress, Count Forgach wished to exploit the situation; by defeating the army that had crossed the Danube and destroying the bridge, he meant to prevent the bulk of the army from crossing the Danube. However, he was defeated by superior forces; part of his army fell in battle or was made prisoner. The number of the slain and prisoners is reported variously in the Ottoman sources.¹¹

The Grand Vizier crossed the Danube on August 9th with the whole army and set up his camp near *Ciğerdelen Parkanı*. He sent forward Ali Pasha, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha and the Beylerbeyi of Budin Hüseyin Pasha to build bridges across the rivers

⁸ Raşid I, 333—35; *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, W 19a; Necati, 6b—7a says, that the elders and army veterans advised in Budin not to march against Raab. According to Necati, the Grand Vizier made the final decision to march against Uyvar only after the victory near *Ciğerdelen Parkanı*, which is fairly illogical.

⁹ Zinkeisen, IV, 912—913.

¹⁰ The majority of Ottoman sources report that there was question of two runaways from the sultan's camp — Raşid, Necati, *Cevahir üt-tevarih*. Evliya Çelebi presents the situation as if a tactical manoeuvre was involved and the informers were sent out directly from the Ottoman camp.

¹¹ From Raşid's 5,000 killed and 1,000 made prisoner, Necati's 5,400 killed in battle, 600 executed and 500 taken prisoner, similarly also in Silihdar and *Cevahir üt-tevarih* up to the exaggerated data by Evliya.

Žitava and Nitra. The Ottomans succeeded in intercepting a messenger carrying the correspondence between commanders of the imperial army.¹²

On August 17th the Ottoman army finally reached Uyvar fortress and laid siege to it. The Grand Vizier first summoned the commander Forgach to surrender the fortress,¹³ but on receiving a negative reply ordered his army to surround it and attack on four sides. At first the Ottoman did not gain any notable success. They then dug trenches round the fortress, tried to let water out of its moat, and bombarded it heavily with cannon shot. By the end of August auxiliary detachments of Crimean Tatars led by the son of the Crimean Khan Girey, and Cossacks arrived into the camp. Behind these came Wallachian and Moldavian units. The Grand Vizier utilized these forces for extensive pillaging of the opponent's territory.¹⁴

In his efforts to speed up the capture of the fortress, the Grand Vizier ordered to sap its foundations and undermine them. At the same time Ottoman soldiers began to fill up the moat with earth and other material.¹⁵ For this work the Grand Vizier made use of all available manpower in the army who were without arms.

With the aid of underground sapping and embankments the Ottoman succeeded in doing considerable damage to the fortress. The garrison, weakened by constant combat and the siege asked their commanders to submit to the Grand Vizier conditions of capitulation. On September 25th the Grand Vizier accepted these terms. The agreement guaranteed free departure of the garrison for Komorn, safety of property and of persons, etc. Only after the capture of the fortress did the Transylvanian prince Michael Apaffy come to the Ottoman camp.

The Grand Vizier profited by the presence of a strong army for the subjugation of further fortresses and towns in order to assure a hinterland for the Uyvar base. He sent the Beylerbeyi of Budin Hüseyin Pasha against Nitra; but the garrison there surrendered without resistance. On October 28th the Ottoman army moved out of Uyvar but left behind a strong garrison under the command of Hüseyin Pasha and Kurd Pasha. On its way back it still captured Leva (Slovak Levice) November 1st and, on November 2nd the Ottoman finally succeeded in capturing Novigrad which Kaplan Mustafa Pasha had kept besieged for nearly a month. The main detachment left with the Grand Vizier or their winter camp through Budin to Belgrade.

¹² *Cevahir üt-tevarih* mentions the following letters: Letter from a German commander by the name of Marko at Uyvar; a letter to captain Locatelli at Uyvar; a letter from Montecuccoli to Forgach; a letter from the President of the Viennese Chamber to Uyvar, Leva and Novigrad; a letter from count Harrach to the commander of the Novigrad fortress.

¹³ The content of the letter is reported by *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, W 28b—29a; Silihdar I, 267.

¹⁴ See mainly *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis in anno 1663*. Ed. E. Marečková-Štolcová. Graecolatina et Orientalia I, Bratislava 1969, 125—140. Ortelius redivivus et continuatus II, 270 and further. From the Ottoman authors, Evliya in the first place.

¹⁵ In addition to description by Ottoman historians—see *Diarius obsidionis Ujvarini vel Neuheusel 1663*. A manuscript of an unknown officer who survived the siege of the fortress, in Universitäts Bibliothek, München, entry for August 31.

We have briefly outlined the chief events of the expedition according to data adhered to with minor deviations, by all Ottoman sources.

Fazıl Ahmet Köprülü's expedition has been the object of interest on the part of nearly every historian dealing with this period.¹⁶ Besides general works describing a wider stretch of Ottoman history, special studies were also devoted to this expedition, whether within the framework of the overall activities of the Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü, such as the work by Osman Dede *Cevahir üt-tevarih*,¹⁷ special studies as the *gazavat-name* by Mehmet Necati, Mustafa Zühdi, and the lost work by Taib Ömer.¹⁸ A special place among these works is taken up by part of the sixth volume of travels by Evliya Çelebi.¹⁹

Ottoman historiography in which were intermingled various traditions and different levels of stylistic processing of the historical subject, developed considerably in the course of its evolution up to the end of the 17th century, even though only within the framework of its basic genres. This did not always involve solely a formal perfection which attained its peak as early as the 16th century, but also an extension of its contents by going beyond the scope of dynastic history, although the chronological principle of presenting events and the idea of the "holy war" remain further the basic structure of Ottoman historiography.

Among the works dealing with events of the Uyvar expedition, we find several genres of Ottoman historiography. In the first place, there are the works of the

¹⁶ The official historiograph Mehmet Raşid (†1735) records the period 1660—1721; Silihdar (†1723) the years 1654—1695; Damad Mehmet Pasha, the years 1648—1703; Mehmed Halife, the years 1650—1665. There are also other authors.

¹⁷ See F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, No. 187, 216—217; A. S. Levend, *Gazavât-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavât-nâmesi*, Ankara 1956, TTK Yayınlarından XI. seri. No. 8, 120—122: in our present work we made use of the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. turc., N. 506 (P) and National Bibliothek in Vienna, Nr. 1071 (W). I would like to express my gratitude for microfilms to both libraries.

¹⁸ Mehmet Necati, *Uyvar seferi*—erroneously stated as *Tarih-i feth-i Yanık—Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, Osmanlı Müellifleri III*, Istanbul 1343, 184; A. S. Levend, o.c., 119—the only copy preserved in Topkapı Seray, Revan Kütüphanesi, No. 1308. J. Blaskovics, *Some Notes on the History of the Turkish Occupation of Slovakia*. Orientalia Pragensia I, Praha 1960. The autograph is deposited in Istanbul, Üniversite Kütüphanesi, Türkçe yazmalar, No. 2488. Taib Ömer's lost work, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar* is mentioned by Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, o.c., 116 and A. S. Levend, o.c., 119.

¹⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahat-namesi*, c. VI, Istanbul 1318—a translation of the passages dealing with the expedition I. Karácson, *Evlia Cselebi török világotazó magyarországi utazásai 1660—1664*. Budapest 1904, 263—390. The latest translation of Evliya's work—*Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego*. Ed. Z. Abrahamowicz, Warszawa 1969, 193—208—expedition of 40,000 Tatars from Uyvar to Germany, Holland and Sweden. An attempt at a comparison of Evliya's work with that of West-European historiography Gy. Szekfü, *Kütfökritikai tanulmány a hódoltság-korabeli török történetiről*, Történelmi Szemle III, 1916, 321—353, 449—479.

gazavat-name type.²⁰ Under the term *gazavat-name* are generally understood works depicting war, marches and battles with the unbelievers, some sort of a parallel with *Magāzī-Literatur* in Arab literature. The expression *gaza-name* designated an individual action against the enemy, while *gazavat-name* implied a series of battles or victorious expeditions. A description of a victorious battle was called *zafer-name* and a work describing the capture of a town or fortress *feth-name*. Later, these expressions became mixed, with *gazavat-name* being designated by both *feth-name* and *zafer-name*; however, works describing the latest battle was termed *zafer-name*.²¹

This type of works was already known at the court of the Seljuk sultans²² and the Ottoman, in view of the common idea of a "holy war", carried on in this tradition. Historical works written in the form of *gazavat-name*, seem to have been written for loud reading to the sultan in his privacy to gratify his pride and literary likings.²³ Works originally written in simple language, become stylistically more refined in the course of time, whether on the basis of orders or for some other reasons, and achieve a high degree of formal perfection. Ahmedî's *Dasitan* may be considered as one of the first examples of this change. Under Mehmet II, this type of literature achieves an unprecedented development and under the general term *Shahname* becomes established as court historiography whose task it was to eulogize the acts of the ruling sultan.

In the spirit of ancient *gazavat-name* originally destined to rulers and princes, works are composed during the 16th century that are devoted to outstanding commanders of *gazi*, viziers and other prominents of the empire. A. S. Levend divides the *gazavat-name* into these three groups:

1. works in prose or verse portraying the life and outstanding deeds of individual sultans,
2. *gazavat-name* depicting deeds by viziers or other eminent commanders,
3. *gazavat-name* describing individual expedition or capture of fortresses.

Among the *gazavat-name* dealing with the Uyvar expedition we may assign into the second group Osman Dede's work *Cevahir üt-tevarih* devoted to Fazıl Ahmet Köprülü's activities, into the third group Mehmed Necatî's work *Uyvar seferi*,

²⁰ For *gazavat-name*, see the book A. S. Levend, Introduction. *H. İnalçık, The Rise of Ottoman Historiography*, in *Historian of the Middle East*, London 1962, 163—169.

²¹ A. S. Levend, o.c., I. G. L. Lewis, *The Utility of Ottoman Fethnames*, in *Historian of the Middle East*, 192.

²² V. Gordlevsky, *Gosudarstvo Seldjukov v Maley Azii*. Izbrannye sochineniya I. Moskva 1958, 183.

²³ *H. İnalçık*, o.c., 162—163.

Mustafa Zühdi's *Tarih-i Uyvar* and also Taib Ömer's lost work *Fethiyye-i Uyvar*.²⁴

A very concise account of the course of the expedition into Hungary in 1663 is given by Kâtip Mustafa Zühdi, because he did not take part in the first year.²⁵ He speaks briefly of the causes of the expedition and summarizes on two pages the results of the first year's campaign (9—9b). The events of the second year are recorded relatively at greater length: the year 1074 (10b—25b) deals with events in winter and spring until the end of July 1664; the battle on the Raab river (26a to 37b), deals with the battle of St. Gotthard up to the ratification of the Vasvar Peace Treaty. Further chapters of the work are concerned with the return of the Ottoman army and with some dignitaries of the empire.

The work is written in rhymed prose (*sad̄j*), in a high literary style saturated with Persian turnings of phrase and numerous quotation from the Koran. The high literary style and aesthetic-literary criteria are given priority in this work at the expense of its historical value. As a work *sui generis* it fails to bring any specially valuable data on the events under study.

A further *gazavat-name* on the Uyvar expedition is the work by the scribe of the Imperial Divan Mehmet Necati.²⁶ The work starts with the itinerary of the expedition from Istanbul to Budin (1b—3b), carries on with a eulogy of sultan Mehmet IV; with the work proper starting only on page 4b. It speaks briefly about the march up to Budin and the negotiations with imperial envoys. A more detailed account begins with the building of the bridge across the Danube at Gran, and the battle near *Ciğerdelen Parkanı*. Necati erroneously states that the Grand Vizier decided to march against Uyvar only after the battle of *Ciğerdelen Parkanı*, instead of at Raab (10b). His account of the siege of the fortress begins with a description of the positioning of the army and agrees with the other sources. Further events, such as the arrival of the Tatar detachments and other auxiliary corps are recorded briefly, but with sober data on their numbers. He likewise deals relatively briefly and in a matter-of-fact way with the capture of the fortress. The same applies also to the capture of Nitra, Leva and Novigrad, with only the basic data being presented (17a—21b). In the next chapter Necati speaks of military events in 1664 until the return of the army to Adrianople.

²⁴ In the names of these *gazavat-name*, the designation is evidently *pars pro toto*—for they portray the course of events of the expedition against Hungary in 1663—64 and the battle at St. Gotthard up to the Vasvar Peace Treaty. In the final analysis of things, the expedition does not belong among the most successful ones, therefore all *gazavat-name* were designated according to the most significant success of the entire expedition—the capture of Uyvar.

²⁵ The only preserved copy contains 84 sheets of a small format written by calligraphic *naskhi*.

²⁶ See note 18. Manuscript of middle-sized format containing 51 sheets written in *naskhi*. It is an autograph on colophon 51 and the author gives his name and date of completion of the work (28. XII. 1665).

Necati's work is couched in plain language, using a simple style with occasional inclusion of poetic images. After every event of any importance he writes chronograms. It would seem the author used no model, but it is possible that he had access to the diary of the expedition (introductory itinerary). From the purely factographic aspect Necati's work surpasses that by Zühdi, although within the framework of all the sources on the expedition it does not represent any particular contribution.

Another work belonging to the group *gazavat-name* portraying the deeds of prominent men of the Ottoman empire is that by Erzurumlu Osman Dede called *The Gems of History* which he wrote on the order of the Bearer of the Seal (*mühürdar*) of Ahmet Köprülü, Hasan Aga. The significance of and predilection for this work is attested to by numerous manuscripts and its contemporary translation into Latin.²⁷ In five parts (the period of the Vice-regent in Erzerum and Damascus, the expedition into Hungary, preparation and expedition against Candia, the siege of Candia, capture of Candia) it describes the military feats of the Grand Vizier Ahmet Köprülü up to the year 1669.

The second part of this work is devoted to the expedition into Hungary, 1663 to 1664 (W 8a—101b, P 6b—95a). It starts with a description of the arrival of the army and the Grand Vizier to Edirne and in the sultan's letter addressed to the Grand Vizier it explains the reasons for the expedition. In the course of the march, a more detailed description of Belgrade is given, the conversation with the imperial envoy von Goes on the condition of the truce in Belgrade, and correspondence with the Tatar Khan on participation in the expedition. During the halt of the army at Budin, a detailed account is given of the Grand Vizier's consultation with high dignitaries and military veterans on the further direction of the expedition and further negotiations with the emperor's envoy. The main features in the description of the events from the building of the bridge across the Danube at Gran, and the narration about the battle near *Ciğerdelen Parkanı* (called narration about Forgach) and further recountings such as that about the arrival and march of *serdar* Ali Pasha, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha against Uyvar, translation of intercepted letters addressed to various commanders of the imperial army, etc. The besieging of the fortress as such is depicted

²⁷ On manuscripts of this work and the problem of its authorship A. S. Levend, o.c., 120—122; Babinger, o.c., 216—217. Even though A. S. Levend explicitly ascribes authorship of this work to Erzurumlu Osman Dede, from certain allusion in the text it is evident that the basic data and information come from *mühürdar* Hasan Aga. In all probability, the whole section on the expedition to Hungary comes from Hasan Aga's pen, and Osman Dede gave it only its light literary shape.

The first third of this work was translated from Turkish by Giovanni Battista Podestà, court interpreter, in 1680 who gave it to the emperor Leopold I. The manuscript in quarto format, under the title: *Annalium Gemma auctore Hasa Aga Sigilli Custode Kupurli seu Cypri Ahmed Bassae, Supremi Vizirii Mechemed Quarti moderni Turcarum Tyranni... ex Turcico-Arabico-Persico idiomate in latinum translata et diversis notis reminiscentiis illustrata a...* on 106 sheets, is deposited with the Viennese National Bibliothek under sign. Cod. lat. 8485.

in considerable detail. The work also contains a story about an eclipse of the moon on the first night of the siege, which we encounter also in other historians, a letter to Forgach to hand over of the fortress, news about events in other parts of Hungary and information on the progress of the siege—digging of underground trenches, attempts at letting out water from the moat. He also devotes attention to the arrival of the son of the Tatar Khan and the driving back of imperial reinforcement for Uyvar. The details supplied by this work on the course of the siege are found only in Evliya Çelebi.

When dealing with the handing over of the fortress, he mentions the conditions of surrender and the announcement of the victory to the sultan and other dignitaries. The activities of the Grand Vizier after his taking possession of the fortress are dealt with in further parts of the work. Then follow some translations from the intercepted correspondence of the imperial commanders and copies of letters of Ottoman dignitaries—Hüseyn Pasha and Kaplan Mustafa Pasha to the Grand Vizier. Short chapters bring information on the development of events in October 1663, on the arrival of the Transylvania prince, the siege to Leva and Novigrad, the sultan's letter to the Grand Vizier and the march back from Uyvar through occupied Leva and Novigrad.

Besides Evliya's work, *Cevahir üt-tevarih* represents the most extensive description of the course of the expedition into Hungary. The author, a man from the entourage of the Grand Vizier, presents events on the basis of his own personal experience, making abundant use of written documents in the Grand Vizier's office. Hence, the work contains a great deal of copies of letters (*suret-i mektub*), or their brief contents. A peculiarity of this work is that it brings also translations of correspondence intercepted between imperial commanders, though only in brief abstracts.

The work is written in a relatively simple language in strictly chronological order and with only slight *ex tempore*. As regard the expedition into Hungary, in 1663 to 1664, it formed the basis for practically all subsequent compilations on the history of the Ottoman empire of this period. Silihdar's history often differs in some parts only by the use of more complicated turns of style which is also true of Raşid. Concordance between certain passages in *Seyahat-name* by Evliya Çelebi and *Cevahir üt-tevarih* is conspicuous. Although it is incontestable that Evliya took personally part in the expedition against Uyvar in 1663 and was an eye-witness to many of the events, yet it is possible that in writing his travel book he made use also of this work.

Cevahir üt-tevarih belongs among the most valuable sources of the expedition dealt with here. Beside an abundance of new data and its matter-of-fact style, it affords the best overall view of the events. It served also as the main source to J. von Hammer in the relevant parts of his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*.

In view of its significance, this expedition found also an adequate place in work on general history of the Ottoman empire. Among the most significant works con-

cerned with this period are Mehmet Raşid's history and the history by *Fındıklılı Mehmet Aga—Silihdar*.²⁸

Raşid's history was written at the beginning of the 18th century on official commission. Raşid, as *vak'a-nivis* (State historiographer) carried on in the history-writing of his predecessor Mustafa Na'ima. He wrote about the period followed here on the basis of foreign sources, including *Cevahir üt-tevarih* and *Zubdet üt-tevarih* by Damad Mehmet Pasha.²⁹ Raşid's work is written in a matter-of-fact style without superfluous stylistic embellishments, and in essence summarizes data recorded by others. The work does not bring any event that would not have been recorded by other historians.

In a similar manner on the basis of foreign sources the history of this period was processed by Mehmet Aga—Silihdar some time in the years 1695—1703. He does not belong to the group of State historians, but his history called *Silihdar tarihi* may be considered as the gem of Ottoman historiography of its times. He devotes substantially more space to the expedition that does Raşid and besides the work *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, he made use also of further sources not accessible to us. The text abounds in copies of letters (*suret-i mektub*). A comparison of some of these with copies quoted by Raşid, Silihdar and *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, shows complete agreement, except for slight deviations in style.

Silihdar's history is written in a flowery literary style, using poetic imagery and include also verses. Despite the figurative way of expressions, this work brings numerous new data relative to the expedition. It belongs to the basic and most valuable sources of Ottoman history of the second half of the 17th century generally and in detail.

Other minor sources do not bring any essential information to the Uyvar expedition and touch upon it only marginally.

A particular place among sources to the Uyvar expedition belongs to the sixth volume of Evliya Çelebi's work *Seyahat-name*.³⁰ The parts from the description of the fortress *Ciğerdelen Parkanı* (VI, 278) are directly related to the expedition. We find here a description of the *Ciğerdelen*, a dream Evliya had before the battle, the causes of the battle and its outcome. Then he describes the march on Uyvar and the siege of the fortress (VI, 304—357). This chapter gives a description of the siege, the ravages to the surrounding country, the fall of the fortress and the subjugation of neighbouring castles. After the capture of the fortress, there follow two short chapters—

²⁸ See F. Babinger, o.c., 253—254; Silihdar, 268—270; Raşid — we made use of Raşid second edition, Istanbul (1865) and *Silihdar tarihi*, c. 1, Istanbul 1928.

²⁹ J. von Hammer, *GOR VI*, 111—120.

³⁰ F. Babinger, *GOW*, 219—222. For the latest bibliography see also Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga puteshestviya*. Pervod i komentarii (Zemli Moldavii i Ukrainy). Moskva 1961, 323—332. See also note 19.

The Beginning of Evliya's True Adventures (VI, 358—364) and *The Journey from Uyvar to Germany, Holland and Sweden with 40,000 Tatars* (VI, 364—370).³¹

The description of the Uyvar fortress is given in the chapter *Properties of Strength of the Fortress, i.e. of the strong fortress of Uyvar* (VI, 379—386) and events following the departure of the sultan's army from the fortress is reported in the chapter *On the march against Leva and Novigrad* (VI, 387—390) and *The march to capture Novigrad* (VI, 191—92). This is a brief summary of the events reported by Evliya in his work on the Uyvar expedition.

We do not doubt that Evliya was a participant of the events he describes, although much of what he reports cannot be taken at its face value. Information in Evliya's work are evidently of a triple character: his own personal experiences, data from second hand or foreign sources, and his fantasy. These overlap mutually and from compact wholes which are sometimes difficult to analyse. The numerical data in Evliya's work are not to be taken literally, but only as an expressive component for quantity, quality, etc. As regards the sources on which Evliya drew, the problem remains an open one. What is certain is that he obtained historical data on past eras (16th and beginning of 17th centuries) from Ibrahim Peçevi's work. A concordance between certain details in Evliya and *Cevahir üt-tevarih* permits us to assume that Evliya made use of data from this work, eventually a common source may be presumed. However, it will first be necessary to solve the question as to the manner Evliya worked with his models and only then will it be possible to deal with the problem of his sources.

The value of Evliya's work as a source to the Uyvar expedition does not reside in any systematic presentation of the entire event, but rather in details that are not given by other sources, and in a general information of an ethnographic, cultural-historical character.

We have endeavoured to present a brief outline of the problem of Ottoman narrative sources to a single event. Our intention has been in the first place to provide essential information on the principal sources and their contents. However, a complex analysis of this problem may be obtained only through a deep textual analysis.

³¹ Translation of this part in: *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego*, Warszawa 1969, 193—208.

REVIEW ARTICLES

A COMMENT ON TIEN-YI LI'S BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF CHINESE FICTION

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I

The aim of the present review-article is to assess and supplement a book by Tien-yi Li [1] entitled *Chinese Fiction: A Bibliography of Books and Articles in Chinese and English* published by Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1968, 356 pp.

It should be noted right at the outset that the work under review "attempts to serve as a bibliographical guide to Chinese and English language writings on Chinese fiction." It should likewise be observed that it "does not claim to be an exhaustive bibliography which is virtually impossible under the present circumstances. It is rather an extensively selected list of books and articles published in the field of Chinese fiction over the past few decades." (Both extracts are from the *Preface*, V.)

Furthermore, the "Table of contents", too, should be characterized right at the beginning.

The first part is called *Reference Works* and includes *Bibliographies*, *Sources*, *Glossaries and Dictionaries*, and *Indexes*. It is very extensive and astounds one by the enormous amount of material (pp. 3—23).

The second part is termed *General Studies* and is made up of two sections: the first of them introduces works dealing with Chinese literature in general, the second treats from a similar aspect of Chinese fiction (pp. 27—62).

The third part entitled *Traditional Fiction* is the most extensive (pp. 63—242) and is made up of the following sections: *Special Studies*, *Major Works*, *Other Works*, and *Miscellaneous Translations*.

The fourth part called *Modern Fiction* includes similar sections: *Special Studies*, *Major Authors*, *Other Authors*, and *Miscellaneous Translations*. By its extent it takes second place behind the preceding chapter (pp. 243—314).

Various lists appended at the end facilitate reference—they are: *A List of Periodicals and Newspapers*, *A List of Publishers*, *A List of Pen Names*, *Sobriquets*, etc., and *An Index to Authors and Translators*.

The reviewer of this work is not a bibliographer, nor has he ever expended undue zeal in collecting material for the study of Chinese fiction. All he can do is to supplement the book "with suggestions and corrections" (cf. *Preface*, V). The truth is, that in the world of today, totally cut off from the People's Republic of China where the most abundant materials dealing not only with Chinese literature, but also with all aspects of Chinese culture are to be found, it is not possible to achieve perfection in a subject such as the one undertaken by Professor Tien-yi Li and his team. Only a common effort of investigators from various countries, universities and scientific institutes could so process a work of this stature that every specialist in the area of Chinese fiction could have recourse to it and be satisfied. My words are not so be interpreted here as words of criticism—quite the contrary, I wish to express my admiration for this work. As the work of an individual and a small number of helpers it is indeed outstanding. However, precisely on this account—because of special circumstances—of which the compiler is fully aware, it is expedient, nay necessary that specialists from other fields should "have their say in the matter" and then this Bibliography of Chinese Fiction (further quoted as CF) can be ranged among such eminent sinological reference works as are those by Couvrier, Yüan T'ung-li, Lust, Skachkov, Berton or Wu.

Let us now deal with the first part of the book.

Professor Tien-yi Li and his team probably had no opportunity to come across a bibliography by Feng Ping-wen [2] *Ch'üan-kuo t'u-shu-kuan shu-mu hui-pien* [3] *A Bibliography of Bibliographies Compiled by Chinese Libraries*, containing over 2400 entries of the most diverse bibliographies, catalogues, indexes, etc., compiled in the People's China between the years 1949 and 1957. Of these bibliographical entries, items 1544—1583 deal with traditional fiction, and items 1686—1705 with modern fiction. Bibliographies included in Feng Ping-wen's book were either published in print or are mimeographed compilations. They were destined for the most part for "internal use only" and were not available on the book market—at least not at the time when I studied in China in the years 1958—1960. It should also be observed that according to P. Berton and E. Wu this is "undoubtedly the most comprehensive bibliography of its kind" (see *Contemporary China*, Stanford University 1967, p. 5).

Among bibliographies compiled by various libraries, there are 3 devoted to the novel *Shui-hu* (*All Men Are Brothers*), 3 to the novel *San-kuo yen-i* (*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*), 2 bibliographies are devoted to each novel *Hsi-yu-chi* (*Pilgrimage to the West*) and *Ju-lin wai-shih* (*Scholars*). As many as 24 bibliographies and selected writings are devoted to the novel *Hung-lou-meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*).

Very little attention was devoted by workers of Chinese libraries to bibliography

in the area of modern Chinese fiction. An exception was Tu P'eng-ch'eng's novel [4] *Pao-wei Yen-an* [5] *Defend Yen-an* to which 7 bibliographic entries are devoted in this book.

Of these bibliographic handbooks which were available in Peking during my stay there, only 1 bears some relation to a bibliography such as CF—and yet it remained unknown until 1969. And thus it escaped attention not only of the compilers of CF, but it is not listed even in *Contemporary China*—undoubtedly the best bibliography dealing with modern China. It is listed under item 1604 in Feng Ping-wen's book, and is called *Wen-i tzu-liao so-yin* [6] *Bibliography of Literary Material*. It was published in two thin volumes in the town of Lan-chou in 1957. The first volume of 152 p. covers the years 1949—1954, and the second, having only 76 p., deals exclusively with the year 1955. According to Feng Ping-wen, a third volume of 92 p. has also appeared since, but I have not come across it. Had this book been available to Professor Tien-yi Li, it could have provided the richest source for the book under review in so far as materials written after 1949 are concerned. Both volumes were reprinted in Hong Kong in 1969.

A comparison of the sources—periodicals and newspapers—on which compilers of CF and of *Wen-i tzu-liao so-yin* (further quoted only as TLSY) drew, shows that while the former made use of more sources (see CF, *A List of Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 315—324 and the books and volumes mentioned elsewhere), the latter had recourse to numerous sources that remained inaccessible to CF compilers. For instance, CF compilers did not look for literary articles dealing with Chinese fiction in popular magazines *Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien* (Chinese Youth), *Ch'ang-chiang wen-i* (Literature of the Yang-tzu Basin), *Chung-kuo yü-wen* (Chinese Language and Literature), *Chieh-fang-chün wen-i* (Literature of the Liberation Army) and some others. Among newspapers, CF mentions as source only *Kuang-ming jih-pao*—probably the richest source of all—and *Wen-hui-pao*. TLSY refers to 12 further newspapers. Some of them are naturally not accessible to American libraries, but others, e.g. *Jen-min jih-pao* (People's Daily), probably are.

In the second volume, TLSY compilers referred to numerous scientific journals. Of 15 such journals, 7 are listed also in CF. This is an outstanding achievement outside China under present-day conditions. Among those not searched by CF compilers we find: *Shan-tung ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* (Journal of Shan-tung University), *Hsia-men ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* (Journal of Ao-men University), *Hua-tung shih-fan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* (Journal of the Pedagogical Institute of Eastern China). These 3, although incomplete, are to be found in the Lu Hsün Library in Prague. Of the popular magazines mentioned earlier, practically all the numbers of *Chung-kuo ch'ung-nien* beginning with 1948 are available in the Prague Lu Hsün Library, all the 1957 issues of *Ch'ang-chiang wen-i*, nearly all the numbers of *Chung-kuo yü-wen* beginning with the year 1952, and likewise nearly all the numbers of *Chieh-fang-chün wen-i* beginning with the year 1951. The materials listed as available in the Lu Hsün

Library are mentioned just as an example. There is no doubt that considerably more could be found in the large American, Japanese and British libraries. However, it is not the purpose of the present article to make a point of this.

A comparison between CF and TLSY is rather difficult. There is no doubt that CF far surpasses TLSY as regards contents and quality. Yet at the same time TLSY shows how much more reliable and complete CF could have been had its compilers been able to have access to materials in the diverse journals, periodicals and even newspapers after 1949. From this year onwards literary questions—including questions of Chinese fiction—received considerable attention. In this connection we should bear in mind the enormous role played by literary criticism in China and the importance of their faith in its social impact.

Let us now take up some traditional and modern works of Chinese fiction, say, the well-known classical novel *San-kuo yen-i* to begin with. If we leave out translations (and we shall not take these into account in the remaining examples), there are 38 bibliographic entries in CF concerned with this novel. This number is substantially lower in TLSY—only 20. However, of these only 2 are found also in CF. The novel *Hsi-yu-chi* is represented by 31 bibliographic entries in CF and by 14 in TLSY, with only a single entry common to both.

If we consider one of the most outstanding novelists of modern Chinese literature—Mao Tun—we find that CF devotes to him 22 bibliographic entries, while TLSY only 7, with again, only a single one being common to both. And finally, if we consider the most discussed modern Chinese novel of the first half of the fifties—Tu P'eng-ch'eng's *Pao-wei Yen-an*, we find that while CF carries 2 bibliographic entries on this subject, TLSY carries 25, of which once again, only 1 is also in CF.

These data seem abstract and say little at first glance. However, they represent tangible proofs that periodicals after the year 1949 provide a rich treasury of materials, bibliographically entirely unknown. True, a certain part of this is beyond reach of searchers, as Chinese People's Republic is inaccessible, but every effort should be made that the second part be made available at least bibliographically, if not otherwise.*

The second part of the book:

The second part of the book could perhaps be completed by numerous works. The bibliographical aspects of the so-called general studies related to Chinese literature (book editions are meant) are being followed for a decade by Soviet sinologists V. Petrov and E. Serebryakov from the Leningrad University. They are preparing an extensive bibliography in which will be represented—perhaps with few exceptions—all the books dealing with Chinese literature and published in Chinese.

* This has been done in *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-chia tso-p'in p'ing-lun tzu-liao so-yin* [90] *A Bibliography on Modern Chinese Literature*, reprinted by Daian, Tokyo 1967. I received a microfilm copy of this book just after finishing this article.

CF compilers show a very good knowledge of works published in English. In 1968 Professor Tien-yi Li published a booklet *The History of Chinese Literature: A Selected Bibliography*, Yale University, New Haven, 24 pp. This bibliography is "mainly a selected and classified bibliography of books in Chinese, English, French, German and Japanese" (see *Foreword*). This booklet, too, supplements the second part of the book under review.

Bibliographical data in the third part of the book dealing with traditional fiction are far richer than those related to modern fiction. As regards the former, the quantity of bibliographical entries does not refer to the number of articles. These could still be supplemented. The quantity of the material is expressed by the numerous books. In my private library I have found only one collection not mentioned in CF. It is called *Wen-hsüeh lun-wen chi* [7] *Literary Studies*, 2nd vol. which contains three studies not annotated in CF. Two were written by Wang Ch'ing-shu [8] — the first is called *Shih t'an "pien-wen"-ti ch'ang-sheng ho yin-hsiang* [9] *Towards the Beginning and Influence of "Pien-wen"*. The second bears the title *T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yü pien-wen kuan-hsi* [10] *The Relations Between T'ang Fiction and Pien-wen*. Yang Kuo-hsiang [11] is the author of the third article *Feng Meng-lung chien lin* [12] *On Feng Meng-lung*.

From among articles in journals and newspapers that are not included in CF, I take leave to point out the following:

1. Hsü Tiao-fu [13], "*Ching-pen t'ung-su hsiao-shuo*"—*Sung-tai tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo chi* [14] "*Popular Stories From the Capital*"—*Short Stories of Sung Dynasty*, in *Chung-hsüeh sheng* [15] *Secondary School Student*, 194, December 1947, pp. 64—50.

2. Chih T'ang [16] (pseudonym of the writer Chou Tso-jen) [17], *T'an Feng Meng-lung yü Chin Sheng-t'an* [18] *Feng Meng-lung and Chin Sheng-t'an*, Jen chien-shih [19] *Man Among Men*, 19, January 1935, pp. 16—18.

3. Tzu Chen [20], *Shui-hu-chuan ho Sung Yüan feng-hsi* [21] *All Men Are Brothers and the Customs of Sung and Yüan Era*, Wen-ch'ao yüeh-k'an [22] *Literary Tide Monthly*, 2, 5, March 1947, pp. 738—746.

4. Chiang Shu-feng [23], *Shui-hu-chuan-ti tzu-jan feng-ching miao-hsieh* [24] *The Description of Natural Sceneries in All Men Are Brothers*, Hsieh-tso yü yüeh-tu [25] *Creation and Reading*, 1, 2 and 3, January 1937, pp. 94—112, 230—246.

5. Wu Pao-wei [26], *Kuan-yü Chin P'ing Mei* [27] *On Golden Lotus*, Shih yü ch'ao fu-k'an [28] *A Supplement to Times and Tide*, 4, 4, May 1944, pp. 48—55.

6. *A Ting* [29], *Chin P'ing Mei-chih i-shi chi chi-ch'iao* [30] *Ideal and Technical Aspect of Golden Lotus*, T'ien ti jen [31] *Heaven, Earth, Man*, 4, April 1936, pp. 1—6.

The fourth part of the book:

Entries dealing with modern fiction are scantier. Several collections containing a large number of the most diverse articles are not mentioned in CF.

From the more general ones we miss, for instance, Mao Tun and others, *Tso-chia*

lun [32] *On Writers*, Shanghai 1936. There are three articles by Mao Tun which are not in CF; cf. *Lo Hua-sheng lun* [33] *On Hsü Ti-shan*, pp. 161—176, *Wang Lu-yen lun* [34] *On Wang Lu-yen*, pp. 211—255, and *Lu-yin lun* [35] *On Huang Lu-yin*, pp. 75—87, the latter having been written under the pseudonym Wei Ming [36]. In addition, there is in it also a study from Su Hsüeh-lin's pen [37] devoted to Shen Ts'ung-wen, pp. 227—249, and one from Hu Feng [38] on the writer Chang T'ien-i, pp. 251—299.

Further, CF does not include articles from *Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-p'in fen-hsi* [39] *Analyses of Contemporary Literary Works*, Shanghai 1958, dealing with individual modern Chinese novels and short stories—such as the work of Lao She, Chao Shu-li, Mao Tun and Ai Wu.

Another collection missing from CF is that by Ch'en Yung [40] *Wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing lun-chi* [41] *Literary Studies*, but two articles from this collection are included in CF. One deals with the writer Liu Pai-yü [42] and the other with K'ung Chüeh [43].

Likewise the collection called *Tso-chia yü tso-p'in lun* [44] *On Writers and Works*, Peking 1952 is not included. Among the more significant articles from this collection, not annotated in CF, I wish to mention that by Feng Hsüeh-feng [45], "*T'ai-yang chao tsai Sang-kan ho shang*" *tsai wo-men wen-hsüeh fa-chan shang-ti i-i* [46] *The Meaning of the Novel "Sun Shines Over the Sang-kan River" in the Development of Our Literature*, pp. 16—32. K'ang Cho [47] wrote *Ch'en Teng-k'o ho t'a-ti hsiao-shuo* [48] *Ch'en Teng-k'o and His Fiction*, pp. 103—110. Li Feng [49] wrote *P'ing Liu Ch'ing-ti "T'ung-ch'iang t'ien-pi"* [50] *On Liu Ch'ing's "Wall of Bronze"*, p. 11—117. CF mentions only a translation but no study. CF gives only two translations from Hsü Kuang-yao [51]. This collection contains article P'ing "*P'ing-yüan lieh-huo*" [52] *On "The Plains Are Ablaze"*, pp. 118—131.

Ssu Chi [53] is the author of the collection *Sheng-huo yü ch'uang-tso lun-chi* [54] *On the Life and Creation*, Wuhan 1958, which contains articles dealing with Chao Shu-li's short stories, his novel *Li Yu-ts'ai pan-hua* [55] *The Verses of Li Yu-ts'ai*, Pa Chin's most significant trilogy *Chi-liu* [56] *The Torrent* and Lao She's novel *Lo-'o Hsiang-tzu* [57] *Camel Hsiang-tzu*.

Next comes a collection by K'ung Lan-ku [59] *Hsien-tai tso-p'in lun-chi* [58] *Critiques on Modern Chinese Works*, Peking 1957, and none of the articles contained in it is included in CF. The collection deals with Mao Tun's novel *Tzu-yeh* [60] *Midnight*, Yeh Sheng-t'ao's novel *Ni Huan-chih* [61] *Ni Huan-chih*, Lao She's *Camel Hsiang-tzu*, Ting Ling's *Sun Shines Over the Sang-kan River*, and with some works of minor significance for the new Chinese literature.

The collection *Wu-ssu hsin wen-hsüeh yün-tung-ti ching-shen* [62] *The Spirit of New Literature of the May Fourth Movement* was written by T'ien Chung-chi [63]. It was published in Chi-nan in 1959. Two of its studies deal with modern Chinese fiction, i.e. *Yü Ta-fu-ti ch'uang-tso tao-lu* [64] *The Creative Road of Yü Ta-fu*, pp. 93—108, and *Wang T'ung-chao hsiao-shuo-ti hsien-shih-chu-i ching-shen* [65] *The*

Realistic Spirit of Wang T'ung-chao's Fiction, pp. 109—127. Both belong among the best shorter studies ever written on modern Chinese writers.

The collection *Tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo p'ing-lun-chi* [66] *Critiques of Short Stories*, Peking 1957, is the work of several authors, the better of whom are: T'ang Tao [67] who has in it an article on Lu Hsün's short story *I chien hsiao shih* [68] *A Small Accident*; Ho Chia-huai [69] is the author of two articles—in one he analyses Lu Hsün's short story *K'ung I-chi* [70] *K'ung I-chi* and in the other Yeh Sheng-t'ao's short story *To shou-la san-wu tou* [71] *Richer by Three or Five Pecks*; the critic Yüeh Tai-yün [72] contributed 3 articles to the collection—two deal with Mao Tun's short stories *Ch'un ts'an* [73] *Spring Silkworms* and *Lin-chia p'u-tzu* [74] *The Shop of the Lin Family*—the third is concerned with the well-known short story by Chang T'ien-i, called *Hua Wei hsien-sheng* [75] *Mr. Hua Wei*.

A similar situation is seen to prevail when one considers various collections devoted to one modern author, or to a group of authors—and this involves pre-1949 collections.

Thus for instance, the following are missing in CF: collection *Mao Tun lun* [76] *On Mao Tun*, Shanghai 1933; 2 collections dealing with Yü Ta-fu, i.e. Su Ya [77], ed., *Yü Ta-fu p'ing-chuan* [78] *Yü Ta-fu: Critical and Biographical Studies*, Shanghai 1932, and Ch'ou Hsiao [75], *Yü Ta-fu lun* [80] *On Yü Ta-fu*, Shanghai 1933. It should be noted that Ch'ou Hsiao is the pseudonym of the well-known Chinese literary historian Chao Ching-shen [81]. Further 3 collections devoted to modern Chinese women are not included in CF: Ho Yü-po [82], *Chung-kuo hsien-tai nü tso-chia* [83] *Contemporary Chinese Women Writers*, Shanghai 1932. There are articles on Huang Lu-yin, Ling Shu-hua [84], Feng Yüan-chün [85] and others. The collection *Tang-tai Chung-kuo nü tso-chia lun* [86] *On Chinese Women Writers of Today*, edited by Huang Jen-ying [87], Shanghai 1936, contains articles on Hsieh Ping-ying [88], Ting Ling, Huang Lu-yin, and others. One of the most valuable publications of this kind is *Ting Ling p'ing-chuan* [89] *Ting Ling: Critical and Bibliographical Studies*, Shanghai 1931. This too is not in CF.

Shortly before the book under review went to press, two books appeared, in which much bibliographical material on modern Chinese fiction can be found. The first is by Z. Slupski, and is called *The Evolution of Modern Chinese Writer*, Prague 1966. It deals with Lao She. This book is not mentioned in CF. The second one is in CF but its importance is not underlined there. The author of the book is Olga Lang and it is entitled: *Pa Chin and His Writings: Chinese Youth Between Two Revolutions*, Harvard University Press 1967.

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Professor Tien-yi Li really deserves credit on the part of all those engaged on a study of old and new Chinese fiction. Every research-worker will certainly find

in it something he did not know until he took this book in his hands. Its drawback is perhaps its incompleteness in the fourth part. Also that it takes no note of articles written in other world languages except for Chinese and English.

The reviewer is conscious of the fact that following the publication of this review-article the picture of this vast field will be far from complete: nevertheless, he has decided to reach out for books he has on hand and to try to supplement that which he did not find in this valuable book.

[1] 李田意 [2] 馮秉文 [3] 全國圖書館書目
匯編 [4] 杜鵬程 [5] 保衛延安 [6] 文藝
資料索引 [7] 文學論文集 [8] 王慶霖 [9]
試談「雜文」的產生和影響 [10] 唐代
小說與「雜文」的關係 [11] 楊國祥
12. 馮夢龍 [13] 徐調孚 [14] 京本通俗小
說「一宋」代短篇小說集 [15] 中學生 [16] 先
堂 [17] 周作人 [18] 談馮夢龍與金瓶梅
[19] 人間世 [20] 子振 [21] 水滸傳和宋元
風習 [22] 文潮月刊 [23] 江樹峯 [24] 水
滸傳的自然風景描寫 [25] 寫作與閱讀
[26] 吳伯威 [27] 附於金瓶梅 [28] 時
與潮副刊 [29] 阿丁 [30] 金瓶梅之意義
及技巧 [31] 天地人 [32] 作家論 [33] 蔣華
生論 [34] 王瑞慶論 [35] 虛隱論 [36] 未明
[37] 蘇雪林 [38] 胡風 [39] 現代文學作品分析
[40] 陳涌 [41] 文學評論集 [42] 劉白羽 [43]
孔厥 [44] 作家與作品論 [45] 馮雪峰 [46]
太陽照在「^東乾河上」在我們文學發展上
的意義 [47] 康濯 [48] 陳登科和他的小說
[49] 李楓 [50] 評柳青的「銅牆鐵壁」
[51] 徐光光^羽 [52] 評「平原烈火」 [53] 思基

[54] 生活與創作論集 [55] 李有才板話 [56] 鳴沙流 [57] 馬名馬陀祥子 [58] 現代作品論集
[59] 公蘭谷 [60] 子夜 [61] 倪文宙之 [62] 五四
新文學運動的精神 [63] 田仲濟 [64]
郁達夫的創作道路 [65] 王統照小說的
現實主義精神 [66] 短篇小說評論集
[67] 唐弢 [68] 一件小事 [69] 何家槐 [70] 孔乙己
[71] 多收了三五斗 [72] 樂黛云 [73] 春蠶 [74]
林家鋪子 [75] 華威先生 [76] 茅盾論 [77]
素雅 [78] 郁達夫評傳 [79] 鄒蕭 [80] 郁達
夫論 [81] 趙景深 [82] 賀玉波 [83] 中國現
代女作家 [84] 凌淑華 [85] 馮沅君 [86] 當代
中國女作家論 [87] 黃人景 [88] 謝冰瑩
[89] 丁玲評傳 [90] 中國現代文學作家作品
評論資料索引

A COMMENT ON AUSTIN C. W. SHU'S LIST OF MODERN
CHINESE PSEUDONYMS

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The aim of the present review-article is to assess and supplement Austin C. W. Shu's work, *Modern Chinese Authors: A List of Pseudonyms*, published by Asian Studies Center, Michigan 1969, 108 pp.

