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## ARTICLES

## SOME PROBLEMS OF THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

In this article, language is treated as a social phenomenon and as a means of communication and thought. Being a prism through which man perceives reality, it has a reflective nature. Discussing the relation of language to thought and reality, the author criticizes the theory of linguistic relativity. In addition he analyses briefly the essence of linguistic change and the systemic character of language. Structuralism is regarded here as an overcome method and, instead, the systemic approach is put forward. Finally, the author pays some attention to the subjective factor in language.

A deep and thorough study of language as pursued since many decades has its *raison d'être* not only in the need to describe language adequately but also outside linguistics. Language is a prism through which man perceives reality, it is the only vehicle of philosophical thought and thus is of vital importance for the scientific cognition of the world. Philosophy would stand upon very shaky ground without a comprehensive and detailed knowledge of the properties and structure of this vehicle.

Language is usually treated as a social phenomenon, as a means of communication and thought that is obligatory for all members of a given language community. Language reflects all experience of the community and through this experience it reflects the objective reality that includes not only natural but also social and mental reality. Some philosophers and linguists maintain that language virtually creates the image of reality. This view dates back to Cassirer, Carnap, and Ajdukiewicz and has found its way into linguistics as well. Only one step separates this point of view from an idea that the subjective image is the sole existing reality. The latter idea is, however, incompatible with the undeniable social nature of language.

A purely idealistic conception of language as the only reality deserves no detailed discussion since this mystic subjectivism has left no significant imprint upon linguistic research. More attention should be paid to the so-called theory of linguistic relativity put forth by E. Sapir<sup>1</sup> and B. L. Whorf.<sup>2</sup> However, its roots are to be looked for in the

<sup>1</sup> Sapir, E., *Language*. New York, Harcourt and Brace 1921; *Conceptual Categories in Primitive Languages. Language in Culture and Society*. Ed. by D. Hymes. New York, Harper and Row 1964, p. 128.

early decades of the 19th century, in works of W. von Humboldt.<sup>3</sup> This theory assumes that language influences in a decisive way our perception and understanding of reality. Thus, according to Sapir and Whorf, language represents a sort of a world view. This false assumption has inevitably led to a false conclusion that exaggerates and even absolutizes differences existing between particular languages. Now we arrive at the reflective nature of language. There can be no doubt that the English word *take* does not coincide exactly with the German *nehmen*, Japanese *toru* or Maori *tango* and that these words include meanings strange to their closest Slovak equivalent *brat*. It is differences of this kind that have been taken as a starting-point of the criticized theory of linguistic relativity. The latter has exaggerated such differences and inferred that the image of reality is unique in each language, which results in various, substantially different world views and ways of thinking, conditioned by the particular linguistic vehicle. In the area of philosophy, the theory of linguistic relativity ignores the fact that reality is articulated (or segmented) objectively and that this objective articulation is inevitably reflected in the particular languages, especially upon their semantic levels. The individual languages do not articulate reality in an arbitrary way; they are restricted by what is reflected in them, i.e. by the objective reality. No language articulates reality so as to group incompatible or contradictory phenomena under one label. The phenomena grouped together are always similar or related. Thus, there are languages that denote both death and disease with one and the same word (Maori *mate*), and life and health with another (Maori *ora*) while there is no such language that would articulate reality so as to group life with death or health with disease. If the individual languages differ as to their ways of articulating reality, this is caused by the subjective factor, represented in this instance by practical needs of the community and by its experience. The subjective factor explains why the Eskimo vocabulary contains more words denoting types of snow and ice than, e.g. English and why, on the other hand, the Polynesian languages are notable for their rich fishing and seafaring terminology. Some minor differences among various languages arise also as a consequence of the fact that the continuous reality is projected into inherently discrete reflections. Comparative semantic studies lead to a fully justified conclusion that the various human languages reflect the objective reality in an essentially identical way. This essential similarity is proved by a fundamental possibility of translating from one language into another, despite a certain shift or loss of information that no doubt takes place during this process. This, however, can be explained not so much by different reflective faculties of the languages involved in the process of translation,

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<sup>2</sup> Whorf, B. L., *Language, Thought, and Reality*. Ed. by J. B. Carroll. New York, Wiley 1956.

<sup>3</sup> Humboldt von, W., *Über die Kawisprache*. Teil I. *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues*... Berlin, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften 1836.

as by differences in their cultural backgrounds since any linguistic translation may at the same time be qualified as a cultural transfer.

*The theory of linguistic relativity* loses much of its plausibility if we take into account that language is a social product inseparable from practical activities of the community. The correctness of the linguistic reflection allows the users of language to manipulate reality. The reflective character of language explains also its remarkable stability that precludes any arbitrary or abrupt change. Language changes at a very slow pace and in accordance with certain laws. The rate of development is conditioned or, to be more precise, limited by the social function of language. Language develops through the speech activity of its speakers and the speech activity is the only form of the existence of language. As language is no living organism, the linguistic changes cannot be compared with biological changes. All stimuli causing change and development of language enter it from outside, through its users, although the particular mode of realization of any change is conditioned by factors internal to language. The contradictory tendencies participating in linguistic changes are as follows. The tendency toward *efficient communication* requires that language be able to communicate about everything that is of any concern to the community and that the communication take place without disturbances. In an opposite direction operates the tendency toward *articulatory comfort* that leads to a phonetic wear of words, loss of distinctions and thus to an increased occurrence of disturbances and misunderstandings in communication. The effects of this tendency are kept at a tolerable level by the tendency toward efficient communication. The most disturbing ambiguities are annihilated by a variety of ways. The greater efficiency of communication is achieved not only due to spontaneous changes, but also due to conscious *normative activities* of linguists. The latter are indispensable for any developed language community.

Language develops evolutionally, modifying its quality through a gradual accumulation of minor changes that do not obstruct efficient communication. N. Y. Marr has put forth the so-called theory of stadial development of language. According to him, language develops by revolutionary changes, passing from one stage into another in a violent way. This theory exerted a distorting impact upon Soviet linguistics. Its domination was terminated by the well-known Soviet discussion on theoretical problems of linguistics in the fifties. After Marr no one doubts that the historical and comparative method can be applied to the investigation of language only on the assumption that linguistic changes are considered gradual. Validity of this assumption is proved by the achievements of the historical and comparative study of various languages which contribute considerably to our knowledge of prehistory and ancient language communities.

As a reaction to Marr's antievolutionistic attitude, the Soviet linguists have shown an increased interest in the historical and comparative method, especially in the second half of the fifties. They stressed first of all the historical aspect of language.

Although the historical moment cannot be neglected or underestimated, one ought to be aware of the fact that language as a means of communication exists at the synchronous level and has inevitably a *systemic* character. Language can function only as a material system, i.e. a system that is accessible to human perception. At the same time it is an open system linked with its environment through a variety of inputs and outputs. The elements of language system are articulated and auditively perceived and thus they make it possible to code, transfer, and decode an idea that cannot be perceived without its material vehicle. This implies that the material elements of language are relevant for the language system due to the properties assigned to them in the process of communication, i.e. due to the meaning transferred and not due to their substantial properties. Systems comprising such elements are usually called sign systems or secondary material systems,<sup>4</sup> unlike primary material systems (e.g. machines or living organisms) or ideal systems (e.g. various philosophical theories). Another important feature of language as a semiotic system is the fact that properties assigned to language elements (i.e. their meaning) are in principle not conditioned by their substantial properties.

Dichotomy is an important, although by no means the only principle of internal organization of language. Earlier, when discussing secondary material systems, we touched upon the opposition of *content* and *form*. In the case of language, content is represented by the piece of information to be communicated, i.e. by meaning. Content is transferred by means of form in which it is coded. Form is likewise notable for a dichotomy since it includes *substance* (i.e. elements) and *structure* (i.e. relations among elements). Thus, the relations also serve for the transfer of meaning, which is obvious in grammar of isolating languages. In the latter, the position of the word in sentence is syntactically relevant. It is to be stressed that the position is treated here not as a place defined in terms of its distance from the sentence beginning but rather as a relational place.

When studying language, it is necessary to stress the dialectic *unity of content and form*. Form carries content in language and a semiotic system is capable of functioning only when both components (i.e. content and form) are present. An exaggeration or even absolutization of one of these components always leads to wrong conclusions. An absolutization of form is typical for American *descriptivism*. The latter dates back to L. Bloomfield<sup>5</sup> who did not deny the relevance of meaning for the language description. However, Bloomfield's followers increasingly neglected the need to study semantics. Z. S. Harris<sup>6</sup> even made an attempt to segment speech into morphs

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<sup>4</sup> Solntsev, V. M., *Yazyk kak sistemno-strukturnoe obrazovanie*. Moscow, Nauka 1971, pp. 15–16.

<sup>5</sup> Bloomfield, L., *A Set of Postulate for the Science of Language*. Language, 2, 1926, pp. 153–164.

<sup>6</sup> Harris, Z. S., *Methods in Structural Linguistics*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1951.

without recourse to the semantic criterion. Some descriptivists have arrived at positions of subjective idealistic empirism because instead of describing objective linguistic phenomena, they discuss certain ideal constructs motivated only to some extent by the objects described. This direction in American linguistics has been labelled by C. F. Hockett<sup>7</sup> as a "hocus-pocus" linguistics. He no doubt hinted at too loose an interrelation between what there really is in language and what these linguists discover. On the other hand, European structuralists are notable for their identification of form with structure. Since structuralism has appeared as a reaction to an atomistic, essentially substantial approach to language, it is easily understandable that the former sometimes tended to underestimate the role of material substance in language and to proclaim interrelations of elements as the only subject of linguistic study. Although the structuralists regarded objects as knots of mutually intersecting relations, they tended to describe language in isolation from its environment and thus committed a serious contradiction. Structuralism can also be criticized for its modulating from a method into a theory, or ideology even, without being aware of it.<sup>8</sup> Another frequently mentioned weakness of structuralism consists in its setting time as a dimension on a par with other dimensions, ignoring the irreversibility of movement and of changes along the time axis. Nevertheless, one has to keep in mind that criticizing structuralism in no way amounts to a refusal of the structural approach to language. The latter ought to be combined with the substantial approach since this is the only way to grasp language as a system, i.e. as a unity of elements and structure. This complex approach to the description of language is termed systematic in some recent works<sup>9</sup> and it is in this sense that structuralism can be regarded as an overcome phase in the development of linguistics.

As far as substance is concerned, the duality operates as a highly efficient principle since it enables generating a virtually unrestricted number of higher meaningful units out of a restricted set of basic units with the aid of a likewise restricted set of combinatorial rules. Thus, at the lower level there are sounds that do not carry meaning but are capable of distinguishing it, while at the higher level there are morphemes that are carriers of meaning. To be sure, this scheme is only very approximate and simplifying. Let it only be said that substance includes *distinctive* and *meaningful* units. The meaningful units, in their turn, can be classed into (1) *associative*, i.e. such that reflect phenomena of objective reality in their meaning and (2) *relational*, i.e. such that mark the interrelations of the former. The word, as an ideal construct, is a unity of the associative and relational meaning. The *word* of inflective languages

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<sup>7</sup> Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York, Macmillan 1958.

<sup>8</sup> Lane, M., *Introduction: I. The Structuralist Method. Structuralism. A Reader*. London, Jonathan Cape 1970, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Obshchee yazykoznanie. Vnutrennyaya struktura*. Ed. by B. A. Serebrennikov. Moscow, Nauka 1972, pp. 26—27.

(e.g. Slovak) has both types of meaning as a unit of *langue* as well, while in speech, various forms of the word occur, depending upon the particular relational meaning to be expressed. The isolating languages (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese or other languages of Southeast Asia) are radically different in this respect. Here the word acquires a relational meaning only in *parole*, due to its (relative) position in the sentence. In these languages, the word as a unit of *langue* does not represent a unity of associative and relational meaning. This unity comes to be realized only in *parole*. In the isolating languages the distinction of word and morpheme turns out to be largely redundant precisely because relational meanings are usually expressed positionally and only to a lesser extent are marked by special grammatical morphemes.

*Sentence*, unlike word that is a nominative unit, is wholly a unit that has a *communicative* function. Grammar of a language is a device that enables to generate an infinite set of sentences out of a given set of words with the aid of a finite set of rules. In this sense *parole*, i.e. set of all possible sentences, reflects the infinite number of interrelations among the phenomena of objective reality. Human mind breaks up the continuous reality into discrete events. Although this process is conditioned objectively, the subjective factor plays a certain part in it, too. The subjective factor contributes also to the content of logico-grammatical categories. Whether an event is represented syncretically (e.g. impersonal sentences), or as a proposition comprising an agent, object, activity, etc.), the sentence interpreted as a linguistic reflection refers to the interrelations holding among the phenomena of objective reality. Thus, we have arrived at what is termed propositional function.<sup>10</sup> An inseparable component of the sentence is modality, i.e. the speaker's attitude to the proposition. This is again the subjective factor that turns the proposition into a statement, question, command, etc.

*The subjective factor* reappears at several levels in the speech activity. According to the theory of reflection, the subjective moment is an indispensable component of the linguistic reflection of the objective reality. As T. Pavlov puts it, "...each idea, because and insofar it is a subjective reflection of an objective item, differs from this objective item just as an idea, i.e. a unity of moments or elements or aspects both of the objective item itself and of the subject as well."<sup>11</sup> There simply would be no reflection without the subjective moment since the reflection would be identical with the reflected object.

The presence of the subjective factor in the cognitive reflection and naturally in language as well, implies that the reflection changes in time, which creates a basis for an incessant development of language as a social and historical phenomenon.

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<sup>10</sup> Searle, J. R., *Speech Acta*. Cambridge, The University Press 1969, pp. 29—33.

<sup>11</sup> Pavlov, T., *Tebria odrazu*. Bratislava, SAVU 1951, p. 122.

# ОППОЗИЦИЯ СМЫЧНЫХ СОГЛАСНЫХ В ИНДОНЕЗИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

ЛЮДМИЛА ЗУБКОВА, Москва

В настоящей работе исследуется функционирование смычных согласных индонезийского языка в парадигматическом и синтагматическом планах. Проведенный анализ дистрибутивно-статистических и экспериментально-фонетических данных свидетельствует о неоднозначности фонетических и функциональных характеристик членов коррелятивных противопоставлений в подсистеме смычных, а также о значительном влиянии явлений морфонологического порядка на формирование функциональных связей между фонемами.

Как известно, характер фонологической системы любого языка в решающей степени определяется тем, какие оппозиции образуют фонемы данного языка и как эти оппозиции функционируют. Особый интерес в этом отношении представляют так называемые коррелятивные оппозиции.

Анализ коррелятивных оппозиций предполагает выявление особенностей поведения членов корреляций в различных позиционно-комбинаторных условиях с учетом фонетических и функциональных характеристик фонем в их взаимосвязях друг с другом. Необходимость дифференцированного подхода к изучению функционирования членов коррелятивных противопоставлений диктуется уже тем, что фонологически однозначный дифференциальный признак фонетически может реализоваться отнюдь не однозначно и степень его выраженности, равно как и физическое содержание могут значительно варьировать у разных фонем и в разных фонетических позициях. Что же касается функциональных отношений, то на фонологическом уровне отсутствие однозначных соответствий между членами корреляций является скорее правилом, чем исключением.

В неоднозначности фонетических и функциональных характеристик членов коррелятивных противопоставлений убеждает, в частности, анализ оппозиции смычных согласных фонем в индонезийском языке.

Обычно в индонезийском языке выделяется 18 согласных фонем: губные  $|p|$ ,  $|b|$ ,  $|m|$ ,  $|w|$ ; переднеязычные  $|t|$ ,  $|d|$ ,  $|n|$ ,  $|s|$ ,  $|l|$ ,  $|r|$ ; среднеязычные  $|t'|$ ,  $|d'|$ ,  $|n'|$ ,  $|j|$ ; заднеязычные  $|k|$ ,  $|g|$ ,  $|ŋ|$  и фарингальный  $|h|$ .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Представленные в подсистеме заимствованных слов согласные  $[f]$ ,  $[z]$ ,  $[s]$ ,  $[x]$  находятся в отношениях свободного варьирования с исконно индонезийскими согласными:

В каждом из названных локальных классов, за исключением фарингального, представлено по 3 гоморганных смычных: шумный глухой, шумный звонкий (фонетически полувзвонкий) и носовой сонант. На первый взгляд отношения между ними отличаются простотой и прозрачностью, однако при более внимательном рассмотрении эта простота оказывается мнимой. В действительности функционирование различных смычных, так же как и их фонетические характеристики, довольно сильно варьируют в зависимости от позиционных условий и качества самих согласных.

Иллюстрацией могут служить некоторые факты фонетического и фонологического порядка.

На фонетическом уровне примером несовпадения артикуляционных характеристик согласных по общему для них дифференциальному признаку являются, в частности, переднеязычные  $/t/$ ,  $/d/$ ,  $/n/$ . По наблюдениям многих исследователей, экспериментально подтвержденным недавно П. С. Вовк,<sup>2</sup> согласные  $/t/$ ,  $/d/$ ,  $/n/$ , функционально принадлежащие к одному локальному классу переднеязычных, отличаются друг от друга по положению и форме активного действующего органа, а также по положению артикуляционного фокуса: глухой  $[t]$ , артикулируется как дорсальный зубной переднеязычный, а согласные  $[d]$  и  $[n]$  — как апикальные альвеолярные.

С другой стороны, сравнение согласных разных локальных классов показывает, что, например, среднеязычные занимают среди смычных совершенно особое положение, отличаясь от согласных других локальных классов по целому ряду признаков.

Прежде всего, по способу своего образования согласные  $[t']$ ,  $[d']$  не являются чистыми смычными и артикулируются как аффрикаты.

На морфонологическом уровне поведение среднеязычных также имеет свои особенности. В образованиях с префиксами  $m\acute{a}N-$ ,  $p\acute{a}N-$  стоящий в начале корневой морфемы согласный  $[t']$  не чередуется с гоморганным носовым, как все остальные глухие смычные. При отсутствии чередования  $[t']$  //  $[n']$  согласный  $[n']$  в отличие от носовых  $/m/$ ,  $/n/$ ,  $/\eta/$  чередуется не с гоморганным смычным, а с щелевым  $/s/$ .

О функциональной близости согласного  $/s/$  к палатальному ряду свиде-

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$[f]/[p]$ ,  $[z]/[s]$ ,  $[z]/[d]$ ,  $[z]/[d']$ ,  $[s]/[s]$ ,  $[x]/[k]$ ,  $[x]/[h]$  — и здесь специально рассматриваться не будут. Особого рассмотрения требует также вопрос о фонологическом статусе гортанной смычки в индонезийском языке.

<sup>2</sup> Вовк, П. С., Недихотомичность противоположения переднеязычных смычных согласных индонезийского языка (К вопросу о последовательности постановки произношения русских смычных переднеязычных индонезийцами). В сб. *В помощь преподавателям русского языка как иностранного*. Изд. МГУ, 1970.

тельствуют также дивергентные повторы, образующиеся путем чередования начальных согласных корневой морфемы. В повторах этого типа, как правило, чередуются согласные, обладающие максимумом различий, причем /s/ ведет себя аналогично /t'/ и, как и /t'/, чередуется исключительно с губными, чаще всего с /m/.

Наличие особых отношений между среднеязычными и /s/ проявляется не только на уровне морфонологии. Как показывает анализ факультативных чередований, в дублетных формах этимологическое /s/, а также [z] обычно чередуются со среднеязычными. В случае же ассимиляции заимствованных слов, содержащих среднеязычный [s], последний заменяется исконно индонезийским [s]. Усвоение подобных слов индонезийским языком, видимо, облегчает то обстоятельство, что в системе фонем /s/ принадлежит к палатальному ряду.

Об этом же свидетельствуют данные дистрибутивного анализа.<sup>3</sup> Очевидно, нельзя считать случайным тот факт, что в пределах слога и слова среднеязычные и /s/ сочетаются крайне редко, особенно если учесть закономерности, управляющие сочетаемостью согласных в индонезийском языке (см. ниже).