It should be observed right at the beginning that this is a much needed book, that it lists more than 2000 pseudonyms and names of modern Chinese authors—over 500 of them belong to scientists, politicians, well-known personalities, etc. The remaining are pseudonyms and names of Chinese writers.

This is the second work of its kind—the first was the publication of Yüan Yung-chin's book [1] *Hsien-tai Chung-kuo tso-chia pi-ming lu* [2] *A List of Pseudonyms of Modern Chinese Writers*, Peking 1936—to enrich our knowledge from this rather neglected though very important area. Yüan Yung-chin's book was and has remained practically unknown to the majority of sinologists. It is just possible that precisely the book under review will stimulate a healthy curiosity and help lift the veil off certain mysteries in the most diverse spheres of sinology. Ignorance of pseudonyms may become a stumbling-block particularly to literary scholars (but also to those interested in the problem of women emancipation, youth movement, philosophy and politology). Well-known authors often published their works under pseudonyms which were, still are, and perhaps will long remain unknown. To make these pseudonyms accessible to the wider public, to decipher them, might be one of the tasks worthy of sinologists of delicate taste.

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The work under review comprises a *Preface*, written by Eugene De Benko, Head of International Library of Michigan State University, in which he introduces the author of this publication and dwells on the importance of knowledge of pseudonyms of modern Chinese authors: Then follows an *Introduction* in which the author Austin C. W. Shu writes briefly about the history of Chinese pseudonyms, mentions Chou

Tso-jen's [3] opinions concerning the "frequent use of pseudonyms", how Chinese pseudonyms are formed, and writes about problems encountered in the bibliographical control of Chinese works.

The work itself is made up of two parts:

1. *List of Pseudonyms*, pp. 1—65
2. *List of Real Names*, pp. 67—108

Bibliographical References complete the book.

A cursory glance through this publication suffices to the discerning reader who has an adequate knowledge from this field, to perceive that this is the work of an experienced bibliographer but not of a critical scholar. Furthermore, it is the work of a man acquainted with the problems around pseudonyms insofar as these had been processed in China prior to the year 1949, at T'ai-wan, Hong Kong and Japan at a later period, but to whom the results of research in the Chinese People's Republic and elsewhere are not known.

The most important source of Mr. Shu's information is Yüan Yung-chin's book referred to earlier. Mr. Shu accepts its data uncritically. Deviations are negligible in some places, greater in others, sometimes there are none at all. The reasons why Mr. Shu acted as he did, are unknown to the present reviewer. Thus for example, Mr. Shu fails to include in his List pseudonyms which the authors had formed from Latin syllables. An exception is the *Introduction*.

According to Yüan, Lu Hsün [4] made use of 57 pseudonyms, according to Mr. Shu of 54. Reality (at least an approximate one) is different. Research workers in the Chinese People's Republic have proved that he used around 120 of them.¹ According to Yüan, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai [7] used 13 pseudonyms, according to Shu only 12, while in fact he used about 60.² According to Yüan, Mao Tun [11], i.e. Shen Yen-ping [12] made use of 26 pseudonyms, according to Shu 19. In reality the number is over 60, and perhaps much over 60.³ And we might continue in this vein probably much longer if our knowledge of modern Chinese authors were deeper.

Mr. Yüan and now Mr. Shu have put at the disposal of sinologists their lists of pseudonyms. This is no doubt a very meritorious work. However, lists of this type are reliable only if they are preceded by an intensive, deep research. In my view, this lacked in the first and in the second case. The great majority of data in the two lists is undoubtedly correct, but both lists must be used with caution. Both exhibit very similar errors.

Both Yüan and Shu ascribe certain pseudonyms to authors who never used them.

¹ Shen P'eng-nien [5], *Lu Hsün yen-chiu tzu-liao pien-mu* [6] *Bibliographical Material for the Study of Lu Hsün*, Peking 1958, pp. 167—177.

² Ting Ching-t'ang [8] and Wen Ts'ao [9], *Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai chu i hsi nien mu-lu* [10] *An Annotated Research-guide to the Life and Work of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai*, Shanghai 1959, pp. 130—147.

³ M. Gálik, *The Names and Pseudonyms Used by Mao Tun*, *Archiv orientální*, 31, 1963, pp. 80—108.

For instance, according to Yüan (p. 42) and according to Shu (p. 76) Lu Hsün is reported to have used the pseudonym Ho Tan-jen [13]. This is incorrect—the pseudonym was used by Feng Hsüeh-feng [14].⁴ According to Yüan (p. 89) and Shu (p. 78), Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai used the pseudonym Lo Yang [16]. This, however, according to Ting-Ching-t'ang and Wen Ts'ao, who command a greater confidence, is not true. Unfortunately they fail to state whose pseudonym it was.⁵ Nor is it certain whether the pseudonym Li Wen (Yüan, p. 89 and Shu, p. 33) belonged to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai; there is no proof to this.⁶ The pseudonym Ssu-ma Chin [17] is erroneously printed both in Yüan, p. 89 and Shu, p. 49 as Ssu-ma Ling [18].⁷ According to both Yüan (p. 29) and Shu (p. 16), Mao Tun used the pseudonym Fang Ying [19]. This is not so. No work of his can be found anywhere which Mao Tun published under this pseudonym. At most, he may have used it sometime as an assumed name.⁸ Again according to both Yüan (p. 29) and Shu (p. 38), Mao Tun used the pseudonym Mao T'eng [20]. This pseudonym may be found in the magazine Mao-tun yüeh-k'an [21] *Contradiction Monthly* in which adherents of the pro-Kuomintang literary trend, the so-called Min-tsu-chu-i wen-hsüeh [22] *Nationalist Literature*, used to publish. Mao Tun was their opponent and never published in this magazine.⁹ According to Yüan (p. 29) Mao Tun used the pseudonym Te Hung [23]. This assertion is likewise erroneous.¹⁰ According to Shu (p. 14), Mao Tun made use of the pseudonym Chu Te-hung [24]. The author of the present review-article would be pleasantly surprised indeed, if Mr. Shu's statement were proved right. It should be noted that Mao Tun used the name of Shen Te-hung at school [25],¹¹ further, the initials T. H. as a pseudonym,¹² but Chu Te-hung as Mao Tun's pseudonym would probably be news to all those who have made a study of the works of this outstanding writer and literary critic.

Both the books dealt with here could be supplemented with important pseudonyms of various authors. Thus, for instance, Yüan (p. 86) as well as Shu (p. 81) fail to include the pseudonym Lu I [26] adopted by Hsieh Liu-i [27], a well-known member of Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-hui [28] *The Literary Association*, and one of the introducers of Japanese literature into China.¹³ Lo Chia-lun [32] used the pseudonym Chih Hsi

⁴ *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* [15] *Material for the Study of the History of Modern Chinese Literature*, Peking 1959, Vol. 1, p. 486.

⁵ Ting Ching-t'ang and Wen Ts'ao, op. cit. p. 148.

⁶ Loc.cit.

⁷ Loc.cit.

⁸ M. Gálik, op. cit. p. 82.

⁹ Ibid. pp. 88—89.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 88.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 87.

¹² Ibid. p. 96.

¹³ See *Wo-men-ti ch'i-shih* [29] *Our Disclosure*, Wen-hsüeh hsün-k'an [30] *Literary Decade*, a Supplement to the Newspaper Shih-shih hsin-pao [31] *The China Times*, 56, 21st November, 1922.

[33] which is not listed by either Yüan or Shu.¹⁴ The same applies to Feng Hsüeh-feng's pseudonym Lü K'o-yü [35],¹⁵ Hsiao Chün's [36] pseudonym Huang Hsüan [37],¹⁶ and probably to many others.

As neither Yüan's nor Shu's work is based on evidence, neither of them make an adequate distinction of concordant pseudonyms. For instance, P'ei Wei [38] is Lu Hsün's pseudonym. This writer used it twice in the journal *Shih-tzu chieh-t'ou* [39] *Crossroads*, at the beginning of the thirties.¹⁷ Ten years earlier it had been frequently used by Mao Tun in the magazines *Tung-fang tsa-chih* (The Eastern Miscellany), *Fu-nü tsa-chih* (Ladies' Journal) and in others.¹⁸ Pa Jen [40] was a very rare pseudonym of Lu Hsün,¹⁹ however, one most frequently used by Wang Jen-shu [41].²⁰ Whether it was also used by Hu Yü-chih [42] as claimed by Shu (p. 84), should be proved on evidence. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai often used Lu Hsün's pseudonyms, e.g. Lo Wen [43], Ho Chia-kan [44], Kan[45], or Lo Wen [46].²¹

Perhaps it would be more correct if the book under review were simply called *A List of Pseudonyms and Names*. It is not essential to distinguish whether a pseudonym, a courtesy name (tzu), a literary name (hao) etc. is involved, but it is more exact. Shu makes no point of this; if he does make any distinction, it is between the so-called real names and pseudonyms. Yüan makes the differentiation, but he too, assigns various names among pseudonyms.

The book under review suffers from further drawbacks. The first of these is understandable: it does not include all the important Chinese authors. Thus, we fail to find in it such names as Chu Chih-hsin [47], a well-known author from Sun Yatsen's entourage who used the pseudonym Che Shen [48] and Hsien Chieh [49];²² further, Chu Hsi-tsu [50], as eminent Chinese historian from the twenties and thirties of this century; one of the outstanding Chinese poets Chu Hsiang [51], or the most prominent of modern Chinese aestheticians Chu Kuang-ch'ien [52], who used Meng Shih [53] as pseudonym.²³ And we are only at the beginning of the Chinese "alphabet"—we could go on and mentioning further scholars and men of letters. This is not meant to

¹⁴ Cf. *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* [34] *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, Vol. 10, Shanghai 1935, p. 21 (in the Index).

¹⁵ *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, Vol. 1. p. 567.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 267.

¹⁷ Shen P'eng-nien, op. cit. p. 169.

¹⁸ M. Gálík, op.cit. p. 89.

¹⁹ Shen P'eng-nien, op. cit. p. 168.

²⁰ This is the generally accepted reality.

²¹ Shen P'eng-nien, op. cit. pp. 170—171, 176.

²² H. L. Boorman, *Bibliographical Dictionary of Republican China*, Vol. 1, Columbia University Press, New York and London 1967, pp. 440—443.

²³ Chu Kuang-ch'ien is the author of the book *Meng-shih wen-ch'ao* [54] *A Collection of Meng-shih*, Shanghai 1936, p. 208. Cf. also J. Schyns, *1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays*, Peking 1948, p. 29.

be a reproach. It would be unfair to expect any author to produce a list of this type that would be adequately balanced. This drawback can be easily justified.

What is more difficult to justify, however, is the English transcription of Chinese names. Shortcomings of this type can hardly be passed off as printing errors in view of their numbers. For example Chi [55] should be Ch'i (p. 67), Chün [56] should be Ch'ün (ibid.), Ching I [57] should be Chin I (p. 68), hsün [58] should be sun (p. 70), Ch'ün [59] should be Chün (p. 14), Lu [60] should be Lü (p. 36 and 37), Ke [61] should be K'e (p. 38). This is far from being an exhaustive list of errors. Sometimes, Mr. Shu is inconsequent. For instance, he transcribes the character for Ch'ü [62] as Ch'u, at times as Chu (see p. 78 and elsewhere).

*

The question of Chinese pseudonyms is an important one and its adequate solution is beyond the ability of any one single person. This requires the combined efforts of scholars from the most diverse disciplines, and in particular a knowledge of all that has been written on this topic. Mr. Shu's book may prove very useful to many, but it could have been far more reliable if its compiler had utilized the knowledge of other scholars whose research work has thus remained unknown to him—hence, without profit to his effort. Mr. Shu probably failed to turn his attention to the results of Professor Chow Tse-tsung's investigations,²⁴ or those of H. L. Boorman and his team.²⁵ This is to mention only those who, as his American colleagues, were closest to him. Scientific work is of full value only when it keeps abreast of the best in the world. This is a fairly difficult goal to achieve in contemporary sinologist world, though not impossible. There is much that is unknown, but much material is relatively easily accessible. For example, the reviewer of this book is unfamiliar with two articles, which, if they are really good, might enrich our knowledge in this area: Wang Yang-chih [65], *Kuo Mo-jo ho t'a-ti pi-ming* [66], *Kuo Mo-jo and his Pseudonyms*, Yang'ch'eng wan-pao [67], 5th September, 1959,²⁶ and Ch'ü Kuang-hsi [68], *Kuan-yü Yü Ta-fu-ti pi-ming* [69] *On Yü Ta-fu's Pseudonyms*, Hsin-min wan-pao [70], 13th May, 1957.²⁷ These two articles are hardly accessible to a Western sinologist. The other materials referred to above are easy to come by.

²⁴ Chow Tse-tsung, *Research-guide to the May Fourth Movement*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1963, p. 297. This work includes some pseudonyms that are not found in Shu's work, e.g. pseudonyms of Chang Shen-fu [63] (p. 248), of Chao Shih-yen [64] (loc.cit.) and others.

²⁵ See the monumental work mentioned under Note 22.

²⁶ Taken over from *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsiieh tso-chia tso-p'in p'ing-lun tzu-liao so-yin* [70] *A Catalogue of Materials to the Works of Modern Chinese Writers*, The Normal School of Fukien Province 1961, p. 186.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 155.

The present reviewer likes to hope that the next edition will be expurgated of the above defects and the book will be more reliable and of more profit than at present. In addition, it would be desirable that the next list of pseudonyms be annotated—at least in the case of those pseudonyms that occur with different authors, and that pseudonyms be separated from names.

[1]袁鴻進 [2]現代中國作家筆名錄 [3]周作人 [4]魯迅 [5]沈鵬年 [6]魯迅研究資料編目 [7]瞿秋白 [8]丁景唐 [9]文操 [10]瞿秋白著譯系年目錄 [11]茅盾 [12]沈雁冰 [13]何月仁 [14]馮雪峰 [15]中國現代文學史參考資料 [16]洛揚 [17]司馬合 [18]司馬令 [19]方瑩 [20]毛騰 [21]茅盾 [22]民族主義文學 [23]德洪 [24]朱德鴻 [25]沈德鴻 [26]趙希 [27]謝文選 [28]文學研究會 [29]我們的啟事 [30]文學旬刊 [31]時事新報 [32]羅家倫 [33]志希 [34]中國新文學大系 [35]呂克玉 [36]尚軍 [37]黃玄 [38]佩幸 [39]十字街頭 [40]巴人 [41]王佳叔 [42]胡愈之 [43]洛文 [44]何家韋 [45]干 [46]樂雲 [47]朱執信 [48]執仲 [49]縣解 [50]朱希祖 [51]朱沐 [52]朱光潛 [53]孟實 [54]孟實文鈔 [55]其 [56]群 [57]華新 [58]巽 [59]君 [60]呂 [61]克 [62]瞿 [63]張申府 [64]趙世英 [65]王仰文 [66]郭沫若和他的筆名 [67]羊城晚報 [68]瞿光熙 [69]關於郁達夫的筆名 [70]新民晚報 [71]中國現代文學作家作品評論資料索引

BOOK REVIEWS

Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1935—1968 compiled by Alan C. Wares. Santa Ana, Summer Institute of Linguistics 1968. XIV + 124 pp.

The *Bibliography* contains 2514 entries and as many as some 300 languages are dealt with in it. It represents the work of more than 670 authors most of whom are members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The *Bibliography* includes also those authors whose works have been prepared under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. At present, the field programme of the Institute covers aboriginal languages in 19 different countries (Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Columbia, Ecuador, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Mexico, Nepal, New Guinea, Nigeria, Peru, The Philippines, Surinam, The United States, Vietnam). It should be observed that these activities originally started in Mexico. The *Bibliography* under review is already the sixth in a series published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

There are three appendices at the end of the pamphlet. *Appendix A* gives general abbreviations and abbreviations of institutes and publications appearing in the *Bibliography*. *Appendix B* lists not only the names of languages but also language families which are printed in bold face type. *Appendix C* contains an index of authors.

The clear and systematic arrangement of the *Bibliography* deserves special attention. The principal interests pursued by the Institute include: I—General, II—Descriptive: world languages, III—Descriptive: indigenous languages, and IV—Applied Linguistics. All these categories include both books and articles in periodicals. The first of these categories uses the *Annual Bibliography* compiled by the Permanent International Committee of Linguistics. The second category is subdivided into major languages, arranged alphabetically. The third is arranged according to geographical areas which are further subdivided in terms of indigenous languages. The fourth category uses country and language as criteria for subdivision. This category includes all materials published in the vernacular languages: alphabet

booklets, pre-primers and primers; storybooks, folktales; agricultural and health pamphlets, elementary arithmetic, social studies booklets; phrase books and grammar pamphlets, elementary arithmetic, social studies booklets; phrase books and grammars. Also included in this section are works in the major languages dealing with elementary education in the vernacular.

The title of the item is given in both the indigenous language and in Spanish or English if it so appears on the title page. If this is not the case, the English translation is given in square brackets.

Theoretically, the authors take as the starting point of their works Pike's conception of language as a unit of human behaviour and elaborate his tagmemic approach. Another author who is close to the group of the Summer Institute of Linguistics is E. Nida. However, of late he devotes attention mainly to the theory of translation and inclines to the transformational generative grammar.

The present *Bibliography* is the first work published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics to use computerized editing and automated typography in its production.

The successful work of the Institute is reflected in numerous articles published in a variety of linguistic journals, e.g., *Acta Linguistica*, *American Anthropologist*, *Anthropological Linguistics*, *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, *General Linguistics*, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *Language*, *Lingua*, *Oceanic Linguistics*, *Revista Brasileira de Filologia*, *Word*, *Zeitschrift für Phonetik und Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, etc.

Jozef Genzor

Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. New Guinea Branch. Linguistics and Anthropology. June 1969. Printed and published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ukarumpa, Territory of New Guinea. 39 pp.

The reviewed *Bibliography* covers linguistic and anthropological works of the members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics over a period of 13 years and referring to the Territory of Papua and New Guinea (up to May 1969).

The sections *General Works* and *New Guinea in General* are followed by bibliography divided according to linguistic families. Particularly valuable data about genetic classification are given in parentheses. Most of the studies noted are based upon the tagmemic method, but some of them make use of transformations. Didactic works such as textbooks, dictionaries and manuals for field workers (e.g. Halia, Nasioi, Chuave, Kuman, Barua, Bena-Bena, Fore, Kamano, Usarufa, Vivigani, Atzera, Manga Buang, Tolai, Telefomin) are also well represented.

The bibliography shows that the members of the S.I.L. pay considerable attention

to theoretical and practical problems of translation. This is especially valuable because of the far-reaching structural and cultural differences between European languages and those of New Guinea. Some of the languages have been subjected to contrastive analysis (with English).

Anthropological works cover formal analysis of myth, ethnomusicology, as well as social organization, kinship, and cultural change.

The booklet contains a map of the region in which the investigated languages are marked out.

At the end of the bibliography there is a useful *Index of New Guinea Languages, Languages Outside the Territory of Papua and New Guinea*, and an *Index of Authors*.

Jozef Genzor

Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. New Guinea Branch. Literacy and Translation. June 1969. Printed and published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ukarumpa, Territory of New Guinea. 41 pp.

The *Bibliography* (like the *Bibliography on Linguistics and Anthropology*) includes works of the members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics over the past 13 years, up to May 1969.

The general section (*General Works on Literacy*) is followed by the most comprehensive part—*Literacy Publications*. Altogether there are 50 languages in which pre-primers, primers, readers, writing books, folk tales, periodicals, and assorted booklets on health, agriculture, transport, money, arithmetic and learning English have been published. The title in the native language is followed by an English translation. The following languages are mainly represented: Agarabi, Bena-Bena, Fasu, Gadsup, Gahuku, Kamano, Kewa, Tairora, Usarufa, Washkuk, Wiru.

The third section is devoted to religious literature in 48 languages of the area investigated by the S.I.L. Biblical translations and hymns are listed here. The bibliography contains also a chart indicating the state of biblical translations in particular languages.

The section *Gazetteer* at the end of the pamphlet gives important data about the investigated languages (there are as many as 67 of them), i.e. the number of speakers, location and district, as well as names of translators.

One has to admire the S.I.L. not only for the gigantic work they carry out directly in the field, but also for the prompt way in which the results of their work are made accessible to all linguists.

Jozef Genzor

H. T. Carvell and J. Svartvik, *Computational Experiments in Grammatical Classification*. The Hague, Mouton and Co. 1969. 271 pp.

The present book deals with the use of numerical taxonomy in linguistics, both in general and in application to the solution of a problem in English syntax. This review will pay attention chiefly to the theoretical aspects of quantitative classification. A quantitative classification of a set of objects can be carried out only provided there is a sufficient number of criteria or features. If this is the case, the classes are set up according to the number of shared features.

According to the authors, a linguistic classification should meet the following demands: (a) It should be comprehensive, (b) It should be based on formal linguistic criteria, and hence be objective and empirically verifiable, (c) There should be a judicious balance between high predictive power and simplicity (cf. p. 17).

The term classification itself is used here in the sense of "...a system of reference for the objects together with rules for referring them to it" (p. 29).

A class is characterized by a set of features different from sets of features characteristic for other classes of the same universum. However, it frequently happens that not all members of a class display all the characteristic features. This amounts to saying that in reality there may be a good deal of overlapping (a special case of overlapping is chain similarity).

A resultant classification should be: (a) simple, (b) comprehensive, (c) general, (d) predictive, (e) objective, (f) consistent with intuition, (g) extendable, (h) stimulating.

In each classification there are several points for which no satisfactory solution is available. One of them is the choice of classificatory criteria and their relative weight. In this respect we always proceed on intuition; the authors hope to solve this problem through using as large a number of criteria as possible (p. 37).

A quantitative classification of a set of objects consists of the following steps:

- (a) Selecting the classificatory criteria,
- (b) Calculating the similarity coefficients for all pairs of objects,
- (c) Interpreting the similarity coefficients,
- (d) Constructing the similarity matrix,
- (e) Interpreting the similarity matrix,
- (f) Obtaining a classification from the similarity matrix.

Some of the steps are discussed in more detail than others in the present publication. It is felt that more attention should have been paid to the choice of similarity coefficients and to the discussion of their advantages and shortcomings.

Very useful information is contained in the section devoted to the interpretation of the similarity matrix (pp. 87—94) and to obtaining a classification of objects from the similarity matrix (pp. 94—114). Various methods of clustering are discussed by the authors, especially the so-called linkage system (p. 98 and further). The

authors warn indirectly against taking the values of the similarity coefficient too literally and recommend the use of ordinal scaling with them (i.e., their arrangement in the order of magnitude, cf. p. 105).

The present book is a helpful contribution to the theory of linguistic classification, however, it is a pity that the authors omitted references to such contributors as, e.g. C. D. Chrétien,¹ C. Kluckhohn,² F. E. Clements,³ and H. E. Driver and K. F. Schuessler⁴ who have analysed the advantages and disadvantages of particular similarity measures and deal with exact methods of obtaining a classification from the similarity matrix.

Viktor Krupa

Computation in Linguistics. A Case Book. Ed. by Paul L. Garvin and B. Spolsky, Bloomington—London, Indiana University Press 1966. 340 pp.

An evaluation of the processes and methods proposed in the papers of the book under review can be attempted only by a scholar who often uses computers in his linguistic researches. Therefore, we can add only a few remarks about the solutions proposed in this book.

As apparent from the subtitle (namely, A Case Book) various possibilities of using computers in solving concrete problems are studied here. It must be said, of course, that these papers originated in the Seminar in Language Data Processing at Indiana University, 1964.

The contents of this book show a relatively broad field of interests: some papers deal with data-processing, others aim at the solution of some theoretical problems.

In the first place mention should be made of O. Werner concerning the use of computers in automatic parsing of the sentence in Navaho, then the attempt at

¹ C. D. Chrétien, *The Quantitative Method for Determining Linguistic Relationships*. University of California Publications in Linguistics 1 (1943), No. 2, pp. 11—20; *Culture Elements Distributions: XXV. Reliability of Statistical Procedures and Results*. Anthropological Records 8 (1945), No. 5, pp. 469—490; *A Classification of Twenty-One Philippine Languages*. The Philippine Journal of Science 91 (1962), pp. 485—506.

² C. Kluckhohn, *On Certain Recent Applications of Association Coefficients to Ethnological Data*. American Anthropologist 41 (1939), pp. 345—377.

³ F. E. Clements, *Use of Cluster Analysis with Anthropological Data*. American Anthropologist 56 (1954), pp. 180—199.

⁴ H. E. Driver—K. F. Schuessler, *A Factor Analysis of Sixteen Primitive Societies*. American Sociological Review 21 (1956), pp. 493—499; *Factor Analysis of Ethnographic Data*. American Anthropologist 59 (1957), pp. 655—663.

a syntactic concordance for Middle High German by W. C. Crossgrove, and finally the survey of possibilities in automatic searching of data from the collected dialectological data by R. W. Shuy.

It seems, however, that even the papers concerning problem-solving questions do not surpass the preparatory phase of statistical data-processing with perhaps the exception of the paper on machine translation by F. C. C. Peng and that about the participle in Modern Hebrew by P. O. Samuelsdorff. This preparatory character is particularly apparent in the papers concerning phonology (by R. L. Venezky), automatic morphemicization (by D. M. Matson) and automatic verification of phrase structure description (by M. L. Joynes).

The working character of the papers in this book is made evident by numerous flow-charts which permit better to pursue the explanations of the proposed working principles and perhaps also to verify the conclusions arrived at.

It should be observed, however, that only partial problems are solved and preliminary results reached in all the papers. That means that at present we are still far from drawing a full use of computers in theoretical linguistics.

In his *Introduction* Paul L. Garvin says that precisely the logical capability of the computer can be put to good use in the linguistic research, but it seems to the reviewer that this possibility refers only to the verification of the proposed hypotheses. It is a consequence of the mechanical logic owned by the computer which enables the linguist to ascertain the unambiguous consequences of his hypotheses and assumptions (see p. XII). But that possibility does not allow us to speak about problem-solving use of the computer. O. Werner says in this book that both the human being and the computer are complicated information-processing devices. But at this time "the computers have been programmed as general problem-solvers of highly structured simple games or of theorems of logic and geometry" (p. 12). At present there is no program which could automatically analyse an unknown language as the human investigator can.

It is just from this restriction of the possibilities of computers that a further, at present unsurmountable difficulty arises, namely, the rather time consuming manual data preparation which at best can be used to calculate and to print very rapidly the collected data or to choose all possible combinations of data stored in the memory of the computer. (Cf. also the remark by M. L. Joynes, p. 192.)

Perhaps a more useful way of using computers is that presented in the papers about some applied problems, such as the one concerning content processing by S. N. Jacobson and programmed instruction by B. Spolsky shows.

It seems, therefore, that the greatest possibilities in using computers are, at present, not in the theoretical domain of linguistics, but in that of applied problems. The importance of these investigations for theoretical linguistics is beyond doubt, but it still remains only a stimulating factor today.

Ján Horecký

The Genesis of Language. A Psycholinguistic Approach. Edited by Frank Smith and George A. Miller. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The M.I.T. Press, Second Printing 1967. XIV + 400 pp.

The present volume contains proceedings of a conference on language development in children, sponsored by the Human Communication Program of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, held April 1965, at Old Point Comfort, Virginia.

The aim of the conference was to direct attention to the stage in the acquisition of grammar and phonology by children and to biological and clinical evidence concerning the child's innate capacities for this acquisition. This general aim is plainly reflected in the contributions presented which offer a fruitful confrontation between the views of linguists and those of linguistically-oriented psychologists. Linguistically the dominant theoretical background in the present collection of papers is provided by the generative grammar which is believed by J. J. Jenkins (see 'Reflections on the Conference', 349) to become soon 'the most fruitful way for both linguist and psychologist to approach language'.

Contributions to the present volume cover the following topics: developmental psycholinguistics (D. McNeil), syntax learning (J. A. Fodor), language acquisition by child as based on the evidence provided by the recent Soviet works on psychology and language teaching (D. I. Slobin), the child's learning of phonology (R. H. Weir, D. B. Fry), effects of reduced exposure to normal speech with deaf children (I. J. Hirsh), biological and evolutionary foundations of communication systems (E. H. Lenneberg, R. A. Chase, H. Kalmus) and finally, some aspects of non-human communication (D. Premack and A. Schwartz).

Close attention is paid to the recent Soviet methods of investigating the child language, by D. I. Slobin (see *Appendix*).

The book is within the scope of interest of linguists, psychologists, educators, geneticists and experts in matters of animal communication.

Ladislav Drozdík

Louis G. Heller, *Parametric Linguistics*. The Hague, Mouton and Co. 1967. 79 pp.

The author opens his discussion of the subject with a statement that thus far linguistics has focused on the constituents, not on the differentiating parameters. The focus has to be shifted to the parameters because these are the prime shapers and movers of the system and these cause change and reorganization of the system.

All this was known before, and Heller admits that some types of structuralism

may be characterized as incipient parametric analysis. According to Heller himself, his book aims at sketching an overall picture of the internal dynamics of languages as based on parametric analysis.

A linguistic parametre which is central to Heller's theory is very much the same as distinctive feature. According to him, the latter term is avoided because recent usage has generally restricted its meaning to the phonological and occasionally to the morphological level (p. 12).

Five fundamental types of systems are distinguished on the basis of a function-to-manifesting-mark correlation (p. 19). One of the five types is stable while the rest are unstable. However, the stability is relative and can be upset by changes on any other hierarchical level.

Then Heller defines the ideal system as "the realization of the slots which result from the combination of every parameter in the system with every other parameter" (p. 20).

In a non-stable system, the stabilitative evolution always takes either of two directions, additive or subtractive (see pp. 20—21). In other words, the aim of the evolution is to eliminate gaps in the pattern, either by filling them or by annihilating the parameter in question.

The importance of a parameter for a language is not measured in terms of the chance realizations of its intersections with other parameters but in terms of its integration in the language. For example, the English opposition *o—d* distinguishes only very few minimal pairs, but it has not disappeared from the language because it is part of the correlation voiced—voiceless and this is a parametric correlation thoroughly embedded in the system.

Words or morphemes are also regarded as manifestations of certain semantic parametric intersections (p. 36). We quote: "Underlying the word *father*... is an intersection of the semantic parameters *parent* and *male*. In contrast to this, the word *mother* manifests the intersection of *parent* and *female*" (p. 36). However, the element *parent* is at the same time an independent lexical unit, like *father* or *mother* and the same is true of *male* and *female*. This would mean that there is a basic difference between phonemics and semantics as far as parametric analysis is concerned: Some lexical units would coincide with parameters while phonemic units are always intersections of parameters.

The parametric approach allows us to define an archiphoneme in an elegant way as "the sum total of all the phonological parameters that two phonemes have in common without the phonological parameter(s) which differentiate(s) them" (p. 41). An archisememe is defined in a similar manner. It follows that generalization can be characterized as the removal of the differentiating semantic parameter (p. 41) and specialization as the addition of one or more differentiating semantic parameters to the archisememe (p. 42). Synonymy is correlated with the number of semantic parameters shared by two words (p. 42).

It is useful to apply parametric approach to changes in the system affected by interference. "When systems are in contact", says Heller, "although the pressure of one system always comes from within, never from without, the resolution of the pressure may be facilitated by the availability of the constituents of the second system" (p. 47).

Heller applies parametric approach to graphemics (pp. 65—68) and to literary analysis as well (pp. 69—75).

In conclusion, the author admits that a tremendous amount of work must be done before the analysis will yield its full results (p. 77). The main contribution of the publication does not consist so much in its originality (parametric analysis of phonemics and partly also of morphology had been carried out by Prague structuralists and that of semantics by W. Goodenough and others) as in attempting to turn the attention of linguists once again to the fact that this method can be applied successfully to all branches of linguistics.

Viktor Krupa

Alphonse Juilland—Hans Heinrich Lieb, "*Klasse*" und *Klassifikation in der Sprachwissenschaft*. The Hague, Mouton 1968. 75 pp.

This publication consists of two parts, the first of which is titled *Logical Foundations* (pp. 17—42) and the second "*Class*", *Classification and Criterion in Linguistics* (pp. 43—72).

The authors stress the necessity of distinguishing descriptive and logical concepts in the terminology of a science. Class is, obviously enough, one of the logical terms which are used in every branch of science. Several definitions of the notion of class are given in Chapter 1 (pp. 19—23), e.g., those by Carnap, Quine, Suppes, Bocheński. Subsequently various types of classification are discussed (Chapter 2, pp. 24—29 and Chapter 3, pp. 30—36). Altogether there are five types of classification: (1) classification of B, (2) strong classification of B, (3) classification of B according to E, (4) strong classification of B according to E, (5) strong classification of B according to R. It is important to distinguish more clearly between logical and non-logical problems in classification.

Classifications themselves could be classified according to (1) their domain, (2) criteria, (3) results of the classification. In practice, they are classified virtually only according to their domain. There are classifications whose domain is the universum of all languages—which is the case of linguistic typologies—and classifications specific for particular languages. The authors confine their attention to the latter.

In view of the objections stated on pp. 46—47, structuralism should not be labelled “taxonomic” as opposed to transformationalism, since some taxonomic (classificatory) elements are present also in the transformational grammar.

We are made aware that identification in morphology is not the same thing as classification. A distribution class consists of units with the same distribution. However, in case of identification we often have to deal with some variants of a unit which differ as to their distribution and are said to be in “complementary distribution” (p. 52).

Morphology and syntax are distinguished as dealing with finite and infinite combinations of units (pp. 53—55).

The authors stress that the theory of distinctive features is compatible with the classificatory principle (p. 58).

The last chapter (pp. 70—71) summarizes the following suggestions:

- (1) Expressions such as “class” should be regarded as purely logical, not descriptive.
- (2) They should be used in the same sense as in logic.
- (3) The use of the expression “taxonomic” as applied to structural linguistics should be avoided.
- (4) Logical problems connected with classification should be carefully kept apart from descriptive problems.

(5) We should be aware of the importance of criteria.

The aim of the publication under review is to turn the attention of linguists to problems of classification, and it can be stated that this aim has been achieved.

Viktor Krupa

John Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. London, Cambridge University Press 1968. 519 pp.

As the author states in the *Preface* (pp. IX—X), the purpose of his book has been to provide an introduction to the most important trends in contemporary linguistic theory. It would almost be a miracle if all linguists agreed as to which trends in modern linguistics are the most important. However, the present reviewer thinks that perhaps more space should be devoted to statistical linguistics and to theory of translation. The scope of the present *Introduction* covers phonetics, phonology, grammar, and semantics. On the other hand, stylistics, language acquisition, social functions of language and historical linguistics have been omitted. Phonetics and phonology have been dealt with more briefly while semantics has been given a more thorough treatment. Another interesting and sympathetic feature of Lyons' book is that traditional linguistics has been discussed with a great deal of understanding

instead of having been hurriedly passed over completely. What is more, an attempt has been made to reconcile traditional linguistics with modern, especially transformational generative grammar.

The first chapter (*Linguistics: The Scientific Study of Language*, pp. 1—52) includes a general definition of the scope of linguistics and a brief history of the science of language. The second chapter (*The Structure of Language*, pp. 53—98) deals with such basic ideas of linguistics as substance and form, paradigmatics and syntagmatics, distribution, theory of information, and statistical structure. Phonetics and phonology form the object of the third chapter (*The Sounds of Language*, pp. 99—132). The first three chapters are in a sense introductory to the remaining seven chapters that are devoted to grammar and semantics.

The fourth chapter (pp. 133—169) discusses the general principles of grammar. Grammar has been defined as a device giving rules for combining words to form sentences (p. 133). It is pointed out that formal grammar, unlike other types of grammar, uses such primitive notions as acceptability and utterance. One of the most interesting places in the book is the paragraph devoted to the inherent indeterminacy of grammar. We quote: "One does not have to go very far with the grammatical description of any language before one finds disagreement among native speakers about the acceptability of sentences generated by the rules tentatively established by the grammarian. There is therefore a real, and perhaps ineradicable, problem of indeterminacy with respect to acceptability and unacceptability" (p. 153).

One feels that Lyons is right when regarding as unnecessarily strong the assumption according to which the grammatical structure of any language is determinate and is known "intuitively" (or "tacitly") by native speakers (cf. p. 154).

The fifth chapter (pp. 170—208) is devoted to the discussion of grammatical units: utterance, sentence, word, morpheme. The difference of utterance and sentence is reduced by Lyons to the difference of *parole* and *langue*. Utterances as such do not consist of sentences but of segments of speech correlated with sentences generated by grammar (p. 176). Word is characterized as an internally stable and positionally mobile unit (pp. 202—204). The sixth chapter (pp. 209—269) discusses various approaches to the study and description of grammar, namely, immediate constituent analysis, phrase structure grammar, categorial grammar, and transformational grammar. At the same time, attention is paid to various types of grammatical rules. The next chapter (*Grammatical Categories*, pp. 270—333) ranks among the most brilliant in the book. Category is defined as a term referring to any group of elements recognized in the description of particular languages (p. 270). It should be added that such a group of elements is united by a common grammatical meaning and, at the same time, its formal markers can be varied. Lyons distinguishes three types of grammatical categories: (I) primary categories (parts of speech), (II) secondary categories (tense, mood, case, etc.), (III) functional categories (subject, predicate, object, etc., cf. p. 274).

Particularly helpful is the discussion of the relations holding between the general meaning of a word and its syntactic valency in the eighth chapter (pp. 334—399). Interrelations of transitivity, voice, ergativity, and animateness are explained here in a very clear manner. We would only like to add that inanimate nouns may occur as agents of actions the object of which is an animate noun, e.g., *Lightning has killed three men.*

The last two chapters (*Semantics: General Principles*, pp. 400—442 and *Semantic Structure*, pp. 443—481) deal with semantic problems concentrating upon reference and sense, synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy, lexical and grammatical meaning. Synonymy is defined as one of the most essential notions in semantics. In conclusion, the author discusses componential analysis and points out its advantages and disadvantages.

On the whole, it may be said that Lyons' book is one of the most brilliant publications of its kind to have appeared in the sixties.

Viktor Krupa

Bruce Biggs, *Let's Learn Maori. A Guide to the Study of the Maori Language.* Wellington, A. H. and A. W. Reed 1969. 150 pp.

The author is right when claiming that the present analysis of Maori structure is more complete than any earlier publication. However, it is no textbook of Maori in the classical sense. It might be regarded as a reference grammar in which the linguistic material is arranged mainly on the basis of structural criteria, and only to a lesser degree, on the basis of increasing difficulty. The internal arrangement into 54 short chapters (each consisting of several numbered paragraphs) is very useful and helps the student to find his way among the facts of the Maori language.

This character of the handbook is supported also by the absence of exercises and vocabularies. However, there is a short index and vocabulary (pp. 134—150) explaining the meanings of words used in the numerous examples scattered all through the book.

Perhaps it would not be too gross a distortion to maintain that the present description of the Maori language is a phrase structure grammar with an occasional use of transformations. The phrase is regarded as the basic unit of Maori speech, which is useful in learning because the Maori phrase corresponds roughly to the word in most European languages. What is more, the borders of phrase coincide with potential pauses in speech. The phrase is analysed into a nucleus and a periphery. The nucleus is characterized as the central part of the phrase, containing its lexical meaning while the periphery contains its grammatical meaning (p. 18). This is

certainly true but it ought to be specified that the nucleus may also contain grammatical elements (e.g., the passive suffix). Then the author proceeds to distinguish two types of words, bases and particles. The phrases are divided into nominal and verbal, which is of decisive importance for the Maori grammar. Sentences are divided into balanced nominal sentences (containing two juxtaposed nominal phrases), active verbal sentences (containing a nominal phrase and a verbal phrase expressed by a universal base) and into stative verbal sentences (the same as the latter, only the verbal phrase is expressed by a stative base). Naturally, active verbal sentences can be transformed into passive (cf. pp. 32—33). The author maintains that "...there is no rule which will determine the (passive) suffix appropriate to a particular base" (p. 32). However, two recent studies indicate that the selection of a particular allomorph is conditioned by the phonemic shape of the base in question.¹

The bases are divided into five classes or parts of speech, namely nouns, statives, universals, locatives, and personals (p. 51). These classes are nonoverlapping and the only objection that can be raised against the classification is that personals could be taken merely as a subclass of nouns instead of granting them an equal status with the other parts of speech. Chapter 38 deals with the structure of the Maori sentence (pp. 100—104). Five parts of sentence are distinguished: subject, predicate, focus, comment, and interjection. Focus is regarded as different from subject and is defined as that part of sentence to which special attention is being drawn (p. 101). Comment is somewhat too wide a category which might be divided into several subtypes. It has been defined by the author as a nominal phrase that begins with a preposition.

Chapter 49 (pp. 121—124) is devoted to expanded sentences; several subtypes of subordinate sentences are described here. At the end of the textbook a brief chapter on pronunciation of Maori for the English speaking student is added (pp. 131—133).

On the whole, this is an excellent handbook of Maori, and its value is increased by two LP records in which all Maori examples are read by the author and by P. Hohepa of the University of Auckland.

Viktor Krupa

¹ G. L. Pearce, *A Classification of the Forms of the "Passive" Suffix Used with Maori Verb-Bases*. Te Reo 7 (1964), pp. 51—58; V. Krupa, *Rules of Occurrence of the Passive Suffix Allomorphs in Maori*. Asian and African Studies III (1966), pp. 9—13.

David R. Counts, *A Grammar of Kaliai-Kove*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1969. 170 pp.

This dissertation is based upon an extensive fieldwork conducted in Kandoka, West New Britain from September 1966 to August 1967. The book consists of five major parts, i.e. *Introduction* (pp. 2—15), *Phonology* (pp. 16—55), *Morphology* (pp. 56—135), *Conclusion* (pp. 136—138), and *Lexicon* (pp. 139—169).

In *Introduction*, the geographic location of the described dialect, its linguistic relationships, cultural setting, and history of contacts with Europeans are explained. The section entitled *Phonology* gives a reliable picture of the sound level of Kaliai-Kove. The author proceeds beyond the mere description of the phonemic inventory and gives reliable information on “suprasegmental” phonemes, stress, phonotactic regularities and some morphophonemic processes. However, it is upon morphology that Counts has focused his attention. Morphemes are defined and grouped into classes according to their distribution. Grammatical categories are expounded and, besides, phenomena traditionally dealt with in syntax, are included here, e.g., causative and transitive constructions, conjunctions, etc.

In *Conclusion*, the author presents his own opinion on the book which is regarded as a tentative statement (p. 136). The tentative nature of the grammar is due (1) to the absence of syntax, (2) to the fact that the linkage between the semantic domains and social action remains unexplored, (3) to the inadequate knowledge of the mechanism of reduplication. The *Lexicon* includes several hundreds of words occurring in the grammar. A short bibliography is added at the end of the book.

Viktor Krupa

Tepano Jaussen, *Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue tahitienne*. 15^e édition revue par Mgr Mazé et le R.P.H. Coppentrath. Paris, Publications de la Société des Océanistes, No. 22, Musée de l'Homme 1969. 336 pp.

This book was originally published by Mgr Jaussen in 1886 under the title *Grammaire et Dictionnaire de la langue maorie. Dialecte tahitien*. The author admits that he has been influenced by previous works on Tahitian, especially by Caré, Noury, Orsmond and Ribourt. However, the French-Tahitian dictionary is purely his own work.