Однако ограничения в дистрибуции среднеязычных этим не исчерпываются. В отличие от других смычных среднеязычные возможны только в начале и середине слова и не употребляются в конечной позиции.

Кроме того, по сравнению с согласными других локальных классов среднеязычные характеризуются самой низкой частотой употребления и в словаре, и в тексте, причем в отличие от других пар глухих и звонких смычных в паре /t'—d'/ чаще употребляется не глухой, а звонкий.

Фонетическая реализация коррелирующих согласных в различных позиционно-комбинаторных условиях также имеет свои особенности, связанные с качеством согласного. Это можно видеть на примере индонезийских глухих /p/, /t/, /k/. Если в начале слога перед гласным сильноконечные, по терминологии Л. В. Щербы, согласные /p/, /t/, /k/ артикулируются как смычные взрывные, то в исходе слова сильноначальные /p/ и /t/ произносятся имплозивно, а в качестве аллофона /k/ в этой позиции выступает гортанная смычка.

Различия в функционировании коррелятивных противопоставлений в зависимости от позиционно-комбинаторных условий и качества коррелиру-

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<sup>3</sup> Вопрос о месте щелевых /s/ и /h/ в системе индонезийского консонантизма заслуживает тщательного изучения. Поведение /s/ в системе, в частности, его взаимоотношения с язычными согласными разных локальных классов — яркий пример отсутствия прямого соответствия между фонетическими характеристиками и функциональными свойствами фонем.

ющих фонем наиболее отчетливо выявились при анализе дистрибутивно-статистических характеристик индонезийских смычных. Данные этого анализа и были положены в основу настоящего исследования, посвященного изучению функционирования смычных в парадигматическом и синтагматическом планах.<sup>4</sup> Наряду с этим по мере необходимости были использованы также экспериментально-фонетические данные, в первую очередь при установлении природы противопоставления гоморганных шумных.

В индонезийском языке противопоставление гоморганных согласных  $|p|$  —  $|b|$ ,  $|t|$  —  $|d|$ ,  $|t'|$  —  $|d'|$ ,  $|k|$  —  $|g|$  реализуется в начале и в середине слова перед гласными и отсутствует в исходе слова, так как в этой последней позиции представлены только глухие  $|p|$ ,  $|t|$ ,  $|k|$ . Вообще исход слова в индонезийском языке представляет собой позицию минимального различия согласных фонем, причем все дистрибутивные ограничения, имеющие здесь место, касаются исключительно смычных.<sup>5</sup> Для среднеязычных это ограничение является абсолютным и не связано с нейтрализацией. Сложнее определить характер ограничения в отношении согласных  $|b|$ ,  $|d|$ ,  $|g|$ , также невозможных в конце слова. Обычно отсутствие конечных звонких  $|b|$ ,  $|d|$ ,  $|g|$  связывается с нейтрализацией в исходе слова противопоставления согласных по глухости-звонкости. Выход о наличии нейтрализации по этому признаку делается на основании характера реализации слов типа *sebab* „причина“, *djilid* „переплет“, *akil balig* „взрослый“ и т. п., в которых в соответствии с графемами  $-b$ ,  $-d$ ,  $-g$  произносятся глухие  $[p]$ ,  $[t]$ ,  $[k]$  ( $[ʔ]$ ,  $[x]$ ). Все эти слова не принадлежат к исконно индонезийским (малайским)

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<sup>4</sup> Материалом для анализа служили 10 художественных и 5 публицистических текстов по 1000 слов в каждом общим объемом в 90 330 фонем, а также *Индонезийско-русский словарь*, Москва 1963 (около 8000 слов), составленный Н. Ф. Булыгиным и Л. И. Ушаковой под редакцией Сухадиано.

<sup>5</sup> Кроме звонких и среднеязычных, к числу согласных, невозможных в конце слова, обычно относят сонанты  $|j|$  и  $|w|$ . Эта точка зрения основывается на однофонемной трактовке индонезийских дифтонгов. А так как вне дифтонгов  $[j]$  и  $[w]$  в конце слова действительно не встречаются, то отсюда и правило о невозможности их в этой позиции. Между тем экспериментальное исследование индонезийских дифтонгов показало, что они не являются неделимыми фонематическими единицами и представляют собой двухфонемные сочетания гласных с последующими сонантами  $|j|$  и  $|w|$ . Определение дифтонгов как бифонематических сочетаний в свою очередь приводит к выводу о том, что употребление сонантов  $|j|$  и  $|w|$  не зависит от их положения в слове: оба сонанта возможны не только в начале и в середине слова, но и в конце — в составе так называемых дифтонгов. См.: Зубкова, Л. Г., *Вокализм индонезийского языка*. Автореферат канд. дисс. Ленинград 1966, стр. 11—13.

и представляют собой заимствования из других языков, главным образом из арабского. Если реализацию подобных слов считать решающей при установлении характера противопоставления шумных  $|p|$  —  $|b|$ ,  $|t|$  —  $|d|$ ,  $|t'|$  —  $|d'|$ ,  $|k|$  —  $|g|$ , то, следовательно, нужно принять, что эти слова уже вошли в основной лексический состав индонезийского языка и, таким образом, факты оглушения конечных  $b, d, g$  — если таковое происходит — принадлежат основной фонетической системе. В противном случае, если эти слова еще не вошли в основной лексический состав и образуют подсистему заимствованных слов — по всей вероятности, дело обстоит именно так, — следует констатировать, что в основной фонетической системе нейтрализация противопоставления шумных смычных отсутствует и корреляция согласных по глухости-звонкости и напряженности-ненапряженности в индонезийском языке не разграничены.

Однако наличие нейтрализации в подсистеме заимствованных слов также отнюдь не бесспорно. Поскольку слова типа *sebab* произносятся с конечными глухими, не отличаясь в этом отношении от исконно индонезийских слов с конечными  $|p|$ ,  $|t|$ ,  $|k|$ , говорить о нейтрализации, а не об абсолютном ограничении, можно было бы только в том случае, если бы в производных образованиях с суффиксами *-an*, *-i* в положении перед гласными были регулярно представлены звонкие согласные, так что формы, образованные, например, от *adab* „воспитанность“ и *adap* „церемония угощения“, отличались бы одна от другой глухостью-звонкостью конечного согласного корневой морфемы. Между тем такое различие не является регулярным. Акустическое исследование слов типа *djawaban* „ответ“, *kewadjiaban* „обязанность“, *keadaban* „вежливость“, *mengadabi* „уважать“, *nasib-nasiban* „наугад“, *pendjilidan* „переплетный цех“, *kewudjudan* „реальность“ и т. п. показало, что произношение этих слов разнится от диктора к диктору. Глухие и звонкие находятся в отношениях свободного варьирования. У двух из четырех дикторов наблюдались только глухие согласные, у третьего только звонкие, четвертый произносил *kewadji[b]an*, *pendjili[d]an*, но *kewudju[t]an*, *keada[p]an*, *nasi[p]-nasi[p]an*. Таким образом, явление нейтрализации в подсистеме заимствованных слов наблюдается только в идиолекте третьего диктора, последовательно различающего позиции *adab* [*adap*] и *keada*[*b*]an. В тех случаях, когда и в исходе слова, и в суффиксальных образованиях перед гласными представлены глухие согласные, говорить о нейтрализации противопоставления по глухости-звонкости не приходится. Отсутствие конечных звонких должно быть интерпретировано как абсолютное ограничение. Из признания этого факта в свою очередь следует, что корреляция шумных смычных не может быть квалифицирована как корреляция по признаку глухости-звонкости, а это значит, что в индонезийском языке корреляции напряженности и звонкости не отграничены

как в основной фонетической системе, так и в подсистеме заимствований.<sup>6</sup>

Очевидно, именно в связи с наличием абсолютного ограничения в отношении конечных звонких<sup>7</sup> следует рассматривать практическое отсутствие сочетаний звонких смычных внутри корневой морфемы при наличии в этом положении сочетаний глухих типа смычный + смычный и смычный + щелевой. Если принять, что слоговая граница в сочетаниях этого рода проходит между согласными, то указанный факт может быть объяснен тем, что запрет на употребление звонких в исходе конечного слога распространяется и на неконечные слоги. В противоположность этому проникновению внутрь корня интервокальных сочетаний глухих с начальными смычными способствует то обстоятельство, что глухие смычные широко представлены в исходе слова и, следовательно, возможны в конце слога.

Последовательно учитывая особенности слогоделения, можно опять, почему при отсутствии сочетаний звонких смычных сочетания типа звонкий смычный + сонант (обычно плавный) значительно более активно усваиваются индонезийским языком, хотя и уступают по частоте употребления аналогичным сочетаниям с глухими смычными. Примечательно, что и те, и другие появляются не только в середине корневых морфем в интервокальном положении, но и в начале слова, причем сфера их распространения не ограничивается исключительно заимствованиями. В разговорной речи указанные сочетания появляются и в исконно индонезийских словах в результате выпадения гласного [ə] в положении между шумным смычным и плавным. Чаще всего это явление наблюдается в начале слова (*perahu* [prahu] „лодка“, *berapa* [brapa] „сколько“), но вполне возможно и в середине слова (*samudera* [samudra] „океан“). Обычно утрата гласного [ə] имеет место в 3<sup>×</sup>—4<sup>×</sup>-сложных словах внутри корневой морфемы. Благодаря выпадению [ə] 3<sup>×</sup>-сложные слова „подгоняются“ под наиболее типичную в индонезийском языке двусложную словесную модель.

Начальные сочетания типа [pr], [br] и т. п. безусловно принадлежат одному слогу. Что же касается интервокальных сочетаний, то и в этом случае кажется более приемлемым отнесение их к одному слогу и проведение слогораздела перед сочетанием согласных. Такой слогораздел исключает появление звонких в конце слога и в значительной степени объясняет, почему становится возможным распространение указанных сочетаний в индонезийском языке.

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<sup>6</sup> В этом отношении индонезийский язык отличается от родственного ему яванского, где, судя по полученным экспериментальным данным, имеет место корреляция шумных смычных по признаку напряженности-ненапряженности.

<sup>7</sup> Употребление терминов „глухой“ и „звонкий“ применительно к индонезийским шумным сохраняется по соображениям удобства.

Исходя из сказанного, можно заключить, что противоположение шумных смычных  $|p|$  —  $|b|$ ,  $|t|$  —  $|d|$ ,  $|t'|$  —  $|d'|$ ,  $|k|$  —  $|g|$  отсутствует не только в конце слова, но и вообще в конце слога и что это ограничение носит абсолютный характер.

В отличие от звонких соответствующие глухие в общем меньше связаны позиционными ограничениями и употребляются как в конце, так и в начале слога и слова. Тем не менее и в отношении глухих нельзя говорить о полном отсутствии дистрибутивных ограничений. Однако в этом случае ограничение не является абсолютным и связано с морфонологическими чередованиями фонем в производных образованиях с префиксами  $m\acute{a}N$ - и  $p\acute{a}N$ -, где исходным начальнокорневым глухим  $|p|$ ,  $|t|$ ,  $|k|$  соответствуют гоморганные носовые  $|m|$ ,  $|n|$ ,  $|\eta|$ . В результате каждый из постпрефиксальных носовых соотносится с двумя этимологическими смычными в начале корневой морфемы — глухим и носовым:

$$m \langle \begin{matrix} m \\ p \end{matrix}, \quad n \langle \begin{matrix} n \\ t \end{matrix}, \quad \eta \langle \begin{matrix} \eta \\ k \end{matrix}$$

(среднеязычному  $|\acute{n}|$  соответствуют в том же положении согласные  $|\acute{n}|$  и  $|s|$ ). Создается впечатление, что в префиксальных образованиях данного типа происходит своего рода нейтрализация противопоставления гоморганных глухих и носовых и тем самым автоматически устраняется и противоположение шумных смычных по отношению друг к другу, поскольку в результате чередования глухих с носовыми в рассматриваемой позиции оказываются возможными наряду с носовыми только звонкие. Таким образом получается, что носовые противопоставляются глухим в конце слова (слога) и звонким в начале корневых морфем в производных образованиях с префиксами  $m\acute{a}N$ - и  $p\acute{a}N$ -. Противоположение шумных отсутствует и в том, и в другом случае.

Однако, говоря о нейтрализации противопоставления носовой — глухой, нельзя не сказать о различиях в степени нейтрализации между согласными разных локальных классов.

Весьма показательным в этом отношении является сопоставление частоты встречаемости носовых в начале непроеизводных и производных двусложных корневых морфем. По данным статистического анализа текста, в начале непроеизводных корневых морфем носовые распределяются следующим образом:  $|m|$  — 83,7 % от общего числа начальных носовых,  $|n|$  — 14,8 %,  $|\acute{n}|$  — 1,5 %,  $|\eta|$  — 0,0 %.<sup>8</sup> Нельзя не заметить, что в подавляющем боль-

<sup>8</sup> За недостатком места здесь и далее приводятся лишь выборочные исходные данные без последующей математической обработки.

шинстве случаев носовые представлены здесь губным  $|m|$ . Попарное сравнение частотных характеристик носовых и гоморганных глухих также обнаруживает особое положение губных в ряду смычных. Если согласные  $|m|$  и  $|p|$  имеют довольно близкие частотные характеристики ( $|m| : |p| = 0,825 : 1,000$ ), то в парах  $|n| — |t|$ ,  $|\eta| — |k|$ , а также  $|\acute{n}| — |s|$  доля носовых составляет соответственно 8,0, 0,0, 1,0 %%. В сущности, лишь по отношению к губным можно говорить о наличии активно действующего противопоставления носового глухому в начале корня. В парах  $|n| — |t|$ ,  $|\eta| — |k|$ ,  $|\acute{n}| — |s|$ , особенно в двух последних, отношения между носовыми и соответствующими шумными носят иной характер. По сути дела, столь сильные ограничения в употреблении носовых  $|n|$ ,  $|\acute{n}|$ ,  $|\eta|$  очень близки случаям, которые трактуются обычно как абсолютное ограничение.

В начале производных корневых морфем в отличие от непроеизводных распределение носовых становится более равномерным, хотя и в этой позиции преобладает  $|m|$ . Сравн.:  $|m| — 45,7\%$ ,  $|n| — 23,6\%$ ,  $|\eta| — 21,2\%$ ,  $|\acute{n}| — 9,5\%$ .

Такое выравнивание частоты употребления носовых объясняется исключительно действием морфонологических закономерностей, ибо распределение этимологических носовых не отличается принципиально от их распределения в начале непроеизводных корней, сравн.:  $|m| — 86,2\%$ ,  $|n| — 9,1\%$ ,  $|\acute{n}| — 3,5\%$ ,  $|\eta| — 1,2\%$ . В результате морфонологических чередований резко возрастает абсолютная частота  $|n|$ ,  $|\eta|$ ,  $|\acute{n}|$  в начале производных корневых морфем (абсолютная частота начального  $|m|$  в производных морфемах близка к таковой в начале непроеизводных морфем). Доля носовых появившихся в результате чередований шумных  $|p|$ ,  $|t|$ ,  $|s|$ ,  $|k|$  с носовыми для  $|m|$ ,  $|n|$ ,  $|\acute{n}|$  и  $|\eta|$  составляет соответственно 11,2, 82,0, 83,0, 97,3 %% (в последнем случае 37,0 % приходится на долю чередования  $[k] // [\eta]$ , а остальные 60,3 % составляют чередования  $[ʔ] // [\eta]$ , например,  $[ʔambil] — [m\acute{a}mbil]$  „брат“ и т. п.). Соответственно и этимологические шумные не в одинаковой степени подвержены чередованиям с носовыми: чаще всего чередуется  $|t|$  (25,8 %), затем следуют  $|s|$  и  $|k|$  (15,9 % и 14,1 %) и реже всего вступает в чередование  $|p|$  (10,1 %).

На основе изложенных выше данных о распределении согласных в начале непроеизводных корневых морфем можно предположить, что между дистрибутивными характеристиками согласных и степенью их участия в морфонологических чередованиях существует прямая связь. Различия между сонантами  $|n|$ ,  $|\acute{n}|$ ,  $|\eta|$  и шумными  $|t|$ ,  $|s|$ ,  $|k|$  с точки зрения частоты их встречаемости в начале корня, в частности, ограниченное употребление носовых, делают возможным активное участие этимологических глухих  $|t|$ ,  $|s|$ ,  $|k|$  в чередованиях с носовыми: наличие этих чередований не препятствует смысловоразличению. Напротив, сходство согласных  $|m|$  и  $|p|$

в отношении дистрибуции не благоприятствует активному использованию чередования  $[p] // [m]$ , так как это привело бы к нейтрализации противопоставления  $|p| — |m|$  и появлению значительного количества омофонов, что нежелательно для обеспечения смыслоразличения в процессе коммуникации. Очевидно, именно противодействием губных нейтрализации следует объяснять и тот факт, что отсутствие чередований в этой позиции и, следовательно, сохранение этимологического глухого (главным образом, при оформлении заимствованных, еще недостаточно ассимилировавшихся морфем) в наибольшей степени свойственно губному  $|p|$  (сравни: на 16 сочетаний  $|mp|$ , встретившихся в тексте на стыке префикса с корнем, приходится всего 4  $|ηk|$  и только 1  $|nt|$ ).

При образовании префиксальных форм от морфем с начальными звонкими и  $|t'|$  качество конечного согласного префиксов  $maN-$ ,  $paN-$  определяется местом образования начальнокорневого согласного (то же самое наблюдается при сохранении глухого смычного в начале корня). В результате на стыке префикса с корнем образуются сочетания гоморганных согласных типа  $|mb|$ ,  $|nd|$ ,  $|ñd'|$ ,  $|ηg|$ ,  $|ñt'|$ . Частота встречаемости каждого из этих сочетаний в тексте прямо пропорциональна частоте соответствующих смычных в начале корня: чаще всего встречаются  $|mb|$ ,  $|nd|$ , за ними следует  $|ñd'|$  и замыкают этот ряд  $|ñt'|$ ,  $|ηg|$ . В целом морфемы с начальными звонкими чаще соединяются с носовыми префиксами, чем морфемы с начальными глухими. Особенно большим этот разрыв является у губных вследствие малой активности морфем, начинающихся с глухого  $|p|$ . Большая активность морфем с начальными звонкими, видимо, может быть объяснена тем, что при сохранении начального звонкого опасность нейтрализации отсутствует.

Описанные явления ассимиляции и чередования согласных на стыке префикса и корня оказывают решающее влияние на формирование функциональных связей в подсистеме смычных.

Конечнопрефиксальные  $|m|$ ,  $|n|$ ,  $|ñ|$ ,  $|η|$ , объединенные тождеством морфемы, образуют один фонемный ряд, что способствует образованию коррелятивных отношений как между носовыми, так и между звонкими, поскольку именно благодаря ассимилирующему воздействию следующих звонких и происходит чередование носовых финалей префиксов. Чередование носовых с гоморганными глухими, с одной стороны, обуславливает появление коррелятивных связей между шумными и носовыми, а с другой — объединяет в корреляцию глухие смычные разных локальных классов. В результате выделяются следующие корреляции (классификация дана в терминах А. А. Реформатского): 1. неступенчатые цепочечные корреляции глухих, звонких и носовых, различающихся по активному действующему органу:  $|p| — |t| — |t'| — |k|$ ,  $|b| — |d| — |d'| — |g|$ ,  $|m| — |n| — |ñ| — |η|$ ;

2. замкнутые корреляции типа  $|m| - |p|$ ,  $|n| - |t|$ ,  $|\acute{n}| - |t'|$ ,  $|\eta| - |k|$ ;  $|m| - |b|$ ,  $|n| - |d|$ ,  $|\acute{n}| - |d'|$ ,  $|\eta| - |g|$ , а также  $|p| - |b|$ ,  $|t| - |d|$ ,  $|t'| - |d'|$ ,  $|k| - |g|$  и, наконец, 3. пучковые корреляции



Функционирование гоморганных консонансов внутри корневой морфемы имеет свою специфику. Сочетания гоморганных смычных в этой позиции встречаются еще чаще, чем на стыке корня и префикса, составляя примерно 60,0 % от общего числа всех внутрикорневых консонансов. Количество представленных здесь типов сочетаний также возрастает, поскольку внутри корня носовые сочетаются не только со звонкими, но и с глухими и, таким образом, противоположение глухих и звонких в данной позиции сохраняется. По употреблению в тексте наиболее частотными являются сочетания переднеязычных, за ними следуют (в порядке убывания частоты) сочетания губных, заднеязычных и, наконец, среднеязычных, причем у переднеязычных и губных преобладают сочетания с глухими, у среднеязычных — со звонкими, число сочетаний  $|\eta k|$  и  $|\eta g|$  примерно одинаково.

Фонологический статус внутрикорневых сочетаний гоморганных согласных не всегда определяется однозначно. Обычно им приписывают бифонематическую значимость, но иногда они рассматриваются как отдельные фонемы. Такова, например, точка зрения Ж. Вергена, который классифицирует сочетания типа  $|mp|$ ,  $|mb|$  и т. п. как преназализованные смычные, а сочетание  $|\eta s|$  — как преназализованный щелевой.<sup>10</sup>

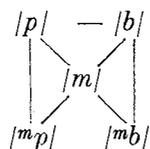
Правомерна ли такая интерпретация?

Действительно, если, как это делает Верген, рассматривать гоморганные консонансы сами по себе, оставив в стороне все другие внутрикорневые сочетания (которые, кстати, по употреблению в тексте составляют около 40,0 %), а также сочетания на стыке морфем, то тогда монофонематическая трактовка сочетаний гоморганных согласных может получить известное обоснование. В этом случае можно принять, что гоморганные консонансы противопоставлены друг другу как целостные единицы. Впечатление целостности создается прежде всего благодаря тому, что оба элемента сочетания артикулируются одним и тем же активным действующим органом и для каждого из них признак места образования является взаимообусловленным. Целостность внутрикорневых гоморганных сочетаний поддержи-

<sup>9</sup> Включение  $|t'|$  в корреляции по признакам носовой — глухой и др. продиктовано прежде всего соображениями симметрии по аналогии с остальными согласными.

<sup>10</sup> Verguin, J., *Le Malais*. Université de Paris 1967, pp. 25—38.

вается также тем, что внутри корня в индонезийском языке отсутствуют сочетания одинаковых носовых и смычных типа  $|mm|$ ,  $|nn|$  ...  $|pp|$ ,  $|tt|$  и т. п. Отсюда можно заключить, что ни для первых, ни для вторых элементов консонансов в отдельности признак носовой-неносовой не является релевантным.<sup>11</sup> Если же данные сочетания сопоставить с чистыми смычными, то тогда окажется, что в противопоставлении с ними признак назальности характеризует все сочетание в целом и может быть вынесен за скобки. Таким образом, наряду с чистыми шумными смычными и носовыми нужно будет выделить гоморганные преназализованные смычные. Объединенные коррелятивными отношениями гоморганные смычные всех трех видов — чистые, носовые и преназализованные — образуют пучки типа



Нетрудно заметить, что монофонематическая трактовка внутрикорневых консонансов типа  $|mp|$  приводит не только к увеличению инвентаря фонем, но и к усложнению системных отношений. Само по себе это обстоятельство не может иметь решающего значения. Однако принимая монофонематическое толкование гоморганных консонансов, обычно упускают из виду и целый ряд других, противоречащих ему, фактов. Прежде всего нужно учитывать дистрибутивные ограничения в употреблении преназализованных смычных (resp. гоморганных сочетаний), встречающихся только в интервокальном положении и невозможных в начале и конце слова, между тем как остальные смычные — носовые и шумные (за исключениями, описанными выше) — употребляются во всех этих позициях. Следовательно, противоположение носовых — чистых шумных — преназализованных смычных (если таковое и имеет место) возможно лишь в интервокальном положении, что не может не быть уязвимым с точки зрения устойчивости этого противопоставления. Вместе с тем следует принять во внимание, что аналогичные дистрибутивные ограничения характеризуют и все другие сочетания согласных: в исконно индонезийской лексике начальные и конечные консонансы невозможны. Значит ли это, что все интервокальные консонансы должны интерпретироваться как однофонемные? Очевидно, нет. Впрочем, Верген обходит этот вопрос. Для него все другие сочетания

<sup>11</sup> Сравни.: Аванесов, Р. И., О соотносительном ряде носовых согласных фонем по признаку „дентальность—лабиальность“. В сб. *Развитие фонетики современного русского языка*. Москва 1966.

согласных, кроме гоморганных, вообще не существуют. Такая позиция, видимо, не является случайной, ибо в противном случае, т. е. при рассмотрении всей совокупности консонантных сочетаний, Вергену пришлось бы отказаться от монофонематической трактовки гоморганных сочетаний.

Как показывает анализ консонансов в их совокупности, взаимообусловленность элементов гоморганного сочетания по активному действующему органу не является абсолютной. На стыке префикса с корнем взаимообусловленность отсутствует (см. выше). Здесь шумный смычный выступает в качестве активного члена, улодабливая себе предшествующий носовой. Но при этом связь между качеством шумного и качеством носового носит односторонний характер: шумные не могут сочетаться с предшествующими негоморганными носовыми, носовые же не обязательно сочетаются лишь с последующими гоморганными смычными. Так, заднеязычный /ŋ/ встречается не только перед гоморганным /g/ (иногда и /k/), но и перед /h/, перед /l/, в произношении отдельных лиц перед [ʔ], а в заимствованиях также перед /s/. И если появление /ŋ/ в положении перед /h/ и [ʔ] может быть объяснено ассимиляцией носового последующим „задним“ (при отсутствии соответствующих носовых согласные /h/ и [ʔ] сочетаются с фонетически наиболее близким к ним заднеязычным носовым, объединяясь таким образом с заднеязычными шумными), то наличие /ŋ/ в позициях перед /l/ и /s/ вряд ли можно считать фонетически обусловленным.

На посткорневых стыках ассимиляция носовых и смычных по активному действующему органу вообще не имеет места. Здесь одинаково возможны сочетания и гоморганных (/ŋk/, /mp/, /nt/), и гетероорганных согласных (/nk/, /mk/, /np/, /ŋp/, /mt/, /ŋt/). Гетероорганные сочетания представлены также в сложносокращенных словах типа *Menpen* (*Menteri Penerangan*) „министр информации“. В обеих названных позициях носовые сонанты, свободные от ассимилирующего влияния последующих шумных смычных, оказываются противопоставленными друг другу по активному действующему органу.

С другой стороны, благодаря паличию сочетаний типа шумный смычный + носовой, а также сочетаний двух одинаковых глухих смычных и носовых признак носовой-неносовой выступает в качестве релевантного как для первых элементов посткорневых консонансов, так и для вторых.

Очевидно, именно наличием гетероорганных сочетаний смычных в указанных позициях следует объяснять начавшееся проникновение таких сочетаний внутрь корневой морфемы в результате процессов заимствования (сравни. *tanpa* „без“, *konperensi* „конференция“ и т. п.). В свою очередь появление гетероорганных сочетаний внутри корня уже само по себе свидетельствует, с одной стороны, об отсутствии в современном индонезийском языке собственно фонетической обусловленности качества со-

четающихся согласных по активному действующему органу в случае гоморганных консонансов, а с другой — о бифонематическом характере этих сочетаний.

Наконец, самый важный аргумент в пользу бифонематичности гоморганных сочетаний — это наличие морфологической границы между компонентами сочетаний, когда последние оказываются на стыке морфем. Было бы нелогично фонетически одинаковые сочетания считать однофонемными в пределах корня и двухфонемными на стыках.

Таким образом, заканчивая обзор дистрибутивных ограничений в употреблении смычных согласных, так или иначе затрагивающих их противопоставление друг другу, методом исключения можно установить, что только в начале второго слога двусложных корневых морфем в интервокальном положении это противопоставление не имеет дистрибутивных ограничений фонетического или морфонологического характера. Исходя из этого, можно предположить, что именно в данной позиции противоположение смычных друг другу обладает наибольшей устойчивостью. Косвенным образом это подтверждается при рассмотрении факультативных чередований согласных в дублетных формах. Действительно, факультативные чередования согласных, различающихся по активному действующему органу и по признакам носовой-неносовой и глухой-звонкий, реже всего происходят в середине корневой морфемы между гласными, составляя соответственно 7,2, 8,4 и 30,0 % от общего числа чередований исконно индонезийских согласных по данному признаку. В начале корневой морфемы доля указанных чередований возрастает соответственно до 30,5, 68,0, 70,0 %. В исходе корня при отсутствии конечных звонких чередования глухой // звонкий и наоборот отсутствуют, на долю же чередований по активному действующему органу и по признаку носовой-неносовой приходится 62,3 и 23,6 % от общего числа чередований по названным признакам. Как видим, положение в конце корневой морфемы оказывается особенно критическим для противопоставления по активному действующему органу. На фонетическом уровне этому немало способствует импловивная реализация смычных. В случае импловивности, при отсутствии фазы взрыва, опознавание смычного согласного, его идентификация по активному действующему органу становится возможной только по переходному участку предшествующего гласного. Естественно, что одновременное наличие взрыва и переходов в составе последующего и предшествующего гласных в большей степени благоприятствует адекватной идентификации смычного. Не случайно факультативные чередования смычных по активному действующему органу реже всего имеют место в интервокальном положении, чаще — в начале корневой морфемы и еще чаще — в ее исходе. Противопоставление смычных по признакам глухой-звонкий и носовой-неносовой оказывается наиболее неустойчивым

в начале корневой морфемы, что, вероятно, не в последнюю очередь связано с описанными выше морфонологическими чередованиями, хотя в случае факультативного чередования глухих и звонких известное значение имеют и чисто фонетические причины (см. выше).

Анализ морфонологически обусловленных ограничений в употреблении смычных согласных убеждает также в том, что между явлениями морфонологического порядка и фонологической системой языка имеется тесная двусторонняя связь. С одной стороны, характер морфонологических чередований и их регулярность существенно зависит от отношений, сложившихся в системе фонем. С другой, функциональные связи между фонемами в парадигматике формируются в значительной степени благодаря наличию морфонологических чередований.

Однако анализ функционирования индонезийских смычных был бы неполным без обращения к синтагматическому плану. Поэтому следующим этапом исследования явилось изучение фонотактических закономерностей, регулирующих сочетаемость смычных согласных разных локальных классов в пределах слога.

Объектом анализа в первую очередь явились закрытые слоги с начальными и конечными смычными типа *OVO*.<sup>12, 13</sup>

В основу анализа были положены данные статистического обследования словаря. Наряду со словарем были использованы также тексты. Рамкой анализа служили двусложные корневые морфемы как наиболее типичные и употребительные в индонезийском языке. При наличии консонантных сочетаний внутри корневой морфемы компоненты сочетания относились к разным слогам.<sup>14</sup> Звуковая структура начального закрытого слога и в тексте, и в словаре описывается на материале корневых морфем типа *CVCCV* и *CVCCVC* (всего было проанализировано 370 слогов *OVO* в словаре

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<sup>12</sup> В настоящей работе приняты следующие обозначения: *C* — любой согласный; *V* — любой гласный; *O* — любой смычный; *L, F, M, B* — соответственно смычный губной, передне-, средне- и заднеязычный; *N* — шумный; *S* — сонант.

<sup>13</sup> Слоги типа *OVO* были сопоставлены затем со слогами типа *OVC*, где в качестве конечного согласного мог быть представлен любой согласный, возможный в этой позиции. Так как при этом не было выявлено принципиальных расхождений в построении слогов *OVO* и *OVC*, то в дальнейшем за недостатком места рассматриваются исключительно слоги типа *OVO*, тем более что в этих слогах фонотактические закономерности, определяющие сочетаемость смычных, естественно, выражены несколько ярче, чем в слогах *OVC*.

<sup>14</sup> Вопрос о месте слогораздела в индонезийском языке экспериментально почти не исследован и поэтому в настоящее время не может считаться окончательно решенным. Обоснование принятого здесь слогоделения приведено в статье: Зубкова, Л. Г., Консонантная и слоговая структура слова в индонезийском языке. В сб. *Малайско-индонезийские исследования* (в печати).

и 819 в тексте). Описание звуковой структуры второго слога было выполнено по данным словаря на материале корневых морфем типа *CVCV* (428 слогов). При анализе текстов круг исследуемых морфем был расширен за счет привлечения морфем типа *CVCCVC* и *VCVC* (2175 слогов). Анализ фонотактических закономерностей в построении корневых морфем был ограничен морфемами типа *CVCV* (было рассмотрено 919 морфем в словаре и 1655 в тексте). По употреблению в тексте и словаре морфемы данного типа являются наиболее характерными для индонезийского языка.

В результате анализа фонетической структуры начальных закрытых слогов типа *OVO* было обнаружено следующее.

В словаре при начальных губных чаще всего замыкают слог переднеязычные: слоги типа *LVF* составляют 43,0 % от общего количества слогов *LVO*. Затем в порядке убывания следуют слоги *LVB* (33,6 %), *LVM* (13,4 %) и, наконец, *LVL* (10,0 %).

Начальные переднеязычные в подавляющем большинстве случаев сочетаются с конечнослоговыми губными и заднеязычными, при этом с губными несколько чаще. Слоги типа *FVF* и особенно *FVM* употребляются значительно реже. В целом слоги с начальными переднеязычными распределяются следующим образом: *FVL* — 39,3 %, *FVB* — 35,5 %, *FVF* — 18,7 %, *FVM* — 6,5 %.

При начальных среднеязычных последнее место, как и следовало ожидать, занимают слоги типа *MVM* (8,2 %). Слоги с конечными губными, заднеязычными и переднеязычными имеют одинаковую частоту употребления, равную 30,6 %. Не исключено, впрочем, что выборка оказалась недостаточно велика. Это тем более вероятно, что в тексте слоги типа *MVO* — *MVL*, *MVB*, *MVF* — распределяются аналогично слогам *FVO*, составляя соответственно 53,0, 30,2, 16,8 %.

Начальные заднеязычные предпочитают в исходе слога переднеязычные (46,2 %). Затем идут слоги с конечными губными (30,7 %) и среднеязычными (14,1 %). Замыкают этот ряд слоги типа *BVB* (9 %).

В общем можно заметить, что гоморганные согласные плохо сочетаются друг с другом в пределах слога. Как правило, слоги с гоморганными смычными характеризуются наименьшей частотой употребления, составляя в среднем 12,2 % от общего числа начальных слогов *OVO*. Правда, согласные разных локальных классов не в одинаковой степени подчиняются этой закономерности. В отличие от заднеязычных, губных и, особенно, среднеязычных переднеязычные довольно терпимо относятся к соседству гоморганных согласных. Так, в словаре слоги типа *FVF* составили 18,7 %. В тексте же их количество увеличивается до 36,9 % от общего числа слогов *FVO*.

Примечательно, однако, что названное ограничение касается не только гоморганных согласных и носит более широкий характер, распространяясь

также и на согласные, принадлежащие к разным локальным классам, но сходные по признаку низкий-высокий.

В самом деле, если сопоставить распределение слогов с начальными губными и заднеязычными, то окажется, что в целом они имеют весьма близкие характеристики с той лишь разницей, что при начальных губных слоги *LVL* занимают последнее место, а слоги *LVB* — второе после *LVF*, тогда как при начальных заднеязычных эти места принадлежат соответственно слогам *BVB* и *BVL*. Но в обоих случаях на последнем месте оказываются слоги с гоморганными согласными, а на первом — слоги с конечными переднеязычными.

С другой стороны, если при начальных низких — губных и заднеязычных — предпочтение отдается конечным высоким, то при начальных высоких — передне- и среднеязычных — в качестве конечных превалируют низкие.

Отсюда можно заключить, что в пределах начального слога сочетаемость смычных согласных подчиняется принципу контрастности, в соответствии с которым отдается предпочтение таким слогам, где начальные и конечные согласные различаются по признаку низкий-высокий. Редкое употребление слогов с гоморганными согласными — лишь частный случай сформулированной закономерности.

Анализ фонетической структуры конечного закрытого слога двусложных корневых морфем показал, что и здесь действует тот же принцип: входящие в слог согласные, как правило, контрастируют по признаку низкий-высокий.

В словаре слоги с начальными высокими — передне- и среднеязычными — чаще всего имеют в исходе низкие — заднеязычные: слоги *FVB* и *MVB* составляют соответственно 59,0 и 42,8% от всех слогов типа *FVO* и *MVO*. Второе место занимают слоги с конечными переднеязычными (*FVF* — 23,6%, *MVF* — 36,5%). Реже всего при начальных высоких встречаются слоги с конечными губными (*FVL* — 17,4%, *MVL* — 20,7%).

При начальных низких согласных — губных и заднеязычных — слоги чаще всего заканчиваются переднеязычными (*LVF* — 58,5%, *BVF* — 50,0%), после чего идут слоги с конечными заднеязычными (*LVB* — 39,0%, *BVB* — 34,7%). Последние места и в этом случае принадлежат слогам с конечными губными (*LVL* — 2,5%, *BVL* — 15,3%).

Таким образом, во втором слоге при начальных смычных реже всего встречаются конечные губные, что связано с общим падением частоты губных в исходе слова. При этом доля слогов с конечными губными убывает по мере уменьшения контраста между начальными и конечными согласными слога. Так, доля слогов с конечными губными при начальных среднеязычных больше, чем при других начальных согласных, и меньше всего она при начальных губных.

Количество гармонических сочетаний с гомоганными согласными во втором слоге корневых морфем несколько больше, чем в первом, и составляет 16,6 % от общего числа слогов *OVO* в этой позиции. По сравнению с первым слогом во втором резко увеличивается количество гармонических слогов типа *BVB* при одновременном падении доли слогов *LVL*. Доля слогов типа *FVF* также возрастает, хотя и не столь значительно, как доля слогов *BVB*. Эти различия отражают изменения в частоте употребления согласных разных локальных классов в позициях начала и конца второго слога сравнительно с положением в начале корневой морфемы.

В тексте по сравнению со словарем контраст между начальным и конечным согласным второго слога выражен более ярко, что особенно наглядно обнаруживается при анализе слогов типа *OVO* с начальными язычными согласными, в первую очередь передне- и заднеязычными. Доля контрастных слогов при начальных передне- и заднеязычных в тексте значительно больше, чем в словаре. Сравни., например, как распределяются слоги типа *FVO* соответственно в словаре и в тексте: *FVB* — 59,0 и 85,6 % %, *FVF* — 23,6 и 7,9 % %, *FVL* — 17,4 и 6,5 % %. В слогах с начальными заднеязычными наблюдается та же картина. Здесь слоговые модели распределяются следующим образом: в словаре — 50,0 % *BVF*, 34,7 % *BVB*, 15,3 % *BVL*; в тексте — 77,2 % *BVF*, 14,2 % *BVB*, 8,6 % *BVL*.

Вследствие усиления контрастных тенденций в целом резко падает доля гармонических слогов. Это относится к слограм с передне- и заднеязычными. Доля гармонических слогов с губными возрастает, однако несмотря на это все же наиболее частотными гармоническими слогами в данной позиции, так же как и в словаре, являются слоги типа *BVB*.

Изучение особенностей сочетаемости смычных согласных в пределах корневых морфем типа  $C_1VC_2VC_3$  показало, что здесь действуют тенденции, сходные с теми, какие наблюдались внутри слога. Поскольку сочетаемость согласных  $C_2$  и  $C_3$  была рассмотрена при анализе структуры конечных закрытых слогов, остается выяснить, как сочетаются друг с другом начальнослоговые согласные  $C_1$  и  $C_2$ , а также согласные  $C_1$  и  $C_3$ , стоящие в начале и конце морфемы.