The present edition of Jaussen's handbook has been carefully revised and corrected. In addition, numerous new entries have been included in the Tahitian-French dictionary, especially words of European origin, but also those genuine Tahitian words that have been omitted by Jaussen, as well as some recent loanwords from

neighbouring Polynesian dialects. Some corrections have also been carried out in the orthography. Unfortunately, the glottal stop and vowel quantity are not consistently marked even in this revised edition, which can be regarded as the most serious shortcoming of Jaussen's work.

The book itself consists of three parts. The first one deals with the grammar of Tahitian (pp. 5—64). It is only natural that a work written in the last century by a non-linguist uses concepts and terms that originate in the grammars of classical languages, i.e., categories of gender, case, person. The second part contains a Tahitian-French dictionary (pp. 65—152) that includes between 6500—7000 entries. Quite a few of the entries contain also phrases and sentences exemplifying the use and meaning of the words listed. The third part of the book is the largest (pp. 153—336). It consists of the French-Tahitian dictionary of which Jaussen was so proud. It contains almost 14,000 entries and is no doubt the largest of its kind. However, it should be used together with the Tahitian-French dictionary because the use of synonyms is not always explained.

Regardless of what has been said above, Jaussen's work preserves its value up to this day, first, because it is based on the Tahitian as it was spoken around the mid-nineteenth century (when it was not so pervaded by European influences) and, second, it is still the best and one of the few available handbooks of this important Polynesian language.

Viktor Krupa

Oceanic Linguistics. Edited by George W. Grace. Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Oceanic Linguistics is published since 1962, one year after the Tenth Pacific Science Congress was held in Honolulu. Originally, it was published semiannually and brought (1) detailed reports about important linguistic activities in the investigated area, i.e. Oceanic area (in a broad sense of the term, inclusive of Papuan and Australian languages) and (2) news of various kinds (individual research activities, miscellaneous reports, bibliography, index of investigated languages). This publication policy has been changed since 1964 together with a change of the publication place. Beginning with Vol. III, *Oceanic Linguistics* is no more published at Southern Illinois University but at the University of Hawaii. Before 1964 only those articles were accepted which were "in the nature of surveys especially of the state of research in a given field of interest to Oceanic linguistics" (OL, No. 2, Vol. II). Most of the reports were concerned with the activity of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, especially with the investigation of the languages of New Guinea and the Philippines.

Since 1964 the journal accepts contributions to descriptive and historical linguistics of the Oceanic area. *Oceanic Linguistics* is further published twice a year. Its contents consist of articles and news of current research, publications, and other pertinent activities. In addition, there are Special Publications issues: these are occasional publications of the University of Hawaii Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute in cooperation with *Oceanic Linguistics*. Such studies are pertinent to the research interests of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (e.g., Special Publication No. 2, 1966, a syntactic description of Ivatan—*An Ivatan Syntax* by Lawrence Andrew Reid).

Contents in the journal mentioned sometimes contain articles of theoretical concern (e.g., *On the Scientific Status of Genetic Classification in Linguistics* by George W. Grace in Nos 1 and 2, Vol. IV) and studies applying modern methods to Austronesian or, to be more precise, Polynesian group of languages (*Austronesian Lexicostatistical Classification: A Review Article* by George W. Grace in No. 1, Vol. V; *Generative Elicitation Techniques in Polynesian Lexicography* by Vern Carroll in No. 2, Vol. V). However, articles of this sort are not very frequent. Most contributions are devoted to particular languages or dialects of the Oceanic area, mainly to New Guinea and the Philippines. Other regions are also represented, namely North Borneo, Australia, Hawaii, Marshall Islands, Marianas Islands, Melanesia, in the most cases only with one article. One issue, namely No. 1, Vol. III is a monograph. It comprises Papers on Philippine Linguistics by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Here the Philippine Branch of the S.I.L. reports by means of several articles on the present state and future direction of the Institute studies.

With the exception of *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* published at Wellington, *Oceanic Linguistics* is the only linguistic periodical devoted exclusively to the Pacific area. It is a source of valuable information on the progress of studies in the field of Oceanic languages and no scholar specializing in Austronesian linguistics can dispense with it.

Jozef Genzor

Albert J. Schütz, *Nguna Grammar*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 5. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1969. 88 pp.

The present grammar has been written as a result of fieldwork in the New Hebrides sponsored by the University of Hawaii and the National Science Foundation. Nguna is a Melanesian language spoken by some 1000 people, chiefly on the island of Nguna.

Schütz' grammar includes phonology (pp. 10—22), phrase structure (pp. 23—47), transformations (pp. 48—77), evaluation (pp. 78—83), and notes (pp. 84—86).

As far as phonology is concerned, the author discusses intonation, syllable structure as well as segmental phonemes. Solutions suggested by Schütz for the phonology of Nguna are analogous to those current in descriptions of Polynesian languages. The model for the phrase structure of the Nguna grammar is based partially on Biggs and Carroll (p. 23). Two basic types of phrases are distinguished, i.e., noun phrases and verb phrases. The verbal phrase may include up to 13 structural positions, namely, verbal-pronoun markers, imperfective, completion and tense, negative, sequential, progressive, nucleus, object marker, completion, object, ablative, limiting I, limiting II (pp. 24—25). The noun phrase is considerably simpler and consists of no more than 4 positions, namely, prepositions, nucleus, plural marker, *maa* (p. 41). The section devoted to transformations (pp. 48—77) deals with the relationships of phrases as they combine into sentences. Schütz assumes that each sentence consists of (at least) a verb phrase (p. 48). However, it remains unclear whether nominal sentences can be distinguished from verbal ones in Nguna or not.

The usefulness of Schütz' handbook is increased by a section entitled *Evaluation* (pp. 78—83). Here the author points to some discrepancies in the transcription and to existing gaps in the phonological and grammatical description. The publication of Schütz' monograph represents a serious contribution to our knowledge of Oceanic languages.

Viktor Krupa

Albert J. Schütz, *Nguna Texts*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 4. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1969. 325 pp.

This collection of traditional and modern narratives comprises materials gathered by the author in 1966 and 1967 on Nguna Islands in the New Hebrides. According to him, the purpose of these texts was to serve as a basis for the grammatical analysis. Unfortunately, the tradition of storytelling has become obsolete under the impact of Western civilization (p. IX). However, Schütz has succeeded in discovering fragments of traditional narratives despite the Christianization which took place almost a century ago.

The collection contains five types of stories: (1) *Culture Heroes* (pp. 3—66), (2) *Explanatory Tales* (pp. 67—127), (3) *Semihistorical Traditions* (pp. 128—230), (4) *Ethnology* (pp. 231—296), (5) *Post-European Narratives* (pp. 297—325).

Each text is divided into numbered lines which are furnished with the literal English translation and with a free English translation. *Nguna Texts* represent a valuable complement to the *Nguna Grammar* by the same author. It remains to be hoped that at least the most important of the Melanesian languages will be described in the same way as Nguna.

Viktor Krupa

Peter R. Sharples, *Sikaiana Syntax*. University of Auckland 1968. 363 pp.

In recent years, our knowledge of various Polynesian languages has been considerably extended because numerous articles and monographs have been published that deal not only with the most important Polynesian languages, such as Maori, Samoan, Hawaiian, etc. but also with some of the peripheral ones as Nukuoro, Rennellese, Mae, etc. Most of these descriptions lean heavily on descriptivist or structuralist methodology. In this respect, the present publication marks a new era in the study of the Polynesian languages since it is a transformational-generative grammar of a Polynesian language, in fact the second to have appeared (the first one being that of Maori by P. W. Hohepa).¹ It has been written as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Auckland.

Chapters 3 to 6 are to be viewed as central when taking into account the aim of the author. The first two chapters are introductory and critical while the *Appendix* discusses the phonology of Sikaiana.

In Chapter 1, *Introduction* (pp. 1—4), some general information is given on Sikaiana, its environment, people and language. According to the author there are 15—20 distinct Polynesian languages spoken within Triangle Polynesia and at least 14—16 distinct Polynesian languages within Outlier Polynesia. These estimates seem to be somewhat higher than those by other authors. According to Sharples, the Sikaiana language is closely related to that of Luangiua, and to some other Outlier languages (it is not specified to which ones). A. Pawley² assigns Sikaiana to the so-called central subgroup of the Samoic-Outlier languages, together with Takuu, Luangiua and, possibly, with Nukuria and Nukumanu.

On pp. 4—8, the author explains his theoretical position. Basically he follows Chomsky's model of transformational-generative grammar as outlined in his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), however, he deviates from it in some points. An attempt will be made here to concentrate mainly upon these deviations. On the whole, Sharples seems to favour the older version of the transformational-generative grammar in which elementary (kernel) sentences are recognized and in which unary and binary transformations are distinguished. This is connected with the fact that the problem of using |S| in the base has not been satisfactorily solved. This has been criticized not only by Sharples but, e.g. by P. Sgall.³ The role of transformations is very modest in the new version of the transformational grammar and it is not clear

¹ P. W. Hohepa, *A Profile-Generative Grammar of Maori*. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 33, No. 2, Memoir 20 (1967).

² A. Pawley, *The Relationships of Polynesian Outlier Languages*. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (1967), pp. 259—296.

³ P. Sgall, *Generativní popis jazyka a česká deklinace*. Prague, Academia 1967, esp. pp. 31—32 and p. 82.

whether there are sufficient grounds for assigning the set of transformational rules to the syntactic component.

The author is aware of an inherent indeterminacy in language (see p. 9) which should be reflected in the grammar of the language. This indeterminacy is interpreted as following from the fact that individual speakers may differ in their linguistic percepts. However, there is another and a deeper source of indeterminacy in language which is connected with the very process of human cognition and not only with the extraordinary complexity of language. Another innovation by the author is the inclusion of subcategorization rules in the lexical subcomponent. This is a useful device enabling some generalizations but, strictly speaking, it is redundant from the purely theoretical viewpoint. Most critical remarks on Chomsky's model are contained in Chapter 6 (pp. 260—326) which is devoted to the justification of the transformational component. Chomsky has eliminated the generalized transformations, and the embedding of sentences has been shifted to the base component. However, according to Sharples, this would not entirely eliminate the generalized transformations, since there are still rules conjoining co-ordinate sentences and Chomsky does not discuss how conjunctions might be introduced into the categorial rules which produce base sentences (p. 261). Sharples has also suggested his own procedure for handling the so-called transformative affixes (pp. 325—326) that are not discussed by Chomsky.

In *Appendix* (pp. 327—358), the author discusses phonology of Sikaiana. Despite the fact that at the sentence level phonemes are superfluous from the transformational standpoint from which they are treated here; the author uses seven distinctive features defined by means of articulatory-acoustic criteria: consonantal—nonconsonantal, interrupted—noninterrupted, voiced—nonvoiced, nasal—nonnasal, grave—nongrave, diffuse—nondiffuse, compact—noncompact. It is not clear why the velar $|k|$ and $|h|$ are not classed as compact. If we choose the opposition continuant—noncontinuant instead of interrupted—noninterrupted, and class $|p|$, $|t|$, $|k|$, $|m|$, $|n|$ as noncontinuant, we might do without the opposition nasal—nonnasal, thus reducing the number of distinctive features to six.

In conclusion it might be said that the author has done a lot of pioneering work in the description of the Polynesian languages. However, his study is interesting not only for the students of Polynesian languages but, in view of the attention devoted to theoretical and methodological questions, also to linguists engaged in developing the transformational approach to language.

Viktor Krupa

D. T. Tryon, *Conversational Tahitian*. An Introduction to the Tahitian Language of French Polynesia. Canberra, Australian National University Press 1970. 177 pp.

Tahitian was until recently one of the least known Polynesian languages, despite its key importance within French Polynesia. Most grammars and textbooks of Tahitian written earlier are dependent upon classical models and supply only an incomplete treatment of the language structure. Tryon's work is therefore the first solid and exhaustive textbook of the Tahitian language of today.

According to the author himself, the aim of the present publication is to give a course in conversational Tahitian. The formal and archaic Tahitian has been eliminated and the everyday style has been preferred throughout the text. Since this textbook is intended not for linguists alone, but for anyone interested in Tahiti, the author had to make concessions, especially insofar as terminology is concerned.

The glottal stop and long vowels are consistently marked in the handbook, perhaps for the first time in the history of description of the Tahitian language.

Conversational Tahitian is divided into 24 lessons to which 11 Tahitian passages are added. Besides, a key to exercises and translations, a chapter on the Tahitian family, a Tahitian-English, and English-Tahitian glossaries have been included.

Some features of Tahitian are treated in a way different from that found in descriptions of other Polynesian languages. E.g. 'o is regarded as an article (p. 10), despite the fact that its role consists in focusing attention to the expression determined by it. The nominalizer *-ra'a* should better be treated as a particle, not as a suffix (cf. p. 37). Such a solution would be parallel to that chosen for the passive morpheme *-hia* (pp. 37—39). It ought to be pointed out that the particle *i* serves also as an agentive marker with a small group of "ergative" verbs or "participles", e.g. *rē win, hemo pass*, etc. (p. 39). The postpositive particle *ai* is regarded as a directional (p. 63). Its function in the present-day Polynesian languages seems to be relational and resultative, however.

The few minor objections discussed above are not meant to diminish the importance of Tryon's work. According to the reviewer, there can be no doubt that all students of Polynesian languages, including professional linguists, will welcome the publication of the present grammar that fills a most serious gap in our knowledge of Polynesia.

Viktor Krupa

Intermediate Readings in Tagalog. Edited by J. Donald Bowen. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press 1968. XIII + 399 pp.

The present work has been published as the second volume of the Yale linguistic series of four books produced in a project devoted to Tagalog. The reviewed book has been preceded by *Beginning Tagalog, A Course for Speakers of English*. The remaining two to be published are a reference grammar of Tagalog and a Tagalog dictionary.

The book is intended for the student who wishes to improve his knowledge of Tagalog acquired in the basic course in *Beginning Tagalog*. The materials included in the *Readings* vary from very simple texts to the writings of contemporary authors.

The book is divided into two parts, which are subdivided into several sections. Section A of Part I (pp. 3—104) contains texts designed to accompany the later units of *Beginning Tagalog*. Section B (pp. 107—144) includes transition readings designed to lead the student to the freedom of communication that follows in later parts of the book.

Part II is a selection of mostly contemporary Tagalog writing, with the exception of a few earlier authors included for variety and perspective. Section A of Part II (pp. 147—185) includes essays and articles, primarily with a journalistic orientation. Section B of Part II (pp. 189—254) consists of short stories, Section C (pp. 257—269) of poetry, and Section D (pp. 273—292) of two short plays.

Each reading selection is followed by a set of conversational questions. The readings have been chosen not only to help in mastering the Tagalog language and in acquiring the ability to read Tagalog texts but also to give the student an idea of the culture of the Filipino people. Numerous footnotes in the text explain morphological and syntactical patterns of Tagalog and give a solid insight into the Filipino cultural background.

The vocabulary (pp. 295—399) lists all words used in the book. For each entry there is a numerical reference symbol that identifies the location of its first appearance in the book. The number of words included (c. 4950) warrants a solid knowledge of the Tagalog lexicon, especially as far as everyday conversation and modern Tagalog texts are concerned. The beginner will appreciate that the vocabulary is arranged alphabetically because nesting used traditionally in dictionaries of Austro-nesian languages requires a fairly deep knowledge of the morphological structure of word.

The reviewed book is recommended for those who have some knowledge of Tagalog as a further step in achieving the communication skill in this most important of the Philippine languages.

Jozef Genzor

Robert E. Longacre, *Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages*. 3 Vols., Santa Ana, The Summer Institute of Linguistics 1968—1969. 223 + 231 + 302 pp.

This extensive report in three volumes summarizes the results of a fieldwork in the Philippines. Its aim was to investigate the hierarchical levels of discourse, paragraph, and sentence. The data have been drawn from 25 less known Philippine languages located in (1) Northern Luzon, (2) Palawan, (3) Mindanao, (4) Sulu.

Theoretically, the project is based upon two papers by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.¹

These three volumes apply tagmemic theory to the analysis of Philippine languages. The tagmemists emphasize four points, i.e., (1) trimodal structuring, (2) pattern and function, (3) hierarchy, (4) system.

Volume I entitled *Discourse and Paragraph Structure* is perhaps more interesting than Volume II (*Sentence Structure*) and Volume III (*Text Material*), chiefly because it deals with new problems that have been neglected by most linguists so far.

Four discourse prose genres are distinguished, i.e., narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory (p. 1). In addition to these, dramatic, activity, and epistolary genres occur in the languages described (p. 3). The description of the Philippine paragraph structure proceeds on the assumption that there is a finite number of paragraph types (p. 53). Resemblances to sentence and discourse are stressed and the internal structure is analysed.

Volume II is devoted to sentence structure. No one-to-one correspondence exists between the grammatical and phonological sentence (p. 3). While the grammatical sentence is particularly subject to phonological constraints, the lexical sentence is particularly subject to grammatical constraints (p. 4). As far as the internal organization of the sentence is concerned, peripheral structure are distinguished from nuclear structures (pp. 6 ff.). An especial attention is paid to sentence systems (pp. 192—216) and to sentence neighbourhood (pp. 217—231).

Volume III contains sample texts illustrating various discourse types in the 25 Philippine languages included. Each text contains a word-to-word English translation followed by a free translation.

The three reviewed volumes are another proof of solid linguistic work carried out by the S. I. L. They contribute to a deeper knowledge of the Philippine languages, particularly those of the periphery.

Jozef Genzor

¹ R. E. Longacre, *The Notion of Sentence*. Georgetown Monograph 20 (1967), pp. 15—25; A. Reid, R. Bishop, E. Button, R. E. Longacre, *Totonac: From Clause to Discourse*. Norman, The Summer Institute of Linguistics 1968.

M. Blanche Lewis, *Sentence Analysis in Modern Malay*. Cambridge, University Press 1969. 345 pp.

As the author puts it, the purpose of this book is to serve as a working textbook for second-year university students reading Malay. It is based upon a corpus of data taken from three modern plays and two short narratives by Za'ba. As far as methodology is concerned, Lewis follows E. M. F. Payne's thesis entitled *Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay* (London 1964). The author as a teacher has had considerable experience on the subject of Malay syntax and this fact no doubt has helped to enhance the value of the book. Lewis' manual is especially useful in view of the comparatively rapid growth of the Malay language. It should be remembered that Malay (and Indonesian to an even greater degree) has been deeply influenced by European languages (English and Dutch), especially in syntax.

The handbook consists of three main parts. The first one is devoted to syntactic units and structures of Malay that occur in the selected corpus (pp. 4—184). The second part consists of theoretical remarks (*Conspectus of the Grammatical Framework*, pp. 185—190; *A Note on the Indication of Immediate Constituency*, pp. 191—194; *A Note on Transformational Grammar*, pp. 195—196). Finally, the third part includes the texts used as a corpus of data. Both the plays and the short narratives are provided with English translations (pp. 197—283).

The students of Malay syntax will appreciate the detailed glossary to the texts (pp. 286—329), the index to footnotes (pp. 330—332), and the list of sentences analyzed or discussed (pp. 333—345).

Perhaps it will not be far off the mark to say that Lewis comes very closely to transformational grammar without, however, using its symbolical notation and the order of description from the sentence level downwards. Binary transformations are applied to the analysis of compound sentences, which means that the recent developments in the transformational grammar are not taken into account. Four syntactic units have been established for Malay, i.e. sentence, clause, phrase, and word. Obligatory constituents are carefully distinguished from optional ones. It remains unclear, however, whether permutations go together with some subtle changes in meaning or not. The words are first subdivided into particles (prepositions, postpositions, adjunctival particles) and full words (pp. 5—15). The latter are in turn subdivided into auxiliaries (given by enumeration), verbals (compatible with *yang*), and nominals (covering all other full words).

Lewis' book is a solid description of a finite set of sentences. Thank to the deep and subtle knowledge of Malay manifested by the author and to the clarity of exposition it can also be used predictively, i.e., for interpreting sentences not included in the corpus.

Viktor Krupa

R. Ross Macdonald and Soenjono Darjowidjojo, *A Student's Reference Grammar of Modern Formal Indonesian*. Washington, Georgetown University Press 1967. 278 pp.

In the *Foreword*, R. Ross Macdonald has carefully delimited the scope of the authors' interest as well as the circle of readers for whom this book is destined. He has stressed that it is a description of formal Indonesian—because it is based on published texts rather than on colloquial material. And furthermore, it is contemporary Indonesian because all texts come from the period between 1945 and 1966.

The present grammar is intended primarily for the general student of the Indonesian language, and only secondarily for the professional linguist. On p. iv, R. Ross Macdonald states that “the description scrupulously endeavours to avoid both linguistic jargon and too slavish a devotion to one particular grammatical model.”

When judging the completeness of the present grammar, one ought to bear in mind that it is extremely difficult to produce an exhaustive description of the Bahasa Indonesia because it is a highly changeable, rapidly developing vehicle of communication.

Three language levels are covered by the grammar under review, i.e., phonological level (pp. 5—34), morphological level (pp. 35—206), and syntactical level (pp. 207 to 272). Semantics and stylistics are omitted here.

A brief *Introduction* (pp. 2—4) explains the historical and sociocultural background necessary for a better understanding of the Indonesian language of today.

As far as phonology is concerned, it is noted that formal Indonesian is strongly influenced by its orthography (p. 6). On purely linguistic grounds objections are here made against the possibility of interpreting (*š*), (*ř*), (*ł*), and (*d*) as clusters whose second member is (*j*). The reason is that no other consonant is compatible with (*j*). Neither can the question of (*q*) be regarded as solved. However, the discussion of foreign phonemes [i.e., (*f*), (*v*), (*z*)] is very helpful to the student of Indonesian.

In the introductory lines of the chapter devoted to morphology (esp. pp. 35—36), basic morphological units are defined, namely, bases, roots, and affixes. Infixes are wisely regarded as parts of bases since they are not productive any more. Having described the basic units, the authors proceed to discuss various morphological combinations and reduplication types. It is very hard indeed to distinguish morphological units from syntactical ones in purely formal terms, but the authors use the criterion of syntactic inseparability of the constituents of a structure.

Three major form-classes are established for the Bahasa Indonesia: nominals, predicatives, adjuncts. However, word classes and parts of sentences are not distinguished from one another. To be more precise, only syntactically defined form-classes are admitted for Indonesian.

According to the section on pronouns (esp. p. 116), honorific distinctions have been largely lost in contemporary Indonesian. However, it seems that honorifics have never been developed to such an extent in Indonesian as in, e.g., Javanese, and even in the latter language they seem to be of a relatively recent origin (most Javanese honorifics are loanwords).

The syntactic section is perhaps too brief but this is understandable since the present book is one of the first modern descriptions of Indonesian that covers also the sentence level. A bibliography is added to the book (pp. 275—278). It includes most of the relevant works on Indonesian, even some of those published in East Europe (Opl't, Teselkin, and Alieva).

In conclusion it ought to be said that Macdonald and Darjowidjojo have produced a very useful handbook of the Bahasa Indonesia. The value of their description is increased by the fact that Indonesian is not regarded as a static structure but its changeability is fully taken into account.

Viktor Krupa

Ireneus László Legeza, B. A., *Guide to Transliterated Chinese in the Modern Peking Dialect II*. Conversion Tables of the Outdated International and European Individual Systems with Tables of Initials and Finals. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1969. 262 pp.

The question of transliteration of Chinese into European languages appeared simultaneously with initial sinological literature in Europe. In its history we encounter scores of various systems some of which were used only by a single author, others found a temporary home—of a shorter or longer duration—in one country, but no internationally-binding system has so far been established.

The work under review *Guide to Transliterated Chinese in the Modern Peking Dialect*, the second of three volumes in the series, lists 28 romanized and one Cyrillic systems that represent the most important among outdated methods of transliteration of Chinese in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. The book presents the fundamental characteristic of every system, named for the most part after its author, and as bibliographic source, it lists data of works in which the system in question was used.

The most essential part of the book resides in three chapters compared synoptically one with another and also with the Chinese "Pinyin System". The first is a comparative table of 23 initials, the second of 37 finals, and the third, the most extensive, is a conversion table of 29 systems (+ the Pinyin System) worked out for 407 syllabic forms of modern Peking dialect. The last section of the book contains separately complete lists of all the individual systems. All the tables are processed lucidly

and an ingenious arrangement and numbering permit an easy orientation and a ready comparison of the systems in the various tables.

In the present work the author has confined himself to an exhaustive presentation and arrangement of 29 outdated systems of transliteration. By its factographic abundance and its easy-to-survey arrangement, the work represents a solid bridge-head for an eventual theoretical investigation of transliteration of Chinese in the past, and constitutes a useful aid for the reader's orientation in earlier European sinological literature.

Anna Doležalová

English-Korean Dictionary. Pyongyang, Higher Educational Books Publishing House 1966. 10 + 2181 pp.

If we take into account the number of entries (about 80,000), the present dictionary qualifies as a large one. The compilers of the dictionary have used the following sources: Daniel Jones' *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Müller's *English-Russian Dictionary*, Kenkyusha's *English-Japanese Dictionary*, Webster's *New International Dictionary*, as well as several Korean dictionaries (e.g., *Dictionary of the Korean Language*, published by the Academy of the Sciences, Pyongyang 1960—1961).

The dictionary uses the English pronunciation and orthography, the American pronunciation and orthography is given only sporadically. However, it contains also some of the most common expressions of Scottish, Australian, Canadian, and Irish provenience, as well as some words characteristic for Indian and South African English.

The dictionary is furnished with a list of English abbreviations (pp. 2154—2175). Unfortunately, not all are explained in Korean. At the end of the dictionary there is a table of irregular English verbs (pp. 2176—2181). The reviewed dictionary is the first of its kind appearing after World War II in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is in no way inferior to the best Korean dictionaries published in the West so far.

In addition to its usual roles, the present dictionary fulfills partly the function of an encyclopaedic handbook since it also contains such entries as, e.g. Burns, Swift, Zola, etc. The student of Korean will appreciate that idioms and proverbs have been included and abundantly exemplified in the dictionary.

Its medium size and similitude to Japanese make the dictionary very convenient to use. It is a useful reference book not only for Koreans knowing or studying English, but it will no doubt prove helpful to all students of Korean as well.

Jozef Genzor

Seung-Bog Cho, *A Phonological Study of Korean*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Uralica et Altaica Upsaliensia. Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksells 1967. XIII + 418 pp.

The present book by Seung-Bog Cho is, according to the author himself, the first step towards examining the theory of the affinity of Korean with the Altaic languages. The author felt it necessary to have a description of Korean grammar in order to be able to compare "the pure Korean" with the Altaic languages. This monograph, devoted to Korean phonology, is to be followed by volumes dealing with morphological and etymological relations of Korean with the Altaic languages and by a history of Chinese loanwords in Korean.

In accordance with his historical aims, Seung-Bog Cho distinguishes carefully the original Korean words from the Chinese loans. The present volume consists of three main parts: *Synchronic Description* (pp. 23—190), *Diachronic Description* (pp. 191—310) and *Graphemics* (pp. 311—347). His material to the synchronic analysis of Korean phonology has been taken from textbooks, dictionaries, novels and various linguistic works. Most of his historical materials date back to the Middle Korean of the 15th century.

The introductory section (pp. 1—22) discusses the chronological diversion of Korean, Literary Chinese and Sino-Korean, dialectal division of contemporary Korean, the Standard Contemporary Korean, and the "Unified Spelling System of Korean" together with problems in the linguistic study of Korean.

The *Index* comprises a general index, names and terms, words and forms, an index of bibliographical references, quotations, letters, and characters. The book is also furnished with two maps and 59 tables.

In view of its wide scope and depth of analysis, Seung-Bog Cho's monograph can be regarded as a valuable aid to the study of both Korean phonological system and historical development of the language.

Jozef Genzor

G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*; Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit; *Band I: Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*; Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden 1963; XLVIII + 557 S. 8° (= Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission; Band XVI).

G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*; Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongo-

len- und Timuridenzeit; *Band II; Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen; alif bis tā*; Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden 1965; VIII + 671 S. 8° (= Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission; Band XIX).

G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*; Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit; *Band III; Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen; ğīm bis kāf*; Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden 1967; VI + 670 S. 8° (= Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission; Band XX).

Es besteht kein Zweifel darin, dass die auf vier Bände geplante Monographie von G. Doerfer, deren drei Bände schon erschienen sind, das wichtigste Ereignis der altaistischen Literatur der 60er Jahre ist. Sie entstand in einer speziellen Periode dieses Wissenschaftszweiges, die durch eine Art Rekapitulation oder Selbstüberprüfung geprägt ist. Die grundrissartigen Handbücher, Einführungen und Bibliographien fassen nicht nur den Kern unserer Kenntnisse zusammen, sondern werfen auch Licht auf die Lücken, die im Material und in den Methoden vorhanden sind, stellen — manchmal nur dahinwirkend — neue Forderungen und Massstäbe für die weitere Forschung auf. G. Doerfers Werk spielt auf der Ebene der Monographien die gleiche Rolle.

Allein die zahlreichen und umfangreichen Stellungnahmen zu dem Werk zeigen klar seine Bedeutung.¹

Der Verfasser selbst formuliert die Zielsetzung seines Buches im ersten Satz seiner Einleitung folgendermassen: „Die vorliegende Arbeit möchte einen doppelten Zweck erfüllen: sie will ein Nachschlagewerk für Historiker sein und ein etymologisches Wörterbuch der türkischen und mongolischen Termini im Neupersischen für Linguisten.“

Damit gelangen wir schon ins Zentrum der Probleme; es ergibt sich automatisch, dass es die erste Aufgabe der Rezensenten ist, die Erfüllung dieser vom Verfasser gestellten Postulata abzumessen.

¹ Cfr. Asmussen, *Acta Orient.* 1968: 132—134; Benzing, *Tribus* 1968: 187—189; Boyle, *OLZ* 1965: 179—181; 1968: 409—411; 1969: 180—181; Çağatay, *TDAYBelleten* 1967 [1968]: 205—212; Clauson, *JRAS* 1965: 62—63; 1966: 152—153; 1968: 86—87; Gandjei, *BSOAS* 1965: 398—399; 1966: 198—199; 1969: 163—164; Glaesser, *East and West* 1966: 352—357; 1968: 232; Krámský, *Arch. Or.* 1968: 496—498; Lazard, *Erasmus* 1969: 20—24; Ligeti, *AOASH* 1965: 343—349; 1968: 119—130; Poppe, *CAJ* 1965: 76—79; 1966: 235—238; Rypka, *Oriens* 1967: 245—248; Ščerbak, *Nar. Az. i Afr.* 1967: 207—211; Schimmel, *Mundus* 1966: 16—17; Spies, *WI* 1965: 116—118; 1966: 241—243; Spuler, *Der Islam* 1965: 268—269; Wagner, *Mundus* 1968: 111—112.

Der Verfasser hat mit dem Wort „Nachschlagewerk“ das, was mit seinem Werk eigentlich vorliegt, nur bescheiden formuliert. Es ist ein imposantes Lexikon der eurasiatischen Steppenwelt und ihrer Beziehungen zu den sesshaften Zivilisationen — an erster Stelle natürlich zu Iran — im Mittelalter geworden. Das Werk, das schon allein durch die einzelnen Lemmata die enormen Kenntnisse und grosse Belesenheit des Verfassers beweist, gibt einen lebhaften Überblick über die ethnologischen und ethnographischen, kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Probleme dieses Bereichs. Durch die Sprache wird die eigenartige Wechselbeziehung der Nomaden und der sesshaften Zivilisationen, ein Kapitel der historischen Begegnung von Iran und Turan, dargestellt. Die extralinguistischen Realien dienen im Werk nicht nur zur Unterstützung der linguistischen Erklärungen, sondern sie haben — wie in der Wirklichkeit — ihre eigene Autonomie. Da der Verfasser weitgehend auf der Basis der „Wörter und Sachen“ steht und seine historische Zielsetzung als eine der linguistischen gleichrangige Aufgabe betrachtet, gelang es ihm auch in diesem Bereiche, vieles neu zu beleuchten, Probleme zur Synthese zu bringen, neue Anregungen zu liefern.

Einige Stichwörter im Buch sind zu historischen, kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Kleinmonographien — reich an neuen Resultaten und Anregungen — geworden, die in der Zukunft einen Ausgangspunkt jeglicher Forschung bilden können. U. a. seien nur die folgenden erwähnt: 21. *āgā*, 22. *āqā*, 43. *ōrān*, 61. *ōīmaq*, 185. *čingīz*, 266. *qubčūr*, 276. *qarāvul*, 452. *ordū*, 489. *oṭāq*, 626. *ūīgūr*, 639. *ayrān*, 815. *būīrūq*, 817. *bahādur*, 828. *bek*, 836. *bīlqā*, 879. *tarḥān*, 888. *türk*, 933. *tamgā*, 983. *tūmān*, 1042. *čādir*, 1057. *čāī*, 1159. *ḥātūn*, 1161. *ḥān*, 1163. *ḥānum* usw.

Die vom Verfasser formulierte zweite Aufgabe, bei welcher natürlich mehr Probleme auftauchen als im Falle der ersten, muss im Grunde genommen auch als erfüllt betrachtet werden. Bei diesem Punkt müssen wir aber etwas mehr verweilen.

Die Formulierung „Etymologisches Wörterbuch der tü. und mo. Termini im Neupers. für Linguisten“ bedeutet eine bewusste Abgrenzung des Interessengebietes des Verfassers im Bereich der Lehnbeziehungen des Türkischen und des Mongolischen zum Neupersischen. Allein durch die Formulierung „Elemente“, „Termini“ und „Etymologisches Wörterbuch“ wird zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass der Verfasser das Thema nicht im gewöhnlichen Sinne einer Sprachverhältnis- oder Lehnwortstudie behandeln will. Obwohl man nach dem gewöhnlichen Usus der Lehnbeziehungsmonographien erwarten könnte, dass die „übernehmende Sprache“, d. h. in diesem Falle das Neupersische und seine historischen Probleme im Lichte der türkischen und mongolischen Bestandteile im Mittelpunkt stehen werden, lenkt der Verfasser diese Aufgabe von sich bewusst ab. Sein eigentliches Interesse — im Rahmen der angegebenen und mit Ehre erfüllten Zielsetzung — sind nicht die Beziehungen der türkischen und mongolischen Sprachen zum Neupersischen, sondern das Verhältnis der türkischen und mongolischen Sprachen zueinander. Damit soll auf keinen Fall gesagt sein, dass der neupersische Hintergrund dem Verfasser nur als „Arbeitsrahmen“

oder „Orientierungsbasis“ dient. Wie jede Lehnbeziehung — auf deren Erforschung die altaischen Sprachen wegen des bekannten Mangels an Quellen besonders angewiesen sind — liefern natürlich auch diese wichtigen Hinweise für die Geschichte des Türkischen und Mongolischen, die vom Verfasser gut ausgenützt werden. Es bleibt aber dabei klar, dass den Verfasser nicht das Schicksal der behandelten Wörter im Neupersischen, sondern ihr Schicksal und ihre Vorgeschichte an sich interessieren.

So ist es kein Wunder, dass das Werk bei den Altaisten ein grosses Echo und eine rege Diskussion ausgelöst hat und praktisch ins Zentrum des Interesses gelangt ist, die Iranisten dagegen zwar Zufriedenheit und Anerkennung über das Werk, aber wenig, fast keine kritischen Bemerkungen zum Ausdruck gebracht haben.

Das Kernstück von G. Doerfer's Werk bildet die Erörterung der sogenannten altaischen Hypothese, der Frage der Verwandtschaft der altaischen Sprachen. Diesem Thema widmete der Verfasser auch seit dem Erscheinen seines Buches mehrere Studien. In seinem Buch beschäftigt er sich mit diesem Problem nicht nur in der umfangreichen Einleitung, sondern auch in den einzelnen Lemmata.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass G. Doerfers Werk — obwohl man von der Lösung des Problems, wenn sie überhaupt möglich ist, noch weit entfernt ist — in der Erforschung dieses Problemkreises einen Wendepunkt bedeutet. Die Argumente gegen die Theorie der Verwandtschaft der altaischen Sprachen wurden unter Einbeziehung der Erfahrungen der genetischen Verwandtschaft als solcher in diesem Buch praktisch das erste Mal angeführt. Klare methodologische Forderungen und Massstäbe wurden aufgestellt, die für die weiteren Untersuchungen zumindest zwei wichtige Konsequenzen haben werden. Sie verlangen in den etymologischen Untersuchungen, in dem Aufbau der einzelnen Entsprechungen eine strengere Disziplin und Exaktheit, andererseits verlangen sie aber auch in theoretischer Hinsicht eine sorgfältige Überprüfung der zum Ausdruck dienenden Grundlagen. Das zeigt auch die Forderung, dass die weiteren Untersuchungen nicht in der Isolierung, sondern unter Einbeziehung der neuesten Erkenntnisse der historischen Linguistik im allgemeinen durchgeführt werden müssen.

G. Doerfer bekennt sich als Gegner der Verwandtschaft der altaischen Sprachen und sieht in ihnen nur solche Nachbarsprachen, die unter bestimmten historischen Umständen miteinander in enge Lehnbeziehungen getreten sind. Das Gemeinsame in diesen Sprachen betrachtet er selbstverständlich als eine der wichtigsten Quellen der Geschichte dieser Sprachen, besonders in der mit Denkmälern nicht dokumentierten Periode. Mit den bekannten altaischen Entsprechungen operiert er weiterhin wie mit solchen, deren Gültigkeit sich wie im Falle einer Verwandtschaftstheorie auf das Ganze der behandelten Sprachgruppen ausdehnt. Sie gewinnen aber einen anderen Aspekt: Sie beleuchten nicht mehr den genetischen Zusammenhang dieser Sprachen, sondern nur ihre gewissen Zusammenhänge in der „vorhistorischen Periode.“ Ein wichtiger Punkt in seiner Theorie ist, dass er in diesem Zeitraum

eine bestimmte Richtung der Entlehnung (Türkisch → Mongolisch) annimmt. Dass die wichtigsten Entsprechungen auf Grund des „konservativeren“ Mongolischen festzustellen sind, bedeutet gleichzeitig, dass diese bestimmte Wortschicht des Mongolischen für die türkische Sprachgeschichte eine äusserst grosse Bedeutung gewinnt. Sie ermöglicht die Erschliessung solcher Lautgesetze des Türkischen in dieser „vorhistorischen“ Periode, die mit der Hilfe der Denkmäler selbst unmöglich wäre.

Das Ganze dieser Theorie sowie ihre Einzelheiten sind jetzt zur Debatte dargelegt. Es kann natürlich nicht die Aufgabe dieser Besprechung sein, auf die Einzelheiten dieser noch wahrscheinlich lange dauernden Diskussion einzugehen. Es wird vielleicht nicht unangebracht sein, wenn wir diese Bemerkungen mit einem an den Verfasser gerichteten Wunsch abschliessen. Turkologen und Mongolisten erwarten vom Verfasser, dass er seine Gedanken sowohl über das türkisch-mongolische Sprachverhältnis, als auch über einzelne Fragen der Lautgeschichte dieser Sprachen in einer direkt zu dieser Frage gewidmeten Monographie zusammenfasst, wobei auch alle bisher festgestellten Entsprechungen kritisch überprüft werden sollten.

Die rege Diskussion, die sich nach dem Erscheinen dieses Buches entfaltet hatte, konzentrierte sich wesentlich auf die oben angeführten Probleme. Wenig Aufmerksamkeit wurde bis jetzt den wichtigen Teilresultaten des Buches gewidmet, die aber allein schon durch ihre Originalität die Stellungnahme der Fachkollegen herausfordern. Ich denke hier an erster Stelle an die Interpretationsfragen der alttürkischen Inschriften, in denen der Verfasser von einer ganz anderen Basis ausgeht als seine Vorgänger. Oder an solche, wie die Erklärung des Namens *Türk* usw. Alle diese Fragen bilden Kernprobleme der Turkologie, wo diese neuen Initiativen von besonders grosser Bedeutung sind.

Sei es uns jetzt gestattet, einige weiteren Bemerkungen in der Reihenfolge der Behandlung bzw. der einzelnen Lemmata anzuführen.

S. XLVIII: Die Segmentierung der Form *gel: di* sollte *gel-d-i* sein.

S. 23 ff.: Bedarf nicht die Bindevokaltheorie und alle ihre Konsequenzen einer Überprüfung? Dieses an sich morphologische Problem wurde bis jetzt nur unter phonetischem Aspekt untersucht. Sollten hier vergleichende morphologische Momente nicht mitberücksichtigt werden?

449: das Auftreten der labialen Variante des *LUQ*-Morphems nach einem illabialem Stamm bedarf einer Erklärung (vgl. G. Hazai, *Studia Orientalia* XXVIII: 4, Helsinki 1964).

452: Eine Form *ordī* ist im Alt- und Mittelosmanischen — trotz des labialen Auslauts in anderen türkischen Sprachen — gut möglich.

593: Die neueste Literatur (J. Németh, *Emlékkönyv Pais Dezsó hetvenedik születésnapjára*, Bp. 1956, pp. 358—364; M. K. Palló, *MNy* 52, 1956, 157—167 usw.) zum ungarischen Wort *úr* „Herr“ sollte auch erwähnt werden.

685: Zur Literatur der Etymologie des Namens gehört auch eine Studie von J. Németh (cfr. *AOASH* 11, 1960, p. 22: No. 180, 199).

717: Das Wörterbuch von E. Halász ist für den Zweck einer solchen Monographie in Hinsicht auf das Ungarische nicht die geeignete Quelle.

- 735: Hat das Wort *bur-yu* mit dem Verb *burmak* „bohren“ nichts Gemeinsames?
- 766: Mit der Etymologie des Namens hat sich auch J. Németh beschäftigt (cfr. A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása, Bp. 1930, pp. 95–98).
- 787: Die volksetymologische Wirkung im Falle der SW-tü. Formen des Verbs *boz-* „verderben“ scheint uns unwahrscheinlich zu sein (cfr. 952, 1231).
- 838: Zur Literatur des Wortes gehört auch eine Studie von T. Halasi-Kun (Annali, Nuova Serie I, 1940, pp. 97–102).
- 888: Die Erörterungen über das Wort *türk* machen es klar, dass die bisherigen Interpretationen und Übersetzungen des Wortes in den Inschriften eine Revision verlangen. Vielleicht sollte man mit einer Doppelbedeutung des Wortes rechnen. Die Tendenz vom Appellativ zum *nomen tribus* scheint mir an einigen Stellen doch zum Ausdruck gekommen zu sein. — Die berühmte Form *köktürk* sollte hier oder unten 1677 erwähnt werden. — Auch nach Doerfers Erklärung bleibt in der Fragestellung von Barthold das Problem des historischen Hintergrundes — das weitgehende linguistische Konsequenzen hat — offen: nämlich die Frage der Beziehungen der Oghusen zu dem Volk oder Stamm, zu dem die Inschriften gehören. — Im ersten Element des Ausdruckes *türkiya hāqāniya* scheint mir viel mehr doch die allgemeine Bedeutung des Wortes zu dominieren. Das spezielle Kompositum ist vielleicht auch Ausdruck eines ethnischen Kompromisses oder einer Unsicherheit, die das karachanidische Reich charakterisiert haben soll.
- 906: Zu tschuw. -δ- > -r- s. auch M. K. Palló, UAJb 31, 1959, pp. 239–258.
- 952: Die Einschaltung der Volksetymologie in die Erklärung der osm. Form scheint uns nicht glücklich zu sein (cfr. 787, 1231). Der Wandel *ö* > *ü* ist in osm. Dialekten wohl belegt; auch in diesem Falle nicht unvorstellbar.
- 1231: Zur Frage des Wechsels *o* > *u* (cfr. 787, 952) s. die diesbezüglichen Angaben der osm.-türk. Dialekte (N. K. Dmitriev, ZKV 3, 1928, p. 449; Eckmann, AÜDTCFD 8, 1950, pp. 175 bis 176; Deny, Principes, p. 53; Caferoğlu, PhTFundamenta I, p. 246).
- 1244: Die alt- bzw. mittelosmanische Form des Wortes ist *süri*, die auch die balkanischen Formen z. T. erklärt (die slav. Endung macht hier jedoch das Problem unklar).
- 1269: Das ung. Wort *szandzsák* ist ein Lehnwort aus der Zeit der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn, heute nur in bezug auf diese Periode verwendet.
- 1327: Ist der Name *Szereményi* richtig? Man denkt lieber an *Szemerényi*. Das von Altheim-Stiehl zitierte Werk war für uns zur Kontrolle unzugänglich.
- 1345: In der vulgären osm. Aussprache ist auch die Form **türul* möglich.
- 1409: Die zahlreichen Studien von V. Diószegi zum Schamanismus sind unbedingt einzubeziehen (cfr. U. Johansen, UAJb 39, 1967, 207–229).
- 1440: Zu *qara* in Orientierungsbezeichnungen widmete auch A. N. Kononov eine wichtige Studie (cfr. Sovietico-Turcica Nr. 1177).
- 1539: Das Wort ist über das Osm. ins Ung. eingedrungen. Seine Etymologie stammt von A. Vámbéry; vor kurzem hat S. Kakuk dazu einige neue Data geliefert (cfr. Emlékkönyv Pais Dezső hetvenedik születésnapjára, Bp. 1956, pp. 315–318).
- 1543: Eine archaische (alt-bzw. mittelosmanische) Form *qoyi* ist möglich (cfr. mit unseren Bemerkungen zu 452, 1244). Das gleiche betrifft auch 1623, wo osm. dial. *küpri*, die sonst auch die in Denkmälern belegte ähnliche Form und damit diesen morphologischen Typ bestätigt.
- 1617: Die osm. Form *käpänäg* kann auch sekundär sein. Nach Ausweis der Transkriptionstexte war eine Entwicklung *-k* > *-g* (? *ğ*) für die Vulgärsprache bekannt.
- 1631: Zum Charakter von *käräk* ist vielleicht auch die osm. Form *gärükmäk* „notwendig sein“ zu berücksichtigen.
- 1649: Zu neuerer Sekundärliteratur gehört auch eine Studie von Gy. Györfly (Századok 92, 1958, pp. 12–87; 93, 1959, pp. 565–615).