По данным словаря, сочетаемость начальнослоговых согласных в целом совпадает с сочетаемостью согласных в пределах начального закрытого слога.

Начальные губные чаще всего сочетаются с последующими переднеязычными (44,6 %), затем — с заднеязычными (21,4 %). Соответственно заднеязычные чаще всего сочетаются с переднеязычными (35,5 %), а затем — с губными (29,5 %). Доли губных и среднеязычных  $C_2$  при начальных губных и доли задне- и среднеязычных  $C_2$  при заднеязычных  $C_1$  совпадают ( $LVL = LVM$  — 16,9 %,  $BVM = BVB$  — 17,4 %).

Начальные переднеязычные согласные предпочитают последующие губные (37,9 %) и заднеязычные (31,3 %). Аналогично этому и начальные среднеязычные чаще всего сочетаются с губными (38,6 %).

Так же как и в пределах слога, наименее частотными в данном случае являются сочетания гоморганных согласных, составляющие 11,5 % от общего количества морфем *CVVCVC*, причем лучше всего сочетаются начальнослоговые переднеязычные (26,2 % от всех *FVO*), хуже всего — губные (16,9 % от всех *LVO*).

При начальных губных, заднеязычных и среднеязычных в позиции  $C_3$  чаще всего выступают заднеязычные, затем переднеязычные, реже представлены здесь губные. Так, при начальных губных на долю конечных заднеязычных, переднеязычных и губных приходится соответственно 52,5, 36,4, 11,1 % %. При заднеязычных  $C_1$  конечные *B*, *F* и *L* составляют 55,2, 22,7, 22,1 % %. При среднеязычных  $C_1$  смычные  $C_3$  распределяются следующим образом: *B* — 47,8 %, *F* — 40,0 %, *L* — 12,2 %. Что касается переднеязычных, то они, как и в других позициях, свободнее сочетаются друг с другом. При начальных переднеязычных конечные переднеязычные встречаются даже чаще, чем заднеязычные, сравн.: *F* — 45,1 %, *B* — 41,2 %, *L* — 13,7 %.

Как видим, между начальным и конечным согласным корневой морфемы имеется определенная взаимосвязь, хотя и не такая явная, как в случаях  $C_1—C_2$  и  $C_2—C_3$ . В первую очередь это относится к морфемам с начальными передне- и среднеязычными. Несмотря на то, что в качестве  $C_2$  в обоих случаях чаще всего выступают губные, а при начальных губных второй слог, согласно приведенным выше данным, чаще всего заканчивается переднеязычным, распределение конечных  $C_3$  различно: при начальных переднеязычных в конце морфемы наиболее типичны переднеязычные, а при начальных среднеязычных — заднеязычные. С другой стороны, начальные низкие по-разному сочетаются с конечными гоморганными. Так, начальные губные плохо сочетаются с конечными губными, хуже, чем с заднеязычными. Заднеязычные же, напротив, очень хорошо сочетаются с заднеязычными, даже лучше, чем начальные губные.

Вообще, если сравнить сочетаемость гоморганных согласных разных локальных классов, то обращает на себя внимание, что чаще всего в позиции  $C_1—C_3$  сочетаются друг с другом заднеязычные, затем — переднеязычные, очень редко сочетаются начальные и конечные губные и в силу дистрибутивных ограничений совсем отсутствуют морфемы с конечными смычными среднеязычными при начальных среднеязычных. Показательно в этой связи, что среди крайне немногочисленных структур, где все три согласных являются гоморганными, совсем не встретились структуры типа *LVLVL*, только одна морфема имеет вид *FVFFV*, а консонантную структуру остальных семи составляют заднеязычные.

В общем, по словарным данным, наиболее характерными сочетаниями смычных в рамках корневых морфем типа *CVCVС* являются следующие: *LVFVB*, *BVFVB*, *FVLVF*, *MVLVB*. В отличие от словаря в тексте при начальных передне- и среднеязычных второй слог чаще начинается с заднеязычного и заканчивается переднеязычным (независимо от качества начального согласного), так что наиболее характерные для текста структуры с начальными высокими согласными имеют вид *FVBVF* и *MVBVF*.

Таким образом, тенденция к созданию контраста по признаку низкой-высокой тональности между соседними согласными действует не только внутри слога, но и внутри корневой морфемы в целом. Низкие согласные — губные и заднеязычные — и в начале морфемы, и в начале второго слога чаще всего сочетаются с последующими высокими переднеязычными, тогда как передне- и среднеязычные предпочитают последующие низкие: губные или заднеязычные в начале второго слога и заднеязычные в конце морфемы.

Наиболее сильные контрастные тенденции имеют место внутри слога: количество гармонических сочетаний вообще и сочетаний одинаковых согласных в частности в позиции  $C_2-C_3$  по сравнению с другими позициями минимально. Далее следуют сочетания соседних согласных, относящихся к разным слогам, в позиции  $C_1-C_2$ . Здесь сравнительно с положением внутри слога количество гармонических сочетаний возрастает с 9,0 % до 11,5 %, но все-таки остается меньшим, чем в сочетаниях  $C_1-C_3$ , где связи между согласными оказываются слабее и соответственно количество гармонических сочетаний увеличивается до 16,7 %.

Наибольшее количество гармонических сочетаний одинаковых согласных наблюдается в позиции  $C_1-C_2$ , где оно составляет 73,5 % от общего числа гармонических сочетаний. Это и понятно, ибо в позиции  $C_1-C_2$  отсутствуют дистрибутивные ограничения, подобные тем, какие имеются в позициях  $C_2-C_3$  и  $C_1-C_3$ . Поскольку звонкие и среднеязычные невозможны в исходе слова, сочетания звонких, а также среднеязычных в позициях  $C_2-C_3$  и  $C_1-C_3$  отсутствуют. Отсюда снижение числа сочетаний одинаковых согласных до 50,7 % в позиции  $C_1-C_3$  и до 42,8 % в позиции  $C_2-C_3$ .

Взаимосочетаемость гоморганных согласных друг с другом в пределах корневой морфемы зависит и от того, к какому локальному классу они принадлежат. Среди гоморганных сочетаний  $C_1-C_2$  сочетания одинаковых согласных составляют соответственно у среднеязычных 100,0 %, у заднеязычных — 92,5 %, у губных — 78,6 %, у переднеязычных — 44,5 %. Аналогичное положение наблюдается в позиции  $C_1-C_3$  с той, однако, разницей, что здесь отсутствуют сочетания среднеязычных, а для других локальных классов доля сочетаний одинаковых согласных существенно снижается по сравнению с  $C_1-C_2$ , составляя у заднеязычных 68,2 %, у

у губных — 43,5 %, у переднеязычных — 21,8 %. Как видим, в обоих случаях переднеязычным свойственна более свободная сочетаемость друг с другом, чем согласным других локальных классов.

Определенный интерес представляет также распределение смычных согласных разных локальных классов в начале, середине и конце корневых морфем типа  $C_1VC_2VC_3$ .<sup>15</sup>

Как показал анализ словаря, губные тяготеют к началу морфемы и чем ближе к концу, тем меньше становится их доля, о чем можно судить по данным о распределении губных в позициях  $C_1$ ,  $C_2$ ,  $C_3$ , где они составляют 46,7, 35,7, 17,6 % от общего количества губных, и по данным об относительной частоте встречаемости согласных разных локальных классов в тех же позициях: доля губных в позициях  $C_1$ ,  $C_2$ ,  $C_3$  равна соответственно 37,1, 32,9, 16,1 %.

Противоположная тенденция характеризует распределение переднеязычных, которым свойственно последовательное увеличение частоты встречаемости от начала к концу морфемы. Сравн., как распределяются переднеязычные по позициям: в позиции  $C_1$  — 27,0 %, в позиции  $C_2$  — 32,5 %, в позиции  $C_3$  — 40,5 %. Соответственно доля переднеязычных от общего числа смычных в каждой из этих позиций равна 22,7, 31,5 и 39,0 %.

Для заднеязычных характерно падение частоты употребления в позиции  $C_2$  (22,0 %) по сравнению с  $C_1$  (28,0 %) при последующем резком увеличении их доли в позиции  $C_3$  (50,0 %). Доля заднеязычных среди согласных других локальных классов в позициях  $C_1$ ,  $C_2$ ,  $C_3$  равна соответственно 29,2, 22,4, 44,9 %.

В тексте распределение согласных разных локальных классов в позициях  $C_1$ ,  $C_2$ ,  $C_3$  претерпевает некоторые изменения. Как и в словаре, частота встречаемости губных уменьшается от начала морфемы к ее концу (доля губных в позициях  $C_1$ ,  $C_2$ ,  $C_3$  в ряду других согласных равна 32,4, 21,2, 18,3 %), но в отличие от словаря заднеязычные характеризуются в тексте отчетливо выраженным возрастанием частоты по мере приближения к концу морфемы (доля заднеязычных среди остальных согласных увеличивается с 13,9 % в позиции  $C_1$  до 30,4 % в позиции  $C_2$  и 38,8 % в позиции  $C_3$ ). Что касается переднеязычных, то они являются наиболее употребительными во всех трех позициях, позиционные различия в частоте их встречаемости невелики (доля переднеязычных в ряду других согласных в каждой из позиций равна 47,9, 41,1, 42,9 %).

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<sup>15</sup> В этом случае — как в словаре, так и в тексте — при подсчете частоты встречаемости смычных в позициях  $C_2$  и  $C_3$  учитывались все морфемы  $CVCVC$  без исключения, а не только морфемы с начальными смычными, как при исследовании сочетаемости смычных. Было рассмотрено 1347 морфем  $CVCVC$  в словаре и 2142 морфемы в тексте.

Кроме того, при анализе морфем *CVVCVC* было замечено, что распределение шумных смычных и носовых сонантов также определяется позицией согласного в морфеме. По данным словаря, шумные и сонанты составляют соответственно в начале морфемы 88,3 и 11,7 %%, в середине — 76,2 и 23,8 %%, в конце — 51,2 и 48,8 %%. Таким образом, чем ближе к концу, тем больше становится доля сонантов и тем меньше — доля шумных. В результате в начале морфемы имеет место резкое преобладание шумных над сонантами, а в конце их доли становятся почти равными. В тексте тенденция к увеличению сонорности в конце морфемы выражена еще более отчетливо и сонанты завершают морфему значительно чаще, чем шумные. Распределение шумных и сонантов в тексте выглядит следующим образом: в позиции  $C_1$  шумные составляют 86,8 %, а сонанты — 13,2,%; соответственно в позиции  $C_2$  — 65,2 и 34,8 %%; в позиции  $C_3$  — 44,2 и 55,8 %%.

Очевидно, указанные различия в распределении шумных и сонантов связаны с изменениями в напряженности артикуляции в зависимости от позиционных условий. На материале других языков установлено, что начало слова артикулируется более напряженно и характеризуется большей интенсивностью, чем его конец. Можно предположить, что и в индонезийском языке преобладание шумных в позиции начала слова и увеличение доли сонантов в конце в какой-то степени обусловлены различиями в напряженности артикулирования согласных в этих позициях. Усиление напряженности в начале слова идет параллельно с увеличением частоты шумных — и особенно глухих — как более напряженных по сравнению с сонантами. Ослабление напряженности в конце слова сопровождается увеличением доли сонорных согласных. Следовательно, можно констатировать, что консонантная структура слова (морфемы) в индонезийском языке характеризуется восходящей звучностью.

Сказанное нашло подтверждение при анализе факультативных чередований глухих и звонких согласных в дублетных формах. Оказалось, что для начала корневого слова-морфемы более типична замена исходных звонких парными глухими, тогда как в интервокале и в соседстве с носовыми чаще наблюдаются чередования этимологических глухих с соответствующими звонкими. Видимо, начало слова в силу своей большей интенсивности предрасполагает к глухости, положение же в середине слова в соседстве с гласными и носовыми стимулирует звонкость.

Сочетаемость шумных и сонантов в пределах слога типа *CVC* определяется позицией слога в морфеме.

По словарным данным, в конце первого слога представлены преимущественно сонанты (87,8 %), глухие встречаются редко, а звонкие вообще невозможны. Поэтому для закрытых слогов в начале двусложных корпе-

вых морфем наиболее типична модель типа *NVS*. На ее долю приходится 76,8 % от общего количества закрытых слогов в этой позиции. Остальные модели распределяются следующим образом: *SVS* — 11,0 %, *NVN* — 8,4 %, *SVN* — 3,8 %.

Во втором слоге конечные шумные и сонанты распределяются значительно более равномерно, причем шумные употребляются чаще. Вследствие этого распределение слоговых моделей резко изменяется. Прежде всего повышается удельный вес слогов типа *NVN*, доля же слогов типа *NVS* по сравнению с первым слогом уменьшается более чем в два раза. В общем распределение слоговых моделей во втором слоге выглядит так: *NVN* — 43,5 %, *NVS* — 31,5 %, *SVS* — 14,0 %, *SVN* — 11 %.

Последнее место и в первом, и во втором слоге занимает модель *SVN*, характеризующаяся нисходящей звучностью.

В целом для первого слога характерно преобладание моделей с контрастом по звучности. На их долю приходится 80,6 % от общего количества слогов. Во втором слоге контрастные тенденции ослабевают. Модели с контрастирующими по звучности согласными — *NVS* и *SVN* — составляют в сумме лишь 42,5 %.

Степень контрастности согласных в контрастных сочетаниях также неодинакова и колеблется в зависимости от положения слога в начале или конце морфемы. Это связано с различиями в распределении глухих и звонких шумных в начале первого и второго слогов. Чтобы убедиться в справедливости сказанного, достаточно сравнить слоги модели *NVS* в начале и конце двусложных корневых морфем. В первом слоге на долю максимально контрастных слогов с начальными глухими приходится 67,5 % от общего числа слогов модели *NVS*, слоги с начальными звонкими составляют 32,5 %. Во втором слоге соотношение выравнивается: слоги с начальными глухими и звонкими составляют соответственно 54,0 и 46,0 %.

Таким образом, в отличие от контраста по тональности, в одинаковой степени характеризующего оба слога двусложной корневой морфемы, контраст по звучности имеет место лишь в первом, начальном, слоге и отсутствует во втором. Вследствие этого консонантная структура первого слога оказывается более упорядоченной, более строгой по сравнению со вторым. Указанные различия в консонантной организации первого и второго слога в свою очередь объясняются различиями в дистрибуции согласных, в частности ограничениями в употреблении отдельных категорий смычных в крайних позициях корневого слова-морфемы. Ограничения эти неоднотипны по своей природе. Наряду с ограничениями фонетического и морфологического характера имеются также ограничения вероятностного порядка. Последние проявляются в том, что низкие — губные и заднеязычные — согласные, с одной стороны, и сонанты и шумные — с другой, по-разному

ориентированы относительно начала и конца морфемы (слова).<sup>16</sup> Наиболее свободным и независимым от разного рода дистрибутивных ограничений является положение согласного в середине морфемы, в начале второго слога.

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<sup>16</sup> Аналогичные тенденции характеризуют распределение всей совокупности фонем в рамках фонетического слова. См.: Зубкова, Л. Г., Консонантная и слоговая структура слова в индонезийском языке. В сб. *Малайско-индонезийские исследования* (в печати).

# COLLECTIVE AND UNIT NOUNS AS SEX-GENDER PAIRS IN ARABIC

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The present paper aims at describing an atypical sex-gender distinction in nouns alternatively classifiable as forming part of the derivational system of collective and unit nouns in Arabic. Several types of sex-gender reclassification of the derivational formations in gender classes are analysed and a documentary evidence for Classical and Colloquial Arabic is provided.

1. The present paper aims at describing a case of atypical sex-gender distinction in nouns alternatively classifiable as forming part of the derivational system of collective and unit nouns in Arabic. The derivational system under question includes nouns of non-human reference, occurring in various morphological patterns, which are formally marked by an opposition between the zero-suffix of the collective, and the suffix *-a* of the unit nouns. The collective nouns related to this derivational system (*'asmā' al-jins*, in the wording of Arab grammarians) may indicate a relatively large assortment of animate or inanimate entities of non-human reference taken as a whole, as a total of representatives of their respective notional classes without any exact specification of number. The corresponding unit nouns, on the other hand, refer to one single member of the general notional class indicated by the collective noun. From an inflectional point of view, the present type of collective nouns should be classified as masculine singular,<sup>1</sup> while the corresponding unit nouns as feminine singular forms. Although the derivational class markers in the system of collective and unit nouns formally coincide with the gender markers, masculine and feminine respectively, the gender classification in nouns referring to the animate beings does not normally coincide with the sex classification of what is referred to, as is the case

<sup>1</sup> The gender class membership may show some variability: in Classical Arabic prevalingly masculine (for particulars see e.g., Fischer, W., *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*. Wiesbaden 1972, p. 49, n. 1), in modern varieties of Colloquial Arabic exclusively masculine. For Iraqi Arabic see e.g., Erwin, W. M., *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Washington, D. C. 1963, p. 174; when disregarding a limited number of collectives referring to inanimate entities which stand outside the *-a/-a* contrast, typical of the CN—UN system, such as *fāsūliyya* "beans" vs. *fāsūliyyā* "a bean" (both feminines), see *ibid.*, n. 1. For Moroccan Arabic see Harrell, R. S., *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic*. Washington, D. C. 1962, p. 78. Etc.

in most nouns denoting humans and some larger animals which are unrelated to the derivational system examined.

With no real danger of introducing a series of zeroes to the description which is considerably limited in scope, for purposes of the present inquiry it seems to be convenient to classify both Arabic gender classes, masculine (e.g., *kalb-Ø* "dog") and feminine (e.g., *kalb-a* "bitch"), as marked ones, in order to simplify the system of reference. The derivational classes of collective nouns (e.g., *ḥamām-Ø* "pigeon(s)") and unit nouns (e.g., *ḥamām-a* "one pigeon") will be submitted to the same treatment.<sup>2</sup> In order to illustrate the typical treatment of the sex-gender relationship in nouns related to the derivational system of collective and unit nouns which refer to the living beings, a contrastive opposition will be made between them and nouns of the same extra-linguistic reference which stand outside this system:<sup>3</sup>

Nouns classifiable in terms of the CN—UN relationship		Nouns unclassifiable in terms of the CN—UN relationship	
CN	UN	—	—
<i>ḥamām</i> "pigeon(s)"	<i>ḥamāma</i> "a pigeon"	<i>kalb</i> "dog"	<i>kalba</i> "bitch"
N: singular	singular	singular	singular
n. v.: any number	one	one	one
G: masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
sex: male(s) and/or female(s)	male or female	male	female

As evident, the *-Ø/-a* contrast in the CN—UN system markedly differs in function from that occurring outside this system. In both cases it marks the gender class membership, masculine vs. feminine respectively. In the former case, however, a specific sex-gender relationship cannot be marked by this opposition so long as the derivational identity of the CN—UN system is maintained, while, in the latter case, this relationship is perfectly possible. The difference between both these cases may conveniently be presented as one which results from a very unequal part played by the single morphemic constituents of the *-Ø/-a* opposition in the derivational and

<sup>2</sup> For a more explicit statement of the formal coincidence of derivational class markers and gender markers with respect to various types of derivational and/or inflectional values related to them see further on.

<sup>3</sup> In the subsequent statements the following symbols are used: CN (collective noun(s)), UN (unit noun(s)), N (number), n. v. (numeric value), G (gender), as well as a number of abbreviations which are self-evident enough.

inflectional system of Arabic. Various ways in which they may be classified according to their derivational and/or inflectional affiliation will be demonstrated on the non-zero element of this opposition in what follows.

2. Synchronically presented, the suffix *-a* in Classical Arabic, or what may equal it in its various colloquial variants may be classified as (1) an inflectional marker: as an allomorph of the feminine morpheme in sex-gender pairs like *kalba* "bitch" vs. *kalb* "dog"; (2) as a derivational-and-inflectional marker in nouns which do not occur in sex-gender pairs, such as *maktaba* "school" vs. *maktab* "office, desk" or *hamāma* "one pigeon, dove" vs. *hamām* "pigeon(s), dove(s)"; and, finally, (3) as an exclusively derivational marker operating in a number of derivational classes, as in the following male-masculine nouns: *rāwiya* "transmitter (of the ancient Arabic poetry)" vs. *rāwin* "id.",<sup>5</sup> *ṭāgiya* "tyrant, despot" vs. *ṭāgin* "id.", etc.

When disregarding the highly hypothetical evolutionary background of the suffix *-a* the inflectional and/or derivational values of which may be intermingled in a variety of ways which cannot always be identified with sufficient clarity any longer, types (1) and (2) of the suffix *-a* are currently presented as allomorphs of the feminine morpheme, while type (3) has not been satisfactorily classified as yet. With some authors, the latter type is treated as a substantivizer in derivational pairs like *ʿallām* "knowing (thoroughly), very learnt" (adjectival) vs. *ʿallāma* "expert, authority" (prevaillingly substantival).<sup>6</sup> With some other authors, the derivational value of the suffix *-a* is more narrowly defined in terms of an intensifier operating irrespectively of the word-class membership of the nominal form under question.<sup>7</sup>

The phenomenon of what we call atypical sex-gender distinction in nouns alternatively classifiable as collective and unit nouns involves two values of the suffix *-a*,

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<sup>4</sup> The suffix *-a* may occur in two alternating forms: *-a* and *-at*. Their distribution may briefly be stated for Classical and Modern (= Colloquial) Arabic as follows: Classical: *-a* in pre-pausal, *-at* in pre-juncture position; Modern Arabic reflexes of the Classical allomorph *-a* in pre-pausal position and pre-juncture position except before an attributive modifier in the structural domain of an annexion and before a pronominal suffix; Modern Arabic reflexes of the Classical allomorph *-at* in pre-juncture position before an annexion-type attributive modifier and a pronominal suffix.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wehr (Cowan), p. 370. For the difference between both types of transmitters of poetry that may appear relevant in technical language see Blachère, R., *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle de J.—C.* Vol. I. Paris 1952, p. 92 (*rāwī* "transmetteur"), p. 99 (*rāwiya* "grand transmetteur").

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fischer, op. cit., pp. 42—43, viz. 'die substantivierende Fem.-Endung *-atun*' in pairs like *rāwin* "Überliefernder": *rāwiyatun* "Überlieferer (von Gedichten)", *ʿallāmun* "Wissender": *ʿallāmatun* "bedeutender Gelehrter" (Fischer's contextual transcription which differs from that adopted in the present paper for short quotations, has been maintained).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Fleisch's 'augmentatifs' besides a number of other derivational values of a less clear definability in synchronic terms (viz., Fleisch's 'diminutifs' and 'péjoratifs'). For an 'augmentative', see e.g., *rāwiya* "un *rāwī* à la mémoire bien fournie" or *ʿallāma* "très savant". Cf. Fleisch, H., *Traité de philologie arabe*. Vol. I. Beyrouth 1961, p. 466.

inflectional (I) and derivational-and-inflectional (DI), listed above as types (1) and (2) respectively. In these terms, the phenomenon will be described as a case of an I/DI alternation in the functional domain of the respective morphological markers.

3. As evident from the foregoing statement, the derivational class marker *-a* of the unit nouns formally coincides and virtually co-functions as a gender marker (feminine) and so does the zero-marker of the collective nouns which in turn co-functions as a (masculine) gender marker. The coalescence of the derivational and inflectional values in both members of the *-∅/-a* opposition is characteristic of the whole derivational system of CN—UN, irrespective of any aspect of further possible conceptual categorization of what is referred to by nouns related to this system. So we have:

CN/masculine	UN/feminine	
<i>ḥamām</i> “pigeon(s)”	<i>ḥamāma</i> “a pigeon”	animate
<i>waraq</i> “lief (ves), foliage”	<i>waraqa</i> “a lief”	inanimate
<i>ḍahab</i> “gold”	<i>ḍahaba</i> “a piece of gold”	mass noun (CN)

Despite the fact that the functional coalescence described above cuts across the whole system of CN—UN, in some single instances the derivational value of both members of the *-∅/-a* opposition may be lost in result of which they start operating as exclusively inflectional (gender) markers. The transition from the derivational-and-inflectional to an exclusively inflectional value is necessarily accompanied by the loss of derivational identity of the CN—UN system. The gender markers, on the other hand, will be related to the extra-linguistic category of sex. The difference between the derivational-and-inflectional and inflectional values of particular morphemic constituents of the *-∅/-a* opposition may be illustrated as follows:

(DI)	CN	UN	(I)	—
	<i>ḥamām</i> “pigeon(s)”	<i>ḥamāma</i> “a pigeon”	<i>ḥamām</i> “pigeon”	<i>ḥamāma</i> “dove”
N:	singular <sup>8</sup>	singular	singular	singular
n. v.:	any number	one	one	one
G:	masculine <sup>9</sup>	feminine	masculine	feminine
sex:	male(s) and/or female(s)	male or female	male	female

<sup>8</sup> In a number of recent descriptions of Colloquial Arabic, this type of CN is frequently classified in inflectional terms, as a plural, in view of the prevailing and more immediately recognizable numeric value thereof; cf. Hanna, H. Morcos, *The Phrase Structure of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. The Hague—Paris 1967, p. 15: sing. *[šagara]* “a tree” vs. plur. *[šagar]* or *[šagarāt]* “trees”. Similarly in Aboul-Fetouh, Hilmi M., *A Morphological Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*.

The co-occurrence of the gender (DI) and sex-gender (I) classes, as quoted above, is not admitted for Classical Arabic but very hesitatingly. The Arab grammarians and lexicographers tend to reject the latter usage altogether. The account of Ibn Sīda, an outstanding 11th century lexicographer of Muslim Spain, might appear relevant to the matter: *'i'lam 'anna lmuḍakkara yu'abbaru 'anhu billafzi lmu'annati fayajrī hukmu llafzi 'alā tta'nīti wa'in kāna lmu'abbaru 'anhu muḍakkaran fī lhaqīqati wa'ayakūnu ḍalika bi'alāmati tta'nīti wa'biḡayri 'alāmatin fa'ammā mā kāna bi'alāmati tta'nīti faqawḷuka ḥādīhi šātun wa'in 'aradta taysan waḥādīhi baqaratun wa'in 'aradta tauran waḥādīhi ḥamāmatun waḥādīhi baṭṭatun wa'in 'aradta ḍḍakara;*<sup>10</sup> "You must know that a masculine can be expressed by a feminine word. The word behaves (then) as a feminine even if the (entity) referred to is in reality masculine. It does so either by means of a feminine suffix or without it. As for what involves the feminine marker, we may quote the following examples: *ḥādīhi šātun* "this sheep", even if you have in mind a ram, and *ḥādīhi baqaratun* "this cow", even if you mean a bull, and *ḥādīhi ḥamāmatun* "this pigeon", and *ḥādīhi baṭṭatun* "this duck", even if you mean the male thereof."

Documentary evidence: Classical Arabic: (Lane, I, 636—7:) *ḥamām*, the n. un. is with *-a(t)* which is applied to the male and female and in the like manner *ḥamām*, because the *-a(t)* is added to restrict unity, not to make fem.; but to distinguish the masc., you may say *ra'aytu ḥamāman 'alā ḥamāmatin* "I saw a male (pigeon) upon a female (pigeon)"... (verse) *wadakkaranī ṣṣībā ba'da ttanā'i — ḥamāmatu 'aykatin tad'ū ḥamāman* "And a female pigeon of a thicket, calling a male pigeon, reminded me of youth, after estrangement".<sup>11</sup>

Colloquial Arabic: Takrūna Arabic (Tunisia): *ḥmām* 1. CN, masc. "pigeons"; 2. "male pigeon": *hallāni nen'i maṭl-alḥmām frīd* "il m'a laissé réduit à gémir comme le pigeon mâle qui a perdu sa compagne"; *ḥmāma* 1. UN, fem. "a (one) pigeon"; 2. "female pigeon, dove".<sup>12</sup>

Despite the fact that in most descriptions of Arabic no attention is paid to the

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The Hague—Paris 1969, p. 32: *samaka* (singular) vs. *samak/samakāt* (plural). Of course, the difference between the latter inflectional classification and a primarily derivational interpretation in terms of a CN—UN relationship as that adopted in presenting the Moroccan Arabic *šezra* "a tree" vs. *šzer* "tree(s)" (Harrell, op. cit., 80), for instance, is rather metalinguistic than linguistic, since a generic reinterpretation (viz. any number) of a CN is always possible.

<sup>9</sup> See Note 1 above.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Sīda, XVII, 112; quoted in Landberg, *Glossaire daïinois*. Vol. I. Leiden 1920 (Vol. II, 1923; Vol. III, 1942), p. 189.

<sup>11</sup> Lane, E. W., *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. VIII Vols. London 1863—1893 (Beirut reprint ed. 1968), see Vol. I, pp. 636—637. For the Arabic lexicographical sources see *ibid*.

<sup>12</sup> Marçais, W.—Guīga, A., *Textes arabes de Takrouna. II. Glossaire*. Vols. I—VIII. Paris 1958—1961. See Vol. II, pp. 925—926. The extremely involved allophonic transcription has been considerably simplified.

secondary sex-gender distinction in the nominal classes examined, it seems to be a relatively wide-spread phenomenon especially in post-Classical varieties of Arabic. In the linguistic domain of Colloquial Arabic it should be classified, in all probability, as a fully productive, even if extra-linguistically strictly limited procedure of establishing sex-gender relationship. In positing an uncommonly large range of the gender/sex-gender variability, Harrell's treatment of this feature in Moroccan Arabic might be of interest: "Various animals and insects are commonly indicated by collective nouns. Among the larger animals where biological sex is immediately apparent, the singular in *-a* generally denotes the female of the species, the collective denotes the species as a whole, and there is sometimes (but not always) a separate word for the male of the species; e.g., *bḡer* "cattle", *bəgra* "a cow", *tur* "a bull". In the cases where there is no separate word for the male of the species, the collective can be used in that sense; e.g., *bellarež* "stork(s)", *bellarža* "a (female) stork".<sup>13</sup>

Accordingly, we have:

<u>CN/masc., of any sex</u>	<u>UN/fem., of any sex</u>
<i>bellarež</i> "stork(s)"	<i>bellarža</i> "a stork"
<i>bḡek</i> "duck(s)"	<i>bḡeka</i> "a duck"
<i>wezz</i> "goose, geese"	<i>wezza</i> "a goose"

alternatively occurring as sex-gender pairs:

<u>male-masculine</u>	<u>female-feminine</u>
<i>bellarež</i> "male stork"	<i>bellarža</i> "female stork"
<i>bḡek</i> "male duck, drake"	<i>bḡeka</i> "(female) duck"
<i>wezz</i> "male goose, gander"	<i>wezza</i> "(female) goose"
etc.	etc.

Nevertheless, to recognize the productiveness of the latter procedure in a pan-Arabic frame, more first-hand evidence would be needed for single colloquial variants of Arabic.

4. Another type of partial sex-gender reinterpretation of the CN—UN system takes place in nouns the sex-gender membership of which is marked both in inflectional (viz., the *-Ø/-a* contrast) and lexical (suppletive) terms. In the latter case only one derivational class of the CN—UN system, usually that of UN, is liable to undergo a sex-gender reclassification while the other class, usually that of CN, is not. E.g.:

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<sup>13</sup> Harrell, op. cit., p. 78. For the examples quoted in what follows see *ibid.*, p. 79. By Harrell, the sex-gender relationship is explicitly attributed to the *bellarež—bellarža* pair only.

CN/masc., of whatever sex

*baqar* "cow(s), bull(s);  
bovines, cattle"

UN/fem., of whatever sex

*baqara* "cow, bull"

as against:

male-masc. by suppletion

*tawr* "bull"

female-feminine

*baqara* "cow"

Documentary evidence: Classical Arabic: *baqara* (UN/feminine) — Ibn Sīda, XVII, 112 as quoted by Landberg (see § 3, as well as note 10 above); Lane, I, 234; Wright, I, 147: "one head of cattle (bull or cow)", etc.; *baqara* (female-feminine) — Belot, 38: "cow" (vs. *baqar* "bulls and cows, bovine species"); Wehr (Cowan), 68: "cow" (vs. *baqar* "bovines, cattle"), etc.

Colloquial Arabic (the female-feminine usage of what corresponds to the Classical Arabic *baqara* is the only one possible):

Iraqi Arabic: *baqara* "cow" (vs. *baqar* "cow(s), cattle");<sup>14</sup>

Takrūna Arabic: *baqra* "cow" (vs. *bgar/bagr* "bovines");<sup>15</sup>

Moroccan Arabic: *beqra* "cow" (vs. *bger* "cattle");<sup>16</sup>

Chad-Sudanese Arabic: *beqera, beqra, bagra, baqara* "cow" (vs. *beger, begèr, baqar* "bovines, cattle");<sup>17</sup>

Daṭīna Arabic (a peninsular variety of Colloquial Arabic): *baqara* "cow" (vs. *baqar* "bovine species"),<sup>18</sup> etc.

Similarly: The Classical Arabic *dajāj* (CN/masculine) "cock(s), hen(s); chicken(s), fowl" in relation to *dajāja* (UN/feminine), and *dajāja* (female-feminine) "hen; chicken" to *dīk* (male-masculine, suppletive) "cock, rooster".<sup>19</sup> In Colloquial Arabic, once again, only the female-feminine value of what corresponds to the Classical Arabic *dajāja* is possible whenever the adult representatives of the species are referred to.

5. A somewhat different and apparently very rare type of sex-gender relationship may occur in collective nouns derivationally unrelated to unit nouns<sup>20</sup> which do

<sup>14</sup> Woodhead, D. R.—Beene, W. (editors), *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English*. Washington, D. C. 1967, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> *Glossaire*. Vol. I, pp. 356—357.

<sup>16</sup> Harrell, p. 78.

<sup>17</sup> Roth-Laly, A., *Lexique des parlers arabes tchado-soudanais*. Vol. I. Paris 1969, p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> Landberg, op. cit., I, p. 189.

<sup>19</sup> Freytag, G. W., *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. Vols. I—IV. Hal. Sax. 1830—1837. See Vol. II, 8: *dajāja* "Gallina (sunt qui dajāja nomen unitatis esse dicant, ut sit quoque gallus unus);..."

<sup>20</sup> To be kept apart from collective nouns derivationally unrelated to unit nouns which can never occur as nouns of individual reference, such as *'ibil* "camels", *ganam* "sheep" (plur.), etc. By their gender class membership, they are predominantly feminine nouns in Classical Arabic.

fulfil, however, the double function of collective nouns and of nouns of individual reference. In accordance with this functional duplicity, they are often classified as collective-and-unit nouns.<sup>21</sup> This classification will be adopted in what follows for the sake of convenience, too. As against cases quoted in § 4 in which a female-feminine relationship resulted from the sex-gender reclassification of the respective derivational class, the same procedure will yield a male-masculine relationship in the present case. The female-feminine member of the sex-gender opposition, unrelatable to a derivational formation in this case, is quite uniquely due to the analogy with the inflectional system. E.g.:

CN/UN

ṭayr "bird(s)"

N: singular  
 n. v.: any number  
 G: masculine/feminine<sup>22</sup>  
 sex: male(s) and/or female(s)

as related to:

ṭayr "the male of the species"

N: singular  
 n. v.: one  
 G: masculine  
 sex: male

ṭayra "the female of the species"<sup>23</sup>

singular  
 one  
 feminine  
 female

This type of sex-gender relationship does not seem to occur in Colloquial Arabic since various colloquial reflexes of the Classical Arabic *ṭayr* (CN/UN) have to be classified as inflectional formations, notably as (singular) members of the singular-plural opposition.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g., Wehr (Cowan), p. 579.

<sup>22</sup> It is masculine when operating as a noun of individual reference, feminine when functioning as a collective.

<sup>23</sup> Dozy, R., *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. Vols. I–II. Leide–Paris 1927 (2nd ed.). See Vol. II, p. 79: *ṭayr* "pigeon que l'on emploie pour porter une lettre", (Quatremère) *Maml.* II, 2, 115; *ṭayra* "femelle de pigeon", *Maml.* II, 2, 116; 1001 N. I, 632, 3. Cf. also Wehr (Cowan), p. 579: *ṭayra* "female bird".

# FINAL VOWEL DURATION OF GRADE 6 VERBS IN HAUSA (A Phonetic Problem with Grammatical Implications)

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This paper analyses the duration of final vowels in grade 6 Hausa verbs. These verbs were pronounced by a Kano Hausa speaker in their respective B and C forms (i.e. immediately followed by an explicit direct nominal object or by an object pronoun); phonetic data on the final vowel duration are discussed within the phonological and grammatical context. Two experimental phonetic methods were used: kymography and oscillography.

The question of the relationship between the verbal stem and its nominal attributes (i.e. direct, indirect and 'causative' objects) in Hausa has repeatedly been the subject of linguistic analysis, especially during the recent decades.<sup>1</sup> The attention of various scholars has been attracted by three sets of exponents of these constructions, i.e.:

- a) the verbal ending and the quantity or quality of the final vowel in particular;
- b) the tonal pattern of the verb;
- c) possible suffixes, or prefixes affecting mainly the syntactic alternation of the aspect/tense part of some pairs of the so-called subject pronouns.

One of the problems affecting the whole pattern of the grade system of Hausa verbs appears to be the extent to which various grade forms of Hausa verbs manifest the alternation of quantity of their final vowels. Three relevant contexts predict this quantity of the final vowel in most transitive forms.

The verb is immediately followed by

- a) a direct object, expressed by an explicit nominal (form C)
- b) the same type of nominal object expressed by a member of the direct object pronominal substitute set (form B)
- c) no form whatsoever of the direct object (form A).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have in mind the analysis of these and related problems of Hausa grammar in the fundamental works by such authors as F. W. Parsons, Cl. Couffé, C. T. Hodge, J. Lukas and many others. Full details of the relevant works by these and other authors are dealt with in my study *Problems of Categories and Word Classes in Hausa (The Paradigm of Case)*, Prague, Academia 1972, *Dissertationes Orientales*, t. 33, esp. on pp. 102–111.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of the three A/B/C forms of the transitive verbs in Hausa was first analysed in detail by F. W. Parsons in his paper *The Verbal System of Hausa*. *Afrika und Übersee*, 44, 1960, esp. on p. 22 ff.

This trichotomy of functional contexts appears to deeply penetrate the entire system.<sup>3</sup> In the case of verbal stems ending in *aa/a* (mainly grade 1 forms), the existence of such a quantitative alternation gained broader recognition and few authors today would doubt its existence.

Examples: *Yaa fasà tukunyyaa* (He broke a pot)  
*Yaa fasàa ta* (He broke it)  
*Tukunyyar dà mukà fasàa, taa Baaci*<sup>4</sup> (The pot that we broke, was destroyed)

J. Carnochan was probably the first phonetician to attract the attention of linguists to this fact, although this has occurred in the broader context of an analysis of other prosodic features in Hausa.<sup>5</sup>

1. On the other hand, some doubts have persisted, or may have newly arisen, in the case of other final vowels in different grade forms, the most notable being that of the endings of grade 6 verbs which manifest an [O] type of vowel in all three A/B/C forms. On this point Carnochan asserts that in comparable constructions "...the duration in all three examples is similar, and by comparison with my other examples, it is long..."<sup>6</sup> The only context in which he analyses the final [O] vowel of grade 6 forms as short, is the pre-pausal one.<sup>7</sup>

1.1. In his comprehensive analysis of the Hausa grade system, F. W. Parsons disagreed with Carnochan on this point. He thought that "...In regarding this form as having a short terminal vowel, I am in disagreement not only with Bargery and Abraham, who invariably mark the -o as long in their transcription of such contexts, but also with Carnochan... My contention, however, is not simply dictated by a desire to establish consistency with other forms, but is based on my own acoustic observations after a prolonged and careful comparison of this grade of the verb in both contexts..."<sup>8</sup> Some authors have followed Parsons in this respect,<sup>9</sup> but even their observations appear to tend increasingly towards the conviction that the final [O] in all grade 6 verbal forms is always long, as the classical lexicographers of Hausa already supposed. Parsons himself, who recently returned to a further analysis of the

<sup>3</sup> If my analysis is correct, the existence of the A/B/C forms may be extended to some nominal forms as well. On this problem see Zima, op. cit., p. 53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Owing to difficulties with the "hooked" letters we use the capital letters B, D, K and Y to transcribe the respective implosive and ejective sounds of Hausa.