Kurz zusammengefasst: Das auf Grund breiter Kenntnisse und methodologischer Konsequenz geschriebene Werk von G. Doerfer bringt — wie es schon bewiesen hat — viele wichtige Bereiche der Altaistik in Bewegung. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die um das Werk entstandene Diskussion, deren kritische Überprüfung der Verf. der Wissenschaft schuldet, die Perspektiven einer noch reiferen Synthese abzeichnen.

Georg Hazai

J. Németh, *Die türkische Sprache in Ungarn im siebzehnten Jahrhundert*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1970. S. 281. Bibliotheca orientalis Hungarica, XIII.

Professor Németh, eine führende Persönlichkeit der ungarischen Turkologie, der sich lange Jahre mit verschiedenen Fragen der Einwirkung des türkischen Elementes auf die ungarische Sprache und auf die Ungaren befasste, legt in diesem Buch die Ergebnisse seiner Nachforschungen der Sprache der Türken in Ungarn im 17. Jahrhundert dar.

Seit geraumer Zeit bereits untersuchte der Autor die türkischen Dialekte auf dem Balkan und fasste seine Nachforschungen in zwei umfangreichere Werke zusammen: *Zur Einteilung der türkischen Mundarten Bulgariens*, Sofia 1956 und *Die Türken von Vidin*, Budapest 1965. Das Fundament des letzten Werkes von Professor J. Németh ist die Analyse einer Handschrift, genannt *Illésházy Nicolai Dictionarium Turcico-Latinum* aus dem Jahre 1668, das sich in der Széchényi-Landesbibliothek zu Budapest befindet.

Es ist bekannt, dass während der osmanischen Herrschaft in Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert neben den Türken Jugoslawen, und zwar moslemische Bosnier oder orthodoxe Serben (meist Martolosen) auf dem ganzen besetzten Gebiet einen grossen Teil der osmanischen Garnisonen bildeten, bzw. als Kaufleute, Handwerker, usw. tätig waren. Diese Tatsache musste sich auch in der Sprache mit der diese verschiedenartigen Gruppen — in der Rolle der neuen Einwohner und Herrscher — untereinander verkehrten, auswirken, in der osmanisch-türkischen Sprache in Ungarn. Der Autor gelang bereits in seinen früheren Werken zur Ansicht, dass die osmanisch-türkische Sprache die in Ungarn des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts gesprochen wurde, mit der westrumelischen Mundart identisch ist und von der türkischen Bevölkerung in Bosnien, Kosovo und Albanien benützt wurde. Die Analyse von Illésházy's Handschrift bestätigt bloss diese seine Ansicht.

Das Buch besteht aus einer informativen Einleitung, der Transkription und Übersetzung eines Teiles des Manuskripts, der sprachwissenschaftlichen Analyse, dem Wörterbuch und dessen Faksimile.

In der *Einleitung* (S. 7—28) bietet der Autor allgemeine Informationen über

die Situation in Ungarn während der osmanischen Herrschaft, Angaben über Illésházy's Handschrift, dessen Inhalt, Ursprung, Autoren und Schreibern, nebst grundsätzlicher philologischer Anmerkungen zu den grammatischen Formen, dem Wortschatz usw. des analysierten Wörterbuches.

Der zweite Teil ist den Texten (S. 31—71) gewidmet. Hier legt der Verfasser des Buches die Transkription und Übersetzung des Teiles B (S. 31—41) vor, der die lateinisch-türkische Konversation, ferner den Text und die Übersetzung des Teiles Da (Rudimenta) (S. 42—48), die Transliteration des Textes Db (49—51), die Transkription und Übersetzung des Teiles Dd (S. 52—56) und schliesslich das Transkriptionssystem der türkischen Aufzeichnungen (S. 57—71) enthält.

Der grammatische Teil (S. 75—111), auf den Materialien der Handschrift aufgebaut, stellt eine präzise linguistische Analyse der nachgewiesenen phonetischen, grammatischen und lexikalischen Erscheinungen dar.

Anschliessend an diesen Teil fügte der Verfasser drei selbständige Studien hinzu, die mit dem nachgeforschten Thema jedoch einen engen Zusammenhang aufweisen: *Die türkische Sprache in Bosnien* (113—120); *Die türkische Sprache des Bartholomaeus Georgievits* (S. 121—129); *Die türkische Mundart von Stari-Bar* (S. 130—141).

Der letzte Teil, der *Glossar* (S. 145—209) umfasst den ganzen Wortreichtum des Manuskripts und in der Bearbeitung Professor Németh's wird er bestimmt zu einem wertvollen Behelf wie für die Historiker der osmanischen Sprache und Dialektologen, als auch für Forscher in anderen Gebieten der Osmanistik.

Abschliessend ist das Faksimile der Handschrift Illésházy's (S. 217—281) veröffentlicht, was zur Kontrolle der vom Verfasser angeführten Ergebnisse dient und den wissenschaftlichen Wert der Publikation noch erhöht.

Das Werk Professor Némeths ist in jeder Hinsicht eine mustergültige Bearbeitung eines Denkmals der osmanischen Sprache aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, das aus Ungarn stammt und eine Bereicherung der osmanischen Dialektologie und historischen Grammatik bedeutet.

Vojtech Kopčan

Bernhard Lewin, *Arabische Texte im Dialekt von Hama, mit Einleitung und Glossar* (= Beirut Texts and Studies, 2) Beirut, Wiesbaden in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag 1966. *48* + 230 pp.

Lewin's collection of texts is the first serious attempt to record the Arabic dialect of Hama. The unique dialectological sample to represent this local variety of Syrian Arabic so far was a story recorded by E. Littmann seventy years ago.¹

¹ Later published in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, 2. 20—40 (1924).

It is worthwhile noting, in this connection, that, by a happy coincidence, German Semitology has produced three important works related to the Syro-Palestinian linguistic area, since 1964.²

The present volume is made up of the following parts: *Preface* (Vorwort, pp. *5*—*6*), *Introduction* (Einleitung, pp. *9*—*48*), *Texts* (Texte, pp. 1—196), and *Glossary* (Glossar, pp. 197—230).

The *Introduction*, apart from true introductory matters, contains a substantial statement of the most important phonological (viz., Zur Lautlehre), morphological and syntactical (Zur Formenlehre und Syntax) features, as peculiar to Hama Arabic. For the more general linguistic traits of this dialect which are characteristic of Syrian Arabic as a whole, the student is advised to refer to the Grotzfeld's work *Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen* (see N. 2).

The texts included, mainly folk tales and various narratives, are based on tape records spoken in by (Mrs.) Ḥāce 'Āmne 'Assār, born 1909 in Hama.

Lewin's book is a valuable contribution to the Arabic dialectology. Ethnographers, interested in the area, will find it of interest, too.

Ladislav Drozdík

Philippine Bibliography (1899—1946). Edited by Michael P. Onorato. Santa Barbara, CLIO Press 1968. VII + 35 pp.

The reviewed *Bibliography* covers the era of American rule in the Philippines (1899—1946). The editor, Michael P. Onorato, is Associate Professor of History, California State College, Fullerton and is specializing in Philippine-American history. He has prepared a critical selection of primary and secondary works on Philippine history and Philippine-American relations for the present *Bibliography*.

The work under review includes general works, autobiographies, biographies, and memoirs, government documents, Philippine history and periodicals. There are 460 entries in the book. Philippine history is divided into three periods, i.e. the years 1899—1921, 1921—1935, and 1935—1946. An author index is very helpful for orientation and reference.

The author has chosen those primary and secondary works and a few government documents which he had used over the past decade of research, teaching and publication on Philippine-American relations. Naturally, no bibliography can be thor-

² M. Jiha, *Der arabische Dialekt von Bišmizzīn. Volkstümliche Texte aus einem libanesischen Dorf mit Grundzügen der Laut- und Formenlehre*. Beirut (Steiner, Wiesbaden) 1964; H. Grotzfeld, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen*. Wiesbaden 1964; A. Bloch und H. Grotzfeld, *Damaszenisch-Arabische Texte*. Wiesbaden 1964.

oughly exhaustive and the moment of selection is always present. The author is aware of possible gaps and hopes that the use of the *Bibliography* will verify its value.

The individual entries of the *Bibliography* contain very useful annotations and remarks about the works listed (e.g. light reading, lack of historical objectivity, very interesting reading, should be read with caution, etc.). It will promote deeper understanding of Philippine-American history. All students of Philippine history will find it useful for their work.

Jozef Genzor

Le Vietnam traditionnel. Directeur: Nguyen Khac Vien. (Etudes vietnamiennes N° 21). Hanoi 1969. 176 pp.

Avant d'achever l'importante oeuvre portant sur l'évolution historique du peuple vietnamien, les historiens de la République Démocratique du Vietnam ont publié un recueil d'études qui présentent une vue générale des étapes principales de l'histoire du Vietnam de l'époque avant-coloniale. Le recueil contient les résultats des efforts de quinze années dont la plus grande part revient au collectif de chercheurs de l'Institut d'histoire de Hanoi. Le dit ouvrage a été publié en français dans le 21^e numéro série Etudes vietnamiennes, qui paraissent également en version anglaise.

L'ouvrage est divisé en cinq chapitres qui reflètent les moments clé de l'histoire du Vietnam, des temps les plus anciens jusqu'au début du 19^e siècle, respectivement jusqu'à l'incursion des troupes coloniales françaises vers la moitié du 19^e siècle.

Le premier chapitre apporte des données sur les découvertes archéologiques vieilles et récentes, qui témoignent de l'existence des cultures hautement développées sur le territoire vietnamien lors des phases initiales de l'histoire du pays. Ce sont surtout les découvertes récentes de l'âge de pierre qui étendent considérablement les connaissances antérieures par rapport à la vie de la population de cette époque. Les archéologues vietnamiens ont également prouvé que les monuments de la civilisation dongsonienne appartiennent à l'étape avancée de l'éminente culture de bronze, qui se développait sur la base de l'industrie néolithique et se répandait sur le territoire entier du Vietnam d'alors. Environ trente habitats riches en font la preuve.

L'étude en question fait ressortir également l'évolution ethnique des fédérations de tribus du Vietnam et celle des dynasties légendaires dont il date les débuts à l'époque d'il y a quatre mille ans.

Le royaume Au Lac, solidement constitué à la fin du troisième siècle a. n. è. donne l'impulsion à une discussion entre les historiens vietnamiens au sujet de la société de l'époque, si c'était l'esclavagisme, ou si l'esclavage n'y jouait qu'un rôle secondaire, la société elle-même n'étant pas encore nettement divisée en classes

sociales. Quoique le dernier mot ne fût pas encore prononcé à ce sujet, il semble que les discuteurs penchent du côté de la première thèse.

Le second chapitre s'attache à l'étape de la monarchie féodale centralisée, sous le règne des dynasties Ly et Tran. A cette époque-là, les Vietnamiens s'étaient libérés de la précédente suprématie millénaire de l'empire féodal chinois et ensuite, ils pouvaient s'adonner, au cours des siècles suivants, à la consolidation économique, sociale et politique de leur Etat. L'appareil féodal établit ses moindres unités administratives même dans les villages, gérés jusqu' alors par des centres de district. Le plus grand mérite des dynasties de l'époque dite consiste en une efficace défense de l'indépendance nationale contre des pressions renouvelées, venant d'au-delà de la frontière du Nord. L'auteur de l'étude relève, par rapport à cela, la victoire vietnamienne emportée sur les beaucoup plus fortes troupes d'irruption sino-mongoles qui, considérant l'époque, comptaient l'important nombre de 500 000 soldats. C'est grâce à l'armée, qui se composait des paysans vietnamiens surtout et aussi grâce au mérite stratégique et à l'adresse tactique des commandants que les Vietnamiens l'emportèrent.

C'est au sein de l'Etat au pouvoir centralisé qu'une originale culture nationale, fort marquée par l'influence des doctrines de bouddhisme, de confucianisme et de taoïsme, prit sa naissance et se mit à développer. Quant aux guerres religieuses, il n'y en avait point dans l'histoire du Vietnam. Avec la dynastie Le, le Vietnam entra dans une nouvelle étape de la monarchie féodale. C'est le troisième chapitre du recueil qui s'occupe de la victoire vietnamienne au 15^e siècle, laquelle mit fin à une occupation chinoise renouvelée qui dura 20 années. C'est alors que l'ordre féodal atteint son étape culminante. A cette époque-là, on réalisait des interventions dans le domaine de l'agriculture, avec l'intention d'améliorer et de préciser le système archaïque de répartition périodique du sol commun.

Successivement le confucianisme, avec sa tendance de mener l'homme à l'accomplissement de ses devoirs sociaux, commence à prédominer. Dans l'évolution de la culture nationale, un rôle important échoit à l'historiographie et à la littérature laquelle, sous forme de la satire va jusqu' à la critique sociale. En général, les historiens vietnamiens, en accord avec le trait particulier de l'évolution du Vietnam, apprécient les éléments patriotiques du peuple entier, qui sont liés au règne de plusieurs dynasties féodales.

Le quatrième chapitre traite des symptômes croissants de la crise. L'auteur évalue le rôle de la paysannerie et des groupes de nationalités dans les mouvements révolutionnaires. Le plus important de ceux-ci, dit de Tay-son, finit par réunir de nouveau le pays divisé, pendant un certain temps, en partie du Nord et en partie du Sud, accomplissant ainsi un fait de première importance sur le plan national. Cependant, le mouvement avait son point faible dans des façons égalitaires spontanées auxquelles succédait un retour aux formes d'origine et à la restauration de la dynastie féodale. Ce changement facilita l'avènement du colonialisme français au Vietnam parce que la cour impériale à Hué était fort imprégnée de défaitisme.

Le dernier chapitre du recueil est consacré à l'évolution culturelle dans la période du 17^e au début du 19^e siècle. Il présente l'évaluation de l'importance sociale du confucianisme et du bouddhisme vietnamiens, comparant l'influence des deux doctrines par rapport aux relations existant entre l'individu et la société. Il contient également des détails sur l'état de la science et sur le développement de la littérature. Une place à part appartient, avant tout, au chef-d'oeuvre, c.-à.-d. au poème lyrico-épique « Kieu », dont l'auteur fut le célèbre Nguyen Du. Le passage touchant les ouvrages historiques et les chroniques de l'étape en question, attire l'attention sur leur vaste étendue, sur leur sérieuse base de matériel et sur leur large prise. Plusieurs de ces ouvrages sont caractérisés par une conception philosophique originale, et leur signification dans les contextes vietnamiens est proche au rôle que les encyclopédistes français jouaient en Europe.

Comme conclusion une réflexion sommaire, portant sur les traits essentiels de l'histoire du Vietnam, met en premier plan les traditions caractéristiques de la culture nationale tout comme le message millénaire des luttes révolutionnaires pour l'indépendance nationale.

Ivan Doležal

Joseph Needham, *The Grand Titration, Science and Society in East and West*. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1969. 350 pp.

This is a collection of papers, lectures and essays by the well-known English sinologist, Professor J. Needham.

Chronologically the earliest contribution to this collection is the essay *On Science and Social Change* written in China in 1944; the others appeared successively until 1966.

As implied in the very title, the subject-matter of the earliest essay is the relation between science and social changes and naturally enough also that existing between the social milieu and science, together with the various methods of its application. He does not judge the problem only as a sinologist, but also as a historian of science in general. One thought, otherwise presented in the essay as self-evident, which will arrest the reader's attention is that "science is only possible in a democratic medium". The author characterizes this thought as "commonplace", but it must continuously be stressed for men, even those working scientifically all their lives, are apt to forget it or may not be sufficiently conscious of it. The examples Needham presents (German Nazism and Japanese Shinto-Fascism) were but the most typical of the times. Modern science sprang up in Europe (and only in Europe) as a result of efforts of individuals associated with those strata which had already under the feudal power striven for a democratic order of society. Modern science is inconceivable without democracy. On the failures of Germany and Japan during World War II

he shows how democratic science of their adversaries succeeded to accomplish in a short time far more than had generally been expected of them. "The Axis powers have carried out a great social experiment. They have tested whether science can be successfully put at the service of authoritarian tyranny. The test has shown that it can not".

The first study of this collection is entitled *Poverties and Triumphs of the Chinese Scientific Tradition*. It is really an enumeration of what science, technology has achieved in tradition-bound China. Needham point out the contrasts in this sphere between China and Europe, the social position of scientists and engineers in ancient China, the feudal-bureaucratic society and its relation to science, the philosophico-ideological factors affecting the progress of science, the role of Chinese merchants in society and their attitude towards science. In the end he also shows why modern science could not evolve in China. Modern science is ushered into Europe with Galileo Galilei (1564—1642).

The most interesting study to a general reader will be that dealing with *Science and China's Influence on the World*. Professor Needham mentions that he could have called this study *The Ten (or the Twenty or Thirty) Discoveries (or Inventions) that Shook the World*. He evidently refrained from naming it thus, because he was not out for the sensational. The fact remains, however, that the few inventions which were of no great significance at home in China, transformed repeatedly the entire Western society. The whole world knows that the Chinese invented printing, the gunpowder and the magnetic needle. Of these, the one that had the greatest effect on Chinese society was the invention of printing. This effect, however, can in no way be compared to the impact this invention had in Europe. True, the number of readers in China increased, Chinese State officials could be selected from a wider milieu, but this did not affect in any way the social structure. The latter did not change. And if it did, then only to become even more conservative. In Europe, on the other hand, the invention of printing was a necessary predecessor of the Renaissance, Reformation and the beginnings of capitalism. This was a means by which culture from the aristocratic circles reached also the urban populations, thereby becoming more democratic.

This may be seen even better in the case of gunpowder. Gunpowder and the weapons that came into use after its invention, spelt the end of the Western militarist and aristocratic feudalism and meant the beginning of the power of bourgeois society. Gunpowder and weapons were likewise used in China. But these failed to alter its social order. By their means conquerors and usurpers gained only power, but did not alter the social structure.

The same may be said with the invention of the compass. The Chinese used it in the building of houses, pagodas, temples and graves. Of course, on sea voyages too, but again, these did not affect in any substantial manner the economic life of the country. The course of events in Europe was essentially different: the circum-

navigation of Africa, the discovery of America, the influx of silver, new kinds of goods, all this had an essential influence on the European economic system and the evolution of the entire society.

The paper entitled *Science and Society in East and West* is primarily an attempt at characterizing the ancient Chinese society. It is a contribution to the study of the "Asiatic mode of production" and at the same a criticism of the views expressed by K. A. Wittfogel in his book *Oriental Despotism*. According to Professor Needham "Wittfogel now seeks to attribute all abuses of power, whether in totalitarian or other societies, to the principle of bureaucratism". Needham does not think this to be true. Bureaucratism will only increase in future: what matters is how to humanize it. Nor does he consider the term "oriental despotism" to be justified, and he himself does not use it. He appears to use with preference the expression bureaucratic feudalism in characterizing Chinese society.

In his lecture *Time and Eastern Man* Needham points to the concept of time in Chinese philosophy, to the question of time in Chinese historiography, etc. It is the most extensive among the contributions, but will probably least satisfy the reader. The material is not adequately processed and lays considerable claims on the reader's judgment.

The closing lecture *Human Law and the Laws of Human Nature* is a contribution to the much-discussed topic in the domain of history of ideas. In it the author points to the development of Chinese thought and the laws of nature and how they differed from that of Europe. Thus, for instance, the Chinese did not know the concept of celestial lawgiver. "Universal harmony comes about not by the celestial fiat of some King of Kings", writes Professor Needham, "but by the spontaneous cooperation of all beings in the universe brought about by their following the internal necessities of their own natures."

This lecture touches upon a very interesting idea which deserves greater attention. Professor Needham writes that the Chinese "with their appreciation of relativism and the subtlety and immensity of the universe, were groping after an Einsteinian world-picture without having laid the foundation for a Newtonian one." This thought might perhaps be related to the immense interest of the Chinese in Einstein and his theory of relativity, manifested in the twenties and thirties of this century. No other Western scientist came in for as much attention on the part of Chinese writers as Einstein.

The book under review provides for the sinologist and the layman a sufficiently lucid picture of Chinese science, Chinese and Western society and their relation to the gains of science. It constitutes a good and, especially for the general reader, a satisfactory substitute for Needham's monumental work *Science and Civilization in China* (7 Vols.), published in series by the Cambridge University Press.

Marián Gálík

Edwin O. Reischauer—John K. Fairbank, *East Asia: The Great Tradition*. Harvard University. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. XIV + 739 pp.

The book is the first volume of a series *A History of East Asian Civilization*. It originated as a lecture course which began in 1939 and has been offered since 1947 under the auspices of the Harvard Program in General Education. Book publications appeared in 1958 and 1960.

The book is divided into 14 chapters from which Chapters 2.—10. are devoted to China (pp. 32—393), the 10th Chapter to Korea (pp. 394—449) and Chapters 11.—14. to Japan (pp. 450—668). The last chapter brings the title *East Asia on the Eve of Modernization* (pp. 669—674).

The authors had chosen the term “East Asian” which is geographically more precise than “Far East”. From the three possible definitions of East Asia — geographically as the area east of the great mountain and desert barrier dividing Asia into two halves, racial criteria as the habitat of Mongoloid man (with the exception of the Eskimo and American Indian branches of that race) and culturally as the domain called East Asian civilization—the very last is the most important for the book.

Chinese civilization—one [of] the great world civilizations influenced directly neighbouring Korea and Japan. Therefore, the exposition is concentrated on the history and culture of China, Japan and Korea. Marginally, it covers Vietnam which also derived much from the higher Chinese culture and took over from ancient China its primary system of writing. Secondly it refers to two other large areas, mostly inhabited by a Mongoloid population: Central Asia, especially Mongolia, Sinkian (Chinese Turkestan) and Tibet; the other area covers Southeast Asia (besides Vietnam Burma, Siam (Thailand), Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines). However, the higher cultures of the greater part of Southeast Asia stemmed more from India than from China. Later, Islam and Christianity helped this area to become more differentiated from the countries to the north, but in the course of the past centuries was joined to the rest of East Asia economically, culturally and strategically.

The historical development as described here seems to be the best for a number of reasons. One of them is that the peoples of East Asia see themselves in a historical perspective more than do other nations. And even the Chinese view of history is: “change within tradition”.

East Asia constitutes one third of mankind and directly affects the future of our civilization. Hence, it is impossible, without understanding East Asia, to hope for harmonious relations and fruitful cooperation. Since until lately the West and East Asia practically lived in different worlds, and the cultural gap has become too great. Even in Asia the contacts between the various civilizations, e.g. Chinese and Indian, Islamic of West Asia and that of North Africa, were not very intense. Languages, social customs, ethical values and historical traditions varied greatly between East Asia, India, the Islamic world and the West.

The family system of China, the economic development of Japan, the institutions of bureaucratic government in Korea, and mutual influences of peoples and cultures in Southeast and Central Asia are important chapters in the history of mankind. The book records the development of the traditional East Asian civilization, i.e. the growth and development of this civilization from its beginnings in North China up to the first half of the 19th century. This span covered more than three millenniums of relative isolation and different geographical areas and peoples of China, Japan, Korea and Central Asia.

In the last chapter the authors give a brief survey on further development and trends in East Asia from the first half of the 19th century. Problems of modernization of East Asian civilization under the impact of the West are dealt with in the next volume.

The pronunciation of Chinese, Korean and Japanese (pp. 675—677) is given from the point of view of the English-speaking world, but the authors do not treat this point in any detail. The instructions are largely intended for the layman.

The bibliography (pp. 679—686) includes mostly English and easily accessible book and journal sources. The authors annotate individual titles from the viewpoint of their contents.

A general map of East Asia is appended, together with maps in the text, and there is a chronological survey of particular dynasties in China, Korea and Japan at the end of the book. The work is concluded by *Illustration Acknowledgements* (pp. 687 to 690) and an *Index* (pp. 691—739).

Unfortunately, only one single chapter is devoted to Korea (pp. 394—449) and its history proper begins on p. 400. In our view, more attention ought to have been devoted to this country. As a matter of fact, the authors are aware of this deficiency and plead a lack of sources as the cause; their principal source of information is the book by Hatada Takashi entitled *Chōsen shi* (A History of Korea).

The book gives an excellent survey of East Asian civilization. In it China was ever the focus of all innovations but marginal nations of East Asian civilization also contributed in a smaller or greater measure to the creation of this culture. This refers primarily to Korea where “perhaps the most scientific system of writing in general use in any country” (p. 435) was developed and Japan, mainly as far as art is concerned.

The book is also of interest to theoretists of the history of culture with regard to independent development analogies between East Asian and European cultures.

Jozef Genzor

Roderic H. Davison, *Turkey*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall Inc. 1968. 181 pp.

In der Edition *The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective* (General Editor Robin W. Winks), die, wie die Einführungsvermerkung verzeichnet „deal with individual nations or groups of closely related nations throughout the world, summarizing the chief historical trends and influences that have contributed to each nation's present-day character, problems and behavior“, erscheint das Buch des Professors R. H. Davison.

Wenn wir bei der Bewertung von diesem Standpunkt ausgehen, so erfüllt das Buch hervorragend seine Sendung. Neun Kapitel, in ungefähr demselben Umfang, bringen auf eine dynamische Art und Weise die Entwicklung des türkischen Volkes seit dem Eintritt der türkischen Stämme in die Geschichte bis zu den gegenwärtigen politischen, sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Verhältnissen in der Türkischen Republik.

Die historische Retrospektive beginnt mit einer Betrachtung der gegenwärtigen Türkei (S. 1—14), die die Frucht der langjährigen historischen Entwicklung des türkischen Elements zu einem souveränen Staat repräsentiert. Die Charakteristik der heutigen Türkei mit häufigen Abschweifungen in die Vergangenheit, bzw. Vergleichen der Vergangenheit mit den umwälzenden Veränderungen der Gegenwart, sind nur Prolegomena zur historischen Beschreibung.

Die Kapitel *From Steppe to Empire* (S. 15—31); *The Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire 1453—1566* (S. 32—52) und *The Decline of the Faith and State 1566—1792* (S. 53—66) repräsentieren die Geschichte der Türken von ihrem Anfang bis Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, als „the Eastern Question“ entstand. Teilweise gelungene, stellenweise allzu schematisierende Auslegungen ermöglichen jedoch einen Blick auf die Grunderscheinungen der türkischen Geschichte, zu welchen in jener Zeit die Islamisierung des türkischen Elements, sein Aufschwung auf Grund der seldschuker Eroberungen und endlich die Entstehung des osmanischen Staates eingereicht werden können.

Die Auslegung der vor allem politischen Geschichte erlaubte dem Autor nicht (und da werden wir nur die Grunderscheinungen erwähnen), das Problem der Islamisierung der Türken, die Voraussetzungen des Aufschwunges des osmanischen Emirats, die militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte, sowie andere Umstände in ihrer ganzen Kompliziertheit darzustellen.

Selbst die Chronologie des dritten und vierten Kapitels bleibt ein Problem. Das „Golden Age“ mit den Jahren 1453—1566 und „Decline of Faith and State“ mit den Jahren 1566—1792 abzugrenzen, erscheint nicht notwendig in einem Buch, das sich mit der geschichtlichen Entwicklung eines Volkes beschäftigt. Einigen Erscheinungen nach wäre es möglich diese Grenze auch in andere Zeitintervalle zu verschieben. Die sonst umfangreiche und fließende Auslegung verzeichnet alle wichtigen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Veränderungen, durch welche das

Imperium in diesen Jahrhunderten durchzugehen hatte, sowohl den Aufschwung aller Komponenten als auch ihre spätere Stagnation und den Verfall.

Zu den gelungensten Partien des Buches gehören das fünfte Kapitel *The Beginnings of Westernization 1789—1878* (S. 67—90), das sechste Kapitel *From Autocracy to Revolution: The Era of Sultan Abdülhamid II, 1878—1909* (S. 91—108) und das siebente Kapitel *From Empire to Republic, 1909—1923* (S. 109—127), also die Periode, die das Objekt des Fachinteresses des Autors ist (siehe sein Buch *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 1963). Auf Grund der umfassenden Kenntnisse der osmanischen Realität im 19. Jahrhundert weist er auf die Hauptströme der Entwicklung der osmanischen Gesellschaft hin, vor allem auf die „Westernization“, die von der Furcht um ihre Existenz zunächst auf den technischen Gebieten und in der Armee, später, als man sich der gemeinsamen Verbundenheit bewusst wurde, auch auf die „Westernization“ auf geistlichem Gebiet erzwungen wurde. Der Weg zu einem modernen Staat, obwohl es eine Notwendigkeit war, führte über komplizierte Peripetien, da die Kraft der Tradition nicht zu unterlassen war. Verschiedene ideologische Strömungen, die bestrebt waren eine Staatsidee zu werden, schätzten ihre Möglichkeiten nicht richtig ein und haben die Entwicklung des nationalen Gedankens eher gebremst als gefördert. Der Autor bewertete treffend alle Tatsachen und Trends, welche die Türken schliesslich zum Aufbau eines Nationalstaates führten.

Diesen Fragen sind die zwei letzten Kapitel gewidmet: *The Turkey of Atatürk, 1923—1938* (S. 128—143) und *Turkey since Atatürk* (S. 144—168).

Der Autor verfolgt mit Sympathien das unerschütterliche Bestreben des Begründers des neuen Staates, Kemal Atatürk, dessen Reformen die Basis für den Republikanismus, die Souveränität und den Sekularismus schufen. Der heutige türkische Staat stellt für die mit ihrer Vergangenheit belasteten Völker ein Vorbild dar, das ihnen den Weg aus dem Rückstand zeigt.

Das Buch wird von einem mit Gefühl ausgewählten *Suggested Reading* (S. 169—175) und mit einem *Index* ergänzt.

Davisons Buch gehört zu den besten Büchern dieses Genres, die in der letzten Zeit erschienen sind.

Vojtech Kopčan

Josef Kabrda, *Le système fiscal de l'Eglise orthodoxe dans l'Empire ottoman (d'après les documents turcs)*. Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis. Facultas Philosophica, 135. Brno, Universita J. E. Purkyně 1969. S. 164, LVI.

Das Buch des hervorragenden tschechoslowakischen Turkologen, Professor J. Kabrda, erscheint erst nach seinem plötzlichen Tod (1968). Mit dieser Arbeit

schloss er wenigstens ein Gebiet seiner Arbeitsinteressen, denen er mehr als 30 Jahre seines fruchtbaren Lebens widmete, ab. Seine ersten turkologischen Arbeiten befassten sich eben mit verschiedenen Fragen der Stellung der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche in Bulgarien zur Zeit der türkischen Herrschaft (*Berát vidínského metropolity Josefa z r. 1763*, Věstník Král. čes. společnosti nauk 1937. Třída I. Praha 1937; *Sur les bérats des métropolités orthodoxes dans l'ancien Empire ottoman au XVIII^e siècle*. Izvestija na Bălgarskoto istoričesko družestvo XVI—XVII, Sofia 1939; *Položenieto na mitropolitite v tehните eparhii v tursko vreme*. Duhovna kultura 83. Sofia 1937). Später ist er wieder auf diese Frage zurückgekommen, wobei er vor allem den Problemen der kirchlichen Besteuerung der bulgarischen Bevölkerung nachforschte (*Les documents turcs relatifs aux impôts ecclésiastiques prélevés sur la population bulgare au XVII^e siècle*. ArOr XXIII, Praha 1955; *Les documents turcs relatifs aux droits fiscaux des métropolités orthodoxes en Bulgarie aux XVIII^e siècle*. ArOr XXVI, Praha 1958; *Dva berata na sofijskija i vidínskaja mitropolit ot pǎrvata polovina na XVIII vek*. Izvestija na Instituta za bălgarska istorija VI, Sofia 1957).

Wie der Inhalt der einzelnen Kapitel des Buches zeigt, I. *L'Eglise orthodoxe dans l'Empire ottoman* (S. 10—16); II. *Les sources historiques turques et la littérature relatives au problème des impositions ecclésiastiques prélevées sur la population orthodoxe dans l'Empire ottoman* (S. 17—31); III. *Les stipulation des bérats de métropolités relatives à la taxation ecclésiastique* (S. 32—55); IV. *La taxation ecclésiastique de la population bulgare (balkanique) d'après les sources historiques turques* (S. 56—103); V. *Les documents turcs relatifs à la taxation ecclésiastique de la population bulgare aux XVII^e, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles* (S. 104—147), erörterte der Autor alle Fragen, die mit der Stellung der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche im Osmanischen Reich verbunden waren, vor allem aber widmete er sich der ökonomischen Basis seiner Existenz, die auf der kirchlichen Besteuerung beruhte.

Die ersten zwei Kapitel haben einen einführenden Charakter. Das erste erforscht die Organisation der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche und ihre Stellung innerhalb des theokratischen osmanischen Staates, sowie die positiven und negativen Seiten dieser Stellung vom Gesichtspunkt der historischen Entwicklung. Das zweite Kapitel bilanziert den Stand der bisherigen Forschung. Der Autor hält der Fachliteratur vor allem die ungenügende Ausnützung des türkischen Materials und die Ungenauigkeit und Unverlässigkeit im Hinblick auf die Arbeit mit den türkischen Quellen vor. Dann analysiert er genau die einzelnen Arten der türkischen Quellen ihrer Bedeutung für die nachgeforschten Fragen entsprechend (*berats, fermans, buyuruldu, mürasele und hüccets*).

Im weiteren Kapitel folgt der Text, sowie Übersetzungen und Kommentare zu den einzelnen Anordnungen der Berats bezüglich der kirchlichen Abgaben und Gebühren, die von den Gläubigen und Geistlichen an ihre Vorgesetzten, den Metropoliten und den Patriarchen eingetrieben wurden.

Das vierte Kapitel ist der zentrale Teil des Buches. Der Autor verfolgt hier alle

Formen der kirchlichen Besteuerung auf dem Balkan und kommentiert die Art verschiedener Abgaben und Gebühren auf Grund reichen Materials. In vielen Fragen korrigiert er die Fehler der bisherigen Forschung, sowie die Ungenauigkeiten, die aus dem nicht richtigen Verstehen der türkischen Texte erfolgen, usw. Der Autor ist sich der Normative der türkischen Quellen in den Fragen der kirchlichen Besteuerung bewusst; er beobachtet jedoch auf Grund ihres tieferen Studiums und einer sorgfältigen Analyse die Bemühungen der kirchlichen Verwaltung, weitere Abgaben, ausser denjenigen, die durch die kirchlichen Gesetze bestimmt waren, zu erheben und sich diese von der osmanischen Verwaltung sogar bestätigen zu lassen. Die Analyse der Quellen zeigte die gesamte Breite der kirchlichen Besteuerung und die Hauptgrundsätze der kirchlichen Fiskalpraxis.

Im letzten Kapitel veröffentlicht der Autor die Übersetzungen oder Zusammenfassungen von 39 zum Teil neuen, zum Teil schon im Zusammenhang mit den Problemen der kirchlichen Besteuerung auf den Balkan publizierten osmanischen Dokumenten. Der überwiegende Teil der Dokumente betrifft Bulgarien.

Das Buch wird von einem Termin-Wörterbuch, einem Index der im Text zitierten Patriarchen und Metropolitane, einer Bibliographie und einem tschechischen Resumé ergänzt. Als Beilage finden wir 54 Seiten von Faksimilen der türkischen Dokumente.

Vojtech Kopčan

Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn. Hrsg. von Karl Teplý. Bibliothek klassischer Reiseberichte. Stuttgart, Steingrüben Verlag 1968. S. 475.

Das von den Kämpfen um die Macht und um die Religion selbst hin und her geschleuderte Europa des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts stand vor der Möglichkeit der „nichtchristlichen“ Alternative seiner weiteren Entwicklung. Die Drohung der osmanischen Okkupation, obwohl es nur Mittel- und Osteuropa waren, die von ihr direkt bedrängt wurden, rief in der öffentlichen Meinung Deutschlands, die aus verschiedenen „wahrhaftigen neuen Zeitungen“ lebte, in gewissen Zeitabschnitten (z. B. bei der Belagerung Wiens im Jahre 1529) eine panische Angst hervor.

Der Anschlag der Osmanen auf Europa verlief an zwei Hauptfronten — im Mittelmeer und in Ungarn. Mit dem Erwerb des ungarischen Thrones erbten die Habsburger auch die neue Front gegen die Türken, die, obzwar die Monarchie inzwischen andere Interessen und Pflichten hatte, im Laufe von zwei Jahrhunderten ein brennender Punkt geblieben war. Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, an dieser Stelle den Reflex des Impaktes der zwei Weltkulturen aufzufangen und seine wichtigsten Früchte zu verzeichnen. Das gegenseitige Kennenlernen von zwei Hauptfeinden in den möglichst verschiedenen Formen, das uns nur noch in literarischen Denkmälern

zugänglich ist, bleibt jedoch eine unschätzbare Quelle dafür, „den Geist der Zeit“ zu verzeichnen und dadurch auch das ganze Problem zu begreifen.

Ein kostbares Zeugnis für die Konfrontation der beiden Welten, wenn auch nicht auf militärischem Gebiet, sind die Berichte der kaiserlichen Boten und der Mitglieder ihrer Botschaften nach Istanbul, die zwecks des Abschlusses der Friedensverträge oder auf Grund des Jahrestributes, der Geschenke oder einer anderen Sendung geschrieben wurden.

Professor K. Těplý sammelte Berichte von mehr als zwanzig Teilnehmern verschiedener Botschaften am Hof zu Konstantinopel, von Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, einem gebildeten Humanisten, bis zu dem Abenteurer Leslie im Jahre 1665 und ergänzte sie mit weiterem zeitgenössischem Material.

Der Verfasser lässt jedoch sein Quellenmaterial nicht mit dessen langweiliger und uninteressanter Ausführlichkeit erzählen, sondern veröffentlicht die interessantesten Passagen mit treffenden einleitenden Worten und Fussnoten nach einem vorher zusammengestellten Programm, mit Rücksicht auf den Verlauf der Reise nach Istanbul, den dortigen Aufenthalt und die Rückkehr. Dadurch wird der Leser überhaupt nicht benachteiligt, im Gegenteil, der Autor bietet ihm einen geschlossenen Blick auf den Akt „der Botschaft“ als auf ein Ganzes. Genau so ist seine Einstellung nicht nur auf die Sendung, sondern auch auf alle beobachtungswerten Kenntnisse der Menschen in einer Fremden gerichtet. Davon zeugen schon die Titel der einzelnen Kapitel: *Geschichtsbild und Gewährsleute, Vorbereitungen, Donaufahrt, Auf der alten Heerstrasse, Audienz, Nemtschi Han, Hauptstadt des Ruhmes und der Ehre, Fest und Rumor, Diplomatie und Ränke, Schwarzer Tod, Gefängnis, Heimkehr*. Und wir halten es für notwendig wiederholt zu betonen, dass der Autor die Erlebnisse und die Erfahrungen der Boten mit ausgezeichneten Einleitungen und Kommentaren verbindet.

In der Übersicht der Quellen und der bibliographischen Hinweise sind nicht nur die Hinweise auf die verwendeten Werke, sondern auch die genaue Paginierung der einzelnen Ausschnitte enthalten.

Die ausgezeichnet zusammengestellte Zeittafel, die die bedeutendsten politischen und kulturellen Ereignisse nicht nur im gegenseitigen Verhältnis zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und Österreich, sondern auch in ganz Europa berücksichtigt, ist zum Vorteil der chronologischen Orientierung.

Auch die zeitgenössischen Illustrationen aus dem Codex Vindobonensis 8626 passen in den Rahmen des Buches gut hinein.

Wenn das Buch *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn* als ein Ganzes gewertet werden soll, können seine grossen Qualitäten und seine kulturelle Sendung nicht abgeleugnet werden. Die kleineren Mängel, die die Qualität der Publikation keinesfalls herabsetzen, sind besonders in den türkischen Realien zu bemerken.

Vojtech Kopčan

Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego (Wybór). [Das Reisebuch von Evliya Çelebi (Auswahl)]. Aus dem Türkischen übersetzt von Z. Abrahamowicz, A. Dubiński, S. Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz. Wissenschaftliche Redaktion, Auswahl, Einführung und Kommentare von Z. Abrahamowicz. Skizze über Evliya Çelebi und sein Werk: J. Reychman. Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza 1969. S. XXXVIII + 477.

Die Übersetzungen aus den Reisebeschreibungen des türkischen Reisenden des 17. Jahrhunderts, Evliya Çelebi, sind um einen weiteren Band — diesmal in polnischer Sprache — bereichert.

Der Herausgeber dieser Auswahl, Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, stand vor einer schwierigen Aufgabe. Das Buch ist einerseits für den breiten Leserkreis, andererseits als Übersetzung auch für Fachleute bestimmt, vor allem für die Historiker, Ethnographen u. a., die aus sprachlichen Gründen mit dem Original nicht arbeiten können. Mit der Art der Bearbeitung erinnert die polnische Ausgabe an die Übersetzung von Šabanović.

Dasselbe Problem bildete auch die Auswahl der einzelnen Teile. Was soll aus dem umfangreichen Werk von 10 Bänden übersetzt werden? Die bisherigen Übersetzungen aus dem Werk Evliyas wurden meistens als Quellen zur Geschichte der einzelnen Länder (Karácson, Babinger, Šabanović, Kissling, Guboglu, Tveritinova, Turková usw.), oder zu den verschiedensten Fragen aufgefasst. Offensichtlich war die Orientierung des Verfassers breiter, da wir in der polnischen Übersetzung ein Stück aus dem ersten Teil über den Traum Evliyas vorfinden, in dem er dem Propheten begegnet und seine Sehnsucht nach Reisen, weiters seine Reise durch den Balkan mit Melek Ahmed Pascha, die Reise mit der türkischen Botschaft nach Wien im Jahre 1665 und schliesslich seine Reisen mit den Krim-Tataren in den Jahren 1641—1667, in Erfüllung gehen. So hat der Verfasser seine Auswahl eigentlich für den breiten Leserkreis bevorzugt. Seine Bestrebung, möglichst umfangreiche und zusammenhängende Passagen zu bringen, hatte zur Folge, dass die Übersetzung des zweiten Teiles (*Die Reisen durch den Rumelischen und Otschakower Eyalet 1651—1653*) etwas zu lang wirkt. Dieser Teil, der mehr als 100 Seiten umfasst, betrifft seiner Art nach überhaupt nicht Polen, obwohl die Übersetzer die Absicht hatten, vor allem diesen Aspekt zu verfolgen.