<sup>5</sup> Carnochan, J., *Glottalisation in Hausa*. Trans. of the Phil. Society, 1952, pp. 78—109.

<sup>6</sup> Carnochan, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> Carnochan, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Parsons, op. cit., p. 15, footnote 38.

<sup>9</sup> On this point see Parsons' remark expressed in his paper *Suppletion and Neutralisation in the Verbal System of Hausa*. *Afrika und Übersee*, 55, 1971—1972, p. 51, footnote 7.

grade system,<sup>10</sup> has conceded that this final [O] in grade 6 C forms is long, however exceptional and anomalous this might seem from the grammatical standpoint.

1.2. This present, brief contribution of ours attempts to return to this problem for two main reasons:

a) The position of grade 6 verbs within the entire Hausa grammatical system and the grade system in particular, is far from simple. One cannot deny, however, that at least some grade 6 forms may enter into constructions which are fully comparable with those involving a verb plus direct object. Examples:

*Sarkii yaa ayk/O/ Sawnaa* (The chief sent Sauna to us);  
*Sarkii yaa ayk/O/ shì* (The chief has sent him to us);  
*Sawnaa (nee) ya ayk/O/, bàa Muusa ba* (It was Sauna that he sent...not Musa).

From all standpoints, these appear to function as transitive forms. In other comparable contexts, an alternation of the final vowel would correspond to the respective A/B and C forms. If no such alternation of quantity occurs in grade 6, the general rules concerning the predictability of the A/B/C forms and their formal exponents should be reformulated.

b) On the other hand, however, this grade 6 undoubtedly offers some particular features, even with respect to grammatical analysis. If indeed no alternation of quantity occurs for the final vowel of grade 6 A/B and C forms, then this might seem to emphasize its special position within the grade system as a whole. Moreover, if some sort of case paradigm can be established in Hausa, then certain of its features would be affected, especially the possible accusative—locative relationship.<sup>11</sup>

1.3. Differences of opinion exist concerning this problem which is of a phonetico-phonological nature: in fact, we face the problem whether the opposition long/short vowel is used by the Hausa system to distinguish the respective A/B and C final vowel of grade 6 verbs or not. Subsequently we try to find out whether this opposition is expressed by differences of duration. The consequence of the solution of this problem is, however, grammatical.

The only paper thus far to deal with phonetic data on duration of vowels (Hofman)<sup>12</sup> offers, unfortunately, little material which could be used even as corroborative evidence with respect to either real or non-existent alternation of quantity for the final vowels in grade 6 forms. Hofman's paper which gives a survey of the relative duration of long and short Hausa vowels, is based partly upon the measurement

<sup>10</sup> Parsons, Suppletion, p. 51 ff.

<sup>11</sup> See Zima, op. cit., p. 67 ff. See also my paper *Some Problems of Word Order and Grammar in Hausa*. *Afrikanische Sprachen u. Kulturen—Ein Querschnitt* (Festschrift J. Lukas), Hamburg 1971, pp. 217—223.

<sup>12</sup> Hofman, I., *Das Verhältnis der Langvokale zu den Kurzvokalen im Hausa*. *Afrika und Übersee*, 48, 1964, pp. 202—211.

of the duration of vowels in isolated words and utterances, and partly upon a similar analysis of vowels in a continuous text. The experiment was conducted with a Siemens oscillograph (mingograph). No absolute duration of vowels is presented in her paper and the relative values of duration are calculated according to the procedure established by Heinitz and v. Essen.<sup>13</sup> No data on final [O] vowels in grade 6 were included and even the total sum of data on [O] vowels in general seems to be scanty, especially owing to the fact that only one short [O] was measured. Thus, even the general ratio established for the oo/o duration contrast as 1.7 : 0.8 (the average of relative values calculated on the basis of the above-mentioned procedure) has little value.<sup>14</sup> The average ratio for the duration contrast of aa/a with a high tone, based upon more reliable material, is presented as 1.9 : 1.

2. The present paper is the result of a preliminary analysis of the duration of final vowels in grade 6 verbal forms in the two syntactically relevant contexts, corresponding to the respective C/B forms, compared with the duration of final vowels in similar C/B forms of grade 1 verbs. The experiments were carried out at the Phonetic Institute of Charles University in Prague (director: prof. dr. M. Romportl).<sup>15</sup> All material used for this analysis was pronounced and recorded in the form of natural Hausa sentences, since phonetic data on duration are studied mainly in view of their phonological function as exponents of morpho-syntactic constructions. The speaker was M. Muhammadu Sanusi SharfaDi, b. in Kano, Nigeria. Two classical methods for measuring duration were used:

2.01. At first, mechanical kymographic tracings of the sentences were made. In the present case, oral and nasal tracings were studied and all material was recorded simultaneously on tape, so that auditory control and visual checking were possible. In spite of all the well-known deficiencies of this classical method which are mostly due to the obsolescent, mechanical type of recording, these experiments produced some interesting results.

2.02. A more extended recording of grade 6 verbal forms in their natural C/B syntactic contexts was carried out at a later stage with a cathode oscillograph. Hausa sentences were recorded on a magnetic tape (a higher quality tape-recorder was used for this purpose) and then re-played through the cathode oscillograph. An electric film-camera with steady speed of either 200 mm/sec or 500 mm/sec was used for this graphical recording of the oscillograms, the 500 mm/sec speed being used for clarification of some transitional features and control of some examples.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Essen von, O., *Allgemeine und angewandte Phonetik*. Berlin 1962, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Hofman, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>15</sup> I am indebted to prof. dr. Milan Romportl for authorising me to conduct these experiments in the laboratory of the Institute and advising me on certain aspects of this problem.

<sup>16</sup> Mr. V. Brda, senior technician of this laboratory has kindly conducted this experiment.

In such cases, where both the 200 mm/sec and the 500 mm/sec speeds were applied to the same sentence, data on duration are derived from experimental material, obtained with the higher speed.

2.1. Every measurement of the duration of speech-sounds—whatever its experimental nature—confronts the phonetician with the problem of a delimitation of the border-lines between sounds of speech. Although more than sixty years have lapsed since the publication of the fundamental contribution by Chlumský on this problem<sup>17</sup> and although the acoustic recording and analysis of speech sounds has made tremendous progress since that time, the basic problem remains essentially unchanged. As it was formulated recently by Fintoft: “The identification of the beginning and the end of a sound surrounded by others is an arbitrary act that is both difficult and artificial. It is impossible to fix these points, there is always a gradual transition from one sound to another. The uncertainty of the object is therefore greater than the uncertainty of the measuring method...”<sup>18</sup> In the case of the present measuring of the final vowel duration in the C/B grade 6 verbal forms, we more or less follow the classical principle established by Chlumský for kymography, which, we believe, can be applied with some care and modification even to oscillography. In this procedure, the initial, transitional waves are included into the duration of the preceding consonant, but we measure the duration of the vowel from the first wave manifesting the characteristic form of that vowel. Transitional phases at the end of the vowel are included in the duration of this vowel, insofar as they, too, manifest this characteristic form of the vowel, even though the latter might be reduced in intensity or slightly distorted in form. In deference to the classical phoneticians, however, we fully acknowledge the fact that a precise and exact delimitation of the neighbouring sounds is hardly possible. Modern acoustic experiments, including analysis, synthesis, tape cutting and various other methods, indeed, appear to have demonstrated that in some cases the mutual influencing of the neighbouring sounds exceeds even the transitional phases.<sup>19</sup> This is why we present our results concerning the measuring of duration as “approximate” duration only.

2.2. An awareness of these facts, as well as of those dealt with in Section 3.1 of this paper, has motivated certain authors to overlook altogether data on the absolute duration of sounds. From this point of view, Hofman’s approach is not an isolated one. As our aim in this article is not to discuss the measurement of the duration of the entire inventory of Hausa vowels, but only to present some data on the possible alternation of the duration of the final vowels in grade 6 forms in given morpho-syntactic constructions, we have decided to indicate absolute duration as measured

<sup>17</sup> Chlumský, J., *La question du passage des sons*. *Revue de Phonétique*, 1912, p. 80 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Fintoft, K., *The Duration of Some Norwegian Speech Sounds*. *Phonetica*, 7, 1961, pp. 19–39.

<sup>19</sup> This seems to be especially the case of stop consonants. Cf. the pioneer paper by Schatz, C., *The Role of Context in the Perception of Stops*. *Language*, 30, 1954, pp. 47–56.

from kymographic or oscillographic curves, in order to establish a relative duration contrast (if any) of the grade 6 final vowels in the respective C and B forms and contexts. In doing so, we refer to absolute duration (which is otherwise subject to many purely phonetic factors such as styles of speech, rates of speed, etc.) only for the purpose of establishing this relative duration contrast of the final vowels in otherwise identical grade 6 verbs in their respective C and B forms, pronounced in sequence, one after the other, approximately in the same style and rate of speed. Our comparison never exceeds the relative duration contrast of two C and B forms in otherwise identical sentences, pronounced immediately one after the other.

3. The results of such experiments are presented in the following Surveys I and II.

3.1. Survey I presents the results of kymographic and oscillographic experiments with eight pairs of short sentences. A grade 6 verb is used as predicate in each sentence, each pair representing one C form and one B form in their respective syntactic contexts. The approximate results of measurements of the final [O] vowels are given in ms and a relative duration contrast is established for each pair of the C and B forms. The experiments were started with disyllabic verbs, but later examples with three and even four syllables were included into the measurement for comparison, since duration of sounds differs considerably in different languages, according to the number of syllables in the word or the rhythmic group (cf. Malmberg,<sup>20</sup> Chlumský<sup>21</sup>).

#### Survey I: Grade 6 Final Vowel Duration in C and B Forms

##### a) Kymography

	approximate duration in msec	duration contrast
Pair 1: <i>yaa nuf O  Sawnaa</i> <sup>22</sup>	130	1 : 1.27
<i>yaa nuf O  shì</i>	166	
Pair 2: <i>yaa ayk O  Sawnaa</i>	105	1 : 1.28
<i>yaa ayk O  shì</i>	135	
Pair 3: <i>yaa karant O  takardaa</i>	108	1 : 1.15
<i>yaa karant O  tà</i>	125	

<sup>20</sup> Malmberg, B., *Die Quantität als phonetisch-phonologischer Begriff*. Lund 1944, p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Chlumský, J., *La quantité, la mélodie et l'accent d'intensité en tchèque* (in Czech with a French summary). Prague 1928, p. 115.

<sup>22</sup> The approximate translation in English: *yaa nuf|O| Sawnaa/shì* — he aimed at Sauna/him; *yaa ayk|O| Sawnaa/shì* — he sent Sauna or better directed Sauna/him somewhere; *yaa karant|O| takardaa/tà* — he read a paper/it (and returned to us); *aka Dakk|O| sirdi/shì* — the saddle was lifted and brought to (us); *yaa rurrubut|O| takardu/sù* — he wrote the papers/them and distributed them among people.

Similarly: *yaa fasà tukunyaa/ta* — he broke the pot/it; *mun dafà tuwoo/shi* — we cooked the tuwo/it; *yaa fasà Kway/shi* — he broke an egg/it; *yaa karàntà takardaa/ta* — he read the paper/it; *yaa wulaakàntà sarkii/shi* — he treated the chief/him harshly, with contempt.

b) Oscillography

Pair 4: <i>yaa nuf O  Sawnaa</i>	100	1 : 1.4
<i>yaa nuf O  shì</i>	140	
Pair 5: <i>'akà Dakk O  sirdi</i>	100	1 : 1.2
<i>'aka Dakk O  shì</i>	120	
Pair 6: <i>yaa ayk O  Sawnaa</i>	092	1 : 1.50
<i>yaa ayk O  shì</i>	138	
Pair 7: <i>yaa karant O  takardaa</i>	098	1 : 1.24
<i>yaa karant O  tà</i>	122	
Pair 8: <i>yaa rurrubut O  takarduu</i>	168	1 : 0.99
<i>yaa rurrubut O  sù</i>	164	

3.2. Grade 1 verbs ending in *-aa/a* were recorded with similar pairs of the C and B forms in contrast and the respective final [A]vowels in the C and B contexts measured. Results obtained from the kymographic and oscillographic experiments are presented in the following Survey II.

Survey II: Grade 1 Final Vowel Duration in C and B Forms

a) Kymography

	approximate duration in msec	duration contrast
Pair 1: <i>yaa fasà tukunyaa</i>	075	1 : 2.13
<i>yaa fasàa ta</i>	160	
Pair 2: <i>mun dafà tuwɔo</i>	086	1 : 2.04
<i>mun dafàa shi</i>	176	

b) Oscillography

Pair 3: <i>yaa fasà Kway</i>	065	1 : 1.69
<i>yaa fasàa shi</i>	110	
Pair 4: <i>yaa fasà tukunyaa</i>	064	1 : 1.71
<i>yaa fasàa ta</i>	110	
Pair 5: <i>yaa karàntà takardaa</i>	055	1 : 2.27
<i>yaa karàntaa ta</i>	125	
Pair 6: <i>yaa wulaakàntà sarkii</i>	040	1 : 3.2
<i>yaa wulaakàntaa shi</i>	128	

3.3. These data confirm that a certain long/short alternation in the duration of the final vowel in grade 6 forms corresponds, in fact, to the alternation of the respective B and C forms and their syntactic contexts. With the exception of pair No. 8, discussed below in Section 3.4.2, the final [O] vowel of grade 6 verbal forms was pronounced longer in B constructions than its equivalent in C constructions. In other words,

in seven out of eight of the measured contrasted B and C forms of grade 6 verbs, the final [O] was pronounced longer when followed by a pronominal direct object, than when followed by an explicit nominal direct object. Although our material does not entitle us to establish anything other than a preliminary conclusion, and since further research is required before any more general deduction may be reached, nevertheless, this tendency seems clear. Materials obtained thus far by both experimental methods, which differ with respect to speech-style, rate of speed, absolute duration and phonetic environment, appear to confirm this preliminary conclusion. The question remains, however, whether the relatively small difference in duration and subsequent slight duration contrast between the B and C forms final vowel in grade 6 entitles us to draw the conclusion that they reflect the manifestation of the alternation in functional quantity of these vowels in respect to different morpho-syntactic contexts.

3.4. Two types of comparison would seem useful in this context: A comparison of the *oo/o* duration contrast and the corresponding *aa/a* duration contrast in grade 1 forms; and similarly, a comparison of the decrease/increase of these durations contrasts in relation to the number of syllables in the verbs in question and to some other phonetic factors.

3.4.1. A comparison of the durations contrasts of *oo/o* and *aa/a* in the respective B and C constructions in grade 6 and 1 verbs reveals the fact that the contrast in duration of the [A] vowel is much sharper than the corresponding duration contrast of the [O] vowels, at least as far as the pairs measured by our experiments were concerned. This fact is obvious even from a simple comparison of plates 1—8, where oscillograms of pairs 4/7, 3/5 are reproduced. Although some allowances must be left for purely phonetic factors, such as the quality of the vowel in relation to the supposed inherent duration feature and the character of the following consonant: when natural Hausa contexts had to be analysed, the interference of stop and fricative consonants at the beginning of the following word could not have been altogether eliminated, if voiceless sounds had to follow for purposes of delimitation.<sup>23</sup> The difference of the relative duration contrasts in grade 1 *aa/a* and 6 *oo/o* is nevertheless great. In spite of this relatively reduced character of the *oo/o* duration contrast, we might still face a phonetic manifestation of a long/short phonological opposition of quantity, as phonetic importance of the duration contrast may not always be crucial for the manifestation of a phonological opposition of vowel quantity (see P. Delattre's contribution to this problem<sup>24</sup>).

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<sup>23</sup> Some phonetic factors, influencing the duration of vowels apparently in different languages (and among them the phonetic environment of a following fricative or stop consonant) are analysed in Delattre, P., *Some Factors of Vowel Duration and Their Cross-Linguistic Validity*, J. Ac. Soc. Am., 34, 1962, pp. 1—2. Also reprinted in Delattre, P., *Studies in French and Comparative Phonetics*, Mouton 1966, pp. 133—137.

3.4.2. The increase in the duration contrast between *aa* and *a* (grade 1 final vowels) in relation to the number of syllables of the verb is also not so surprising. However, the decrease in the presumed *oo/o* duration contrast with respect to the number of syllables in the verbal form seems strange, in spite of the fact that phonetic environment might have been, at least partly, responsible for it (vowels are generally supposed to be pronounced shorter in front of stops than in front of fricatives). In fact, the only case in which our data indicate an almost equal duration of the grade 6 final vowel in a B and C form (if not a reverse duration contrast) is the pair No. 8, where a quadrisyllabic verb is used for our experiment.

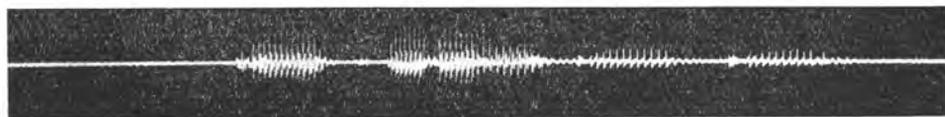
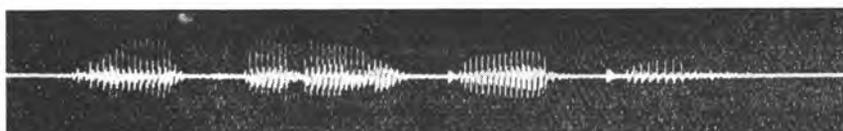
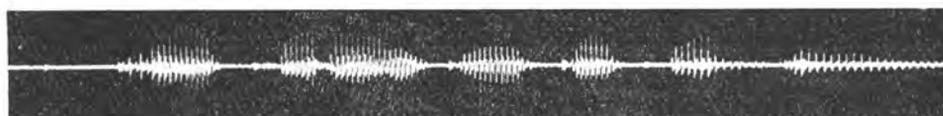
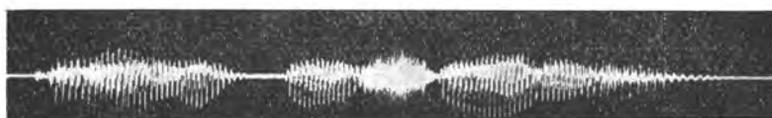
4. More data will be required before a definite rule concerning the possible duration contrast and the respective alternation of the final vowel quantity in grade 6 verbs can be established. A measuring of the duration of [O] vowels and the possibility of a phonetic manifestation of the *oo/o* quantity opposition is to be investigated in the whole grammatical and lexical system of Hausa. In this context the absence of reliable phonetic data on the duration of vowels in Hausa and the possible relationship between duration and phonological vowel quantity in this language is to be especially regretted. Nevertheless, a certain tendency to pronounce grade 6 final vowels longer in their B contexts than in the corresponding C contexts has been discerned, at least in the present material. On the other hand, it must be stressed, that the relative duration contrast of these grade 6 final [O] vowels is much less impressive than the corresponding duration contrast of [A] vowels in the respective B/C forms of grade 1 verbs. It may be that the less clear duration contrast in grade 6 is supported by other features, perhaps of a prosodic character, which help the listener to perceive the slight duration contrast as that of phonologically long or short vowel. These parallel features, though serving as exponents of functional quantity, may—after all—have little in common with the phonetic nature of the duration. On the other hand, however, the possibility of a completely opposite situation cannot be altogether excluded; the small duration contrast of the grade 6 final vowels may reflect only phonetic features and have little to do with alternation of functional quantity. The latter probability appears, however, as remote, because of the almost systematic character of the long/short difference of the duration, corresponding almost always to the respective B/C forms of grade 6 verbs. Our preliminary phonetic measurement of the final vowels in grade 6 B/C forms confirms, however, that the possibility of an *oo/o* quantity alternation may not be as yet entirely eliminated in this case.

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<sup>24</sup> Delattre, P., *Durée Consciente et Durée Inconsciente des Voyelles*. The French Review, 12, 1938, pp. 49—50. Reprinted in the *Studies...*, pp. 120—121; also by the same author: *Remarques sur l'Enseignement de la Durée des Voyelles Françaises*. Le Maître Phonétique, No. 64, 1938. Reprinted in *Studies...*, pp. 128—129.

Plates 1—8: *All Cathode Oscillograms, Speed: 200 mm/sec.*

1. *yaa nuf/O/ Sawnaa*
2. *yaa nuf/O/ shì*
3. *yaa fasà Kway*
4. *yaa fasà shì*
5. *yaa karant/O/ takardaa*
6. *yaa karant/O/ tà*
7. *yaa karàntà takardaa*
8. *yaa karàntaa ta*



## THE SYMBOL FOR LIZARD IN THE WRITING OF THE EASTER ISLAND

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The author, continuing his study of the Easter Island writing, subjects to a thorough combinatorial analysis one of the iconic characters of the only original script in the Pacific area, i.e. the character 760 usually interpreted as *moko* lizard. Taking into consideration its cognates in other Polynesian languages, he makes an attempt to reconstruct its original meaning in the language of the rongorongo texts.

The character 760 is one of those signs the iconic nature of which makes its interpretation easier and more reliable than is that of many other signs of the Easter Island writing. Metoro Tauaha (Barthel 1958: 203) has interpreted it unambiguously as *moko*, i.e. lizard. This basic reading was later accepted by Barthel (Barthel 1958 and 1963: 372—436). The frequency of occurrence of the character 760 is of an average order (39 occurrences) and the same applies to its dispersion since it does not occur in all the tablets but still in quite a few of them (A, B, C, E, G, H, I, R, S), being the most frequent in tablet C. It is not yet clear in what relation is 760 to the formally similar signs 761, 762, 763, and 769.

As stated above, the shape of the character points convincingly to the basic reading *moko* which is a general Polynesian word for lizard. According to S. Englert (Englert 1948: 473), *moko* has the following meanings in the Easter Island language: lagartija; irse los peces hacia abajo; *moko manu uru* figura o dibujo de lagartija; *Moko ma'e* una antigua tribu; *momoko* puntiagudo, agudo, delgado; *ihu moko* el único descendiente de una familia que no tiene hijos.

A comparison with other Polynesian languages indicates that the semantic field of *moko* may be supposed to have been richer originally. In Polynesian mythology *moko* or lizard played generally a sinister part and its associations were those with death, the underworld, evil. It had inevitably magical connotations. In New Zealand, the lizard was a physical manifestation of *Whiro*, the god of evil. The lizard is a frequent motive of Maori art (Reed 1963: 107—108). In the Maori mythology, the lizards belonged, together with fish, to the domain of the god *Tangaroa* and the term *ika whenua*, i.e. fish of the land, was sometimes applied to them (Tregear 1969: 102). Lizard-gods were also known in Hawaii, cf. the entry *mo'o* in the Hawaiian dictionary (Pukui—Elbert 1957: 233—234) and in the Maori—Polynesian comparative dictionary (Tregear 1969: 249—250). In Hawaiian the word *mo'o* refers also to succession,

genealogical line, cf. the expression *mo'o ali'i* the chiefly line (Pukui—Elbert 1957: 234). Furthermore, in Tuamotuan *moko* referred not only to lizard and to an evil supernatural being, but it also denoted the phallus (Stimson—Marshall 1964: 309), which is easy to understand when the Hawaiian meaning of a genealogical line is taken into account. The relation to genealogical matters is manifest also in Tahitian where *mo'o pō* means to be extinct (Tregear 1969: 249). Of an extraordinary importance is the Mangaian belief according to which the lizard has arrived from the Spirit-land ("*Reia e te moko i 'Enua kura*", Tregear 1969: 249). The meanings listed above can be reconstructed as entering into the semantic spectrum of the Easter Island word *moko*. It can also be assumed that it was used in proper names, cf. the Tuamotuan names *Moko Teā* White Lizard and *Moko Uri* Black Lizard (Stimson—Marshall 1964: 310). Furthermore, the meaning *hanau (mo)moko* cannot be excluded from the consideration either, this being the name of a tribe known from the traditional history of the Easter Island (Englert 1948: 157).

Below, the most interesting occurrences of the character 760 = *moko* will be quoted and analysed in their environments in order to check the plausibility of the interpretation suggested first by Metoro Tauaha and later by Barthel. Let us start with Aa8: 50.10 — V79.21 — 2 — V760 — 2 — V760 — 5 = *hakahenua viri rua uri moko uri moko tea*. This might be interpreted, upon the exoteric level, as follows: The black lizard (*moko uri*) and the fair lizard (*moko tea*) moved in the direction of the earth (*hakahenua*), crawled (*viri*) from/in the black hole (*rua uri*). The reading *rua* hole is suggested here for the character 21 that has the shape of a small circle. This interpretation of 21 supports, at the same time, Barthel's interpretation of 2 as *uri*, i.e. dark, black since 2 is simply a derivation of 21 and both symbols are semantically related. Provided the reading of 21 as *rua* is accepted, the sequence quoted above might be regarded as referring to lizards that were believed to have come from the nether world (here denoted as *rua uri*, i.e. black hole or dark abyss).

In Ev 3, the character 760 is mentioned in very much the same environment: 380.1 — 2 — V760 — 50 — 2 — V760 — 50 — 2 = *kohau rongorongo uri moko henua uri moko henua uri*, i.e. The tablet concerning the black, the lizard from the black land, the lizard from the black land. Here, the black land (*henua uri*) also refers to the nether world.

Hr8 is obviously a paraphrase of a text that is also found in Aa8, cf. Hr8: 50.10 — V9 — 2 — 760 — 50 : 21 — 2 — 760 — 5 — 50 : 21 — 5.10 = *hakahenua rangi? uri moko rua raro henua uri moko tea rua raro henua hakatea*, i.e. The dark sky? approached the earth, the lizard (is?) from?/in? the hole below in the black land, the fair lizard (is?) from?/in? the hole below in the land where light is made. The nether world, i.e. the black land (*henua uri*) is at the same time the land where light is made (*henua hakatea*). This is in agreement with what is known of the nether world in the Polynesian mythology. The moon periodically immerses there in order to take a bath and thus revived rises again with new light (Hiroa 1962: 441). This

seems to be confirmed by the subsequent text that has been damaged in Hv3 but is well preserved in Pr7—8: 50 . 10 — V9 — 2 — 760 — 50 — 2 — 760 . 52x — 50 — 5 . 10 — 4 . 64 . 3 — 9 — 5 . 64 — 7 — 95 — 2 — 50 . 10 — 8 — 600 — 280 . 1 . . 95 . 3 = *hakahenua rangi? uri? moko henua uri moko (ma) tangi henua hakatea pou aho maru rangi tea pou rei nuku raro uri hakahenua ra'a kura honu tokotoko nuku maru*, i.e. The black sky has approached the earth, the lizard from the black land, the crying lizard from the land where light is made, shady are the poles of light of the clear sky, poles of the crescent rise from below the darkness, the fair sun sets down to the earth, his rays enter the depths, the shadows arise. It is to be noted here that 4 . 64 = *ahu pou* is taken as an approximation for *pou aho* = poles of light (= rays). The poles by means of which *Tane* supported the sky can be taken as a metaphoric description of the sun rays. The ligature 4 . 64 might also be deciphered in a completely different way, cf. the Maori expression *pouahu* = *tuuaahu* that refers to a sacred place consisting of an enclosure containing a mound and marked by the erection of rods or poles, which was used for the purpose of divination and other mystic rites. *Tuuaahu o te rangi* was a mound formed by the priest in the *tira ora* rite; it represented life, and spiritual and intellectual welfare (Williams 1957: 444). However, the former interpretation seems to be the more plausible.

In Hv12 the lizard is again mentioned as black and white, Hv12: 760 — 2 — 760 — 5 = *moko uri moko tea*. This reminds us of the Tuamotuan names (Stimson—Marshall 1964: 310) of the same shape. The immediate environment of this sequence deserves a close attention. In the end of Hv11 it reads 50.61.3 = *henua kai maru*, i.e. the earth (or land) is eaten by shadows. Then Hv12 follows: 4.64 — 50 — 700 — 1.74f — 4.64 — 5 — 670 — 4.64 — 670 — 4.64 — 594.28? — 760 — 2 — 760 — 5 — 20 — 3 — 20 — 3 — 17 — 4.64 — 17.9 — 670 — 53. Here the ligature 4.64 is also read as *pou aho* i.e. poles of light. The character 670 refers obviously not only to sleeping but also to other related states or processes, i.e. dying, lying down, falling down, etc. Then the whole passage would read: *henua kai maru pou aho henua ika toko hua pou aho tea moe/rere pou aho moe/rere pou aho maori po ana moko uri moko tea mata maru mata maru koti pou aho koti rangi moe/rere ua*. The probable meaning of the passage is as follows: The earth is eaten by the shadows, the poles of light... the poles of bright light, the poles of light sleep?/fall down?/are dead?, the poles of light sleep?/fall down?/are dead?, the master of night is in the cave?, the black lizard, the white lizard, the twilight starts, the twilight starts, the poles of light are broken, broken (torn apart) is the sky, the rain sleeps?/falls down? The meaning of *henua ika toko hua* remains unexplained. In Maori, *ika whenua*, literally fish of land, refers to lizards (Tregear 1969: 102) and in view of the subsequent occurrence of *moko uri* and *moko tea* (black lizard and white lizard) this might be the deep meaning of 50—700 but it remains to be proved yet. On the whole, the suggested reading and meaning seems to be plausible and the repetitions are in full agreement with the rules of Polynesian poetry.

In Sb2 the symbol 81 = *ika ra'a* (or *ika ahi*) occurs as the second member of a sequence that is repeated several times. 81 is considered to be the syntactical subject of a sentence while the first member probably represents a locational predicate. 81 = *ika ra'a* (or *ika ahi*) alternates with 8 = *ra'a* (or *ahi*) and with 59f:42 = *(ma) hina ha'u*. The localization is characterized first as an *ahu moko uri* (*ahu* of a black lizard), then as an *ahu vai?* (*ahu* of water), as an *ahu mo'e* (or *mate?*, i.e. *ahu* of death?), *ahu uri* (black *ahu*), *ahu rei* (*ahu* of the crescent), and, finally, as an *ahu honu* (*ahu* of the turtle or deep *ahu*). The whole sequence reads as follows:

Sb2:

1 — 25 —	81
<i>toko pure</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 760.2 —	81
<i>ahu moko uri</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — D70 —	81
<i>ahu vai?</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 670 —	81
<i>ahu mo'e (mate?)</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 2 —	8
<i>ahu uri</i>	<i>ra'a (ahi)</i>
4 — 670 —	81
<i>ahu mo'e (mate?)</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 670 —	81
<i>ahu mo'e (mate?)</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 670 —	81
<i>ahu mo'e (mate?)</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 7 —	81
<i>ahu rei</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 7 —	81
<i>ahu rei</i>	<i>ika ra'a (ika ahi)</i>
4 — 280 —	59f:42
<i>ahu honu</i>	<i>(ma)hina ha'u</i>

As the parallelism indicates, the lizard (*moko*) is equated here with the darkness (*uri*), with death (*mate* or *mo'e*) and with the new moon (*rei*). However, no plausible translation can be constructed at this stage.

In Ra5 760 = *moko* seems to be a quality attributed to 40 = *(ma)hina*, i.e. to the moon. Perhaps it could be read as *momoko* i.e. narrow in this connection, cf. Ra5: 40 — 760 — 600 — 599 — 7 = *(ma)hina (mo)moko kura topa rangi rei*, i.e. The precious narrow moon, the crescent descends from the sky.

Another sequence of a considerable interest is contained in Br8: V1 — 200 —

— 522 — 755 — 95 — 200.22 — 22 — 290 — 208 — V760 — 738 = *tumu tangata ariki Tane nuku tona vaka vaka atua maori moko Tangaroa?*, i.e. The source of men is lord *Tane*, his canoe appears, the canoe of the god, the master of lizards is *Tangaroa* (provided 738 can be read here as *Tangaroa*). This is in perfect agreement with what is known of the role of both *Tane* and *Tangaroa* in Polynesian mythology (Hiroa 1962: 455, 457—458).

A sequence in the tablet I (Santiago stick) seems to refer to an association between the new moon and begetting, cf. I11: 10.20.7 — 10.47.76 — 47 — 63 — 522f.71 — 760 — 290:42 — 206.76 — 510 = *hakamata rei hakaheke ure heke toki ariki tapu (mo)moko mahina atua avai tona ure Tiki*, i.e. The crescent starts (to shine), the phallus is lowered, the sacred lord lowered (his) adze, the divine moon is narrow, *Tiki* gives his phallus.

Then a brief sequence follows that obviously has a relation to the preceding sequence and refers to the accomplished copulation, i.e. I11: 571.76 — 5 — 23 = *ea po ure tea komari*, i.e. The phallus goes out from the night, the vulva is white.

As mentioned before, most occurrences of the character 760 = *moko* are found in the tablet C. They are concentrated in three parts of the text, namely in Ca3—4, in Ca10, and in Cb6—10. In Ca3—4 and in Cb6—10 the character 760 co-occurs with 4 = *ahu* and 66 = *to'a* while in Ca10 it seems to be associated with 40 = (*ma*) *hina*. The sequence Ca3—4 will be quoted first:

2 — 1 — 7 — 290  
*uri toko rei atua*  
 V31 — V31. 3 — 5  
*tuputupu? maru tea*  
 200.66 — 4.760  
*tangata to'a ahu moko*  
 V65 — 200.200.200  
*to'a tangata toru*  
 400 — 66 — 4 — 760  
*manu (rere?) to'a ahu moko*  
 4 — 73?f — 1 — 5  
*ahu tupu? toko tea*  
 48f. 1 — 5  
*tupu? toko tea*  
 10f. 1 — 5  
*tupu? toko tea*

If 73?f, 48f, and 10f are taken just as graphic variants here with the probable meaning *tupu* to grow, then the following translation of the sequence would seem plausible: Dark are the rays of the divine crescent, the light grows in the shades,

the warriors are at the *Ahu* of Lizard, the three warriors, the warriors have run to the *Ahu* of Lizard, to the *ahu* where poles of light grow, where poles of light grow, where poles of light grow.

The relevant sequence in Ca10 is much less transparent. The phrase 70 — 760 — 40 = *vai (mo)moko (ma)hina* is repeated six times, first as 22f — 70 — 760 — 40 = *tapa (iru) vai (mo)moko (ma)hina*, possibly The chiefess is in the water, the moon is narrow, and subsequently as 10f.70 — 760 — 40 = *hakahuru vai (mo)moko (ma)hina*, tentatively She is taking shape in the water, the moon is narrow. Here it is assumed that *vai* refers to the water of life known from the Polynesian mythology in which the moon regularly takes a bath to renew herself.

Cb6 displays a highly regular internal structure; 760 recurs very frequently in this sequence. The sequence itself consists of several verses that in their turn consist of three varying parts. The first part (marked A) obviously states what is being done (*kai rongorongo* reading tablets, *kai rongorongo papa* reading tablets and genealogies, *kapa* performing funeral chant), the second part (marked B) refers to the logical object of the action (*to'a* warriors) while the third part (marked C) specifies the place of action hinted at in the second part (*ahu moko Ahu* of Lizard, *ahu moko uri Ahu* of Black Lizard, *ahu hotu Ahu* of *Tupa-Hotu* or *Ahu* of *Hotu-Iti?*). In the fourth verse the order of B and C is reversed. In the last three verses quoted here the warriors are specified as *nuku to'a* (group of warriors), *hare to'a* (house of warriors), and as *mataa to'a* (brave warriors). The last three verses include only parts B and C. Below, the whole sequence is arranged so as to give an instant idea of the regularities of its structure.

Cb6:			
A	B	C	
381 —	4 — 66 —	760.4 —	66 — 281° — 281°
1 <i>kai rongorongo</i>	<i>ahu to'a</i>	<i>moko ahu</i>	<i>to'a honu rua</i>
381 —	4 — 66 —	760.4 —	17 — V6
2 <i>kai rongorongo</i>	<i>ahu to'a</i>	<i>moko ahu</i>	? <i>koti</i> ?
381f —	66 —	760 — 4 —	30b
3 <i>kai rongorongo</i>	<i>to'a</i>	<i>moko ahu</i>	?
381 —	11 — 4 — 760 — 66 — 4.		
4 <i>kai rongorongo papa</i>	<i>ahu moko</i>	<i>to'a ahu</i>	
.607 —	66 —	760 — 4 —	
5 <i>kapa (kapa)</i>	<i>to'a</i>	<i>moko ahu</i>	
608y —	4 —	760.4 — 2 —	
6 <i>kapa (kapa)</i>	<i>ahu</i>	<i>moko ahu uri</i>	
	95 — 66 — 760 — 4 —		
7	<i>nuku to'a moko ahu</i>		
	27 — V66 —	4.37	

The suggested translation is given below: (1) Reading the tablet at the *ahu* for the warriors, at the *Ahu* of Lizard, for two warriors of the *Honu*; (2) Reading the tablet at the *ahu* for the warriors, at the *Ahu* of Lizard, for those who ended (their lives?); (3) Reading the tablet for the warriors, at the *Ahu* of Lizard...; (4) Reading the genealogical tablet at the *Ahu* of Lizard, for the warriors at the *ahu*; (5) Funeral chant for the warriors at the *Ahu* of Lizard; (6) Funeral chant at the *ahu*, at the *Ahu* of Black Lizard; (7) For the group of warriors at the *Ahu* of Lizard; (8) For the house of warriors at the *Ahu* of *Tupa-Hotu* (or *Hotu-Iti?*); (9) For the brave warriors at the *Ahu* of Lizard.

The analysis carried out above leads to the conclusion that the occurrences of character 760 are compatible with the meaning suggested first by Metoro Tauaha and subsequently accepted by T. S. Barthel. It has turned out that the character was used not only for the basic meaning *lizard* but also for other meanings associated with the morphemic shape *moko* in the language of Easter Island.

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## THE RED GAUZE LANTERN OF FENG NAI-CH'AO

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In the twenties, one of the last waves of symbolism in world literature hit also China. Feng Nai-ch'ao's (born about 1900) *The Red Gauze Lantern* was a collection of symbolist poems written in 1925—1926 and published in 1928. This is a first extensive treatise written so far analysing more than half of Feng Nai-ch'ao's poetic output using a comparative approach. The parallels with French symbolist theory and native Chinese tradition could be of interest to the experts and readers.

One of the last waves of symbolism in world literature hit also China. This happened in the twenties of this century when Li Chin-fa [1] (born 1901), Mu Mu-t'ien [2] (born 1900), Wang Tu-ch'ing [3] (1898—1940), Tai Wang-shu [4] (1905—1950) and Feng Nai-ch'ao [5] (born about 1900) wrote symbolist poems.

Of these, Tai Wang-shu was the best and Feng Nai-ch'ao decidedly the most mysterious and so far the least known.

His poems remained practically unheeded and only in the thirties did the outstanding poet, literary historian and critic Chu Tzu-ch'ing [6] (1898—1948) devote to him a few laudatory sentences.<sup>1</sup> The extensive anthology by Kai-yu Hsu entitled *Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry*, New York 1963, does not even mention Feng's name, while in another voluminous study devoted to the history and technique of modern Chinese poetry entitled *Roseaux sur le mur* by Michelle Loi, we find just a few words about him.<sup>2</sup>

And yet, Feng Nai-ch'ao was a very promising Chinese poet.