Nach dem einleitenden Wort von Z. Abrahamowicz (V—VIII), in dem die Sendung des Buches konzipiert wird und die Prinzipien der Auswahl und der Bearbeitung erklärt werden, folgt die umfangreiche Abhandlung von Prof. J. Reychman, Evliya Çelebi und sein Werk (IX—XXXVIII). Es ist eine interessant geschriebene biographische Skizze, mit weitlaufenden bibliographischen Angaben über die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen von Evliyas Werk. Ausserordentlich wertvoll ist der Versuch des Autors, auch einige innere Komponenten des Werkes Evliyas, wie z. B. die verwendeten Quellen, die Interessen, die er bei seinen Beschreibungen verfolgte, usw. zu erfassen.

Das Problem der Quellen Evliyas wird für ganze Teams von Wissenschaftlern noch lange eine harte Nuss bleiben, da es bei seiner Form, eine fremde Quelle zu interpretieren, ohne diese überhaupt zu erwähnen, sehr schwer festzustellen ist, woraus er schöpfte. Im Werk Evliyas finden wir Ausdrücke „darüber haben schon einige Historiker geschrieben“ (z. B. VI, 300), aber die konkreten Angaben werden verschwiegen. Ausser den bekannten osmanischen Chroniken (z. B. *Peçevidi*) benützte Evliya auch fremde Quellen. (J. Reyhman erwähnt griechische und lateinische Quellen — selbstverständlich in türkischen oder arabischen Bearbeitungen) und viele andere. Wenn wir die Frage der von Evliya benützten Quellen lösen wollen, müssen wir vor allem feststellen, auf welche Art und Weise er mit den Quellen umging, ob es Impressionen aus den gelesenen Werken, oder blosser Plagiate sind.

In Evliyas Werk begegnen wir Informationen dreierlei Herkunft: Eigene Erlebnisse, Angaben aus zweiter Hand oder aus einer fremden Quelle und die Phantasie. Diese vermischen sich untereinander und bilden kompakte Ganzen, die manchmal mehr, manchmal weniger voneinander zu unterscheiden sind. Es scheint uns, dass zu der Ebene der Phantasie ausser anderem verschiedene Etymologien und Zahlangaben gehören, die nicht wörtlich genau, sondern nur als eine expressive Komponente, die die Menge, die Qualität usw. ausdrückt, zu verstehen sind.

Prof. Reyhman macht auf Evliyas Vorliebe den Charakter der gesehenen Festungen genau zu beschreiben aufmerksam und stellt sich die Frage, ob Evliya nicht die Aufgabe hatte, militärische Informationen für die osmanische Führung zu sammeln. Wir vermuten, dass es sehr schwer wäre, aus seinen Angaben eine adäquate Vorstellung mit strategischer Bedeutung zu gewinnen.

Die Übersicht Prof. Reyhmans über Evliyas Leben und Werk ist eine geeignete Einleitung und ein kulturhistorischer Begleiter der Übersetzung.

Die eigene Übersetzung, wie wir bereits erwähnen, ist aus vier Teilen zusammengesetzt: I. *Der Traum von der Begegnung mit dem Propheten* (S. 5—14); II. *Die Reisen durch den Rumelischen und den Otschakower Eyalet 1651—1653* (S. 17—124); III. *Die Reise nach Wien 1665* (S. 127—170); *Die Expedition mit den Tataren und die Reisen durch die Krim 1641—1667* (S. 173—368).

Die Übersetzung gewann an Übersichtlichkeit und Lesbarkeit durch die Auslassung einiger Stellen, wo sich Evliya wiederholt oder in unübersichtliche Details ergeht. Auch die Lösung mit den orientalischen Terminen, die von den Übersetzern im Text belassen werden, und entweder in den Fussnoten oder im terminologischen Wörterbuch erklärt werden, ist annehmbar.

Über die sprachliche Seite der Übersetzung können wir uns leider nicht kompetent äussern.

Der umfangreiche Teil der Bemerkungen von Z. Abrahamowicz ist ein bedeutender Beitrag nicht nur zum Erkennen und zur Klarstellung der übersetzten Teile, sondern auch zu der Literatur, die sich mit dem Werk von Evliya Çelebi befasst. Man würde

es begrüßen, wenn der Autor seine Kenntnisse summarisieren und in einer selbständigen Studie herausgeben würde.

Das Wörterbuch der orientalischen Termini (S. 459—471) erklärt die im Text benützten Termini und ergänzt gut die Publikation.

Von den kleinen Irrtümern, die aber keinesfalls das Niveau des Buches herabsetzen, könnte man die Übersetzung von Karácson erwähnen, die den Titel *Evlia Cselebi török világotató magyarországi utazásai 1660—1664* trägt und von MTA. Kiadja in Budapest 1904 herausgegeben wurde. Der zweite Teil trägt denselben Titel und erschien 1908 (die Jahre 1664—1666). Weiter ist es die Uneinheitlichkeit in der Transkription der jugoslawischen Arbeiten. Auf den Seiten 161 und 168 kommt der Name Susa vor — es handelt sich um den kaiserlichen General, Grafen Souchès. Die Fussnote 101 zum II. Teil — Gran wurde von den Türken im Jahre 1605 zum zweiten Mal erobert.

Vojtech Kopčan

J. Reychman and A. Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*. Revised and expanded translation by A. S. Ehrenkreutz. Indexed by F. E. Davis. Edited by T. Halasi-Kun. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1968. 232 pp. + 30 Illustrations. Publications in Near and Middle East Studies. Columbia University. Series A, VII.

Of late we witness an enhanced activity in the field of Ottoman paleography and diplomatics. Thus, a few years ago B. Nedkov published a manual of Ottoman paleography and diplomatics in Bulgarian.¹ A. Horniker wrote an overview study on research in this discipline up to his time;² extremely valuable studies on the earliest Ottoman documents came from the pen of P. Wittek,³ etc.

The book under review represents the English translation of the Polish edition from the year 1955, after certain correction of bibliographic data and their supplementation had been made, together with further minor alterations in the original text. Its primary mission as stated in the foreword to the Polish edition by the authors, was to meet the need of a manual intended for "new cadres of adepts in oriental studies, including archivists and historians, who will undoubtedly take up processing the rich oriental material in Polish archives" (p. 4). This design influenced also the layout and processing of the manual itself. However, basic information on the discipline and the relevant bibliography presume the help of a teacher in the actual work with documents. The compilers of the manual, J. Reychman and

¹ *Osmanoturska diplomatika i paleografija I*. Sofia 1966.

² *Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*. Guide to the Literature. Balkan Studies VII. 1966, pp. 134 to 154.

³ See below.

A. Zajaczkowski took as their starting point the needs of Polish orientalist studies and based their work predominantly on Ottoman documents from Polish collections. This feature of the book has been preserved also in its English edition, although some of the disproportions have been removed.

But this partial adjustment and trimming of the manual in its English version did not alter the original content of the book, which is made up of the following principal parts: I. *Introduction* (pp. 13—103); II. *Paleography* (pp. 104—134); III. *Diplomatics* (pp. 135—185); IV. *Ancillary Disciplines* (pp. 186—201); *Appendix* and *Index*.

In the introduction the authors define the aims and roles of Ottoman diplomatics and paleography and give a brief outline of the history of this discipline. Then come two rather extensive sections, the first of which follows up the occurrence of oriental documents in Turkey and other Asiatic countries, and the second deals with collections of oriental documents in Europe.

We append the following remarks to some of the data mentioned in this part of the book:

P. 35 — “The library of the Consular Academy also possesses about 15,000 Turkish documents consisting mainly of records pertaining to Turkish administration in Hungary. They were acquired during the wars of the seventeenth century and are now stored in the Staatsarchiv.” This statement does not correspond to facts and is based on Hammer’s data, see F. Zsinka, *Die türkischen Urkunden der Wiener Sammlungen*, MOG I (1921—1922), 2—4.

P. 37—38 — No documents are to be found in Bratislava from the times of the Turkish domination in Slovakia. At the University Library in Bratislava there are oriental manuscripts from the Bašagić collection, but all, with the exception of one *defter*, are of Yugoslav origin. J. Kabrda’s article *Les sources turques relatives...* does not refer to all Turkish sources to the history of Slovakia, but only to *defters* relative to the Nové Zámky *eyâlet* (BA, No. 115 and 653) and *kânûn-nâme of Nové Zámky eyâlet*. More detailed information on Turkish documents relative to Slovak history is supplied by J. Blaskovics, *Some Notes on the History of the Turkish Occupation of Slovakia*. Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica 1. 1960. Orientalia Pragensia I. Praha 1960, pp. 41—57, and the author of the present review, *Turecké listy a listiny k slovenským dejinám* (Turkish letters and documents to the history of Slovakia). Historické štúdie XII, Bratislava 1967, pp. 105—122.

To the collection of Turkish documents in Hungary may be added also a collection of 61 documents in the Municipal Archive of Miskolc (see J. Blaskovics, *Some Notes...* pp. 44—45; also J. Blaskovics, *Einige Dokumente über die Verpflegung der türkischen Armee vor der Festung Nové Zámky im J. 1663*, Asian and African Studies II, Bratislava 1966, pp. 103—127, where he published four documents from the Miskolc Archive.

The oriental manuscripts in the collections of the Institut vostokovedeniya (Institute for Oriental Studies) in Leningrad should be supplemented by the new catalogue of L. V. Dmitriyeva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tyurkskikh rukopisey Instituta narodov Azii* (Description of Turkish manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Nations) I. Istorija, Moskva 1965, 257 pp.

The second part of the book deals with the publication of oriental documents. When preparing the English edition, the authors should have considered whether

it would not have been more fitting to append data from this part to the respective sections on the occurrence of oriental documents. As it is, many of the data are repeated and duplicity ensues.

As regards publication of documents in Austria, P. Wittek's study *Zur einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* should be supplemented by further three installments, viz. those in WZKM V. 57 (1961), pp. 102—117; VI, 58 (1962), pp. 165—197; VII, 59—60 (1963—1964), pp. 201—223.

Concerning Bulgaria: before all else, mention must be made of the new manual of Ottoman paleography and diplomatics by B. Nedkov, and the book by J. Kabrda, *Le système fiscal de l'Eglise orthodoxe dans l'empire ottoman (d'après les documents turcs)*. Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis. Facultas Philosophica, 135. Brno 1969, pp. 164, LVI, where the author lists about 40 Ottoman documents on various questions of ecclesiastical taxing.

The publication of Turkish documents in Czechoslovakia may be supplemented by the following entries:

J. Kabrda, *Kánunnáme novozámeckého ejāletu*. K 300. výročí dobytí Nových Zámků Turky (Kánunnáme of the Nové Zámky eyālet. On the 300th anniversary of the capture of Nové Zámky by the Turks). Historický časopis SAV XII. Bratislava 1964, No. 2, pp. 186—214, idem, *Kánunnáme szécsényiských rájű*. Slovenská archivistika II, Bratislava 1967, pp. 48—63. J. Blaskovics, *Some Notes on the History of the Turkish Occupation of Slovakia*. Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica 1, 1960. Orientalia Pragensia I. Praha 1960, pp. 41—57; idem, *Einige Dokumente über die Verpflegung der türkischen Armee vor der Festung Nové Zámky im J. 1663*. Asian and African Studies II, Bratislava 1966, pp. 103—127 — published Turkish documents from Rimavská Sobota and Miskole with photostats, transcriptions and translation.

From the Defter Turcica 30, deposited before World War II at Göttingen, Z. Veselá-Přenosilová published further documents relating to Transylvania:

Quelques chartes turques concernant la correspondance de la Porte Sublime avec Imre Thököly. AO XXIX, 1961, pp. 546—574 III, idem, *Contribution aux rapports de la Porte Sublime avec la Transylvanie d'après les documents turcs*. AO XXXIII, 1965, pp. 553—599.

Z. Veselá-Přenosilová published a fief *berat* under the title *Un document turc affirmant la jouissance héréditaire d'un fief militaire en Hongrie au XVII^e siècle*. Annals of the Náprstek Museum 1, Prague 1962, pp. 159—171 + IV.

Of great significance, from the point of view of Ottoman diplomatics, is L. Fekete's paper presented at the Turkological conference in Bratislava in 1960 and published under the title: *K problematike výberu a vydávania tureckých prameňov* (Concerning the selection and publication of Turkish sources). Historický časopis SAV, X. Bratislava 1962, No. 1, pp. 90—100.

P. 77 — the exact title of Gévay's works can be given: *Az 1625 május 26-án kelt gyarmati békekötés cikkelyei deákul, magyarul és törökül*. Bécs 1837 and *Az 1627 szeptember 13-án költ szönyi békekötés cikkelyei deákul, magyarul és törökül*. Bécs 1837. A. Szilády's book *A defterekről* (Pest 1872) contains a lecture delivered at a session of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. P. 79 "A letter of the Sultan to Poland, dated 1662. Edited by I. Karácson in the journal *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1863." I. Karácson could not have been the editor, for he was born in 1863 (the Polish edition mentions L. Karácson?!).

In Italy, K. Jahn published a number of Turkish documents from the Vienna Staatsarchiv: *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Napoli 1963.

These are but some of the supplements to the publication of Ottoman documents in various countries. The number of such data would certainly be larger up to the

present time. The editors of the revised edition, however, could have brought up the references at least to the year 1965.

The second chapter deals with paleography (pp. 104—134). It gives a concise review of writing and writing material with abundant illustrations. However, from a research point of view it does not bring along any new concept, nor is it any detailed summarizing of more recent investigations.

The principal part of the book belongs to diplomatics (pp. 135—185). Neither in this section was there any substantial enlargement of the Polish edition. Essentially, only minor supplements were introduced, with corrections and completions of the bibliography. Similarly as the paleographic part, this one too, fails to bring any more detailed considerations on the individual types of Ottoman documents or their different parts. As regards diplomatics as such, the most valuable part seems to be *Documents of the Crimean Tatars* (pp. 152—158).

The list of chief dragomans should be completed with N. Panajoti (1661—1667?), who is mentioned also in the Polish edition, further by Guboglu and Ottoman historians.

And the editors of the English version might have considered whether the part *Poland's relation with Oriental countries* (pp. 170—185) could not have been more concise, as the book is destined to experts from the English-speaking community.

The last part, *Ancillary Disciplines* (pp. 186—201) might be supplemented by chronological data: H. Šabanović, *Izrazi evā'il, evāsit i evāhīr u datumima turških spomenika*. POF II (1951), pp. 213—237. To the chronological tables of rulers: C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*. Islamic Surveys, 5. Edinburgh (1967).

In our view, the *Conversion Tables of A.H. and A.D. dates* included at the end of the book as *Appendix*, are superfluous, for several excellent comparative tables are available to research workers.

The indexes appended are worked out with great care.

The translation of the book by Reychman and Zajączkowski fills, for the time being, a desideratum of the Anglo-Saxon world in this area. It should nevertheless, be observed that the editors could have pondered more deeply over the conception of how best to adapt the original Polish work to the conditions and needs of their new reading public.

Vojtech Kopčan

Vostočnyje istočniki po istorii narodov Južno-Vostočnoj i Centralnoj Jevropy II. (Orientalische Quellen zur Geschichte der Völker Südost- und Mitteleuropas II.) Redaktion A. S. Tveritinova. Moskva, Izdatelstvo Nauka 1969. S. 336.

Die Wichtigkeit der orientalischen Quellen für die Geschichte Südost- und Mitteleuropa seit der ältesten Zeit bis zur Neuzeit ergibt sich aus der geographischen Lage

dieses Gebietes, das seit jeher ein Mittelpunkt der direkten oder indirekten Kontakte zwischen Orient und dem Westen war. Für die Geschichte Südost- und Mitteleuropas sind die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Quellen, die nicht nur ein Beweis der Streifzüge und Plünderungen sind, sondern auch auf die reichen geschäftlichen und kulturellen Verbindungen hinweisen, am wichtigsten. Die östlichen Quellen der breiten Fachöffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen, gehört zu den Hauptaufgaben der Orientalistik.

Der zweite Band der orientalischen Quellen zu der Geschichte Südost- und Mitteleuropas erscheint vier Jahre nach der Ausgabe des ersten Teiles (1964). Es ist ein Kollektivwerk von Historikern und Philologen aus den sozialistischen Ländern. Ähnlich wie der erste, bringt auch dieser Band neue orientalische (türkische, arabische, hebräische und japanische) Quellen zur Geschichte Ruslands und des Balkans. Den thematischen Kreisen nach können die Beiträge in mehrere Gruppen eingeteilt werden.

Die erste Gruppe repräsentieren Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ukraine, der Moldau und der Krim. A. Zajaczkowski analysiert die Chronik *Tevārīh-i dešt-i qipčāq* des türkischen Autors *Abdullāh ibn Riḍvān*, aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (vom Autor dieses Artikels kritisch herausgegeben im Jahre 1966). Eine weitere türkische Quelle wird von Z. Veselá unter dem Titel *Tureckij traktat ob osmanskich krepostjach Severnogo Pričernomor'ja v načale 18. v.* (S. 98—139) herausgegeben. Die Autorin veröffentlicht den Text eines türkischen Traktats von einem unbekanntem Autor, welcher der osmanischen Regierung Massnahmen zur Sicherstellung der Verteidigungsfähigkeit der Festungen am Schwarzen Meer vorschlägt. Sie bringt auch die russische Übersetzung des Textes samt Anmerkungen. Die philologisch-geographische Analyse einer türkischen Landkarte vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bringt Z. Abrahamowicz in seiner Studie *Staraja tureckaja karta Ukrajiny s planom vzryva dneprovskich porogov i ataki tureckogo flota na Kijev* (S. 76—97). Diese Studie bietet neue methodologische Kenntnisse zum Studium der bis heute wenig ausgenutzten osmanischen Quellen — der geographischen und strategischen Landkarten. Die Dokumente der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung über das hotinische Gebiet werden von S. Dimitrov unter dem Titel *Tureckije dokumenty o sostajaniji chotinskoj okruzi (nahije) v pervoj polovine XVIII v.* (S. 140—160) veröffentlicht.

Die Ausschnitte aus dem Werk des osmanischen Botschafters, Šehdi Osman, über seine Reise nach Russland, werden in der Übersetzung von A. S. Tveritina, *Izolečenija iz opisanija posolstva v Rossiju Šehdi Osmana v 1758 g.* (S. 296—303) gebracht. B. Cvetkova und M. Guboglu veröffentlichen neue Dokumente zu den bulgarisch-russischen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert, sowie zu den türkisch-russisch-rumänischen Relationen.

Eine weitere Gruppe der Sammelchrift bildet das Material zur Geschichte des Balkans und Mitteleuropas. Das Inventarverzeichnis des Eigentums des Defter-Beamten in Buda wird von L. Fekete, *Das Heim des 'Ali Čelebi, eines türkischen*

Defterbeamters in Buda (S. 29—75), publiziert. Dieses Verzeichnis, das L. Fekete bereits einer Analyse unterworfen hatte (siehe: *Das Heim eines türkischen Herrn in der Provinz im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Budapest 1960), gibt uns eine klare Vorstellung über die Vermögensverhältnisse und das kulturelle Niveau des osmanischen Beamten der Mittelschicht in Ungarn. Die Übersicht über die Quellen zur Geschichte der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche im Osmanischen Reich bringt J. Kabrda, *Tureckije istočniki po istoriji pravoslavnoj cerkvi v Osmanskoj imperii* (S. 172—179). Der Autor analysiert die einzelnen Arten der osmanischen Quellen und bietet eine übersichtliche Bibliographie der bisher veröffentlichten Arbeiten. Ein kostbarer Beitrag über die sog. Inspektionsdefters, *Preveročnyje spiski (yoklama defterleri) 1014—1016 gg. ch. kak istočnik po obščestvenno-ekonomičeskoj istorii Osmanskoj imperii XVII v.* (S. 212—217), stammt von V. Mutafčieva. In der Fachliteratur existierte bisher keine Studie, die sich mit dieser Art der türkischen Quellen befasst hätte. Die Autorin analysiert die Handschrift aus der Nationalbibliothek in Sofia, aus den Jahren 1605—1606, in welcher die Überprüfung der Teilnehmer der sog. Granexpedition aus den kleinasiatischen Sandschaks erfasst ist. Ausserdem sind die Inspektionsdefters eine unschätzbare Quelle zum Studium des Lehnsystems des Osmanischen Reiches.

¶ Weitere Beiträge betreffen die bulgarische Geschichte. N. Todorov, *Osmanskije dokumenty v sofijskoj Narodnoj biblioteke kak istočnik svedenij o socialno-ekonomičeskom razvitii balkanskogo goroda* (S. 194—211), erforscht die osmanischen Steuerlisten als Quelle für statistische Angaben zu verschiedenen Fragen (über die Bevölkerungszahl, die Beschäftigung, die Liegenschaften usw.). Der Autor weist darauf hin, dass in der statistischen Bearbeitung diese Art von Quellen bei Klarmachung von vielen Fragen der sozialen und ökonomischen Geschichte Bulgariens im vergangenen Jahrhundert behilflich sein kann.

Die Übersetzungen der Register der *cizye* werden von R. Stojkov, *Bolgarskije derevni i ich naselenije v kratkich rejestrach džiz'je XVII v.* (S. 218—237) publiziert. Für die osmanische Epigraphik bringt P. Mitajev in seiner Studie *Tureckije epigrafičeskije pamjatniki kak istočniki po istoriji kultury bolgarskich zemel XIV—XIX vv.* (S. 180—193) einen wertvollen Beitrag. Hier finden wir einen kurzen Überblick über die Arten der erhaltenen epigraphischen Denkmäler und ihre Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte.

Die Gruppe von Artikeln über die türkischen Quellen schliesst die Studie von Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Dannyje k istoriji levantinskoj trgovli v načale XVII stoletija* (S. 322—337). Der Autor analysiert vier Defters aus dem Archiv Topkapı Seray, welche die Abschlussrechnung der Zollgebühren aus dem Hafen Iskenderun (Alexandretta) aus den Jahren 1624—1628 verzeichnen. Er analysiert die Waren-gattungen, mit welchen die westeuropäischen Kaufleute gehandelt haben, sowie den Anteil der einzelnen Völker an dem levantiner Handel.

Die Analyse der arabischen und persischen Quellen zu der Geschichte Osteuropas

und des Kaukasus bringen Studien von V. M. Bejlis, *Narody Vostočnoj Jevropy v kratkom opisaniji Muṭahhara al-Maqdisī* (S. 304—311), L. A. Semenova, *Iz izvestij Mas'ūdī o Kavkaze* (S. 312—315) und S. M. Alijev, *O datirovke nabega Rusov upomjanutych Ibn Isfandijarom i Amoli* (S. 316—321).

Die numismatischen Beiträge finden wir in den Artikeln von S. Gičev, *Jevrejskije monety na Balkanach v XIV—XVI vv.* (S. 275—284) und V. M. Konstantinov, *Japonskije materialy, odnosjaščiesja k čekanu monet v Rossiji v XVIII v.* (S. 285 bis 295).

Der zweite Band der orientalischen Quellen, die von A. S. Tveritina sorgfältig redigiert werden, ist ein gutes Beispiel für die internationale Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Heuristik. Leider sind drei von den Autoren der Beiträge nicht mehr unter uns. Dem Andenken an einen von ihnen, dem Bahnbrecher der kritischen Editionen der osmanischen Quellen, L. Fekete, ist diese Sammelschrift gewidmet.

Vojtech Kopčan

The Middle East and North Africa 1969—1970. A Survey and Directory. Sixteenth Edition. London, Europa Publications Limited 1969. XVI + 988 pp.

The latest publication *The Middle East and North Africa* is already the sixteenth volume of this well-known and reliable series which provides basic data on the political, economic, social and cultural development in twenty-nine countries of the Middle East and North Africa. No major changes have been introduced against the preceding edition either as regards the territorial arrangement of these countries (with the exception of Ifni being annexed to Morocco) or the editorial conception.

The book is divided into three basic sections. The first defines the basis of physical and social geography and the principal phenomena and features of this territory, with special attention being paid to the Arabian peninsula and the latest development in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Religious questions, too, are dealt with here. The year-book lists the holy places of the major Middle East religions, sets down the principles of Islamic faith (including its sects), its laws and calendars. This first section includes also a general survey on oil output in the Near East and North Africa. The closing part of this section deals with political, social and cultural organizations in these areas, due account being made of their historical evolution. Year-book does not pass over the burning question of Palestinian refugees but devotes due attention to this problem.

The second section of the book constitutes its real core (pp. 111—850) and provides extensive information on individual countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Data on each country are set out in a like pattern and with details on the geographical

position, climate, economic life and inhabitants. Then follows an excellent historical review of each country giving a succinct but clear synopsis of all the basic data referring to its past. A balanced proportion has been preserved between the ancient and modern history. Statistical reviews of the economic situation is preceded by a short consideration setting out the basis of the national economy.

The review of State organizations is introduced by a discussion on the constitution of individual States, the form of government and diplomatic representation. It then deals with the organization of the Parliament, the set-up of political parties, the juridic system, religious denominations, the press, publishing houses and means of mass communication. Year-book also follows the system used in finance, commerce, industry and transport with a review of education and scientific institutions. Data on each country are supplemented by a bibliography including basic references to the diverse items dealt with. This bibliography embodies mostly books from the Anglo-Saxon sphere and the selection is not always a representative one.

Finally the last section *Who's Who* in *The Middle East and North Africa* presents a very exactly processed bibliographic directory of politicians, national economists, scientists, literates, artists, diplomats and soldiers.

The book is supplemented by a selective bibliography of books and journals and a review of research institutions dealing with the Middle East and North Africa all over the world.

The publication *The Middle East and North Africa* is a valuable and exact handbook embodying the most up-to-date information from various spheres of life in the countries concerned and will prove an indispensable aid to everyone interested in this area of the world.

Vojtech Kopčan

P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516—1922*. A Political History. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press. First published 1966, second impression 1967. 337 pp.

The Modern History of the Arab world became, especially after World War II, the centre of interest of many scholars and publicists, and the number of books treating of the problems of the area steadily increases. Numerous books dealing with different aspects of development of the Arab world have been published, but the standard of these works differs greatly ranging from those in which certain historical events are intentionally tendentiously distorted, to such as are characterized by a clear methodical treatment and a comparatively high degree of objectivity.

The book written by the distinguished English Historian, Professor of Arab History at the University of London, Peter M. Holt, belongs to the category of works which fulfills both the above exacting demands. After graduating from University College

in Oxford, Dr. Holt worked in the Ministry of Education of the Sudan Government and subsequently was appointed Government Archivist. In 1955 Dr. Holt joined the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, where he still works at the present time.

In the introduction the author gives an outline of the geographical features and social structure of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent (i.e. Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Jordan, Iraq and a part of the Arabian Peninsula) together with a summary of the history of this region since the Arab conquests in the seventh century until the eve of the Ottoman conquest in 1516.

Very interesting and correct is the division of the work into periods: Professor Holt divides it into three parts of unequal length and introduces each part a chapter outlining the general history of the Ottoman Empire in the period under discussion.

The first part, entitled *The Ottoman Heyday*, is made up of three chapters: (1) *The rise and zenith of the Ottoman Empire*, (2) *The overthrow of the Mamluk Sultanate*, (3) *Süleyman the Magnificent and the Arab lands*. This part deals with the rise of the Ottoman Empire, its strengthening until the beginning of the 16th century and then the zenith of the empire under the rule of the sultans Selim I (1512—1520) and his son *Süleyman I the Magnificent* (1520—1566). Here belongs the defeat of the Safavid Persia in August 1514 in the battle in the plain of Chaldirán near Tabriz and the crushing of the Mamluk army of Egypt in the battle on the plain of Marj Dábiq near Aleppo in August 1516, and finally the overthrow of the Mamluk Sultanate in the battle of al-Raydáníyya outside Cairo in January 1517. The author makes a rather remarkable observation when he states that the defeat of the Mamluk Sultanate and the occupation of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt by the Ottomans was a by-product of Ottoman-Safavid hostility (p. 118). The third chapter deals with the situation in the conquered Arab lands under the rule of *Süleyman I*.

The second part of the book, entitled *The Ottoman decline* comprises eight chapters (4—11) and embraces the period from the death of Sultan *Süleyman I the Magnificent* until the end of the 18th century. The extraordinary value of this part of the book lies in the fact, that within something more than 100 pages it gives a clear and comprehensive picture of the period which until now has not been completely investigated and few books can provide a scholar with more relevant details. The 4th chapter *The Ottoman Empire in decline* analyses the factors which had caused this unfavourable development. On page 61 the author says: "The beginnings of the decline first showed themselves conspicuously in the sultanate itself. The sultans had long ceased to be leaders of free 'ghází' warriors, and had become oriental despots, withdrawn from their people, and dependent on the elaborate military and bureaucratic machines manned by 'devshirme' recruits." The author sees the decline in the quality of the sultans also "...in certain changes in the customs of the ruling house. The appointment of princes to provincial governorships ceased. At the same time

the law of fratricide fell into disuse; the brothers of the reigning sultan were no longer put to death, but immured in palace-prisons, where lives of isolation and luxury sapped their abilities. This would have had no political significance, had it not been for a change in the law of succession in 1617, when *Sultan Ahmed I* died leaving only minor children. Henceforward the sultanate passed, not to a son, but to the eldest male relative of the late ruler. The inevitable result was that, almost without exception, the remaining sultans were men who not merely lacked training in administration, but had been deprived of following even normally active lives" (p. 62). In the next two chapters (5) *Egypt in the Seventeenth Century* and (6) *The Ascendancy of the Beylicate in Eighteenth-Century Egypt* the author clearly shows that despite of the military defeat by the Ottomans, the real power of the Mamluks had not been destroyed. After the victory the Ottomans tried to maintain the balance of power by its division between three rival factions: the governor, the commanders of the military corps and the Mamluk beys; but they failed. After a relatively short period of cooperation the Mamluks gained the field again. The power of the Mamluks was weakened only by Napoleon, and definitely wiped out by *Muhammad 'Alí* in the early nineteenth century. The next three chapters (7) *Ottoman Decline and the Syrian provinces*, (8) *The Amirate of the Ma'nids and Shihábs in Lebanon* and (9) *The Ascendancy of Záhír al-'Umar and al-Jazzár in Syria* have to do with the historical development of the Fertile Crescent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The author reveals the reasons which made it possible for the above families to rule in Lebanon almost autonomously: viz. frequent wars waged by the Ottoman Empire in Europe, corruption of the highest Ottoman dignitaries, and the geographical features of Lebanon. The wars with Russia in the second half of the eighteenth century and the consequent weakness of the Ottoman Empire facilitated the growth of power of some able local rulers like *Shaykh Záhír al-'Umar* and *Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzár*. An important role in favour of Istanbul was played by the dynastic feuds between the influential families and sometimes within the family itself, a factor helping the government in the suppression of every such "rebellion". The author explains the fall of *Shaykh Záhír* as follows: "The last phase of *Záhír's* rule, when his dominions were most extensive and his ambition for independence most clearly proclaimed, showed its innate instability. He was protected by no natural features (as were the Lebanese "amírs"), and supported by no cohesive group-loyalties, whether religious, linguistic or ethnic. The foundations of his power were in his own family and his mercenaries, and their unsoundness was demonstrated by the treachery of his son, 'Alí, and his lieutenant, al-Dinkizlí. His chosen allies were the enemies of the sultanate, 'Alí Bey and the Russians, and this was, in the long run, a fatal flaw in his policy". The next chapter (10) *The Iraqi Provinces in the Period of Ottoman Decline* pays more attention to the situation in *Baghdad* and *Bašra* than in northern Iraq. In the last chapter (11) *Two Challenges: The Wahhábís and Bonaparte* the author gives an analysis of two different events, which had a fatal effect on the

subsequent historical development of the Ottoman Empire. The teaching of *Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahháb* united most of the Arabian Peninsula against the Empire, and under the leadership of amírs of the *Saʿúdí* family, represented a constant threat. The expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt became the turning point in the development of modern history of the Ottoman Empire.

The third part of the book, entitled *The Last Phase of Ottoman Rule*, is divided into nine chapters (12—20) as follows: (12) *The revival of the Ottoman Empire*, (13) *Muḥammad ʿAlí Pasha*, (14) *Egypt at the crossroads*, (15) *Egyptain nationalism and the British Occupation*, (16) *Syria and Lebanon during the Ottoman revival*, (17) *The Iraqi provinces during the Ottoman revival*, (18) *The emergence of Arab nationalism*, (19) *The First World War*, (20) *The post-War settlement in the Fertile Crescent and Egypt*. In the 12th chapter the author shows the importance of the reforms known as the “Tanzimat” for the Empire. The 13th chapter deals with Egypt in the first half of the 19th century and with the founder of modern Egypt *Muḥammad ʿAlí Pasha*. From an analysis of the prevailing conditions it ensues, that modernization of the army, administration, etc., made of Egypt the strongest state within the Near and Middle East at that time. The military defeats of the Ottomans by the Egyptian army showed the necessity of immediate introduction of reforms. The next (14) chapter gives a description of the decline of Egypt’s strength after the intervention of the great powers and its bankruptcy during the reign of *Khedive Ismaʿíl*, and finally the British occupation after the defeat of the patriots led by ʿUrábí Pasha in 1882. The 15th chapter deals with Egyptian nationalism during the British occupation from 1882 to 1914. The author values the nationalist leader *Muṣṭafá Kámil* (1874—1908) perhaps too negatively: “In his short career, *Muṣṭafá Kámil* had neither time nor opportunity to grow to political maturity. His thought was superficial; his tactics, for all their conspiratorial trappings, were naive; his talents were those of a brash demagogue” (p. 222). The 16th and 17th chapters are concerned with Syria, Lebanon and Iraq during the so-called Ottoman revival, i.e. the 19th century up to World War I. The 18th chapter notices the emergence and growth of Arab nationalism at the end of the 19th century and mainly after the revolution of “Young Turks” in 1908. The last two chapters are devoted to the course of World War I in the Near East and to the post-War settlement of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The importance of secret agreements (the *Husayn — McMahon Correspondence*, the *Sykes — Picot Agreement*, the *Balfour Declaration*, etc.), which played an important role in the division of spheres of influence in the region between Great Britain and France after the victory of the Allies over the Central Powers, is assessed in its right proportions.

The book is provided with a chronological table of the most important historical events, genealogical table of dynasties, a very numerous and well-arranged bibliography and finally a reliable index. The few inaccuracies, probably misprints, like “*ʿulamá*” (p. 149), “...in June 1880 he was dismissed” (p. 220), are negligible. It is

clear, that the book is not a monographic but a synthetic work, and as such it fulfills excellently its assignment.

Karol Sorby

Britain and Germany in Africa. Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule. Edited by Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis, with the assistance of Alison Smith. New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1967. XVII + 825 pp., 4 maps.

The publication under review comprises a series of twenty-four essays which were originally presented as papers to the conference on Imperial rivalry and Colonial rule. This conference held at Yale University in the spring of 1965 honoured the retirement of Professor Harry R. Rudin whose interests lay in these spheres. The resulting book was also dedicated to him. According to the editors the next volume is planned to develop this theme in relation to Britain and France.

The bulky volume is divided into two parts the contents of which are suggested by the sub-title of the book: *Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*. Of the twenty-four essays, eleven are on the former and twelve on the latter topic. Two essays, one in each section, "weave the threads of the essays into a general conclusion." In these concluding chapters Professor Jean Stengers of the University of Brussels and Professor John Fage of the University of Birmingham attempt a synthesis and a summary of other contributions in an effort "to gather a number of the strands from the detailed studies into a larger weave" (p. XVII). Part III devoted to bibliography includes a historiographical essay by Hartmut von Strandmann and Alison Smith entitled *The German Empire in Africa and British Perspectives*. The book ends with a fairly comprehensive bibliography and "Notes on the contributors."

Eleven essays on imperial rivalry discussed the history of Anglo-German colonial relations before, during and after the Scramble and the partition of Africa, ranging from its beginnings in 1884—1885 to the interwar controversy over Germany's lost colonies ending with the outbreak of the Second World War. Thorough attention is paid to the study of the motives for acquiring colonies both on the British and German sides, philanthropic as well as nationalistic, of the political intrigues that often lay below the surface of ostensibly humanitarian activities and of the *Tor-schlusspanik*, that played such an important role in the partition of Africa — "the fear that the gate was rapidly closing and that the last chance was at hand" (p. 51) — which lay behind "Bismarck's Imperialist Venture" and served as a driving motive for imperialists of other nationalities.

All the essays included in this section bring enormous factual material on Anglo-German competition in Africa based primarily upon evidence from the British and German Foreign Office and Colonial Office files and from the press. All the authors use cogent arguments to support their own interpretations of various aspects of

Anglo-German controversy and of various motives behind German and British colonial ambitions as they can be traced in the wealth of documents. The whole problem of Anglo-German imperial rivalry as presented in *Britain and Germany in Africa* is, however, of greater interest to diplomatic rather than to historians of Africa. Even the "Colonial rule" section of *Britain and Germany in Africa* may seem to most Africanists rather remote from their present day main focus of interest.

The twelve essays on colonial rule which compare the differing objectives and techniques of British and German administration tend to deal with only one factor in the African history of this period, the European factor. The key essay of this section on *Indirect rule* written by one of the editors, Professor Prosser Gifford as well as other essays in this section all bring much valuable factual material and are very illuminating on the detailed formulation and application of administrative policy. They bring a wealth of information on the similarities and analogies between German and British arrangements, on the premises underlying and giving shape to colonial rule, even on the attitudes of the British and German élites towards their African subjects and on the assumptions behind these attitudes, but they tell us virtually nothing about what interests us most today, about the adaptation of African societies, the actual conditions of their life, about the modes of thought and behaviour of Africans, shortly about what Professor Ajayi called the Politics of Survival on the African Side in the colonial period. As Professor Fage pointed out in his concluding essay, scholarly and expert as the essays on colonial rule are and much as they tell us about administrative policies of Britons and Germans, about prejudices and presuppositions which underlay them, they little elucidate that question which matters to us most today "whether it made any difference to the Africans that some of them were once ruled by Britons and some by Germans or other Europeans" (p. 706). A student of Africa under European rule examining the interactions between the colonial rulers and their African subjects, the impact of colonialism on African peoples, their reactions, responses and adjustments, African pressures as an influence on colonial policies and their demands for modernization at the hands of an often reluctant and parsimonious administration¹ may find the "Colonial rule" section disappointing in how little it tells us about the African side of the story. Even of the spread and impact in Africa of Christianity, which is the theme of K. S. Latourette's paper,² he would rather wish to learn more of the African responses and initiatives than the activities of white missionaries. From the point of view of an African historian the most revealing essays in this respect appear to be John Iliffe's study of *The Effects of the Maji-Maji Rebellion of*

¹ See John Lonsdale, *The emergence of African nations*, in *Emerging Themes of African History*, ed. by T. O. Ranger, Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968, pp. 201-217.

² Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Spread of Christianity: British and German Missions in Africa*, pp. 393-416.

1905—1906 on *German Occupation Policy in East Africa*, Robert Rotberg's comparison of the *Resistance and Rebellion in British Nyasaland and German East Africa, 1888—1915* and Elisabeth Chilver's account of the relationship between the Bali of the Cameroons and the Germans in the years 1889—1913.

Dr. Iliffe, the author of a study on Maji Maji rebellion,³ examines in his contribution how Maji Maji rebellion was instrumental in shaping the development of German policy in East Africa, namely, in shaping the Governor von Rechenberg's reconstruction programme which became official German policy in East Africa.

Dr. Rotberg's topic of "primary resistance" to alien rule is of vital interest to students of this period of African history. In the words of one of its passionate advocates, Professor A. B. Davidson of Moscow, "it is impossible to understand the African past without the re-establishment of the truth about this resistance... and without making a study of what was the answer of one people or another to the establishment of colonial rule it is difficult to understand not only the past of that people but its present as well... An attentive study of the history of popular resistance in Africa will inevitably prove that this struggle acted as one of the most important stimuli to historical development for the African peoples... Resistance left its mark on the most internal processes of the development of the African peoples; in the course of resistance tendencies to change developed more quickly".⁴ Dr. Rotberg's study of resistance presents a survey of resistances to German rule led by Abushiri, Mkwawa, Makanjira, Mlozi and others and a survey of Johnston's wars with the Yao. His account of the events, especially the survey of Johnston's wars with the Yao, is a military history, a mere presentation of crude facts about resistance movements. Much more illuminating is his account of Maji Maji rebellion and of John Chilembwe's rising⁵ in which he attempted a comparison and an evaluation of these two movements.

Contrary to Dr. Rotberg, Mrs. Chilver devoted her study to the interactions between a colonial administration and an African people, the Bali of the Cameroons, who like the Baganda of Uganda became "sub-imperialists", very active economic and administrative auxiliaries of the Germans. For a proper understanding of the nature on relations between African peoples and European rulers, of the Politics of Survival on the African Side, the study of collaborators can be as revealing as the

³ For reference see the review of *Emerging Themes of African History* by the present writer in the same volume.

⁴ See A. B. Davidson, *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule* in *Emerging Themes of African History*, op. cit., pp. 177—188, quoted also in T. O. Ranger, *Connections between 'Primary Resistance' movements and modern mass nationalism in East and Central Africa*, Part I., *The Journal of African History*, vol. IX, No. 3, 1968, pp. 437—453.

⁵ A well known account of Chilembwe's rising can be found in G. Shepperson and T. Price, *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the origins, setting, and significance of the Nyasaland native rising of 1915*, Edinburgh University Press, 1958.

study of resisters. Unfortunately, Mrs. Chilver's study tells us little about how, in what manner and by what devices the Bali survived and were able to turn the German administration to their own benefit and make it play a role in their internal politics. Again this essay tells us more about the European factor, the German attitudes to the Bali and "die Balifrage" than about the Bali political manoeuvres.

These comments were not meant to dispute the value of this publication. Africanization of African history should not lead to complete ignoring of the study of what Europeans were doing and thought they were doing in Africa. African history cannot be properly studied in isolation, but must be set in a wider comparative context and related to universal history. For detailed information on various aspects of European presence in Africa, the scramble and partition of Africa, *Britain and Germany in Africa* is worth reading even for Africanists.

Viera E. Pawliková

Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960. Vol. I—*The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870—1914*, edited by L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan. Cambridge University Press 1969. XI + 532 pp. Vol. II—*The History and Politics of Colonialism 1914—1960*, edited by L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan. Cambridge University Press 1970. X + 563 pp.

The subject of European imperialism, its nature and its impact on Africa, belongs to seemingly well established topics in African history that have enjoyed a solid historiography for years. The mass of literature on the subject of European penetration, colonial expansion and the politics of partition of Africa, with its complex economic, political and strategic strands interwoven with missionary and humanitarian impulses, is really impressive and continues to proliferate. Nonetheless, not so many years ago it was still possible for Professor T. O. Ranger to complain that "much of the so-called history of colonialism in Africa is myth rather than historiography."¹ Few topics have in fact been as controversial and have aroused such heated debates not only among Marxist-Leninists, but also among other scholars in Europe, Africa, Asia and America.

The two books under review are the first and the second volumes of a five-volume collaborative history of Europe's imperial record in Africa, sponsored by the Hoover Institution of Stanford University in California. As its title may suggest, Volume One with its fifteen essays covers the period of the opening years of colonial rule, of the "Scramble for Africa" and its aftermath, from about 1870 to 1914, the outbreak

¹ See *Emerging Themes of African History* edited by T. O. Ranger, Introduction, p. XV.

of World War One. Fourteen essays included in Volume Two take the story from 1914 up to decolonization, ending with the year 1960. The next volume to be entitled *Profiles of Change* and to be edited by Professor Victor Turner of Cornell University will deal with societal aspects of African development, the impact of colonialism on African societies. Volume Four will discuss the economic effects of colonialism. The last volume is projected to provide a comprehensive bibliography and a guide to relevant archival sources in Africa, Europe and the United States of America. This "separate annex... will supply readers with relevant archival descriptions, citations from finding aids, and selected annotated references, as well as a long list of unclassified entries in various European languages."²

In both volumes which are to be reviewed here more stress has been laid on the topical rather than the chronological approach. The result is a somewhat arbitrary compromise between a chronological and topical arrangements of the varied material provided by scholars drawn from several disciplines and representing various schools of thought. The contributors deal with subjects as varied as are those of African society at the time of the scramble and changes in the social structure under the colonial rule, reflections on imperialism and the scramble for Africa, African reactions to the imposition of colonial rule, missionary and humanitarian aspects of imperialism, colonization of Africa by the European powers, their colonial policies and their results, the emerging black élites, the impact of white settlement on certain areas, the causes and effects of decolonization and the role of the military in Africa. The opinions of the contributors, varying from some rather conservative to mildly radical ones, are the authors' own and as such can and sometimes do differ from those of the general editors as expressed in their joint introduction to both volumes as well as in Dr. Gann and Dr. Duignan's other two contributions.

According to the editors, the master motive of this cooperative series had been a desire to reinterpret and reevaluate the nature of European imperialism and its impact on sub-Saharan Africa by drawing on a mass of new material that has recently been found in African and European archives, and by attempting a synthesis and a summary of the best available knowledge contained in the vast literature on the phenomenon of colonialism and its impact on Africa. In doing this the two editors and their collaborators were supposed to approach their subject in a more Afrocentric fashion, being interested more in the events that took place in Africa itself, on the spot, not in metropolitan countries, and in their approach strike a balance between what has been labelled as "Eurocentric" and "Afrocentric" interpretation of Europe's imperial record in Africa. It is in this particular respect that individual contributions most differ and very few really meet the test.

In each volume the last chapter provides an African view. In these concluding

² *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*, Volume Two, Preface p. X.

chapters two prominent African historians Professor J. F. Ade Ajayi of Ibadan University and Professor A. Adu Boahen of Legon University examine other contributions, work up the strands from the detailed studies into a general conclusion and advance their own views on the importance of colonialism in African history, its effects on African peoples, the rise of the new African élites during the colonial years and their part in bringing about the end of the imperial system, the process of decolonization and the main legacies bequeathed by colonialism to independent Africa. In an epilogue appended to Volume Two the editors review the ground covered by the first two volumes of the series and link them to the next two volumes which will deal with additional aspects of imperialism, especially with its social and economic impact on the peoples of Africa, and thus will attempt to fill in the gaps remaining in these volumes and place them in a wider social context.

The assessment of Europe's imperial record in Africa has produced bitter controversy among the adherents of various schools of thought, and historians are likely to continue to disagree in their interpretation of the phenomenon. Assessments concerning the place of the colonial era within the wider context of African history have varied just as widely as the evaluation of Europe's imperial record as a whole. There are fundamental differences between the European and African points of view regarding the significance of the European conquest of Africa. An Afrocentric view expressed by Professor Ajayi's interpretation of colonialism in Africa, stressing the continuity of African development during the colonial rule, the African initiative and pressures as an influence on colonial policies, and regarding the colonial era as just one episode in the continuous flow of African history, stands in sharp contrast to the interpretation advanced by the two editors.

Dr. Gann and Dr. Duignan look more favourably at the Imperial era in Africa than some of their collaborators, interpreting it as a means of cultural transformation, an engine of cultural transfusion as well as political dominance and a source of a host of benefits and advantages to African peoples caused by the influx of new educational, medical, economic and technical skills, which made the European era most decisive for the future of Africa. This interpretation emphasizes the tremendous impact made by Western technology, not only in the field of economic development, but also in the sphere of thought. The editors refuse to share the opinion of the critics of the European record, within the Marxist camp as well as African nationalists, radicals and their supporters, considering the colonial era as an age of plunder and equating colonialism with exploitation. Likewise, they disagree with the Leninist thesis of Imperialism, its interpretation of the general causes of "New Imperialism", as it was termed, and of the Scramble for Africa. They maintain that "The partition was made possible by the profound weakness of most indigenous African political systems, and by their inability to cope with the economic, military and political problems arising from direct contact with the Western world. The clash of cultures produced not one but many European imperialisms; it also created many different

economic frontiers, all of them inextricably interwoven with local African, metropolitan and international threads.”³

Other scholars sound more sceptical concerning the value of European record and, while enumerating positive features and benefits the Imperial rule conferred on Africa, more ready to admit with Bronislaw Malinowski that “while the exploitation of Africa’s resources has gone ahead, we have only carried out peacemeal the second mandate, to share benefits.”⁴

It is unlikely that the dispute concerning the value of the European conquest and impact for Africa among the adherents of opposing theories and doctrines will be resolved in the nearest future. There is, however, one point made by Professor Ajayi that should, in the present author’s opinion, be kept in mind, viz. that “the most fundamental aspect of the European impact was the loss of sovereignty which it entailed for practically every African people”.⁵ And “because of the lost sovereignty... the changes of the colonial period were not normal. They were either imposed or undertaken in conditions that did not permit much freedom of choice”.⁶

In like manner, the disagreement over the general causes of imperialism and imperial expansion in Africa among the historians of different political complexion is likely to continue for a long time. Marxist-Leninists undoubtedly continue to regard any interpretation of the New Imperialism of the kind presented to us by the editors as absolutely unacceptable, and scholars all over the world continue to prefer this to that doctrine, this to that portrait of imperialism, and believe that this or that factor played the major part in determining the time and manner of the scramble. Specialists may disagree with many points made by the editors, but may agree with them on one point, viz. that only a pluralistic explanation, taking into account a multiplicity of factors, including the politics of the African communities, the various frontiers—missionary, military, civil servant, the frontiers of the mariner, merchant, trader, and of the miner, competition between the local representatives of rival European powers, the white men on the spot, problems arising from commercial contacts between Europe and Africa, political, economic, strategic and humanitarian considerations, prestige-consciousness, and so on and so forth, can best explain

³ See L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *Reflections on Imperialism and the Scramble for Africa*, in *Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960*, Vol. I, p. 124.

⁴ See Charles Pelham Groves, *Missionary and Humanitarian Aspects of Imperialism from 1870 to 1914*, in *Colonialism in Africa*, Vol. I, p. 493. Contending that “our sharing has been extremely selective” Malinowski lists among the elements held back “our instruments of physical power, our economic supremacy with its advantages, a full social interchange on a cultural level, education that would go beyond what European service required”. *Ibid.*

⁵ See J. F. Ade Ajayi, *The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism*, in *Emerging Themes of African History*, op.cit., p. 196.

⁶ J. F. Ade Ajayi, op.cit., p. 197.

the complex nature of the history of European imperialism.⁷ To quote the authors, "there were not one, but many European imperialisms, all of them interwoven with missionary, military or mercantile strands, with metropolitan, local and international threads. All these strands combined to produce the pattern of white expansion. European empire-building in Africa, which had begun as a slow and almost imperceptible process, began to pick up momentum; and by the early 1880s a convergence of many forces resulted in the rapid partition of Africa. Each of these forces had multiple causes. Each one in turn requires a pluralistic explanation."⁸

What conclusions can be drawn after having gone through the first two volumes of *Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960*? Facing the task of writing a review of a book dealing with so varied subjects, those close to the reviewer's own interests are likely to attract his attention more than others. Students of colonialism in Africa interested in the African side of the story will undoubtedly find two essays most stimulating and helpful. Professor Hargreaves' and Professor Ranger's theme of African reactions and responses to the European conquest will undoubtedly stimulate those anxious to establish and document the complex character of African response and involvement in the colonial process, to begin work along the lines suggested by them.⁹ Others may find most illuminating Professor Colson's survey of African societies and their political institutions at the time of the scramble.¹⁰ Also many may find both volumes informative and useful as a survey of contemporary views on some aspects of the history and politics of European imperialism in Africa. It can only be regretted that the view is taken from the middle and there is so very little on what forms the essence of a good deal of research in train, the African side of the story, colonialism as it was experienced on the ground and as it actually operated there.

Viera E. Pawliková

Emerging Themes of African History. Edited by T. O. Ranger. Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians held at University College, Dar es Salaam, October 1965. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968. 230 pp.

Almost five years have elapsed since the time historians from all over the world gathered in Dar es Salaam to discuss two main topics—the methodology of African

⁷ See L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *Reflections on Imperialism and the Scramble for Africa*, op.cit., p. 127.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 127—128.

⁹ See John D. Hargreaves, *West African States and the European Conquest*, and T. O. Ranger, *African Reactions to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in East and Central Africa*, in *Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960*, Vol. I, pp. 199—219 and 293—324 respectively.

¹⁰ See Elisabeth Colson, *African Society at the Time of the Scramble*, in *Colonialism in Africa*, Vol. I, pp. 27—65.

historiography and the guidelines and themes which were emerging as particularly significant in the historical studies of Africa and were likely to dominate them over the next decade. If the previous Seminars and Congresses on African history had primarily to proclaim the possibility and existence of African history and appraise various methods of enquiry and explanation, techniques of history and research available to the historian of Africa,¹ the participants of the Congress in Dar decided to devote their time rather, to stock-taking, to a thorough examination of the directions which research and writing on African history had hitherto taken, to a re-assessment of approach, method and result.

As the editor of the English version of the Proceedings, Professor Terence Ranger mentioned in his *Introduction*, the fact that the International Congress of African Historians was held in East Africa to serve primarily as a meeting ground for African students of African history, who acted as hosts to representatives of the Africanist schools of Europe, America and Asia, "was an assertion of the centrality of African scholarship to the development of African history." This view was vehemently supported by the President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, whose Government sponsored the Conference, in his admirable and stimulating opening speech in which he called for "the emphasis on *Africa's* need and interest in *Africa's* history" which should be a very special responsibility of Africa's own historians. This Congress seems to have been important in two ways; in that it served as a stimulant and a challenge to students of African history from all over the world, and that it incidentally became the starting point for many favourable turns which have since taken place in East African and particularly in Tanzanian historical studies.

The first half of the Congress as well as the first half of the publication under review was reserved for discussions of the methods, models and approaches, the rest to the emerging themes. Apart from Professor Ranger's well-written introduction and Dr. Nyerere's opening speech, the book includes seventeen contributions. The present reviewer cannot add much to the very stimulating introduction in which Professor Ranger not only commented fruitfully on the problems, discussions and questions raised at the Congress, but also attempted to outline some of the developments that have taken place in African historical studies since the Congress was held, illustrating them by instances taken from East Africa.

The number of questions raised at the Congress is really remarkable, all the more so, as many were fundamental, touching upon the problems of methods, models, concepts and categories, such as, to quote from the Introduction: "Is African history sufficiently African? Has it developed the methods and models appropriate to its own

¹ See *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, Studies presented and discussed at the fourth International African Seminar at the University of Dakar, Senegal 1961. Edited with an introduction by J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. V. Thomas. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute 1964.

needs or has it depended upon making use of methods and models developed elsewhere? To what extent do established methods in archaeological, oral and archival research need modifying or extending? How fruitful has been the application to Africa of categories and methods of analysis evolved in Europe, whether Marxist or non-Marxist? Have its main themes of discourse arisen out of the dynamics of African development or have they been imposed because of their over-riding significance in the historiography of other continents? How far is African history to be regarded as subject to the general patterns of development of human history as a whole and how far does it possess a particularity which it should be the task of the African historian to express?", and so on and so forth; "How can African historians escape from the distortions produced by the tyranny of the evidence which is available to them? Have they been asking the right questions of their evidence? Can they draw upon oral evidence or the evidence of Islamic historiography not only for the raw material of historical reconstruction but for approaches to the past which might be more fruitful than the linear rationalism of Western historiography? Can African history be enriched by the insights of the new historical schools of Asia?" (p. X).

Of the seventeen contributions to the publication, nine deal with problems of methodology. The Congress failed to solve all of them, to provide satisfactory answers to all the questions of significance or carry far enough discussions of methods and approaches. Nobody could have expected it either. According to the editor, historians gathered in Dar shied away from the idea of an African historiography in the sense of a historiography that embodied "African" concepts of time or causation and agreed that it was important for African history to employ the existing internationally accepted set of historical concepts (p. X). Professor Oliver in his contribution *Western Historiography and Its Relevance to Africa* doubts the existence of "any such thing as 'Western Historiography' in the sense of a school or tradition of historical writing which could be compared, for example, with Marxist historiography" (p. 53) and believes that "the new western historiography of Africa will have much in common with African historiography" (pp. 57—58). In Professor Ranger's words, "even the discussions of the adequacies or otherwise of Marxist and western interpretations of African history were not really pushed home: no formidable challenge was made to Professor Oliver's assertion that African historical studies in Europe and America were concerned with the same issues and approaching them from the same angles as African historical studies in Africa" (p. X).

Dr. Hrbek of the Prague Oriental Institute in his contribution pointed out the necessity and usefulness of a periodisation of African history which would spring out of the dynamics of African history and called for a fresh reconsideration of the whole problem of periodisation. The conventional periodisation used for European history, whether Marxist or non-Marxist, is hardly applicable to Africa. Dr. Hrbek makes it clear that a mechanical application of present day Europocentric Marxist

periodisation, without trying to see the historical process in Africa from inside and without taking into account the development of African societies, is entirely faulty and harmful. At the present state of our knowledge of the history of the African continent the time still seems unripe for the integration of African history into the universal periodisation. As shown by the recent renewed discussion of the "Asiatic mode of production" and of the applicability or otherwise to the universal history of the pattern of five successive socio-economic formations used in Marxist historiography,² corresponding to five different periods of history,³ the present day Marxist theory of socio-economic formations and its applicability to the history of Asia and Africa should be re-examined and enriched by the insights of new historical schools of Africa and Asia. A comparative discussions of the prevailing interpretations of the main lines of African and Asian historical developments should be more fruitful and relevant than any comparison of European and African developments in our attempt to discern the general patterns of development of human history. In his paper *Towards A Periodisation of African History* Dr. Hrbek attempted to suggest a framework of the history of African continent, to divide the course of the history of African continent into a number of distinct periods according to the decisive moments common both to the "contact" as well as the "isolated" zones.⁴ As he himself says his attempt is far from a definitive pattern, rather it is meant as a challenge for discussion.

The relevance of archaeology to the study of African history, its potentialities and limitations are masterly handled in Professor Merrick Posnansky's paper *Archaeology: Its Uses and Abuses*. In his long contribution Professor Cornevin reminds us of problems and special characteristics of African history, of the value of African prehistory, the place of ethnology, of the African art as an aid to history, written sources and oral traditions, as well as the difficulties of chronology. Very instructive is Professor Vansina's authoritative paper on *The Use of Ethnographic Data as Sources for History*. Professor Ismail examines *The Historical Tradition of African*

² I.e. The primitive collective, the slaveholder, the feudal, the capitalist and the socialist societies, each socio-economic formation being an expression of the manner of production in the given society depending on the degree of development of the means of production.

³ See e.g. the collection of studies published in this country in 1967 by the Publishing House Svoboda, Prague, under the name *Rané formy civilizace* (Early forms of civilization), edited and introduced by Jan Pečírka and Jiří Pešek, namely the introductory essay. It includes also a fairly comprehensive bibliography.

⁴ Dr. Hrbek edited the first Czechoslovak *History of Africa*, in two volumes, published in 1966 by Svoboda, Prague. An attempt was made here for a periodisation of African history which would derive of the dynamics of African history. In this *History of Africa* African history was divided into six long periods differing from each other both as regards the stage of internal development and the intensity with which world-wide factors worked. A review of this publication by the present writer was published in *Asian and African Studies*, No. IV, 1968, pp. 221—224.

Islam and Professor Lewicki of Cracow University *External Arabic Sources for the History of Africa to the South of the Sahara*. The remaining two contributions⁵ discuss the importance of Muslim historiography and oral and Islamic sources to African history.

The second half of the book was reserved for the emerging themes of African history. Unfortunately, not all the themes discussed at the Congress are represented here. From among the missing themes the most important perhaps is that of African religion in African history. There has been an urgent need for detailed historical studies of African religious history, of African intellectual and cultural history, historical studies of African ideas or of the spread and impact in Africa of Christianity and Islam which would cover the African side of the story, the African response not only the white initiative.

Other emerging themes discussed at the Congress and represented in the publication such as the *Slave Trade or Colonialism in Africa* hardly seem to be new topics. Many bulky volumes have been written about the establishment of white rule in Africa. Much, however, of what has been written on colonialism in Africa is myth rather than historiography. What is now needed is to build up a solid historiography of the nature and impact of colonialism in Africa, especially of many aspects of African experience, of African resistance and rebellion against the imposition of colonial rule, of African collaboration and, to use Professor Afayi's terminology, of "African politics of survival".

The existing literature on the Slave Trade, whether it concerns the Atlantic trade or the East African Slave trade, suffers from the same inadequacies. As Dr. Daaku pointed out, a large amount of work needs to be done to establish the exact relationship between African wars and the slave trade, to explore the character of African participation and involvement in it, the economic consequences, the political and social impact of the slave trade on African societies or to ascertain the exact number of Africans shipped away from their homeland. Detailed studies on the Slave trade in West Africa are still lacking, the situation in East Africa, is, however, even worse. Five years ago Professor Bennet could still complain that there was virtually no reliable study concerning the East African trade. Except for the Portuguese territories, the trade here was primarily a non-western one. This explains the absence of the large collections of material from trading and shipping companies and individual slaves present for western Africa. As Professor Bennett notes, a whole new course of research is needed to clarify the nature of the East African slave trade which clearly had a disruptive effect on African social and political life. Generalizations of some authors, such as Livingstone and others, fall short of explaining the complex nature of it, rather they exaggerate the terror and destruction caused by the Arab

⁵ I.e. *Reflections on Muslim Historiography in Africa* by Nehemia Levtzion and *Can we enrich current historiography by drawing on the traditional and Islamic past?* by B. Kamian.

presence in eastern and central Africa. The exact working out of the slave trade in each particular area in eastern and central Africa depended upon the nature of the Arab-African relationship modified by the nature of the African political and social organization present. Far different was the Arab-African relationship when the Arabs established trade relations with a powerful African people possessing a firm central organization and when Arab explorers found an area of weak African rule.

Related to the subject of the African slave trade in West and East Africa, discussed by Dr. Daaku and Professor Bennett respectively, is the most interesting theme concerning the African abroad or the African Diaspora. The introduction to the subject is written by Professor Harris. Professor Shepperson's constructive paper dealing with the subject of the African Diaspora persuasively proves its value for the new African historiography. Professor Shepperson tells us how and why the concept of the African Diaspora, "which is the study of a series of reactions to coercion, to the imposition of the economic and political rule of alien peoples in Africa, to slavery and imperialism" (p. 153) can be extended both in time and space and be made of maximum value for the new African historiography. He gives us four reasons why in his opinion the study of the African Diaspora is important to African historiography. In the present author's opinion, two are worth noting; the study of the African Diaspora is necessary as an element in the discovery of Africa's place in universal history and because it counteracts tendencies towards the isolationist, restricted spirit in African historical study. In Professor Shepperson's words "to keep the African Diaspora before our eyes is to remind ourselves continually that African history covers more than a continent or a collection of regions within a continent" (p. 173).

This brings us to the last four contributions to this publication. The title of Professor Ogot's paper *The Role of the Pastoralist and the Agriculturalist in African History*; the case of East Africa suggests that its author once again comments on the difficult and perplexing problem so close to his interests, the invasion of the agricultural Bantu world by pastoral Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic peoples whose interaction led to the evolution of more complex socio-political structures.⁶ It would not be relevant here to enter into a detailed discussion of this complex problem which is anyway aptly dealt with by its author.

Of the remaining three emerging themes, that by Professor Davidson on African 'primary' resistance has stimulated many scholars to begin work along the lines suggested by this prominent Soviet Africanist, who himself is the author of a book

⁶ Dr. Ogot has already expressed his views in a number of studies. See e.g. B. A. Ogot, *Kingship and Statelessness among the Nilotes* in *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, op. cit., pp. 284-304, or *History of the Southern Luo*, Vol. I Migration and Settlement, 1500-1900, Peoples of East Africa Series, Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1967, which is a revised version of his Ph. D. dissertation presented to London University in April, 1965.

on Matabele and Mashona resistance against the imposition of British rule in 1888—1897.⁷ The editor of this volume, Professor Ranger, has also written a number of studies on the subject, including one long generalizing article for the *Journal of African History* and a book on the *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896—1897*.⁸ There are many other studies of ‘primary’ resistances appearing⁹ which attempt to understand the dynamics of the late nineteenth century African societies, to distinguish between the African attitudes, reactions, responses and initiatives, to examine the reasons and consequences of the resistance on the one hand, and of the collaboration on the other, to study the social changes associated with or provoked by resistance or link these early movements with modern nationalistic movements.

Professor Ajayi’s appeal for the study of “what may be called the Politics of Survival on the African Side” during the colonial period is of the same if not of greater importance and interest to the new African historiography, as the study of African primary resistance. According to him “historians should examine the nature of internal politics of the different African peoples and the relevance of this politics to the relationship of the peoples of the colonial administration, as well as its relevance to the way the old institutions or the newly imported ones are adapted to serve the immediate needs of the different communities. They should study the relationship of one community to another; how, because of the existing power politics, some had to ally with the European rulers and others oppose them, the factors which affected such alignments, and so on... In short, ... historians should examine... how, in what manner, and by what devices the people themselves survived.”¹⁰

Dr. Lonsdale’s paper attempts to re-assess interpretations of colonial period, modernisation, and the rise of modern nationalisms and to view these topics “in the light of the new orthodoxy” which differs from both the Eurocentric and the Afri-

⁷ A. B. Davidson, *Natabele i Mashona v Bor’be Protiv Angliyskoy Kolonizatsii, 1888—1897*, Moscow 1958, and *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule*, in *Emerging Themes of African History*, pp. 177—188.

⁸ See T. O. Ranger, *Connections between “Primary Resistance” Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa*, paper read at the University of East Africa Social Science Conference, December 1966, published in *The Journal of African History*, vol. IX, Nos 3 and 4, 1968, pp. 437—453 and 631—641 respectively, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896 to 1897*, A Study in African Resistance, Heinemann, London 1967, and T. O. Ranger, *African reactions to the imposition of colonial rule*, in *Colonialism in Africa, 1870—1960*, vol. I—The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870—1914, edited by L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, Cambridge University Press 1969.

⁹ There is Dr. Iliffe’s study of the Maji Maji rising written for *The Journal of African History*, *The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion*, *The Journal of African History*, vol. III, No. 3, 1967, pp. 495—512. Studies were also written on the Nyabingi movement, the Basuto Gun War, etc.

¹⁰ J. F. Ade Ajayi, *The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism*, in the *Emerging Themes of African History*, pp. 199—200.

canist standpoints. The colonial period, both Professor Ajayi and Dr. Lonsdale emphasize, must be inevitably seen as part of African history, as just another episode in the story of continuing social change and innovation. Of the two versions of the theory of disruption, neither the Africanist view of the colonial period as a complete break with the glorious African past which it is necessary to recapture in order to build the new society, nor the Eurocentric interpretation of "the innovatory role of colonialism in a previously stagnant Africa", "the identification of alien rule with beneficent modernisation", while Africans after initial and local acts of resistance were "outwardly acquiescent and politically passive", hold good.¹¹ Both these versions, whether they attribute all good or all evil things to colonial era, leave no initiative to the African, both deny African activity, adaptation and choice. Revisions of these views in the light of the new orthodoxy "are directed against the Eurocentric view where they emphasize the continuing relevance of traditional institutions, African pressures to modernity and the role of the non-aculturated masses. They modify the Africanist view in their emphasis on the continuity of change and the need to devise new political answers to that change. They attack both schools in arguing that Africans could play a constructive and human role in the colonial period."¹²

Seven topics were considered by Dr. Lonsdale in his paper: "1. African pressures as an influence on colonial policies, even in the early colonial period. 2. African demands for modernisation at the hands of an often reluctant and parsimonious administration. 3. The assumption of passivity in the interwar years. 4. The adaptability and continuing vitality of African institutions: their importance both in social change and in modern politics. 5. The role of the masses and their influence on élite concerns. 6. Modern nationalisms as attempts to solve specifically African problems, in particular the final working out of competition to control and benefit from modernisation. 7. Modern nationalisms as concerned with new political institutions and as a corollary combating the older divisions of kin and caste" (pp. 204—205). His presentation and definition of problems serves as a useful introduction for all who would wish to begin work along these lines.

Five years have elapsed since the Congress in Dar was held. During all these years we have seen many good things happen in African historical studies. Many topics and problems presented to the Congress as emerging themes are being extensively explored. Developments of the last years indicate the trend to historicisation of African history, discussions of the problems become much more sophisticated, African historiography becomes established upon a secure base of first-rate historical scholarship. The Africanisation of African history should not, however, mean the

¹¹ See John Lonsdale, *The Emergence of African Nations*, in *Emerging Themes of African History*, pp. 201—217.

¹² Lonsdale, *op.cit.*, p. 204.

tendency to close one's eyes before the new progressive developments within European or Asian historiography. The interflow of ideas, methods and concepts and wider participation of African historians in the gatherings of world historians could be but fruitful for the African historiography.

The International Congress of African Historians held in Dar es Salaam was an important step in the painstaking process of exploring the African past. The Congress agreed that more first rate historical material based upon the most recent research should be made widely available and the results of the work of African historians should be disseminated. Since it was held, Historical Associations with very active programmes have been formed in Kenya and Tanganyika, the History syllabuses for the East African School Certificate examination have been transformed and East Africa has seen a boom in the publication of books on the history of East Africa at reasonable prices. The publication of the *Emerging Themes of African History* should be seen in this context. In Professor Ranger's words, "the presentation to a wider public of the proceedings of the International Congress, in this present format and at this present price, can justly be regarded as part of this process". This valuable publication can be highly recommended to all those interested in African history.

Viera E. Pawliková

B. A. Ogot, *History of the Southern Luo*. Vol. 1—Migration and Settlement. Nairobi, East African Publishing House Ltd. 1967. 250 pp.

No other part of African studies has undergone such profound transformations as that of African history, regarded not so long ago to be a mere extension of colonial history. Today, however, apart from the most die-hard traditionalists, few scholars would consider pre-colonial history of Africa as non-existent on the basis that there are no documents on this period, and without documents there cannot be any history. The falsity of this view has been repeatedly proved during the past decade of the sixties of this century.

Professor Ogot's *History of the Southern Luo*, the first volume in East African Publishing House's new historical series, *The Peoples of East Africa*, is an important contribution to the steadily growing number of studies on pre-colonial history of African peoples. Based primarily on unwritten, oral sources, Dr. Ogot's book, similarly as that of the history of neighbouring Abaluyia by his fellow lecturer in the Nairobi University College, Dr. Were, grew out of an original Doctor of Philosophy dissertation presented to London University in April 1965. These two books together practically complete the reconstruction of the pre-colonial history of the Nyanza region.

The story of Nilotic migration from their cradle land in the Sudan to the borders of Kenya and Tanzania, their settlement in the former Bantu, Sudanic and "Nilo-

Hamitic" worlds and their impact on this region have attracted the attention of many students of African history. To quote Professor Ogot: "It is now generally accepted among scholars that any consideration of the pre-colonial history of Uganda and Southern Sudan that does not include the impact of Nilotic migration and settlement on this region is incomplete."¹

As the title of the reviewed publication suggests, it is a study of the Luo migration and settlement and an attempt to reconstruct five centuries of the history of two Luo societies, the Padhola and the Kenya Luo, from their own traditions and from traditions of the different peoples they encountered during their long march. The book is divided into three parts, entitled *The Nilotes*, *The Padhola* and *The Kenya Luo* respectively, each containing several sub-sections, with a long introduction and a comprehensive bibliography.

In the introduction Professor Ogot discusses problems facing the traditional historian, problem of methodology, techniques evolved by African historians for handling the mass of complex material composed of often conflicting stories and traditions, sociological data, linguistic evidence, place names, and even archaeological discoveries.² In the subsection entitled *The Nature of Historical Evidence*, the author defends the use of oral evidence by quoting as examples well-known works which are compilations of oral traditions and traditions recorded long after the actual events had taken place, such as *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, or Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and thus proving that oral evidence corroborated by other independent evidence has been fruitfully utilized long ago in other parts of the world. What some English historians working, say, on *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* did in the past—checking it, comparing, filling out whenever possible with the aid of archaeological discoveries and the place-names—the traditional African historian is doing today. Therefore, the author says, there is no reason why Africa should be treated differently, and why the traditional historian's work in Africa today ought to be considered as something new and virtually unheard of. As Dr. Ogot demonstrates elsewhere in this section, written evidence is no more reliable than oral evidence, neither of them is an accurate and dispassionate record of the past. He points out that many of the first written accounts on East Africa by European explorers such as Speke or Burton or by missionaries and colonial officials are not only highly coloured and biased, determined by social and political factors, but they also suffer from serious inaccuracies.

The rest of the introduction is devoted to a description of fieldwork methods of gathering information Dr. Ogot used when carrying out field investigations among the Padhola and the Kenya Luo between January 1961 and December 1962. Chronology, one of the most difficult problems a traditional historians has to face,

¹ B. A. Ogot, *History of the Southern Luo*, Preface.

² *Op.cit.*, *Introduction*, p. 19.

is also briefly dealt with. Dr. Ogot explains how he worked out a relative chronology, based on the average length of generation, i.e. on the time that elapses between the birth of a man and that of his first surviving child, and on the number of generations.

As has been mentioned before, the book is based primarily on unwritten oral sources, even though available written sources were also consulted and fully exploited. On the whole, literature on the Southern Luo is strikingly meagre. Nevertheless, the work could have been hardly started without a serious reappraisal of several comprehensive studies on the Nilotic peoples; among these Father Crazzolaro's works on *The Lwoo*,³ stand out as the most stimulating and provoking. Before embarking on the field research, Dr. Ogot also became acquainted with existing collections of oral traditions, namely "History and Customs" of the Padhola written by A.C.K. Oboth-Ofumbi in Dhupadhola and "Dhondi Mag Central Nyanza", an exhaustive collection in Dholuo of Luo oral traditions collected by Shadrack Malo. These collections translated by him into English constitute Volume I of *Padhola and Luo Historical Texts*, respectively, while Dr. Ogot's original researches constitute Volume II of these texts.

In order to put the Southern Luo migrations in their proper historical perspective, before the question of their origin and early migration could have been answered, something had to be said about the geographical setting and its influence, as well as the origin and early migration of all the Nilotes. These questions are discussed in the three chapters of the first part of the book. Dr. Ogot questions various theories advanced by some prominent authorities on the Nilotic history, Crazzolaro, Tarantino, Driberg, Westermann or Seligman, such as those relating to the cradle land of the Nilotes, migrations of the Luo-speaking group or the difficult question of the origin of the Lango, and advances his own view.

The next section is devoted to the history of one Luo society in Eastern Uganda, the settlement of the Nilotic Japadhola in Budama, ending with the immigration of the Iteso into the present Budama district, which brought to a close "the long process of southern migration that had been going on for centuries along this corridor" (p. 115). The rest of the book deals with the history of the Kenya Luo, their coming and settling in the Nyanza area, the Luo occupation and conquest of the lake shore, Central and South Nyanza, bringing the story until what is called "the last phase", the period of the close of the last and the beginning of the present centuries when European presence began to be felt.

In both these sections the importance of the environment, the physical formation of the country to the settlement is discussed. The southern migration of the Nilotic groups which took them into forested or formerly forested areas, more suitable for agricultural economy than stock-raising, was accompanied by a slow process of

³ J. P. Crazzolaro, *The Lwoo*, Part I (1950), Part II (1951), Part III (1954), Verona.

transformation of their mode of life from true nomadism of pastoral peoples, to that of semi-pastoralists. When moving southwards from the Sudan, the degree of the cattle complex in the Nilotic world decreases. The author compares the Luo settlements in Kenya and Uganda, emphasizing two important points which bring out the contrast between the Padhola and Kenya Luo societies. The Padhola claim they arrived into the land "specially isolated and preserved for the children of Lwoo" (p. 84). Thus unlike the Kenya Luo among whom land was settled on a lineage basis and whose land rights are based on conquest, the Padhola Luo consider the right of possession of land to derive from the claim of the first occupant of a hitherto uninhabited country. The second point concerns the problem of the evolution of chiefship in Luo society. Whereas some kind of incipient chiefship had evolved in Nyanza by the end of the last century, where territorial political groupings began to emerge instead of groupings based entirely on kinship, no such development can be distinguished in Eastern Uganda.

To conclude briefly, Professor Ogot's *History of the Southern Luo* will no doubt be appreciated by all students of East African traditional history. It is only to be regretted that the sources forming the basis of this study, namely the *Padhola and Luo Historical Texts*, were not published simultaneously with the book itself and thus made available to all those who wish to pursue the work started by the author of the publication under review in an attempt to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of pre-colonial history of East Africa. Some of the current hypotheses and conclusions may still be too tentative and speculative and need to be buttressed by further evidence, some may need to be re-examined. Among the confusing problems touched upon, and not satisfactorily explained as yet are those of the original homeland of the Nilotes, on which a comparative study of the philology of Nilotic languages, something similar to what Professors Greenberg and Guthrie have done for the Bantu, can probably shed more light; further, the baffling problem in the pre-European history of Uganda, viz. whether the Lango are Nilotes or "Nile-Hamites"; the perplexing and still unsolved problem of the origins of the Wanga dynasty, or the problem of the surprising absence of any central political authority among the Japadhola and the considerable delay in evolving a kind of incipient chieftainship among the Kenya Luo. Explanations provided by Ogot can hardly be considered as fully satisfactory. According to him, while in Padhola, where the Japadhola had allegedly occupied hitherto virgin territory and had to fight only forests, prolonged peace and the absence of a plural society were the reasons why the necessity of any central political authority was never felt; in Nyanza, however, among the Kenya Luo, the largest group of the Nilotes and the second largest tribe in Kenya representing the only Nilotic group in a sea of Bantu, "Nilo-Hamitic" and Cushitic peoples, their nearest kinsmen being the Padhola, the evolution to the emergence of a political central authority was delayed by clan feuds and attacks from their neighbours. Strange enough, contrary to what we know from the world history, none of these factors,

neither the prolonged era of peace and security in Padhola, which normally contributes to state formation by evolution, nor the busy existence of the Kenya Luo, full of clashes, attacks and counter-attacks with neighbouring Bantu and "Nile-Hamites", which often necessitates the emergency of a single leader and a political central authority, led to formation of centralized states of clearly Luo origin among the Southern Luo. This absence stands out in strange contrast to the theory suggesting that the interactions of the three ethnic groups, Bantu, Hima and Luo were responsible for the evolution of a centralized kingship in Uganda. Dr. Ogot criticizing Dr. Were and other scholars who claim the Interlacustrine origin of the Kingdom of Wanga and warning against the usual diffusionist's pitfall of seeing a common origin of kingship and chieftainships with similar material or institutional cultural elements, attributes the origins of the dynasty to the conquering Luo minority. Be it as it may, it is clear from reading Dr. Ogot and Dr. Were's arguments that these are by no means the end of the story.

These remarks are not intended to diminish the undisputed value of the publication which, as Professor Ogot himself said in the *Preface*, has completed the picture of the history of the Nilotes and provided a basis from which further intensive work on the Southern Luo can be carried on.

Viera E. Pawliková

Gideon S. Were, *A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya, c. 1500—1930*. Nairobi, East African Publishing House Ltd. 1967. 206 pp.

Dr. Were's study of the history of one of the largest ethnic groups in East Africa appeared as the second volume in East African Publishing House's new historical series, *The Peoples of East Africa*. The first work of its kind on Buluyia and one of the first detailed studies based primarily on oral sources, together with Dr. Ogot's book on the neighbouring Luo, it practically completes the reconstruction of the history of the former Nyanza Province (now Western and Nyanza Provinces) prior to the 20th century.

The publication which grew out of an original Ph. D. thesis is divided into seven chapters, with an introduction and a select bibliography. In the introduction, its author, at present lecturer in history at the University College of Nairobi, discusses the problems faced by any student of African precolonial history using oral sources. According to him "Among the basic difficulties in this kind of work are the linguistic problem and ignorance about the society with which one is dealing, its values, social organization and the pattern of land settlement".¹ Fortunately, the author being

¹ See G. S. Were, *A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya, c. 1500—1930*, Introduction, p. 16.

an Omuluyia (singular of Abaluyia), was exempt from the difficulties of such kind.

In the subsection entitled *Methods of Inquiry*, Dr. Were deals with historical methodology used with pre-literate peoples. Here Dr. Were describes at length the methods he used for choosing informants and gathering information from them during the course of an extensive fieldwork done from May to November 1964 among some 1,181,721 people. Attention is also paid to the question of chronology which is an indispensable part of any historical account. A short explanation of how a relative chronology, based on both the average length of generation and the number of generations was worked out, is given at the end of the Introduction.

The history itself begins with the reconstruction of the migratory phases, the peopling of Buluyia by seventeen Luyia subtribes, each consisting of several patrilineal clans that since the Second World War came to be known under the group name of Abaluyia. Then the development of the Abaluyia clans and subtribes in the lands they now occupy is examined, followed by a discussion on what is termed as *The Age of Confrontation, c. 1800—1895* — the relations of the agricultural Abaluyia, suffering from the internal disunity and lacking a single central political authority, with their warlike pastoral neighbours, the Teso, Nandi, Luo, the Wakwavi or Uasin Gishu Masai, and later with Swahili and Arab slave traders. Strange enough, despite their internal disunity, the absence of a single central political authority which, however, was prevalent all over the region, among all the five major ethnic groups living in the "Kavirondo," the Bantu Gusii and Abaluyia, the Nilotic Luo, Nandi, the Kalenjin and Teso, and despite the diverse origins of their subtribes and clans, the Abaluyia came to evolve as a single cultural and linguistical unit. In chapter five attention is focused on the perplexing problem of the origin of the kingdom of Wanga and of the ruling Wanga dynasty. The period of the British Administration, chapter seven, entitled *The Buluyia under the British, c. 1894—1930*, brings the story to its close.

The title of the first chapter *The Geographical Setting* speaks for itself. The second chapter *Abaluyia's Neighbours* has as its subtitle The occupation of eastern Uganda and western Kenya by their modern inhabitants—background to the origins of the Abaluyia. Aware of the fact that the history of any one people cannot be studied in isolation, especially where various factors such as famine, epidemics, warfare and various disputes often led to the intermingling and dispersal of peoples of different origins, the author gives in this chapter a brief account of the settlement in the district by the Bagishu, Basamia, Basoga, Teso, Luo and the Kalenjin-speaking peoples.

When discussing the origins and migrational movements of the Abaluyia's neighbours — the Luo, Teso, Basoga, Bagishu and the Kalenjin, Dr. Were relied for the most part on available recorded information. The results of the fieldwork, the fieldwork notes and the collected unpublished manuscripts on clan history form

the basis of the rest of the book. These have been translated into English, fully annotated and bound under the title *Abaluyia Historical Texts*. To write chapter seven covering the period of British Administration, he made extensive use of information gathered in the Public Record Office. One may only regret that the *Abaluyia Historical Texts* forming the main source of material for this study, were not published simultaneously with the History itself. An early publication of *Abaluyia Historical Texts*, which are being published under the title *Western Kenya Historical Texts*, will be deeply appreciated by all students of this region.

In publishing *A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya, c. 1500—1930*, Dr. Were made a valuable effort at the reconstruction of the pre-colonial history of one East African people which is a matter of utmost urgency. Very soon, as the members of the old generation, the natural custodians of old traditions and original customs, gradually die out, the traditions may not survive for long. The reconstruction of the history of the Abaluyia is, however, not yet complete. Some of the hypotheses proposed and the conclusions arrived at are tentative and some even speculative. The problem of the origins of the Wang'a dynasty on which Dr. Ogot's and Dr. Were's opinions differ, proves that until the pre-colonial history of other neighbouring ethnic groups is thoroughly studied and crosschecked, the image cannot be made complete.

Viera E. Paulíková

Nguyễn Đức Đán, Máy vấn đề văn học hiện thực phê phán Việt-nam. (Nhà xuất bản khoa học xã hội, Hà-nội 1968). (Quelques problèmes du réalisme critique dans la littérature vietnamienne. Editions des sciences sociales, Hanoï 1968.) 228 p.

Comme le constate l'auteur lui-même dans son introduction brève, cet ouvrage n'aspire pas à une compréhension totale et complète du réalisme dans la littérature vietnamienne. Et certes, il aurait peine à y aspirer étant donné que c'est un travail pionnier, défricheur (ce qui doit être fort apprécié) et à vrai dire, le premier de son genre dans la science littéraire de la République Démocratique du Vietnam. En fait, il est question ici d'une évaluation de la prose des 20 et surtout des 30 et 40 ans de notre siècle.

Puisqu'il s'agit d'une situation littéraire-artistique si différente et spécifique quant aux traits fonciers et généralement reconnus à l'Ouest, la désignation même de cette littérature comme purement critique-réaliste pose déjà un problème, lors même que l'auteur y reconnaisse de nombreuses influences sociales et historiques et des tendances idéologiques-artistiques diverses. Ce n'est pas à dire qu'une telle oeuvre n'existe pas à priori dans la littérature vietnamienne; mais on doit incessamment tenir compte de certains faits, à savoir—que c'est pratiquement la première prose du genre littéraire artistique dans la littérature du Vietnam, donc une littérature sans une tradition littéraire-historique de longue durée, qu'elle prit naissance à une époque d'une grande rivalité entre une idéologie et culture de l'Ouest (c'est-à-

dire européennes) et celles de l'Est et que les écrivains succombaient relativement facilement aux manifestations extrêmes des deux côtés dans des efforts vers la modernisation, ou au contraire, dans des tentatives d'un retour aux anciens postulats classiques, ce qui inévitablement entraînait un affaiblissement du coup d'oeil socio-critique sur la réalité objective déterminée par les conditions internes et les relations dans la société vietnamienne de l'époque. D'où aussi cet hyperbolisme que Nguyen Duc Dan censure à juste cause en maints endroits.

Le livre est réparti en huit chapitres dont les deux premiers traitent de l'origine et du développement du réalisme critique des 20 ans jusqu'à la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Les cinq chapitres suivants sont des études indépendantes sur les représentants principaux de la prose vietnamienne de cette époque (Ngô Tat Tô, Nguyen Cong Hoan, Vu Trong Phung, Nguyen Hông, Nam Cao). Le dernier chapitre est consacré aux particularités de cette littérature, déterminées et jugées du point de vue socio-politique, idéologique et littéraire.

On doit souligner que l'auteur a réussi en un style clair et bien ordonné d'évoquer la situation littéraire au Vietnam de cette époque et de l'évaluer dans le cadre très étendu des conditions et relations complexes. L'approche critique de l'auteur vers les méthodes créatives, les caractéristiques des personnages et les particularités des écrivains est assez intéressante. Toutefois, dans son évaluation des éléments réalistiques ou critico-réalistiques d'une oeuvre quelconque l'auteur n'a pas évité un certain schématisme tendancieux qui, du point de vue de la philosophie marxiste, a été déjà dépassée, vaincue, dans la littérature contemporaine. Ceci le mène ensuite à la simplification, à un certain fétisme des critères qui peuvent alors difficilement devenir un stimulant de jugement, car leur fonction est déjà adaptée, subordonnée par son essence au subjectivisme tendancieux. En outre, lors même que dans l'analyse de l'ouvrage littéraire, Nguyen Duc Dan saisisse justement la nature déterminé complexe du point de vue de l'écrivain, il s'en débarasse assez illogiquement dans le résultat de son évaluation. Ceci se manifeste aussi dans sa compréhension d'une image artistique compliquée où se rencontrent ou s'entremêlent des éléments réalistiques, naturalistiques et même jusque pornographiques. Ce qui est encore réalistique et ce qui est déjà naturalistique, peut être une affaire subjective du critique, bien qu'il soit paradoxal que chez l'écrivain ce problème n'existe pas dans une forme ainsi cristallisée. Bien entendu, je n'ai aucune intention de nier les influences naturalistiques de la littérature ouest (française) sur l'oeuvre, par exemple de Vu Trong Phung, mais on doit toujours tenir compte de l'attitude et de l'approche de l'auteur lui-même, modifiées par les conditions sociales réelles, qui sont essentielles à juste titre et par conséquent ne peuvent pas être négligées.

Le livre fait entrevoir des études plus étendues et plus spécialisées de la littérature de cette époque importante et fait preuve évidente du développement de la science littéraire dans la République Démocratique du Vietnam.

Ján Múčka

Marián Gálík, *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*. Münchener Osta-siatische Studien Band 2, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1969. IV + 185 pp.

The twenties and thirties of our century represent an extraordinarily rich and interesting period in the development of Chinese literature which, however, has not been studied so far as thoroughly as it would deserve. A proof to this is the fact that M. Gálík's book has to be designated as a pioneering study, although it is devoted to the theoretical work of one of the most outstanding Chinese literary figures of this period—the writer and literary thinker Mao Tun.

The great majority of Chinese writers after the May Fourth Movement fulfilled the role of creators not only of modern literature, but likewise of modern literary criticism, further that of translators from foreign literatures and interpreters of modern European and American ideas and artistic currents in China. And Mao Tun was active in all these spheres. His contribution to modern Chinese literary criticism is of the most significant and M. Gálík's book is the first monograph devoted to his theoretical work.

In the first chapters the author deals in some detail with Mao Tun's childhood and adolescence, concentrating on facts related to his education, mental development and the stimuli of this development. In the centre of interest, however, is an analysis of Mao Tun's literary criticism from his earliest articles in 1919 up to the year 1936. M. Gálík follows roughly a chronological sequence, but simultaneously proceeds thematically: this is made possible by the fact that Mao Tun's work (as also Chinese literary criticism in general) passed through an internal development and at definite periods concentrated on some concrete issue. And thus, besides review chapters such, for instance, as those on Mao Tun's beginnings in literary criticism, his activities in the Literary Association or the Left League, we find in the book also chapters giving an insight into Mao Tun's views e. g. on questions of naturalism and realism, revolutionary and proletarian literature, creation and literary technique. By this method the author succeeded in presenting a wide picture of the evolution of attitudes of this eminent personality and underlining important key points in his thought processed (e. g. his shift in 1924—1925 to lay stress on class platform literature and to propagate proletarian literature). One advantage of Gálík's work is that it is not confined to an investigation of Mao Tun's views, but takes note in considerable detail of the attitudes of his contemporaries, and assigns him into the contexts of the currents and polemics in Chinese literary criticism of the time. Thereby the book has not only gained in significance as a source of a more complex knowledge of the literary views of China in the twenties and thirties, but also helps reveal the time and measure of Mao Tun's agreement with the principal tendencies, or his divergence from them in definite individual periods. Thus, among the most interesting contributions of Gálík's book may be considered to be his presentation of evidence that towards the end of the twenties and during the thirties, when Chinese literary criticism was

concerned in a large measure, and nearly exclusively, with problems of the propagatory role of literature, its class character and like aspects, Mao Tun, as one of few, emphasizes the aesthetic aspects, artistic values and technique of literature, perfection of form and contents, not forgetting the while the social roles of literature. However, despite this diversity, he succeeded in avoiding vulgarization of literature.

In assessing Gálík's book we should underline another methodical priority, namely, the author's endeavour to follow up Mao Tun's views right up to their roots and show with as great a probability and exactness as possible, which authors and works influenced his various attitudes, how he accepted these incentives, how far he adopted these sources as his own and utilized them, or how and concretely in what he misunderstood them.

Before embarking on the present study, the author had made a deep and extensive research over many years of the problem, from various aspects, and had published several partial studies in professional journals. M. Gálík had the unique opportunity of obtaining exclusive information personally from Mao Tun himself and succeeded in tracing his works concealed under little known pseudonyms, and collecting articles published in magazines difficult of access. Research workers in modern Chinese literary criticism will find this book of invaluable help as it contains information on all of Mao Tun's theoretical works from the period 1919 to 1936.

The book *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism* fills a serious gap in the study of Chinese literature of the twenties and thirties. It points to many theoretical issues that should be investigated and elucidated not only with a view to completing modern Chinese studies, but also as being an inherent part of the history of literary theories and artistic movements in the twentieth century.

Anna Doležalová

Pierre Ryckmans, *Les "Propos sur la Peinture de Shitao"*. Traduction et commentaire pour servir de contribution à l'étude terminologique et esthétique des théories chinoises de la peinture, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Vol. XV. Bruxelles 1970. 242 pp.

L'objet de recherche suivi par P. Ryckmans dans son livre est le remarquable traité chinois médiéval de la peinture, les *Propos sur la Peinture de Shitao*, connu aussi sous le titre *Les propos sur la Peinture du Moine Citrouille-Amère* (le Moine Citrouille-Amère est un des surnoms de fantaisie de Shitao).

Shitao (1641—1719 ou 1720) écrivit son traité célèbre vers la fin de sa vie, entre 1710 et 1720, à Yang-chou. Il passa son enfance et adolescence dans un monastère—à savoir, quand en 1644 la dynastie Ch'ing vint au pouvoir, Shitao, comme membre de la famille impériale de la dynastie Ming y était bien à l'abri de la répression comme

moine. Au monastère il eut l'avantage d'une éducation des maîtres de Bouddhisme Shan. Plus tard, sa renommée d'artiste et ses relations sociales lui assurèrent une sécurité personnelle et il passa la plus grande partie de sa vie à voyager d'un endroit à un autre, toujours dans le milieu cultivé et raffiné des artistes et bohémiens. Dans la personne de Shitao — comme il était d'ailleurs traditionnel pour la Chine—l'art de peintre se joignit à celui de poète et de créateur de jardins.

La première édition de ses *Propos sur la Peinture* vient de l'an 1728 avec une postface de Chang Yüan, son premier éditeur, et en toute probabilité est une version enrichie du *Manuel de Peinture de Shitao* de l'an 1710 qui fut découvert il y a quelques années en Chine et publié à Shanghai en 1960. L'ouvrage *Propos sur la Peinture* est exclusivement philosophique et synthétique, original par la méthode dont il est écrit, exceptionnel pour son époque aussi par le fait qu'il élimine les références historiques, jugements sur les oeuvres, artistes et écoles, et recettes techniques. C'est une oeuvre purement théorique qui, comme le remarque P. Ryckmans, "ne s'occupe ni des peintres, ni des peintures, mais du Peintre et de la Peinture, ou plus exactement de l'Acte du Peintre" (p. 5). L'ouvrage comprend XVIII chapitres. Dans les premiers Shitao expose son concept original et essentiel pour l'oeuvre entière — l'Unique Trait de Pinceau. Puis il amplifie ce concept plus concrètement dans les chapitres sur le pinceau et l'encre, mouvement du poignet, paysage et divers éléments du paysage, sur la composition, procédés, l'éthique et l'esthétique du peintre, union de la peinture et de la calligraphie, et dans le chapitre final il résume les pensées principales de l'oeuvre.

La partie centrale du livre de P. Ryckmans, la pièce de résistance, est donnée par une traduction intégrale des *Propos sur la Peinture*, la première en français.¹ En outre, le livre présente aussi le texte intégral de l'oeuvre originale et P. Ryckmans relève les variantes textuelles qu'il trouva à la suite d'une comparaison minutieuse des différentes éditions avec le texte chinois. La traduction de chaque chapitre est accompagnée de commentaires détaillés, élaborés par P. Ryckmans qui constituent la partie la plus exigeante, mais aussi la plus révélatrice du livre. Avant tout, l'auteur atteint ici en plein les buts qu'il s'était proposés dans l'introduction: il explique la pensée de Shitao, précise et maintes fois crée la terminologie de l'esthétique chinois et découvre le contexte traditionnel et l'originalité du texte de Shitao. Un exemple détaillé et du côté scientifique bien avisé est le commentaire de P. Ryckmans à propos du terme l'Unique Trait de Pinceau (pp. 14—18) où il explique ce concept original de Shitao à fond au niveau technique, esthétique et philosophique, déduit ses racines à partir de l'ancienne philosophie et cosmologie chinoise et le définit par exemple,

¹ Jusqu'ici on connaissait la traduction anglaise partielle dans le livre de O. Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, Peking 1936 et la traduction allemande intégrale de V. Contag, *Die Beiden Steine*, Brunswick 1950.

comme "mesure universelle de l'infinité des formes, commun dénominateur et clé de toute création" (p. 18).

Un autre exemple du travail sérieux de P. Ryckmans peut être cité parmi cent autres commentaires, à savoir, l'élucidation du terme calligraphie (pp. 117—119) où il cite des passages concernant la calligraphie de différentes sources chinoises, analyse l'histoire de la calligraphie en des connexions étendues, et traite de la relation entre la peinture et la calligraphie. De tels commentaires détaillés et compréhensifs sont indispensables pour saisir le sens d'un texte d'exigence extraordinaire et capable d'interprétations diverses. Un fait qui témoigne de la difficulté du texte est que P. Ryckmans, malgré son analyse détaillée, faite en connaissance de cause, considère comme nécessaire de remarquer que sa traduction "n'est pas la traduction des "Propos sur la Peinture", mais *une* des traductions possibles" (p. 6).

Le livre est complété par plusieurs annexes consacrées à une comparaison des traités au sujet des *Propos sur la Peinture* et la *Manuel de Peinture*, à la biographie de Shitao, à une élaboration critique des théories concernant la date de sa naissance et la lettre de Shitao à Bada Shanren. La bibliographie commentée des sources est également de grande valeur, comprenant des faits et jugements critiques sur un grand nombre de peintres, poètes et théoriciens chinois de l'art, dont les oeuvres sont citées dans le livre.

Le pouvoir stimulant de l'oeuvre de Shitao est prouvé par le fait qu'il n'a jamais cessé d'exercer son influence sur l'art chinois, que même les peintres contemporains, tels Ch'i Pai-shih, Fu Pao-shih et autres, reviennent souvent vers lui, et que cette oeuvre est étudiée et publiée en Chine, au Japon et en Occident. Le livre de P. Ryckmans, qui témoigne de son érudition extraordinaire dans le domaine de l'art chinois, de la philosophie et de la théorie d'art et d'esthétique en général, rapproche et rend accessible ce traité éminent de Shitao non seulement au public sinologue professionnel, mais aussi aux historiens et théoriciens de l'art et aux esthéticiens. Et de nombreuses idées dans les *Propos sur la Peinture de Shitao* représentent des contributions actuelles aux recherches d'esthéticiens et artistes contemporains.

Anna Doležalová

W. E. Skillend, *Kodae Sosŏl: A Survey of Korean Traditional Style Popular Novels*. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies 1969. 268 pp.

The development of Korean studies in Europe and the USA in recent years has also brought an increasing interest in Korean literature, which is testified to by an increasing number of articles dealing with Korean literature by European authors as well as by a number of translations into European languages. Nevertheless, studies on Korean literature still need a great deal of special research work. This also applies to bibliographical works.

W. E. Skillend, the Head of Korean studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, tries successfully to fill the obvious gap in this connexion. His book, according to his words, "is intended to serve a basic point of reference for westerners, who wish to investigate the subject (i. e. *kodae sosŏl* written in Korean) in general" (p. 5).

A great part of old Korean prose literature is represented by the works generally called *kodae sosŏl*, i.e. various prose works of traditional literature, including "not only fictional stories, fables, myths, legends and so on, but also very factual anecdotes from history, biographies, and even memoirs, diaries and autobiographies" (p. 5).

Wishing to give a survey of *kodae sosŏl* which exist or have existed in texts in Korean (the works written in classical Chinese are not taken into account, unless they have direct relation to the *sosŏl* written in Korean), the author produced the book, in the *Introduction* (pp. 5—34) of which he gives general information about the scope and aims of his work, selections of titles and their arrangement, description of sources of information and locations of texts listed etc.

In 1961—1965, the author visited the main centres and libraries where Korean books are concentrated, e.g. Asami Collection, Berkeley; British Museum; Collection of Korean books in the Harvard-Yenching Institute Library; various collections in Japan (Imanishi collection, Tenri; Kaai Bunko, Kyoto; Ogura collection, Tokyo); various collections in the Republic of Korea (former Royal Palace Library in Seoul, Ilsa and Karam collections in Seoul University) etc. He had also an opportunity to see many private collections of Korean scholars. The author refers also to the two valuable European collections which he could not see personally, i. e. the Paris collection and the Aston collection in Leningrad, by citing critically Maurice Courant's *Bibliographie Coréenne* (Paris, 1894—1901) and O. Petrova's *Opisanie pis'mennykh pamyatnikov koreiskoi kul'tury*, vol. 1, 2. (Moscow, 1956, 1963 respectively).

In his survey he describes manuscripts and block prints (xylographs) of *kodae sosŏl* as well as "paperbacks" (*iyagi ch'aek*) printed in the early years of the 20th century, which he found in these locations, and adds to it also modern printings of the old texts of *kodae sosŏl*, which have been edited in a traditional form in the Republic of Korea at the present time.

The descriptions in his survey, taken primarily and mainly from notes made on visits to the various collections mentioned above, give information about the location of each text and its form, size etc., deal with the problems of its dating, give in brief the contents of the stories, their relations to similar stories written in classical Chinese (*hanmun*), their connections with historical events, relations to Chinese literature etc. Then, the author refers to the special surveys and studies on *kodae sosŏl* (especially to the works of such well-known Korean historians of literature as Kim T'aejun, Kim Kidong, Pak Sŏngŭi, Sin Kihyŏng etc.), where the fullest descriptions and discussions of the stories can be found. Occasionally he also gives references to the translations of the stories into English.

These descriptions and notes on individual texts constitute the main part of W. E. Skillend's work primarily designated to inform western students where they may find the texts of *kodae sosöl* and where further detailed information about them can be obtained. The *List of Kodae Sosöl by Titles* (pp. 41—254) includes 531 titles, arranged in Korean alphabetical order. This seems to be the most convenient way, because the great majority of the stories are of unknown authorship or uncertain date of origin. In addition, the book contains a list of publishers of paperbacks (pp. 26—28) which is also of interest, an *Index of Brief References* (pp. 35—39) and an *Index of Titles in Chinese Characters in Radical-Stroke Order* (pp. 257—268).

One of the great advantages of this book is the fact that all Korean or Chinese names and titles besides their Romanized forms are also introduced in the Korean alphabet or Chinese characters. The author's critical approach to the sources of information, especially insofar as the dating of the origin of the novels and prints is concerned, systematic arrangement and completeness of the texts listed, must be highly appreciated. If I may make one or two marginal comments — it would have been useful if the introductory passage about the category called *kodae sosöl*, especially about their historical development and significance in the context of Korean literature as a whole had been treated more fully. Further, had the scholarship of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had been taken into account, it would have been possible to refer also to some opinions and conclusions of North Korean scholars. In this case, for example, the story *Chwi chön* (*The Story of the Rat*) could have been connected with the novel of *Im Che, Söok-söl*,¹ written in hanmun.

It would certainly be desirable that this valuable account of *kodae sosöl* be, supplemented in the future by a similar survey of books from the remaining localities especially those of libraries in the DPRK. In this way, the annotated bibliographical survey of *kodae sosöl* in Korean might be — as far as it is at all possible — completed.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that W.E. Skillend's book is, by all counts, a very valuable work, and will prove of great help to all students interested in Korean literature.

Vladimír Pucek

Dagmar Ansari, *Die Frau im modernen Hindi-Roman nach 1947*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1970. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 68.) S. 238.

Der Titel der vorliegenden Arbeit erfasst ihre Thematik zwar genau, nicht jedoch in ihrem vollen Umfang. 36 Romane von 18 Vertretern der Hindi-Romanliteratur

¹ Cf. *Chosön munhak t'ongsa* (*sang*), Kwahak-wön ch'ulp'ansa, P'yöngyang 1959, p. 233; *Im Che: Jaep'an patnün chwi — Söok-söl*, (Ch'oe Ikhan yök), P'yöngyang 1965, p. 4.

der Nachkriegszeit werden im Zentralteil des Buches gründlich analysiert; ausserdem enthält es jedoch noch einige weitere nützliche und interessante Kapitel, die mit der Grundthematik eng zusammenhängen.

Angesichts der gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung des Themas, besonders in der Konzeption der Verfasserin, wäre es eine Einschränkung, die Arbeit als eine speziell indologische und literarische zu charakterisieren. Ihre allgemeine Bedeutung geht über die Fachgrenzen hinaus und fällt auch in die Interessensphäre der Orientalisten-Nichtindologen (die Rezensentin beschäftigt sich mit analoger Problematik in Iran und in der persischen Literatur), die sich insbesondere der sozialen Problematik und deren Widerspiegelung in der Literatur zuwenden, und ohne Übertreibung auch derjenigen, die sich mit der *Frauenfrage im allgemeinsten Sinne* befassen.

Die Frauenproblematik — abgesehen davon, dass die Autoren der analysierten Romane sich dessen in unterschiedlichem Masse bewusst sind — bildet einen wesentlichen Bestandteil der sozialen Problematik. Ihr Anteil an der Romanliteratur wächst und der Problembereich erweitert sich in dem Masse, wie sich die Lage der Frau selbst ändert. Diese ist in diesem konkreten Falle besonders kompliziert und durch die ungleichmässige Entwicklung der indischen Gesellschaft gekennzeichnet. Diese Situation ist jedoch auch bei ihrer masslosen Kompliziertheit in ihrer Art übersichtlich, weil wir hier verschiedene Entwicklungsstadien nebeneinander finden. Die Tatsache, dass wir diese Situation und deren Widerspiegelung in der Literatur an einer sehr breiten Skala von Erscheinungsformen verfolgen können, ermöglicht uns, aus mehrseitigen Konfrontationen Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen, die *die einzige historisch progressive Lösung* darstellen.

Die Bearbeitung der Frauenproblematik setzt die Kenntnis des ganzen gesellschaftlichen Lebens voraus und trägt andererseits zu dieser Kenntnis bei (deshalb erfahren wir aus der vorliegenden Arbeit auch viel über die sozialen Verhältnisse im Lande). Überbleibsel der mittelalterlichen einheimischen Traditionen zusammen mit manchen negativen Folgen der kolonialen Herrschaft, gegenseitige Beeinflussung der hinduistischen und Muslim-Elemente erschwerten meistens noch die untergeordnete Lage der Frau. Durch alle Mängel, Überbleibsel, ausländische und einheimische Unterdrückung, ungelöste Probleme und Konflikte wird die Frau in der Regel doppelt betroffen; eben deshalb spiegelt die Lage der Frau den Charakter und Stand der ganzen Gesellschaft besonders empfindsam wider.

Wie schon der Titel der Arbeit besagt, beginnt die behandelte Zeitspanne mit dem historischen Wendepunkt des Jahres 1947. In moderner Zeit stellt die Einschaltung der indischen Frauen in die Produktion und in die berufliche Tätigkeit überhaupt eines der schwerwiegendsten Probleme dar, was mit der vorschreitenden Industrialisierung des Landes zusammenhängt. So ergeben sich neue Fragen, und zu diesen werden Stellungen genommen, die sich auch im Bereich der Frauenorganisationen voneinander unterscheiden. Von diesen hat die „Nationale Föderation der indischen Frauen“ das anspruchsvollste Programm, das die Frau nicht nur als

Ehefrau und Mutter, sondern auch als Werktätige in Betracht zieht. Dabei ist hervorzuheben, dass diese Organisation die Probleme nicht vereinfacht und die Lage der berufstätigen Frau in der ganzen Kompliziertheit realistisch sieht.

Im bisher wenig entwickelten Kapitalismus ist die Frau mit ihrem „doppelten Beruf“ (denn der kompliziert geführte Haushalt in seiner bisherigen traditionellen Gestalt obliegt selbstverständlich der Frau) tatsächlich gezwungen, wahrhaftig ausserordentliche Schwierigkeiten zu bewältigen, was natürlich eher zur Verneinung als zur Bestätigung und Entwicklung ihrer Persönlichkeit führt. Trotzdem ist die berufliche Arbeit der Frau auch unter diesen Umständen eine progressive Erscheinung. Deshalb stellt sich die „Nationale Föderation“ die erstrangige Aufgabe, zur Schaffung besserer Bedingungen für berufstätige Frauen beizutragen.

Das entsprechende Kapitel erhellt auch den breiteren Hintergrund des Standes des gesellschaftlichen Bewusstseins hinsichtlich der Frauenfrage. Die Verfasserin macht auf die Gefahr der Demagogie aufmerksam, die mit den absichtlich nur allgemein formulierten Behauptungen zusammenhängt, die jeglicher Begriffsanalyse entbehren und die demzufolge jeder so deuten kann, wie es ihm beliebt — z. B.: „...jedes Mädchen ... muss selbst wissen, welche Pflichten es der Familie, der Gesellschaft und dem Lande gegenüber hat, was es machen soll und was nicht“ (s. S. 27). Der Träger der konservativen Ansichten und der Verharrung bei der traditionellen Lebensweise ist namentlich das Kleinbürgertum. Primitive Formen der häuslichen Wirtschaft (die es den Frauen unmöglich machen, sich in beruflicher Arbeit voll geltend zu machen) werden von den konservativen Kreisen als Ideal hingestellt, und dienen gleichzeitig als Argument gegen die Berufstätigkeit der Frauen.

Manche der Probleme, deren Überblick und Entwicklung dieses Kapitel bietet, sind spezifisch indisch (z. B. die Witwenheirat oder die Kastenmischeirat), weitere sind den meisten Entwicklungsländern gemeinsam und andere tragen wiederum den allgemeinsten Charakter. Die Darlegung ist durch das Bestreben geleitet, eine grundlegende Erhellung der ganzen widerspruchsvollen Lage der indischen Frau als Basis zu der darauffolgenden Analyse der Romane zu bieten, in der sich die Verfasserin auf die Interpretation der Absicht der einzelnen Autoren und auch auf die Art und Weise der künstlerischen Gestaltung der Problematik u. a. mit einer empfindsamen Erfassung der psychologischen und sozialpsychologischen Momente konzentriert.

Nach dem Kriterium der Einstellung zur Gleichberechtigung der Frau (und dadurch in der Regel auch allgemein ideologisch) kann man die untersuchten Romanschriftsteller grob in drei Gruppen teilen — die Verfasserin bedient sich dieser Methode zwecks einer besseren Übersichtlichkeit, wobei sich aus ihrer Bearbeitung die Feststellung ergibt, dass diese Gruppen nicht im geringsten etwa mit einheitlichen literarischen Strömungen identisch sind und sich auch nicht immer ganz scharf voneinander abgrenzen lassen. Manchmal ist die Unterschiedlichkeit der Auffassung

jauch eine Frage der Entwicklung des Schriftstellers. Zwischen den Autoren ausgeprägt konservativer Richtung (ihr markantester Vertreter ist Gurudatt) und denjenigen, die überraschend progressive und radikale Gedanken entwickelt haben, liegt jedoch solch eine Kluft, dass bei der nacheinanderfolgenden Betrachtung ihres Schaffens eine geradezu optische Täuschung entsteht, als ob sie auch zeitlich voneinander weit entfernt wären; dabei geht es natürlich um Zeitgenossen(!). Die tiefe Kluft zwischen den Verteidigern der alten und der neuen Lebensweise trennt die fortschrittlichen und rückschrittlichen Standpunkte so klar, dass — und dies ist allerdings ein Vorteil — es so gut wie unmöglich ist, beide miteinander zu verwechseln und zu vermischen.

In die Gruppe der konservativen Schriftsteller sind neben *Gurudatt* auch *Y. Śarmā*, *S. H. V. Ajñey*, *Jainendrakumār*, *S. Vidyālaṅkāra*, teilweise *Bh. Varmā* und *M. Rākeś* aufgenommen. Durch ihre Werke treten sie de facto für die Konservierung der in manchem archaischen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse auf (d. h. für den ungenügend entwickelten Kapitalismus mit zahlreichen feudalen Überresten, den starken Einfluss der überlebten alten hinduistischen Traditionen), in extremen Fällen ist sogar der Wunsch nach der Wiederbelebung der absterbenden oder schon abgestorbenen feudalen Verhältnisse und eine Kritik am Kapitalismus vom feudalen Standpunkt aus zu merken. Falls sich jemand den alten „bewährten“ Traditionen entzieht, könne er nicht „unbestraft“ bleiben. Die hartnäckige Idealisierung bestimmter Erscheinungen der Wirklichkeit, insbesondere der patriarchalischen hinduistischen Grossfamilie, hindert diese Autoren daran, an der Lage der durchschnittlichen indischen Frau überhaupt ein unbefriedigendes Moment zu finden. Dem Streben der Frauen nach Gleichberechtigung wird durch diese „Logik“ der Grund entzogen. Es gefährdet nämlich die traditionellen Vorstellungen vom alten System der Familie (und dadurch von Gesellschaft), das in ihrer Auffassung so idyllisch ist, dass sie sich berechtigt fühlen, in seinem Namen die modernen Emanzipationsbestrebungen abzulehnen. Eine Frau, die sich in die „gefährliche Welt“ wagt, renne selbst in ihr Verderben und siehe schliesslich reumütig ein, dass es eben nur Verderben bringe, wenn an ihrer Stelle kein Mann Entscheidungen trifft. Gesellschaftliche Tätigkeit übe ohnehin nur eine verheerende Wirkung auf die Familie und auf die Psyche der Frau selbst. Falls jedoch die Frau — auch eine Intellektuelle — nach der Verheiratung ihren Beruf aufgibt, werde sie es erleben, dass „ihr Intellekt dann erst aufblüht“ (aus dem Werke Gurudatts, s. S. 65 und 211). Die Bildung der Mädchen bildet hier höchstens einen Bestandteil der Repräsentation, die Erwerbstätigkeit der Frau wird nur dann zugelassen, wenn es um den notwendigsten Lebensunterhalt geht oder als eine Art Ausgleich für ein misslungenes Familienleben. — Der Typ der modernen emanzipierten Frau wird oft mit Absicht verzeichnet, mit Ausnahme der Gestalt der Tänzerin im Roman *Dunkle verschlossene Zimmer* von *Mohan Rākeś*, der, ohne sich seine Aufgabe durch ein Schema der „negativen Gestalt“ leicht zu machen, das tragische Dilemma einer schöpferisch tätigen Frau im ganzen über-

zeugend darstellt (nebenbei bemerkt — dieser Frauentyp ist in der Hindi-Literatur eher vereinzelt). Komplizierte Schicksale der Frauen, die selbständig handeln wollten, sind in manchen Fällen sicher nicht unglaubwürdig, doch eine grössere Kompliziertheit des Lebens derjenigen, die ein wirkliches Leben führen wollen, kann nicht als Argument *gegen* sie dienen (wie S. Beauvoir in ihrer bekannten Schrift *Le deuxième sex* philosophisch schlussfolgert).

In manchen der Schriften finden wir auch bestimmte typische Züge und Situationen, die z. B. ein Zeichen dafür sind, wie der Mangel an Informationen und Erfahrungen und die Getrenntheit von der Aussenwelt in den Frauen Ansprüche erwecken, die nicht realisierbar sind, und wie diese Frauen dann alle Verantwortung unbesorgt auf die Männer schieben.

Wie schon diese knappen Bemerkungen andeuten, kann man alle Autoren der erwähnten Gruppe nicht gänzlich als Reaktionäre verwerfen. Es kann sich z. B. um Intellektuelle handeln, die aus ehrlicher Überzeugung verschiedene überlebte Konventionen und andere ungesunde Erscheinungen der Gesellschaft negieren, jedoch nicht in den Fällen, wenn sie Familie und Frauenfrage betreffen. Auch manche männlichen Helden der Romane beanspruchen das Recht auf Fortschritt, auf neue Lebensformen nur für sich, während sie die Frauen nach anderen Massstäben beurteilen.

Nach dem oben angeführten Kriterium gehören in die zweite Gruppe *Rām Kumār*, *I. Joṣī*, *R. Rāghav*, *A. Nāgar*, *Ph. Renu*, *U. Aśk* und *Nāgārjun*. Es handelt sich durchwegs um Autoren mit nicht ganz klaren und ausgeprägten Ansichten und Standpunkten sowohl in der Frauenproblematik als auch in anderen Fragen. Durch ihre Kritik an einzelnen Seiten des sozialen Lebens und speziell der Lebensbedingungen der Frauen, deren absolute Abhängigkeit von Mann sie als untragbar darstellen, stellen sie sich auf die Seite des Fortschritts; für ihre im grossen und ganzen realistischen Begebenheiten finden sie jedoch nicht selten illusorische, utopische Auswege. Trotz ihrer Schwankungen und ihrer unentschlossenen Haltung (ihre Ansichten sind manchmal recht widerspruchsvoll) enthalten viele von diesen Romanen Elemente der Lebenswahrheit und spiegeln die objektive Widersprüchlichkeit der Lage der Frau wider. Von den besten dieser Werke kann man sagen, dass sie die von Premchand (über Premchand s. im Kapitel 4) gegründete kritisch-realistische Tradition des Hindi-Romans weiterentwickeln. Ihre Kritik richten sie sowohl auf manche spezifischen Erscheinungen (das System der arrangierten Heiraten, die Mitgift in unzumutbarer Höhe), als auch Erscheinungen allgemeineren Bereichs. Die Hilflosigkeit und Ratlosigkeit der Frauen in ernsteren Lebenslagen, die Ausweglosigkeit ihrer Schicksale hängt mit ihrer Unwissenheit zusammen; viele begabte Mädchen sind de facto zur Untätigkeit verurteilt. Der extrem beschränkte Horizont, die Unmöglichkeit, als Mensch voll zu leben, die Notwendigkeit, alle Erscheinungsformen eigener Persönlichkeit zu unterdrücken und in dieser Hinsicht manchmal eine extreme Stufe der Anpassungsfähigkeit zu entwickeln, führen zu psychischen

Deformationen. Und auch dann, wenn es schon zu gewissen Verschiebungen im Bewusstseinsinhalt kommt, finden wir eine doppelsinnige Haltung der Männer gegenüber ihren Ehefrauen: sie möchten eine gebildete intellektuelle Gefährtin, gleichzeitig aber auch eine ergebene Pflegerin und Hausfrau *in unveränderter traditioneller Gestalt* haben. Bildung der Frau und gemeinsame Interessen der Eheleute bilden an sich tatsächlich noch keine Gleichberechtigung und heben die Unterordnung der Frau nicht auf.

Bei manchen Schriftstellern dieser Gruppe (*A. Nāgar*) finden wir schon den wichtigen grundlegenden Gedanken, dass ohne *Umwertung der traditionellen Beziehungen in der Familie*, in der der Frau elementare Menschenrechte aberkannt wurden, die Frau auch keine anderen Rechte in der Gesellschaft realisieren kann; daraus resultiert vor allem der Widerspruch zwischen den Bürgerrechten der Frau einerseits und den verwurzelten traditionellen Gewohnheiten und Vorstellungen andererseits. Einer der Helden des Romans *Campā* von *Nāgārjun* erfasst die einzige Möglichkeit des gesellschaftlichen und menschlichen Fortschritts folgenderweise: „Wir können ... nicht fortschreiten, wenn wir die Frauen nicht mitnehmen“ (zitiert auf S. 142).

Die in die dritte Gruppe, unter die fortschrittlichen Autoren aufgenommenen Schriftsteller (*Ś. Śrīvāstav*, *Rājendra Yādav*, *Amṛt Rāy* und der bedeutendste von ihnen, *Yaśpāl*) bilden ebenfalls keine einheitliche literarische Strömung. Ihre Romane sind unterschiedlich im Charakter, ihre Gedanken unterschiedlich konsequent und bahnbrecherisch. Allen gemeinsam ist jedoch nicht nur die Abbildung der objektiv, real existierenden Widersprüche der Gesellschaft, sondern auch die Hervorhebung und moralische Unterstützung des Kampfes für die Durchsetzung der neuen, progressiven Elemente der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung, der neuen Lebensformen, um die sich die Helden bzw. Heldinnen ihrer Romane aktiv bemühen. Sie verurteilen überlebte moralische Konventionen und Vorurteile verschiedenster Art (einschliesslich der religiösen); sie zeigen, wie die Losungen des Typs „Familie — Grundlage der Gesellschaft“ zur Apologie der rückständigsten Formen der „mittelalterlichen“ Grossfamilie missbraucht werden können.

Mit alledem hängt auch das neue Ideal der Frau zusammen: nicht mehr die in ihrem Haushalt abgeschlossene und ausschliesslich für die Familie lebende Frau, sondern eine Frau mit eigener Persönlichkeit und erweitertem Horizont, die sich in ihrer eigenen Tätigkeit bestätigt, die nicht mehr ein Objekt für andere, sondern ein Subjekt ist, das sein eigenes Leben selbst gestaltet. Zwischen der wirklichen Gleichberechtigung und der Scheinverehrung wird eine scharfe Grenze gezogen. Eine der Frauengestalten des untersuchten Romans von *A. Rāy* meint, der Mann soll die Frau „nicht als Göttin, sondern als einen Menschen, nicht in der Luft, sondern auf dieser Erde“ (zitiert auf S. 176) hochachten.

Gestalten selbständiger arbeitender Frauen wirken hier meistens lebendiger und natürlicher als bei anderen Schriftstellern. Das setzt allerdings voraus, die Pro-

blematik ohne Vereinfachung, ohne schematisierende Idealisierung zu sehen.

Einer der interessantesten Romane dieser Gruppe ist *Eine untreue Frau* von R. Yādav, der das Aufeinanderprallen einer ausgeprägten Frauenpersönlichkeit mit dem beschränkten, engstirnigen Milieu schildert, das sie zum leeren Leben zwingt. Die gelungene Symbolik des Romans (Materialisierung zweier Pole der Frauenpersönlichkeit) veranschaulicht tiefsinnig, wie die Heldin durch ihre Umwelt und ihre Lebensbedingungen gezwungen ist, die positiven Seiten der Frauenspezifik in sich zu unterdrücken (besonders die Zärtlichkeit, die doch das Hauptpostulat der Frauenspezifik in den meisten Zivilisationen ist) und im Gegenteil die weniger wünschenswerten Seiten zu entwickeln (Aggressivität als Abwehrmechanismus).

Gedankenmässig ist Yaśpāl in seinen Romanen *Menschliche Gestalten* und *Lügnerrische Wahrheit* am weitesten fortgeschritten. Die höchste Bewertung gebührt wohl dem Gedanken, dass nur der Frau, die einen Beruf hat und *auch ausübt* (d. h. nur der Frau, die zur *Arbeit an ihrer eigenen Persönlichkeit* fähig ist), ein Recht auf Liebe zusteht, die auf gegenseitiger Achtung beruht. Diese radikale Ansicht steht im scharfen Kontrast zu der tief verwurzelten philosophischen Auffassung der Frau als fertiges, vollendetes Wesen, dessen Existenz durch die Tatsache allein restlos determiniert ist, dass es eben um eine Frau geht (was jede weitere Entwicklung ausschliesst bzw. überflüssig macht).

Nicht weniger wichtig sind Ansätze zur Überwindung und Umwertung der bisherigen verengten und verabsolutisierten Auffassung der männlichen und weiblichen „Rolle“, wodurch die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen Mann und Frau ein qualitativ höheres Niveau erreichen (*A. Rāy*, der Roman *Der Same*).

Es überrascht nicht allzu sehr, dass derartige Werke und Gedanken bei indischen Literaturkritikern durchwegs auf Unverständnis stossen. Eben Yaśpāl ist ihren Einwänden am meisten ausgesetzt, die in manchen Fällen geradezu auf eine Desinterpretation hindeuten. Konservative Kritiker und Schriftsteller halten Yaśpāl z. B. vor, dass seine Darstellungen des Kampfes der Frau für ihre Emanzipierung nur zur Illustration einer bestimmten Theorie der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung dienen. Doch, abgesehen davon, dass sich der neue Typ der Frauenpersönlichkeit in der indischen gesellschaftlichen Realität schon herausbildet und demzufolge kein Produkt blosser Spekulation ist, ist an die Adresse der Konservativen die Bemerkung zu richten, dass sie selbst evidente und längst existierende Fakten mit Absicht ignorieren, nur um *ihre eigene* gesellschaftliche Theorie zu bekräftigen (und zwar oft mit Hilfe falsch gestellter Fragen und Gegensätze). Ihr Lieblingsargument lautet, dass die Frauengestalten in den kritisierten Werken so charakterisiert sind, als ob sie um jeden Preis *Weiblichkeit und Selbstaufopferung* aufgeben wollten (beide Begriffe werden in der Regel in untrennbaren Zusammenhang gebracht!). Es fragt sich aber, *wie* die „Weiblichkeit“ aufgefasst wird und *in welcher Gesellschaft*. Für die progressiven Autoren ist eben charakteristisch, dass sie nicht in absoluten, metaphysischen, erstarrten Kategorien denken, sondern die konkreten historischen

Bedingungen berücksichtigen. Das ermöglicht eine gelungene Typisierung, die gleichzeitig die Kompliziertheit der Lage widerspiegelt und einem billigen Schematismus fern liegt. Dabei ergibt sich ihre Tendenz aus dem Werk selbst und braucht nicht ausdrücklich deklariert zu werden, wie es bei den Romanschriftstellern der Fall ist, die die Analyse der Wirklichkeit durch ihr im vornherein vorbereitetes Schema ersetzen.

Ein Gegenstand der Kritik ist weiterhin die angebliche Überbetonung der Erotik und des Sexus bei *Yaśpāl*, was Zitate wie: „Die Männer müssen sich daran gewöhnen, dass auch die Frauen ihre eigene Persönlichkeit haben“ (s. S. 205) beweisen sollen. Dadurch enthüllen jedoch solche Kritiker eher sich selbst: es kommt nämlich darauf an, was wer unter „Persönlichkeit“ der Frau versteht; man kann doch nicht so ohne weiteres die eigene Interpretation einem anderen unterstellen! Auf die Notwendigkeit, zwischen Liebe und Sexus zu unterscheiden, weisen manchmal eben solche Autoren hin, bei denen die Frauenproblematik auf sexuelle Beziehungen reduziert ist (*Jainen-drakumār*). Durch Reduktion der Frauenpersönlichkeit auf bestimmte Seiten hypertrophieren diese allerdings (die erotische und sexuelle); eben deswegen betonen die progressiven Autoren, dass der Prozess und die Problematik der Frauenemanzipation *als ein Ganzes* aufzufassen ist.

Der grösste Teil der Hindi-Literaturkritik ist kleinbürgerlich-humanistisch orientiert. Sie begrüsst Werke, deren Autoren sich mit Kritik an *Teilproblemen* befassen und fordern, „dass die Frau menschenwürdig *behandelt werde*“ (das Passiv von der Verfasserin D. A. unterstrichen), während grundsätzliche Gesellschaftskritik auf ablehnende Haltung oder Verständnislosigkeit stösst. Viele, sowohl der Kritiker als auch der Schriftsteller können ihre Neigung *zum Kult der einfachen Frau* nicht verbergen (der Massstab für die positive Einschätzung ist herabgesetzte Wahrscheinlichkeit, eigenes Urteil zu bilden und eingelebte Normen der Gesellschaft kritisch zu prüfen).

Die Frage der Werte, die speziell bei der Frau hochgeschätzt werden, trägt einen grundsätzlichen Charakter. Einerseits stehen schon bedeutsame Züge einer neuen Frauenpersönlichkeit zur Debatte — ihre eigene Aktivität und Betätigung, aber andererseits überwiegt metaphysische „Selbstaufopferung“ als eine der erstrangigen Tugenden der Frau, ohne dass — wie D. A. hinzufügt — man irgendwo eine Erklärung finden könnte, „...warum sie sich eigentlich immer opfern soll“ (s. S. 207).

Mit der Einschätzung der allgemein menschlichen Eigenschaften hängt die Frage der sog. „Natürlichkeit“ zusammen; was bei der Frau in der bestehenden Ordnung der Gesellschaft nicht als erwünscht betrachtet wird, wird für „unnatürlich“ erklärt, wenn es auch um eine ganz natürliche und allgemein anerkannte Eigenschaft *des Menschen* geht (die Kritik in *Yādavs Roman Schach und Matt*).

Das verhältnismässig umfangreiche Kapitel der Schlussfolgerungen enthält u. a. interessante Parallelen mit europäischen Literaturen und altindischen literarischen Traditionen. Ausserdem ist hier auf eine Art *Typologie der Frauengestalten* hinzu-

weisen, die die Verfasserin von der untersuchten modernen Hindi-Literatur ableitet und die auch eine allgemeine Geltung hat. Sie bietet wieder eine breite Skala, von der in Abgeschlossenheit lebenden Frau, deren alle Dramen und auch alle kleinlichen Pseudoprobleme sich innerhalb ihrer vier Wände abwickeln, bis zur politisch und erwerbstätigen Frau, von der schwerarbeitenden Bäuerin oder Arbeiterin (Gestalten der Arbeiterinnen sind bisher selten) bis zur völlig nichtstuenenden bürgerlichen Frau, deren Untätigkeit (übrigens häufig ein falsches Ideal in vielen Teilen der Welt) in der Regel nicht kritisiert wird. Manchmal gelingt es allerdings auch einem konservativen Schriftsteller, ein abschreckendes Bild der typischen Nichtstuerin zu zeichnen.

Die Verfasserin macht auch auf weitere Stoffe aufmerksam, die geradezu nach literarischer Gestaltung verlangen, sie aber in befriedigender Masse bisher nicht gefunden haben. Im Vordergrund könnte — nach der Meinung der Verfasserin — *die Problematik der Mutterschaft* stehen, und zwar von dem Gesichtswinkel aus, dass der beschränkte Horizont der meisten Frauen dazu führt, dass die Mutterschaft *nur als biologischer Faktor* aufgefasst und geschätzt wird, dass jedoch sehr selten — wenn überhaupt — die Frage der gebührenden *Qualität* der Mutterschaft erwägt wird (auch nicht nur etwa die Frage der modernen Kinderpflege, sondern vor allem des geistigen Verständnisses, der Fähigkeit, *die Kinder zu Persönlichkeiten zu erziehen*).

Im ganzen ist die Arbeit vorwiegend auf die Untersuchung der literarischen Widerspiegelung der sozialen Realität orientiert; es ist jedoch gleichzeitig zu vermerken, dass die Autorin in den schwerwiegendsten Punkten die erstrangigen Fragen der literarischen Gestaltung berührt (Gesetzmässigkeiten der Komposition werden anhand des konkreten Materials des Hindi-Romans verfolgt). Und misst die Autorin der Literatur *eine wichtige aktive Rolle* in der eigenartigen Rückwirkung auf die gesellschaftliche Realität bei, betont sie die Rolle des revolutionären Humanismus in den Bestrebungen, neu entstehende Lebensformen zu suchen, zu gestalten und zu unterstützen, so muss man die gleiche verdienstvolle Orientierung auch ihrer eigenen wissenschaftlichen Arbeit zuerkennen. Und das ist kein so ganz alltäglicher Fall (auch nicht in den Gesellschaftswissenschaften), der keine besondere Anerkennung verdienen würde.

Eva Štolbová

Svetozár Pantůček, *La littérature algérienne moderne*. Dissertationes Orientales, Vol. 22. Prague, Oriental Institute in Academia, Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 1969. S. 193.

S. Pantůček, wissenschaftlicher Arbeiter im Orientalischen Institut in Prag, befasst sich seit mehreren Jahren mit dem Studium der modernen tunesischen und

algerischen Literatur und hat eine Reihe von Artikeln und Untersuchungen veröffentlicht, in denen er verschiedene Fragen aus dem betreffenden Forschungsgebiet behandelte. In dem vorliegenden Buch versucht er, eine synthetische Bearbeitung der Entwicklung der modernen algerischen Literatur darzustellen. Der Autor ist sich gut dessen bewusst, dass eine solche Aufgabe sehr schwierig ist und erfordert, sich mit manchen grundlegenden und bisher nicht gelösten Problemen auseinanderzusetzen, z. B. wer ist algerischer Schriftsteller, seit wann kann man von der algerischen Literatur reden, was umfasst die algerische Literatur usw.

Der Autor definiert die algerische Literatur konsequent geographisch, d. h. er versteht unter diesem Begriff die gesamte auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Algeriens entstandene literarische Produktion, ohne Rücksicht darauf, in welcher Sprache sie verfasst ist. Er hat daher sowohl die arabische und französische Literatur, als auch das Volksschaffen in der berberischen und algerischen Umgangssprache im Auge. Gegen dem Einwand derer, die behaupten könnten, dass man die algerische Literatur in breiterem Rahmen der arabischen Literatur untersuchen sollte und dass es erforderlich wäre, die Kontinuität der Entwicklung zu verfolgen, weist Pantůček darauf hin, dass ein solcher Gesichtspunkt die Bedeutung der nationalen algerischen Kultur verringert. In seiner Auffassung der algerischen Literatur stösst der Autor auf einzelne strittige Fragen, z. B. wenn sich um diejenige französische Schriftsteller handelt, die in Algerien lebten. Soll man sie in die algerische Literatur einschliessen? In solchen Fällen ist es nach seiner Ansicht notwendig festzustellen, ob sich der betreffende Autor als ein algerischer Schriftsteller betrachtet und inwieweit sein Werk die algerische Realität widerspiegelt.

Die weitere wichtige Frage, die Pantůček in der Einleitung erörtert, ist die Periodisierung der algerischen Literatur. Für den Ausgangspunkt hält er das Jahr 1830, als die Faktoren zu wirken begannen, die später zu ihrer Entstehung führten. Sodann setzt er folgende Zeiträume fest: die Jahre 1920—1940, wo sich ausgeprägte Zeichen der entstehenden algerischen Literatur bemerkbar machen, die vorübergehende Etappe der Jahre 1945—1951, die Periode des grossen Aufschwungs der im Französischen geschriebenen algerischen Literatur (1952—1962) und schliesslich die Periode unabhängigen Algeriens (seit dem J. 1962).

Im Kapitel *Prähistorie der Renaissance* (19. Jh.) setzt der Autor eine kurze historische Übersicht der kulturellen Entwicklung auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Algeriens bis zum 19. Jh. voran und sodann weist er darauf hin, wie die kulturelle und politische Lage sich nach der französischen Besatzung veränderte. Es ist fraglich, ob man in diesem Zusammenhang lateinische Autoren berberischer Herkunft (z. B. St. Augustin) erwähnen soll, aber es steht in vollem Einklang mit Pantůčeks Auffassung der algerischen nationalen Kultur.

Im folgenden Kapitel wendet sich der Verfasser der Volksliteratur zu. Seine Darstellung des berberischen Volksschaffens, in der er sich vorwiegend auf den *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* von R. Basset stützt, ist fesselnd und für die

Folkloristen höchst interessant. Es wäre nur wünschenswert, bei manchen wichtigen Angaben die Quellen oder genaue Zitierung aus dem erwähnten Werk R. Bassets anzuführen. Das quantitative Missverhältnis zwischen der Abhandlung über die Volksliteratur im Arabischen (4 S.) und Berberischen (39 S.) ist auffallend. Der Rezensent befände es für geeignet, dieses Kapitel an eine andere Stelle im Buche einzuordnen, da es auf diese Weise die Kontinuität der Darlegung gewissermassen stört.

Das bedeutendste von den folgenden Kapiteln ist ohne Zweifel das Kapitel *Aufschwung der im Französischen geschriebenen Literatur* (1952—1962), in dem der Schwerpunkt des ganzen Buches liegt. Pantůček behandelt eingehend und ausführlich vor allem die algerischen Prosaschriftsteller (Feraoun, Dib, Mammeri, Haddad, Yacine, Djébar, Kréa u. a.). Im Vordergrund seines Interesses liegt der inhaltliche Aspekt ihrer Werke. Auf Grund derer Analyse gewinnt der Leser ein lebhaftes und plastisches Bild von dem sozialen, politischen und kulturellen Leben Algeriens während der bewegten und dramatischen Zeit des nationalen Befreiungskampfes.

An dieses Kapitel knüpft unmittelbar der folgende Abschnitt an, welcher der Literatur unabhängigen Algeriens gewidmet ist (1962—1968). Es ist kennzeichnend eben für diese Periode, dass manche führende Schriftsteller (z. B. M. Dib) sich von der algerischen Realität zu universellen Themen wenden, dass sie eine komplizierte Symbolik verwenden und neue Formen und schöpferische Methoden versuchen. Diese Erscheinung ist ebenfalls typisch für die ägyptische Literatur der 60. Jahre (N. Mahfūz u. a.).

Pantůčeks Buch ist als ein bemerkenswerter Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des modernen Maghribs anzusehen. In der Vorrede betont der Verfasser, dass der Wert einzelner Schlussfolgerungen relativ und von den bisher zugänglichen Quellen abhängig ist. Man könnte natürlich manche Auffassungen und Ansichten des Verfassers diskutieren. Es unterliegt jedoch keinem Zweifel, dass das vorliegende Buch ein nützliches Hilfsmittel für diejenigen ist, die sich für die moderne arabische Literatur interessieren, und dass es dem Autor als eine Grundlage für die Überarbeitung dieser Problematik dienen wird.

Jaroslav Oliverius

Michael Gasster, *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911*. Seattle and London, University of Washington Press 1969. XIV + 288 pp.

Michael Gasster's book, reviewed here, fills a gap in the study of problems around Chinese intellectuals between the years 1898 and 1919. Even though we are fairly familiar with men involved precisely in events of the two years mentioned above, representing the so-called Hundred Days' Reform Movement and the May Fourth Movement respectively, up to the appearance of this book — with the exception of Sun Yat-sen — certain outstanding characters among Chinese intellectuals who

had ideologically and partly also organizationally prepared the advent of the 1911 Revolution, were rather unknown to us. Besides Sun Yat-sen, the book also takes note of Wang Ching-wei, Hu Han-min and Chang Ping-lin. In addition, it also devotes attention to Chinese anarchists, Li Shih-tseng, Wu Chih-hui and Liu Shih-p'ei.

The work proper begins with an essay entitled *From Traditional Conservatism to Modern Radicalism by Way of Revolution*. This involves aspects of an interpretation of this important period, questions relative to a definition and exposition of such terms as radicalism, moderate, modernization, modernity, intellectuals, revolutionaries and so on. By this essay the author introduces us into the atmosphere of intellectual history of those times in China.

The book is made up of three parts, the first of which, called *China's Problems and the Attempts to Solve Them*, is indeed of great importance for an understanding of what follows, but is also the least original. It is designed as an introduction to the second and third parts. The second part is called *The T'ung-meng-hui's Political Program* and deals with questions of national and political revolution. The most interesting and at the same time equally important is the third part with the title *Discordant Elements in the Revolutionary Movement*, consisting of two chapters devoted one to the anarchists and the other to Chang Ping-lin. The latter chapter gives the impression that this man, more than his contemporaries, deserves our attention, that he was of greater importance for the origin and development of modern China. This, however, should be looked upon as rather a formal drawback in the "set-up" of the book. Sun Yat-sen came in for considerable and extensive discussions — though he need not have been so much the centre of the author's attention — as against this, however, Wang Ching-wei or Hu Han-min deserved as much notice as Chang Ping-lin, if not more. Professor Gasster does indeed take notice of them, but the way he treats of them gives the impression that they are not so very important. Not every reader reads every book word for word, and as far as possible, an author should avoid also formal flaws which might lead to misinterpretation.

The book is provided with a *Conclusion, Glossary, Selected Bibliography and Index*.

The reviewer's interest was mainly attracted by those passages in which the author touches upon problems of intellectual history of this period, namely of the impact of German and American ideas on modern China.

The bibliography of this book could have been enriched by the inclusion of the Soviet publication *Sinhaiskaya revolyutsiya v Kitae (The Revolution of 1911 in China)*, edited by Tikhvinskiy, Moscow 1962.

Gasster's monograph is an outstanding book and may be recommended to everyone interested in the history of the birth of modern China at a period which is relatively scantily investigated, i.e. during the period of preparations of the 1911 Revolution.

Marián Gálík

Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West*. Cambridge, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1964. XX + 298 pp.

The present reviewer's opinion is that this book is not only a notable contribution to our understanding of modern Chinese history, but in the field of modern Chinese philosophical, political and economic thought it constitutes the beginning of a really scientific and widely conceived research which will help to elucidate important issues, i.e. questions to be answered if we want to understand the events leading to revolution of 1911, to the May Fourth Movement and to many other events and realities influencing the creation of modern China.

Yen Fu (1853—1921) was born one decade after China had started to open its door to Europe. The events went on and China was compelled to yield whether it liked or not. At the time when Yen Fu had reached an age above forty and attained the apogee of his intellectual forces, Western achievements were subjected to intensive study, and were gradually transferred into the economic and military spheres of China of that time. Unanswered, however, remained the question of utilization of Western achievements in the field of the so-called fundamental structure (*t'i*) the components of which were philosophy, ethics, political institutions, law and literature. It was suggested that these should remain in their original state and not be influenced by Europe. As far as the field of thought was concerned Yen Fu was the first Chinese who started to study Western thought in a very thorough way, and he was the one who made this thought accessible — in a certain transformed shape — to his contemporaries and to the younger generation.

On the basis of several facts Professor Schwartz demonstrates Yen Fu's importance, so far inadequately appreciated by the researchers. He was known as a translator of philosophical literature, but we have failed to see in him a remarkable thinker, neither did we clearly see the role he played in the creation of modern China. And in fact, even today we are not able appreciate this part at its full value; but the elucidation of this question is not the task of Professor Schwartz's book. However, the role played by Yen Fu in the creation of modern China seems to have been extremely important. To put it analogically, Yen Fu had become the bridge over which for a period of at least twenty years — from about 1895—1915 — an important part of European thought flowed into China. Of course, there were others who were also active in making China acquainted with European thought in a certain measure (T'an Ssu-t'ung, Wang Kuo-wei, the anarchists), but neither exerted as much influence as did Yen Fu; neither of them was capable of impregnating his thought to the younger Chinese generation for a longer period. It is sufficient to recall that men such as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, Hu Shih, Lu Hsün and Mao Tse-tung had in their younger years been influenced by Yen Fu. Only when we realize what these men have meant for the birth and development of modern China, are we able to apprehend the extent of this impact.

The book is divided into 12 chapters: *The Setting, The Early Years, Declaration of Principles, Western Wisdom at Its Source, The Wealth of Nations, On Liberty, The Spirit of the Laws, A History of Politics, Mill's Logic, Meditations on the Tao, The Later Years, Some Implications.*

In these chapters the author discussed the general, political, economic and cultural setting of China in the second half of the past century; also Yen Fu's young years, the philosophical foundations of his message, his peculiar translations and comments on the works of Th. Huxley, A. Smith, J. S. Mill, Montesquieu and others, his relations to traditional philosophy. He also elucidates a number of further questions.

The work is interesting not only as a material treasury with the respect to the cognition of the subject dealt with, but also as a "genuine work of comparative history" (Louis Hartz, *Introduction*, XX). Dozens of sinologists devote themselves at present to the most different problems arising from contacts between China and the West or the question called "response to West" and hundreds of them often encounter these problems.

The book by Professor Schwartz point to some more general issues arising from this encounter. In this book the personality and work of Yen Fu represents a kind of model that each researcher in this field should be aware of before he starts his research work.

Some characteristic features of this model are:

1. Response to the West. If it is a response originating in the period before the end of the past century — it "usually takes place within a framework of concepts and categories furnished by the Chinese intellectual tradition" (p. 6).

2. The question of the revaluation of traditional values must be examined on the ground of social, political and economic situation (p. 22).

3. The source of Western power — admired particularly by the younger generation — must be examined in an entirely different vision of reality than that offered by Chinese philosophy. This source must be seen in the world of ideas (p. 43).

4. In the process of taking over ideas or even entire philosophical trends those are more often accepted which comply with the psychology of receivers, their convictions, their needs and the needs of the social entity they represent (p. 53).

5. The philosophical message of this kind is always exposed to a greater or smaller tension, the consequence of which is transformation, while the original synthesis is refracted through the receiver's preoccupation (p. 80).

The questions of the channels through which Western thought was flowing to China and the ways in which it was served to the Chinese public needs further examination. The method of paraphrastic translation or interpretation via translation, both utilized by Yen Fu, are not the only ones. A great number of obstacles e.g. for researchers in the field of philosophy or literary criticism is constituted by "works" with a Chinese given as author, while in fact, the real author is some unknown European writer, or by works which had been compiled on the basis of some work

quoted, or not quoted at all but which represent a more or less particular piece — sometimes presented in a very impressive way — of the author's thinking.

Schwartz's *In Search of Wealth and Power* is a work of great philosophical depth.

Marián Gálik

Brunhild Staiger, *Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1969. 142 pp.

The book by Dr. Staiger is an attempt at an analysis of a reappraisal of Confucius in the Chinese People's Republic. Originally this was a Doctor's Dissertation Thesis which, evidently in view of its quality and the importance of its topic, was included in the series "Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Ostasienkunde" (Hamburg) and has been published as the 23rd volume of this series.

The book is noted for its lucidity, intelligibility and precision. Dr. Staiger seems as if intent on "spoiling" her reader. She does not require him carefully to follow her exposition, analysis of the subject, and reminds him repeatedly of what she had already mentioned. The reviewer is of the opinion that in a book, article, or any study it suffices to mention just once that e.g. Ch'en Tu-hsiu lived in the years 1879—1942 (why mention it twice, on p. 16 and 19), the "jen" means "humanity" (why repeat it on p. 18 when it was said on p. 15), that "jen-cheng" means "human government" (see p. 14 and 21). It is likewise superfluous to quote the same paragraph twice as it happened on p. 21 and 27. These examples are not the only ones in the work under review. The reader must be told everything, nothing of any importance should be taken in him for granted, for such assumptions might be misleading: on the other hand, however, there is no need of repeating over and over again what has once been said, for he might put the wrong interpretation on a well meant effort.

This aside, the book will bring profit to those interested in the ideological aspect of contemporary China and the metamorphoses in the explications of the sage Confucius.

It comprises four sections, the first of which, entitled *Historische Voraussetzungen für die marxistische Bewertung von Konfuzius* briefly points to the Chinese scholars' relation towards Confucius at the time of the Hundred Days' Reform Movement of 1898 and the May Fourth Movement of 1919. The second is called *Historischer Überblick über die Konfuzius-Diskussion in der Volksrepublik China* and includes four chapters, the first of which is devoted to a concise analysis of the years 1954 to 1957, the second to that of the years 1958—1960, the third to 1960—1962 and the fourth to the period 1963—1965 — the eve of the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The third section *Probleme der marxistischen Konfuzius-Forschung* and

the following *Kritische Betrachtung der marxistischen Konfuzius-Forschung* represent the most significant contribution of this work. In them Miss Staiger analyses the views of historians and philosophers of the Chinese People's Republic on the era and the person of Confucius, Confucius' views on the State, legal relations, philosophy and ethics. She also points to the causes of a divergent evaluation of Confucius' personality and his work among Chinese scholars, and assesses the scientific values of these discussions.

The present reviewer values highly Miss Staiger's willingness to devote herself to a study of issues relating to discussions in modern China. Discussions on the most varied topics were a frequent form of expression of views on diverse phenomena and on questions in the most disparate areas: i.e. literary criticism, social, political and other problems. These discussions have up to now been neglected or at least, they were not given due attention. Work with them is interesting enough for the researcher, but the results are not always rewarding or attractive. This need not be the author's fault, but should rather be ascribed to the participants in the discussions. The quality of their contribution is often of a low standard. For the researcher this means much work and less valuable results.

The book deserves the attention of students of modern China, particularly on the part of philosophers and politologues.

The author would probably do well to continue to devote herself further to the study of similar problems. The manner of her treatment of the material, her insight into and familiarization with the intellectual life in the Chinese People's Republic constitute a potential guarantee of the value of her subsequent works also.

Marián Gálik

Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities. Ed. by Chow Tse-tsung. Madison, Milwaukee and London, The University of Wisconsin Press 1968. 325 pp.

According to the *Preface* by Chow Tse-tsung, the book under review is "the first of a series dedicated to critical scholarship in the Chinese humanities: language, literature, philosophy, logic, historiography, and the arts". The editorial board of *Wen-lin* hopes that "each volume shall emphasize a single field". This first volume contains 12 contributions, for the most part of a literary character, 7 of them being devoted to questions of poetry, 2 to fiction, 2 are philosophical and 1 deals with linguistics. All refer exclusively to ancient China.

James R. Hightower is the author of the first study entitled *T'ao Ch'ien's "Drinking-Wine Poems"*. The subject-matter, content and tenure of the study is rather accurately intimated in the title. It is an analysis in the manner practised by adherents of the "New Criticism", of twenty "*Drinking-Wine Poems*" (*Yin chiu*.

erh shih shou). Each analysis begins with a literal translation and a detailed commentary, which betrays a deep knowledge of T'ao Ch'ien's (i.e. T'ao Yüan-ming's) personality and works (pp. 365—427).

A. R. Davis adopts a different procedure in the elaboration of his study, "*The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry: A Study of Variations upon a Theme*". His analysis is reminiscent of the sympathetic Chinese critics, even though those I have read, wrote on different topics. The author notes the origins of this very significant festival and its literary impact on poets from Ts'ao P'ei (pp. 186—226) to Yang Wan-li (1124—1206). In addition, this article is an outstanding contribution to a study of the problem of "originality and imitation" in Chinese literature.

James J. Y. Liu strikes a note closer to the New Criticism when writing on *Ambiguities in Li Shang-yin's Poetry*. It is only natural that this article should remind every one, at least partially acquainted with the history of modern literary criticism, of the well-known book by W. Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*.

However, in contrast to W. Empson who viewed ambiguity as "any verbal nuance, however slight, which gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language," James J. Y. Liu sees ambiguity in a word, an image, or a whole poem, that allows for more than one interpretation. While the former approach is more "intricate", the latter appears "more simple and more practical" — at least in so far as old Chinese poetry is concerned. In the present study the author gives a practical demonstration of several types of ambiguities in reference, in attitude, in imagery and symbolism, and in allusions. This article should be read by everyone interested more closely in Chinese poetry.

The study by Wayne Schlepp entitled *Metrics in Yüan San-ch'ü* is concerned with the so-called pitch variations in Chinese poetry of the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty (1279—1368).

Hellmut Wilhelm contributed to the collection by his article *A Note on Chung Hung and His Shih-p'in*, which is a brief introduction to a study of the life and works of Chung Hung (5th century A.D.). It is a very comprehensible and clear piece of work on this eminent — very cultivated but also rather unsensitive — Chinese critic.

E. Bruce Brooks writes on a similar theme in his article *A Geometry of the Shih-p'in*. In contrast to the preceding work, however, this article is difficult to read with the exception of the poems which are ultramodern and as such can hardly be said to correspond to the spirit of the original. The author sees a geometry of the *Shih-p'in* both in its own "categorization" (i.e. in the so-called External Geometry), and also in "filiation-statements" (i.e. in the so-called Internal Geometry). Such a disjointed characterization of these phenomena, long known and explained in the history of Chinese literary criticism, is probably superfluous. Thus on reading the lines e.g. on p. 148, one is not quite sure whether one follows the thoughts of a literary historian, or those of an interpreter of hexagrams from the *Book of Changes*.

The study by Chow Tse-tzung called *Early History of the Chinese Word Shih (Poetry)*, is an article elaborated down to the least details. It testifies to the author's extraordinary knowledge of the material processed which is a feature of all his works. This is one of the best contributions devoted so far to the study of Chinese literary criticism.

The well-known specialist on Yen Chin-t'ui (531—approx. 591), Albert E. Dien, contributed to the book under review his article *The Yüan-hun Chih (Accounts of Ghosts with Grievances), A Sixth-Century Collection of Stories*. It deals with stories in a collection bearing the same name, compiled by Yen Chih-t'ui. The author shows that these stories are far less Buddhist than is generally supposed, and that they are more Confucian in character — just as Yen Chih-t'ui himself was more of a Confucian than a Buddhist.

The article *New Perspectives on Two Ming Novels: Hsi Yu Chi and Hsi Yu Pu* is the work by the brothers C. T. Hsia and T. A. Hsia. These are in reality two studies: the first of them compares in particular the work of Wu Ch'eng-en (approx. 1500 to 1582) and that of Rabelais (1490—1553) and is an attempt at myth and archetypal criticism. The second has remained unfinished (T. A. Hsia died in 1965), and material from the novel *Hsi Yu Pu* by Tung Yüeh (1620—1686) has served the author as the basis for an extremely interesting contribution to a study of dreams in Chinese fiction. It would, however, be a laborious task to search material in Chinese fiction, suitable for Freudian criticism.

A Note on the Dialects of Lo-yang and Nanking During Six Dynasties by Richard B. Mather is "rather a rough summary of the problem." Not being a linguist the author of the present review finds it difficult to assess its eventual merits or its negative features.

The article *The Great Clod: A Taoist Conception of Universe* by H. G. Creel, belongs among the most interesting of the whole book. It points primarily to the difference between the Platonian and the Taoist (in particular Chuang-tzu's) conception of the universe.

Finally, the study by W. A. C. H. Dobson, *Some Legal Instruments of Ancient China: The Ming and the Meng*, devoted to the ming issue (Heaven's charge) and the meng (the blood-oath) completes this book. The major part of the study is concerned with the meng issue, which has so far received hardly any attention in scientific literature.

There is no doubt that *Wen-lin: Studies in Chinese Humanities* is a successful work and it only remains to hope that the subsequent volumes that are to follow in the series will prove equally attractive and fruitful and will maintain the high scientific standard set in the present volume.

Marián Gálík

Yen Chih-t'ui, *Family Instruction for the Yen Clan (Yen-shih chia-hsün)*, an annotated translation with introduction by Teng Ssu-yü. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1968. XXXIV + 245 pp.

The introduction to this book starts with proclamations by American judges and police about the "excellent behaviour on the part of Chinese-American youngsters." The translator and commentator of this book asserts that "family instruction (chia-hsün), too, plays an important role in maintaining a traditional criterion of good conduct and manners."

The form of "family instruction" was widely spread in China. According to the Japanese Professor Moriya Mitsuo the origins of such a literature date back to the period of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.—220. A.D.), even though precisely *Family Instruction for the Yen Clan* from the 6th century A.D. is the first really comprehensive work of this kind.

Filial piety (hsiao) was considered by Confucianist moralists as one of the most important virtues of the Chinese. Hsieh Yu-wei, a contemporary Chinese philosopher with a European education, sees in it an indispensable condition of the old and new Chinese society and he would gladly extend it to the entire world society. Chinese philosophers saw in filial piety the elementary guarantee of social prosperity — and an assurance of the immortality of the Chinese man. Young Chinese saw in it an expression of their own love for and devotion to their life-givers. For example, ancient Chinese ascribed even the ability to beget children to filial piety. The philosopher Mencius (3rd cent.B.C.) e.g. proclaimed that he sins most against filial piety who has no son. The efforts to preserve a healthy posterity, mainly of the male sex, was not motivated solely by economic or cultural needs. The main point was to assure an adequate number of those who will be able in future to bring offerings to their ancestors. The Chinese feared the prospects of remaining the so-called hungry spirits in the next world.

Hence, the purpose of similar "family instructions" was quite clear. Yen Chih-t'ui (531—591 A.D.) was only the first to work out in a more extensive form that which many others later imitated, or tried to present in a more original form.

Yen Chih-t'ui put all his wisdom, political, philosophical and literary, into this work which was intended to serve as instruction for future generations of his clan. The impact of this work, however, proved far superior to what Yen Chih-t'ui could envisage. It was read by many scores of generations of Chinese during 15 centuries and it always very much influenced the intellectual physiognomy of the Chinese people. Even during the present century young Chinese students used to read it with all gravity.

Yen Chih-t'ui lived in an extremely chaotic and dangerous period. He wished to bequeath to his sons, nephews and the following generations the fruit of his own rich experiences. He laid great stress on the necessity of educating children on the

one hand, and on filial piety on the other—hence, he was interested in similar ends as other Confucianists. Education was to be very thorough. A wide and deep knowledge of things, people, political situations could alone assure a safe life. His “family instructions” concerned family life, social life, drew attention to the need of studying history, literature, philosophical and religious problems, and problems of the “nourishment of life.”

This book should be read at least cursorily by every sinologist engaged on a study of ancient China, for it had a prominent share in forming many of those who represented it.

Marián Gálik

Werner Danckert, *Tonreich und Symbolzahl* (Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft, Band 35). Bonn, H. Bouvier u. Co. Verlag 1966. S. XVI + 357.

Die kommunikative Funktion der Musik ist unabstreitbar. Sie vermittelt uns jedoch Informationen, für die wir nur sehr schwer Vergleiche anstellen, wenn wir ihren Inhalt oder Wirkung z. B. durch das Wort zum Ausdruck bringen wollen. Ähnlichen Schwierigkeiten begegnen wir auch beim Ausdrücken von Erlebnissen der darstellenden oder literarischen Kunst, obwohl der engere Zusammenhang der Formen mit dem Objekt der Darstellung oder die begriffliche Ausgeprägtheit der Worte in der Literatur in einer bestimmten Art die Assoziationsbindung dermassen determiniert, dass wir auch der Beschreibung unserer künstlerischen Erlebnisse näherkommen können. Natürlich, es ist dem eigentlichen Wesen des künstlerischen Ausdrucks noch immer sehr entfernt, immerhin geben uns die Grundlagen der formbildenden Elemente des literarischen und des darstellenden Ausdrucks die Möglichkeit einer bestimmten konkreten Aussage, indem sie mehr oder weniger aus der empirischen Grundlage der objektiven Welt herauswachsen, also aus der Beobachtung. Das eigentliche künstlerische Schaffen entschwindet und entfernt sich jedoch diesen primären Beziehungen des Baumaterials zu den realen Erscheinungen, formt deren neue Beziehungen, filtert deren Bedeutung, aber es verneint es trotz all seiner Abänderungen nicht. Kehren wir zur Musik zurück und suchen in ihr die notwendigen Beziehungen, so stellen wir fest, dass die physikalische Qualität der Töne, die uns das musikalische Erlebnis vermittelt, eine andere Bedeutung hat als es in der musikalischen Praxis gilt. Danckert führt in diesem Zusammenhang ein prägnantes Zitat Goethe's an: „Was ist denn eine Saite und alle mechanische Teilung derselben gegen das Ohr des Musikers? Ja man kann sagen, was sind die elementaren Erscheinungen der Natur selbst gegen den Menschen, der sie alle erst bändigend und modifizieren muss, um sie sich einigermassen assimilieren zu können?“

In der musikologischen Forschung sind diese Tatsachen zur Genüge bekannt. Wir wissen, dass wir die Kommunikationsfähigkeit der musikalischen Sprache nicht

einfach mechanisch verbinden können mit der physikalischen Qualität der Töne, die die Träger der Informationen sind. Leider kennen wir bis jetzt nur wenige Werke, die es versuchen würden dieses Problem auf der Basis einer ausgedehnten Materialforschung zu lösen. Es ist Danckert's Verdienst, dass wir nun ein solches Material gewinnen, welches die Lösung der elementaren Probleme der Kommunikation in der Musik verspricht und zwar mittels der Organisierung des Tonmaterials. Es ist eine teilweise, aber sehr wichtige Aussage zu diesem Problem. Sie zeigt, dass die Transformation magischer oder zauberhafter Symbole in die Beziehungen der Töne auf Grund der Assoziationsbeziehungen als eines der elementaren Bedeutungs-postulate zur Geltung kommt. Die Einsetzung der Bedeutungsqualität in die Beziehungen der Töne erfolgt durch Zahlen, die die Fakten gesellschaftlicher Bedeutung symbolisieren. Diese Zahlen verleihen dann der Musik die grundlegende Charakteristik einer inhaltlichen Aussage.

Die Transformation der heiligen Zahlen in musikalische Beziehungen wird von Danckert vor allem im Zusammenhang mit der Organisierung des Tonmaterials beobachtet. Indessen diese Zahlen in regionaler und zeitlicher Applikation die Vorstellung einer Organisierung ausdrücken, gewähren sie diese Garantie auch der Musik. Die Organisierung des Tonmaterials kann nicht von sich selbst hervorkommen und schwerlich könnten wir uns irgendeinen „musikalischen Grundsatz“ vorstellen, der diese Organisierung auf irgendwelche Weise begründen würde. Zur Erklärung dieser Prinzipie reicht auch die Erläuterung der Akustik nicht aus. Dies ist dadurch gegeben, dass in der Musik zahlenmässige Beziehungen appliziert werden, die in der gesellschaftlichen Praxis eine Bedeutungsbestimmung erlangten. Das Wirken der Zahlen widerspiegelt sich klar an den Instrumenten, die gerade unter dem Einfluss der Wirkung der Zahlensymbolik die potentionalen Möglichkeiten ihres Tonumfanges nicht ausnützen. Diesem Prinzip gemäss werden z. B. Öffnungen in den Pfeifen gebohrt oder die Anzahl der Tasten des Xylophons dadurch bestimmt usw.

Danckert verdanken wir es, dass wir so einen bewundernswerten Überblick der Wirkung der heiligen Zahlen bei der Formung von Tonreihen in primitiven sowie hochentwickelten Kulturen gewinnen. Er führt die Probleme stufenweise von den Einton- bis zu den Achttonmelodien an und am Anfang eines jeden Kapitels steht eine zutreffende Charakteristik der einzelnen melodischen Typen. Wenn er die Symbolik der Zahlen charakterisiert, arbeitet er mit einem sehr weiten Umkreis von Quellmaterial, sowie mit numerischen, manchmal auch polemischen Formen von dessen Bearbeitung. Er betrachtet in gleichem Masse Quellen aus primitiven Kulturen sowie alten, hochentwickelten Kulturen, Beispiele aus dem Hellenischen Zeitalter, dem christlichen Mittelalter, sowie Beispiele europäischer Volkstradition. Diese breite Vergleichsbasis ermöglicht es ihm die besonders interessanten Zusammenhänge von Geltendmachung der Symbolik der einzelnen Zahlen zu verfolgen. Auf Grund dieses umfangreichen Materials beweist er, dass die Verbreitung mancher Symbole den Rahmen ihrer regionalen Gültigkeit überschreitet. Im allgemeinen

bezieht sich das auf die Anwendung des männlichen und weiblichen Prinzips als Symbols der Hauptentwicklungsformen der gesellschaftlichen Organisierung. Eine ähnliche Gültigkeit, mit grösserer oder kleinerer regionaler Modifikation, haben jedoch auch andere Bedeutungsausdrücke der Zahlensymbolik.

Als eines der grundlegendsten Resultate von Danckert's Arbeit halte ich seine Behauptung, dass unsere Darstellung der primitiven Kulturen als solchen ohne Bewusstwerden der elementären Gesetzmässigkeiten bei der Schaffung von Melodien, nicht standhält. Sei es ein intuitives oder rationelles Bewusstwerden. Dies beweist er gerade durch seine Forschung der Wirkung von heiligen Zahlen auf die Tonordnung. Und von dieser Kenntnis gelangt er zur Feststellung, dass die Zahlensymbolik in manchen hochgestellten Kulturen älteren Epochen entstammt, als es die musikalischen und philosophischen Traktate repräsentieren, vielleicht entstammt sie ähnlichen Epochen, die heutzutage von primitiven Kulturen repräsentiert werden.

Es ist Schade, dass der Autor die Konzentrierung eines so umfangreichen Materials nicht zu einer mehr verallgemeinernden Aussage oder zu einer ausdrucksvolleren theoretischen Auswertung der Fakte nutzte. Er verbleibt eher auf dem Standpunkt eines objektiven Beobachters.

Wir wollen dadurch den Wert des Werkes natürlich nicht herabsetzen. Schon damit, dass der Verfasser solch eine Menge faktographischen Materials konzentrierte, bewies er, dass die Symbolik der Zahlen in der Musik keineswegs nur ein formaler Wert ist.

Ivan Mačák

Johannes C. Andersen, *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians*. Rutland and Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle 1969. 514 pp. + 16 colour plates + 44 black-and-white photographs + 13 pictures + 1 map.

Oceania and especially Polynesia always attracted live interest both of wide public (motivated mainly by exotic and romantic factors) and of scholars. The importance of Polynesia for anthropology and for the study of human culture lies in the fact that it is a separate civilization many aspects of which have been fairly well preserved thanks to enormous efforts of several generations of professional and amateur investigators. The book under review deals with one, now extinct phase of the Polynesian civilization, namely with mythology which is at least as charming and elaborate as that of Ancient Greece.

Right at the beginning it might be said that the Polynesian mythology, like the languages of the Polynesians, points unambiguously to the West as to the region from which the ancestors of present-day Polynesians have migrated. Oceanic and Indonesian myths prove convincingly that a common Austronesian mythology once

existed. However, this has been later superimposed and reshaped by stronger Indian and weaker Islamic influences in the West (i.e. in Indonesia). When trying to compile an inventory of common features of the Polynesian and Indonesian mythologies, we should include in it, for example, the idea of the existence of a primitive ocean in the midst of which a lonely rock rises, the future foundation of the world. Both Polynesian and Indonesian mythologies know the idea of cosmic cataclysms, according to which the present world is simply the last in a series of several successive worlds. The same holds also for the myth of the flood. However, this one seems to be distributed universally. On the other hand, specifically Austro-nesian is the motif of raising the sky which was originally much lower than now. This motif is related to the interpretation of sky and earth as parents and is repeated all through Polynesia as well as in the eastern parts of Indonesia. As far as cosmogony is concerned, there are rather substantial differences between Western and Eastern Polynesia. While genealogical myths of a gradual rise of the world from the primitive chaos prevail in the East (with the successive evolutionary phases clothed in abstract terminology), Western Polynesians prefer concrete myths that are closer to what is typical of Indonesia. Thus, e.g., a typically Western Polynesian myth is that of the rise of man from a worm or, more generally, from an amorphous creature.

The mythological cycle about Maui is specifically Oceanic. Maui is a trickster, a cultural hero and a demigod in one person. Somewhat less widespread is the cycle about Hina who is a personification of the Moon, a prototype of Woman and, at the same time, the cause of death, and queen of the Spirit World. Her relation to the Eel (Tuna) is no doubt to be interpreted as sexual symbolism.

All myths and types of myths mentioned above are included and illustrated in Andersen's book. In addition, many other Polynesian myths and legends can be found there. The overall picture of Polynesian mythology is supplemented by chapters on Polynesian spirit world (pp. 288—348), on the Areoi society (pp. 432—451), and on religious observances (pp. 452—468). Andersen has based his collection mainly upon New Zealand sources that are notable for their richness, but abundant illustrations of myths from other parts of Polynesia are included as well. The graphic lay-out of the book is simply excellent. The scientific value of this publication is increased by an abundant bibliography (pp. 469—471) and, especially, by a detailed index (pp. 473—514).

Viktor Krupa

T. F. Kennedy, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Pacific Islands*. Wellington, A. H. and A. W. Reed 1968. 64 pp.

According to the author, this atlas (which was published for the first time in 1966) has been compiled because of the need to fill the gap in information about the

Pacific. It has been designed mainly for schools. The textual part of the atlas supplies basic facts and the latest available statistics on the islands and countries included. Emphasis has been placed on the economically more important islands and those of particular interest to New Zealand and Australia. In practice this means that very little attention has been devoted to French Polynesia. The revised edition includes the most recent statistics and several textual corrections, especially in sections concerning government in Fiji, Nauru, and the British Solomon Islands.

The areas covered by the atlas are as follows: *New Zealand* (pp. 10—13), *Australia* (pp. 13—17), *Polynesia* (pp. 17—37), *Melanesia* (pp. 37—54), *Micronesia* (pp. 54—59), and *Philippine Islands* (pp. 60—62). Altogether there are 62 maps of various Pacific islands by Julius Petro and Lionel Forsdyke, including several maps characterizing climate, land use, natural resources, and demography. Each section contains information on size and physical nature, government, population and settlement, climate and vegetation, land tenure and farming, industry, cities and towns, communications, and various other points.

The atlas is a useful reference book for all those who have an interest in the Pacific area. It will no doubt help to increase knowledge of the Pacific world.

Viktor Krupa

Maori Folktales in Maori and English. Introduced and Translated by Margaret Orbell. Auckland, Blackwood and Janet Paul Ltd. 1968. 122 pp.

As the title indicates, this is a collection of Maori narratives paralleled by their English translations.

In an excellent introduction (pp. IX—XXI), M. Orbell introduces the world of Maori folklore to the readers and explains its social and cultural background, which is highly useful in view of the civilizational gap involved. It is characteristic of Maori folktales that people defend themselves against an attack from an unnatural adversary—and the unnaturalness sometimes consists in the motiveless enmity. In an attempt to compare Polynesian folktales with Eurasian narratives, M. Orbell points out that it is the struggle between the natural or proper order and inhuman forces threatening it that is typical of Polynesian folklore, while in European and Asian folktales it is the struggle between good and evil, virtue and vice (p. X). Most narratives included in the present collection can be labelled as folktales. However, Maori folktales are rather close to myths. They are variations on the great themes of the myths, restatements on the plane of imagination (p. XIII), but, nevertheless, they were told for entertainment. Stylistically the Maori folktales are notable for their simplicity, lack of triviality and decorativeness.

The eighteen stories published here come from the earliest period of contact with

Europeans. Each folktale is printed here both in its Maori and in its English version. At the same time, the area of origin is indicated as well as the year when it was recorded. Numerous Maori words (e.g., *wahine puhi*, *teka*, *Rerenga Wairua*, *kura*) are explained in footnotes.

The appendix gives the sources of the stories (pp. 107—116) and works cited (pp. 117—120). Several Maori words are explained on pp. 121—122, namely words that are common in the present-day English of New Zealand.

The present collection of Maori narratives will be of interest not only to the general public but also to the student of the Maori language and folklore, especially because most of them were recorded in the early years of the European colonization.

Viktor Krupa

D. G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien 1720—1727*; Herausgegeben von E. Winter und N. A. Figurovskij; Mit einem Vorwort von W. Steinitz und A. V. Topčiev; *Teil 1*; Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1721—1722; Mit 2 Textabbildungen, 8 Kunstdrucktafeln und 1 Karte; Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1962; VIII + 380 S. 8° (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas; Bd. VIII, Teil 1).

D. G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien 1720—1727*; In Verbindung mit zahlreichen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von E. Winter, G. Uschmann und G. Jarosch; *Teil 2*; Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Januar 1723—Mai 1724; Mit 11 Kunstdrucktafeln und 1 Karte; Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1964; VIII + 272 S. 8° (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas; Bd. VIII, Teil 2).

D. G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien 1720—1727*; Herausgegeben von E. Winter, G. Uschmann und G. Jarosch; *Teil 3*; Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Mai 1724—Februar 1725; Mit 8 Kunstdrucktafeln und 1 Karte; Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1966; 274 S. 8° (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas; Bd. VIII, Teil 3).

D. G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien 1720—1727*; Herausgegeben von E. Winter, G. Uschmann und G. Jarosch; *Teil 4*; Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Februar 1725 — November 1725; Mit 8 Kunstdrucktafeln und 1 Karte; Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1968; 284 S. 8° (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas; Bd. VIII, Teil 4).

Das grossangelegte gemeinsame Unternehmen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR, den Nachlass des berühmten Sibirienforschers systematisch zu erschliessen und auszuwerten, befindet sich auf dem besten Wege der Verwirklichung. Die bis jetzt erschienenen vier Bände der Tagebuchaufzeichnungen von Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt verstärken die Hoffnung der Fachleute, dass das eigentlich auf 10 Bände geplante Werk in absehbarer Zeit seinen erfolgreichen Abschluss finden wird.

D. G. Messerschmidt (1685—1735), einer der Bahnbrecher der Sibirienforschung,

dessen Reise Pallas' Unternehmen ein halbes Jahrhundert vorherging, wurde von der Wissenschaft sowohl zu seinem Lebzeiten als auch nach seinem Tode wenig geachtet. Die zehnbändige Publikation, die ausser den Tagebuchaufzeichnungen die eigene Zusammenfassung von Messerschmidt über seine Reise und einen Sammelband über die wissenschaftliche Bedeutung seiner Erforschungen, weiterhin einige Bände Indizes, Bilder und Karten enthalten soll, versucht das gut zu machen, was die bisherigen Generationen, zuweilen durch die Umstände behindert, bisweilen aber durch menschliche Schwäche, versäumt haben.

Der erste Band der Reihe wird durch ein Vorwort von W. Steinitz und A. V. Topčiev, in dem die Hauptziele dieses gemeinsamen Vorhabens der zwei Akademien dargelegt werden, eingeleitet (Zum Geleit S. VII).

Die Einleitung von E. Winter und N. A. Figurovskij (S. 1—20) gibt ein lebendiges Bild über Messerschmidt und seine Zeit sowie über die Umstände, unter denen er seine Forschungsreise unternommen hat. Diese Einleitung ist ein interessanter Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutsch-russischen wissenschaftlichen Beziehungen im 18. Jh., deren Entfaltung auch diese Reise von Messerschmidt ermöglichte.

Der in Danzig geborene Gelehrte hatte in Halle, das damals der Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Russlandkunde war, Medizin studiert. Im zaristischen Dienst stehende deutsche Gelehrte, die sich bei den Anfängen der wissenschaftlichen Forschung in Russland verdient machten, haben ihn für eine längere Forschungsreise nach Sibirien gewonnen. Messerschmidt hat das Angebot angenommen und sich für das siebenjährige Unternehmen vertraglich verpflichtet. Diese Reise bildete einen Teil der Bestrebungen, mit denen Peter I. die Zurückgebliebenheit Russlands auf dem Gebiet der Naturwissenschaften überwinden wollte. An der Festlegung seiner Reisepläne und Aufgaben haben weitblickende Wissenschaftler mitgewirkt, die dieser Reise eine besondere Bedeutung beimassen. Mit Recht und gutem Spürsinn, da diese Reise wirklich eine Bereicherung, aber nicht nur der naturwissenschaftlichen Bereiche, sondern auch anderer Wissenschaftszweige (Sprachwissenschaft, Archäologie, Geschichte, Ethnographie usw.) mit sich brachte.

Obwohl Messerschmidt sich schon seit 1718 in Russland aufhielt, begann die grosse Reise für ihn am 1. 3. 1721. Von diesem Datum an verfügen wir über sein mit Sorgfalt geführtes Tagebuch. Frühere Aufzeichnungen von ihm sind leider verloren gegangen. Über diese Periode seiner Forschungstätigkeit berichten nur die Mitteilungen seines Freundes und in dieser Zeit Mitarbeiters, Tabbert-Strahlenberg, in seinem bekannten Buch (*Historie der Reisen in Russland, Sibirien und der grosse Tartarey*. Leipzig 1730).

Messerschmidts Aufzeichnungen spiegeln treu die Vielfalt seiner Forschungstätigkeit wider, die er mit Fleiss, Systematik und genialem Forscherblick leitete. Gleichzeitig berichten sie auch über die äusserst schwierigen Umstände, unter denen Messerschmidt seine Forschungsreise unternehmen musste.

1727 kehrte Messerschmidt nach St. Petersburg zurück. Die Zeit wirkte aber

nicht zu seinen Gunsten. Der nach dem Tod Peters I. erfolgte Rückfall Russlands machte sich auch auf dem Gebiet der Wissenschaft bemerkbar. Messerschmidt fand weder Anerkennung noch die Möglichkeit, seine Resultate unter wohl verdienten Bedingungen auswerten zu können. Es war für ihn sogar unmöglich, weiterhin in Russland zu bleiben. Er hinterliess seine einmalige Sammlung in St. Petersburg und kehrte in seine Heimat zurück. Er musste sich sogar schriftlich verpflichten, ohne die Genehmigung der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften nichts von seinen Ergebnissen zu veröffentlichen.

Tabbert-Strahlenbergs Buch und das Wort anderer Wissenschaftler lenkte noch einmal die Aufmerksamkeit auf ihn. Obwohl er 1731 auf eine Einladung nach Russland zurückkehren konnte, änderte das nicht viel an seinen Lebensumständen und Beziehungen zu der „offiziellen“ Wissenschaft. Er starb 1735 in Vergessenheit und Elend in St. Petersburg.

Die Einleitung des Buches, die nicht nur seinen Lebenslauf darstellt, sondern ihn auch als Wissenschaftler und Mensch vorstellt, gibt einen ausführlichen Bericht über das Schicksal des wissenschaftlichen Nachlasses dieses hervorragenden Gelehrten.

Ein kurzes Kapitel unter dem Titel *Zur Textgestaltung* (S. 21—26) aus der Feder von G. Jarosch informiert über die Editionsprinzipien des Tagebuches. Die Tagebuchaufzeichnungen selbst (S. 27—336; davon 27—33 Übersicht) wurden auch von G. Jarosch zum Druck vorbereitet. Ein Wörterverzeichnis (S. 336—339), Personenregister (S. 430—448) und ein geographisches Register (S. 349—379) ergänzen den Band. Auf die genaue bibliographische Beschreibung der weiteren Bände kann hier verzichtet werden, da die Titel selbst die notwendige Information beinhalten.

Die bisher erschienenen vier Bände bedeuten eine Schatzkammer für die Erforschung Sibiriens. Es gebührt Dank den beiden Akademien und den Herausgebern für dieses vielsprechende Unternehmen.

Georg Hazai

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