<sup>1</sup> Chu Tzu-ch'ing, *Tao-yen* [7] *The Preface*, in Chao Chia-pi [8], ed., *Chung-kuo hsün wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* [9] *The Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*. Vol. 8, Shanghai 1935, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Loi, Michelle, *Roseaux sur le mur*. Paris, Gallimard 1971, pp. 275, 328, 448 and 483. Some superficial remarks on the poetry of Feng Nai-ch'ao could be found in a short essay entitled *Feng Nai-ch'ao yü Mu Mu-t'ien* [10] *Feng Nai-ch'ao and Mu Mu-t'ien*, in Chao Ching-shen [11], *Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tsa-lun* [12] *Various Essays in Modern Literature*. Shanghai 1930, pp. 123 to 128.

Allegedly Feng Nai-ch'ao was born in Yokohama as the son of Chinese immigrants, whose ancestors stemmed from southern China.<sup>3</sup> In Japan he went through the elementary and middle school, but he was unable to acquire there a university education, or rather, he did not even mean to complete his university course. We know that towards the end of 1925 or beginning of 1926 he thought of giving up his studies and leaving for China where he intended to open a coffee house.<sup>4</sup> This design, of course, he failed to carry out. Feng left for China and found a country that had no understanding for poetic salons or cafés where adherents of poetic movements could meet. Shanghai had no Quartier Latin as Paris. And besides, Feng came to China towards the end of 1927 with quite different views and aims.

Feng Nai-ch'ao began to write poems in Japan. Some of the first he wrote appeared in the first issue of the journal *Creation Monthly*, that came out in March 1926 and was edited by Yü Ta-fu [15] (1896—1945). They were seven poems bearing the common title *Huan-hsiang-ti ch'uang* [16] *Window to Phantasy*. The window here is that faculty enabling a poet to look at the surrounding world and take it in, perceive it. As a symbol it permits a wide range of views. Feng Nai-ch'ao was a child of French symbolists. His generation, or to be more precise, his fellow-poets were influenced by Verlaine's poetic message, in particular his idea "de la musique avant toute chose", by Jules Laforgue's poetic technique, less so by his poetic spirit, further by Jean Moréas, Albert Samain, Rodenbach, Jammes, Fort and R. de Gourmont.<sup>5</sup>

Feng Nai-ch'ao has written nothing that would throw some light on his poetic views. However, he would not be a symbolist if he would not show a lively interest in the technical and other details of the poetic craft. Mu Mu-t'ien, his fellow poet during the symbolist period and later a poet deeply socially involved, was the recorder of his and Feng's ideas. On the evening of 3rd January, 1926, under a bright moonlight, he spoke with Feng Nai-ch'ao in the Tokyo quarter of Hibiya [23], about poetry, when the latter asked him to put down the views of both on paper. Mu was at first reluctant, but finally wrote down everything and sent it in the form of a letter to Kuo Mo-jo [24] (born 1892), the most prominent member of

<sup>3</sup> Adjimamudova, V. S., *Yü Ta-fu i literaturnoe obshchestvo "Tvorchestvo"* (Yü Ta-fu and the Creation Society). Moscow 1971, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Mu Mu-t'ien, *T'an shih* [13] *On Poetry*. Ch'uang-tso yüeh-k'an [14] *Creation Monthly* (hereafter only CTYK), 1, March 1926, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> For P. Verlaine and J. Laforgue, see Wang Tu-ch'ing, *Tsai t'an shih* [17] *On Poetry Once Again*, CTYK, 1, 1926, pp. 90—92; for Moréas, see Mu Mu-t'ien, *On Poetry*, p. 82; for Samain and Rodenbach, see Mu Mu-t'ien, *Wo-ti shih-ko ch'uang-tso-ti hui-ku* [18] *Retrospective Glance at My Poetic Creation*. Hsien-tai [19] *Les Contemporains*, 4, 4, February 1934, p. 722. For Jammes, Fort and de Gourmont, see Tu Heng [20], *Wang-shu ts'ao* [21] *The Grass of Wang-shu*, in *Hsien-tai shi h-ko lun-wen hsüan* [22] *Selection of Essays in Modern Poetry*. Shanghai 1936, pp. 807—808.

Ch'uang-tsao-she [25] Creation Society, and at that time a poet generally acknowledged. In closing, Mu asked Kuo Mo-jo to react to the letter and express his views on the various issues raised therein. Kuo was either too busy, or just did not dare take a stand in the matter. That is to say, poetic symbolism was outside the sphere of his creative or critical endeavours. He showed the letter to his friend Wang Tu-ch'ing, also a member of Creation Society. Wang Tu-ch'ing had studied fine arts in France and was an admirer of the works of earlier French symbolists. Even more vehemently than Mu Mu-t'ien he called for Laforgue, for the musicalness of verse, propagated Baudelaire, Verlaine and Rimbaud.<sup>6</sup> He was more emotional than Mu and endeavoured to give expression to it not only in his poetic practice, but also in theory. His motto was: "écrire pour sentir".<sup>7</sup> Mu rather adhered to the intellectual demand: "penser en poésie",<sup>8</sup> — at least in the theory and structure of his poems.

Feng and Mu both strove to raise modern Chinese poetry to a higher plane principally by a more consistent and more responsible selection of the means of expression, by laying a greater claim on the skill of the poetic craft. The two vied in this endeavour.

Chu Tzu-ch'ing stated that Feng Nai-ch'ao's poetry has a "hypnotic force", describes decadence, hidden shades, dreamy visions and the lands of immortals.<sup>9</sup>

Mu Mu-t'ien writes as follows about the meeting on the moonlit night:

"With Nai-ch'ao we discussed about poetics, about the situation in the domain of poetry in China, we spoke about our views on the national colour, a little about the influence of foreign poetry on us, a little about the decadent tones. Our views proved to be very similar."<sup>10</sup>

On this occasion, Feng Nai-ch'ao handed the first two stanzas of his poem *Hsiao-shen-ti ku chia-lan* [26] *The Silent Old Sanghārāma*, to Mu Mu-t'ien to read. The stimulus for writing this poem, which finally had three stanzas, had been the famous Debussy's prelude *La cathédrale engloutie*. Mu Mu-t'ien liked the poem very much and wrote that it had the value of "pure poetry".

"We wish to create pure poetry. We wish poetry to be separated from prose", wrote Mu Mu-t'ien. "We are for a world of poetry." Feng Nai-ch'ao agreed with him.<sup>11</sup>

*The Silent Old Sanghārāma* is in truth one of the most noteworthy Chinese poems of modern times. The rhyme is alternate, and all the even verses are of two syllables representing onomatopoeic sounds, colours, moods, suggestions. All the odd verses

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<sup>6</sup> Wang Tu-ch'ing, op. cit., pp. 95—97.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Mu Mu-t'ien, *On Poetry*, p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Note 1.

<sup>10</sup> Mu Mu-t'ien, *On Poetry*, p. 81.

<sup>11</sup> Loc. cit.

are five-syllabled with the genitive particle *-ti* [27] in the middle. The nouns in these verses are the vehicle of significant emotional, irreal or mystical charge. Adjectives have a similar character. The whole poem is written without a single verb.

The title of the poem *The Silent Old Sanghārāma* points to an affinity with the masterpiece of Debussy, but also with Baudelaire's "temple" of nature. In fact, the forty eight verses of the poem represent twenty four "analogies", that is, relations between "things and our senses". In the same manner as symbolist poets in general, Feng too, endeavoured to describe reality about him, eventually within him, with the aid of symbols or allegorical expressions.

In a prosaic rendering, Feng's poem would run something like this:

### I

"Wood's quiet talk	Deep evening glow
Rustle	Purpleness
Dense evening haze	A distraught heart
Incertitude	Poignant grief
Old pagoda of distant <i>sanghārāma</i>	Immense nostalgia
Lonely mountain in emptiness	Evening bell

### II

Silent mood	Breath of evening twilight
Dark blue	Decay
Beauty of firmament	Trembling of myriads of sounds
Sorrow and sadness	Decline
Dim loneliness of temple	Demure old <i>sanghārāma</i>
Incertitude	Deep mystery

### III

Wings of birds of antiquity	Immense love for antiquity
Deluge	Infinity
Quiet night faith	Fever of romances
Self-holocaust	Ashes
Silence without a word	Memory of the barrow
Bashfulness	Young age <sup>12</sup>

The reader is easily struck by the similarity with Baudelaire's poem *Correspondances*, a part of which is here quoted in an English translation:

<sup>12</sup> CTYK, 1, 1926, p. 78.

“Nature is a temple where living pillars  
Sometimes let confused words come forth,  
Man passes there through forests of symbols  
That look upon him with familiar glances.

Like long echoes that fuse from far away  
In a shadowy and deep union  
Vast as night and as light  
Perfumes, colours and sounds correspond.”<sup>13</sup>

Differences in the two poems are manifest. The *correspondances* of Feng Nai-ch'ao are presented in poetic practice. The *modus operandi* of this poem is very peculiar: individual pictures are set side by side, arrayed without any cementing, they are like building blocks with no adhesive in between, without a single conjunction. There is no suggestion of any activity. The world is dead but beautiful. The poem could be written in several sundry ways without altering its meaning and, of course, without replacing a single character of which it is made up. Baudelaire's poem is discursive, a theoretical one. In the symbolist movement it became programmatic, though this had not been Baudelaire's design. Baudelaire died before the movement was set in motion.

It is possible that precisely this poem by Feng was the incentive to Mu Mu-t'ien's reflections on *correspondances*.

In this letter to Kuo Mo-jo, Mu wrote:

“We wish to portray the abandoned hillock of the old park because it is beautiful, and is beautiful because there is a “*correspondance*” between it and us. The tremors of the old park on the abandoned hillock are transferred to our nervous system and suggest the advent of our new world. Those who fail to experience this *correspondance*, fail to perceive this beauty.”<sup>14</sup>

A *correspondance* to a given thing, of course, an emotional or intellectual *correspondance* responsibly balanced is understood, represents a condition of beauty. The object itself is of no primary account. As will be seen later, beautiful to Chinese symbolists need not have been beautiful in ordinary sense, for instance, it may have been faded flowers, the death of infant. The comprehension of the poet as creator—a demiurge—was not an idea brought to China by symbolists. It was very popular among Mu's and Feng's elder colleagues. The sources of this faith are diverse and so is its intensity.

Mu Mu-t'ien and Feng Nai-ch'ao fancied that new world as *shih-ti shih-chieh* [28]

<sup>13</sup> The translation is taken from O. B. Hardison, Jr., ed., *Modern Continental Literary Criticism*. London 1964, p. 155.

<sup>14</sup> Mu Mu-t'ien, *On Poetry*, p. 87.

a world of poetry, something like Verlaine when singing "Je suis l'Empire à la fin de la décadence."<sup>15</sup> "I want to write decadent poems", Mu Mu-t'ien went on, speaking also on behalf of Feng Nai-ch'ao, "it is the smell of foreign countries and simultaneously the reflection of our own selves. They are to reveal an immense world to the Chinese. We like stagnant waters, wrecked junks. Since we shall not see again times irretrievably gone, we at least wish to revive the past."<sup>16</sup>

With regard to himself, Mu Mu-t'ien wrote that he would destroy all Chinese poems following T'ang dynasty (618—906 A. D.), and that Feng Nai-ch'ao liked poetry from before the Han (207 B. C.—220 A. D.) and Ch'in dynasties (221—209 B. C.).<sup>17</sup>

Feng Nai-ch'ao's poetical paraphrase of the prelude by C. Debussy besides attempting consistently to express "*correspondances*", is written also from another aspect in a symbolically decadent style. In this, as in his other poems, the author wished to express the feelings of the Chinese *fin de siècle* which were by no means rare in the first years of the twenties and which became most conspicuously manifest between the May 30th Movement (1925) and the Wu-han stage of the Northern Expedition (1927).

Anna Balakian in her work *The Symbolist Movement: A Critical Appraisal*, writes of three constants which we find among "the heterogenous miscellany of elements associated with symbolism". They are the following: "ambiguity of indirect communication, affiliation with music, and the 'decadent' spirit."<sup>18</sup>

As regards the first one, i.e. ambiguity of indirect communication, the "poem becomes an enigma", with "multiple meanings contained in words and objects being ingredients of the mystery and mood of the poem".<sup>19</sup> Feng Nai-ch'ao in practice and Mu Mu-t'ien more in theory than in practice, advocated and enforced suggestiveness of poems and both were against lucidity and intelligibility (i.e. poems are not to explain). Mu Mu-t'ien resolutely stated that a poem cannot be expressed by a chemical formula like, for instance, water, and that the less lucid and intelligible it is, the better. In this point symbolist-decadent poets are an exception among Chinese men of letters.

"We wish", wrote Mu Mu-t'ien further "that poems be complex. The more so, the better, and the richer will be our poetic harvest."<sup>20</sup>

The years following the May Fourth Movement were filled with discussions on various aspects of *ars poetica*.<sup>21</sup> Relatively much was written about what poetry is,

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<sup>15</sup> The first lines of this sonnet are as follows: "Je suis l'Empire à la fin de la décadence./ Qui regarde passer les grands Barbares blancs/ En composant des acrostiches indolents/ D'un style d'or ou la langueur du soleil dance. See *Choix de Poésies de Paul Verlaine*. Paris 1926, p. 253.

<sup>16</sup> Mu Mu-t'ien, *On Poetry*, p. 87.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78—88.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 101. The book was published by Random House, New York 1967.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>20</sup> Mu Mu-t'ien, *On Poetry*, pp. 84—85.

about the differences between the poetry and prose, about poems in prose and free verse. At the very beginning we witness a considerable relaxation of the overall poetic structure: adherents of free verse dominated the poetic scene. But in time advocates of a strict or stricter prosody succeeded in gaining more influence. One of them—Wen I-to [29] (1899—1946) brought into Chinese prosody the idea expressed by the American literary critic Bliss Perry about the poetry “dancing in chains”.<sup>22</sup> From among the first pioneers of modern Chinese prosody and poetry generally, the closest to come to Chinese symbolists was probably K’ang Pai-ch’ing [30]. According to K’ang: “What we write about is content; the means we use to express it are the form... As for form, its function is musical and pictorial: the musical function, that is rhythm, while the pictorial one is formed by means of expression.”<sup>23</sup>

To express musical side, about which symbolists were precisely much concerned, old Chinese poems disposed of “the rhyme (*yin-yün*) [32], the rules for alternating tones (*p’ing-tse*) [33], the alternate sequence of clear and unclear syllables (*ch’ing-chu*) [34]. These had to satisfy the sensory organs. The excessively strict metre patterns (*ko-lü*) [35] prevented creative inventiveness (*hsin-kuan*) [36] from developing. The lower the degree achieved by creative inventiveness, the greater attention used to be devoted to metre patterns. If they were fulfilled with that which was false, they could only satisfy the organs of senses, but they did not emanate the poetic essence. Therefore, the new poems did away with the metre patterns and preserved only the natural rhythmic arrangement (*tzu-jan-ti yin-chieh*) [37].”<sup>24</sup>

Chinese symbolists were evidently conscious of the musical possibilities of the Chinese verse, but they decidedly refused to continue in the “natural rhythmic arrangement” which according to K’ang Pai-ch’ing, was to have been the essence of every creation. According to him “Feeling is expressed in sounds. Feeling gives rise to emotion and its auditory expression becomes a literary recording. It depends on whether the emotion is shallow or deep for the literary recording to be rich or poor. This literary recording is the natural rhythmic arrangement.”<sup>25</sup>

The latter judgment of traditional Chinese literary theory was looked upon by Mu and Feng with downright hostility. Here was levelled out the difference between the “world of prose” (*san-wen shih-chieh*) [38], for which they had little concern, and the “world of poetry” which they wished to create. Their attack was not aimed, however,

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<sup>21</sup> An interesting article on this subject has been written by Stolzová, M., *The Foundations of Modern Chinese Poetics (Theory and Criticism of the New Poetry 1917—1925)*. Archiv orientální, 36, 4, 1968, pp. 585—608.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. McDougall, Bonnie S., *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into China, 1919—1925*. Tokyo 1971, p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> K’ang Pai-ch’ing, *Hsin shih-ti wo chien* [31] *My View of Modern Poetry*, in Chao Chia-pi ed., op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 327.

<sup>24</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup> Loc. cit.

at K'ang Pai-ch'ing, but against the most prominent spokesman of this literary ideal. Hu Shih [39] (1891—1962), author of the first anthology of modern Chinese poetry entitled *Ch'ang-shih-chi* [40] *Experiments*, who published in *Tzu-hsü* [41] *Foreword* to this anthology a poem from the year 1915 dedicated to his friend Jen Shu-yung [42] which contained these words: "Poems should be written like prose."<sup>26</sup> Of course, Hu Shih did not mean it literally the way he had written it. All he had in view was that the language of poetry should not be too ornamental, that poems should not embody expressions like *o-mei* [43] moth-eyebrows, *yü-jung* [44] jade face, or *chuyen* [45] pearly lips, that the means of expressions of poetry (*wen*) [46] should not be more important than the substance (*chih*) [47] of the poem.<sup>27</sup>

Feng and Mu were concerned about the quality of poetry, yet they would not renounce the use of expressions that reminded them of the times and the spirit of decadence. This involved not only themes, but also words "all shimmering with purple and gold."<sup>28</sup> They wanted to be extravagant, not natural, complex, not simple. The quality of the poem, according to them, was not in idea it represented but in mood it evoked and the sophisticated form it was made of.

The decadent spirit was no novelty among members of the Creation Society. In the initial period Yü Ta-fu was its propounder. His decadence, however, is patterned more on that of Oscar Wilde and the poets of Yellow Book, hence, influenced by English aestheticism and rather more erotically coloured. Among Chinese symbolists it has more of a French tint. As to Feng Nai-ch'ao, his poems are imbued with the decadence proper to Moréas, in particular to his *Les Stances*, hence they are devoid of the passionate eroticism seen in Ernest Dawson, and all traces of an abnormal eroticism are absent from it. This may perhaps be due to the fact that French symbolism contains even obsessive narcissism, though not of an erotic nature (for instance in Stéphane Mallarmé or Paul Valéry—though the latter seems to have remained unknown to members of the Creation Society). There we also often witness a fear of sexuality or love, for example, in J. Laforgue or Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. This, of course, does not imply any fear of it on the part of Feng Nai-ch'ao. But like the majority of French symbolist poets, neither he found an "abiding consolation in Love".<sup>29</sup>

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An analysis of Feng Nai-ch'ao's poems may well begin with his longest one entitled *Sheng-ming-ti ai-ko* [48] *Life's Elegy*.<sup>30</sup> Elegies as such enjoy a time-honoured tradition

<sup>26</sup> Hu Shih, *Foreword. Experiments*, 2nd ed., Shanghai 1920, p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted according to Richardson, Joanna, *Verlaine*. London 1971, p. 190.

<sup>29</sup> Gibson, Robert, ed., *Modern French Poets on Poetry*. Cambridge University Press 1961, p. 38.

<sup>30</sup> CTYK, 5, 1926, pp. 103—108.

in the history of Chinese literature, at least from the time the greatest of them was created, *Li-sao* [49] *On Encountering Sorrow*, by Ch'ü Yüan [50] (4th—3rd cent. B. C.). Feng's elegy might be said to be reminiscent of Ch'ü Yüan's with the difference that while Ch'ü Yüan speaks in *On Encountering Sorrow* about his life and ideals, Feng Nai-ch'ao says practically nothing about himself, and as for ideals, he has none, except the Genghis Khan type of destruction, and after-life ideals, which, however, had nothing common with life beyond the grave. It tells us more about his attitudes towards life, youth, love, happiness, and towards an emotion to which he devoted most space and time in his poems—to sadness.

Feng Nai-ch'ao dates this poem as *chiu tso* [51] old work. It may be presumed that he had written it before his other poems, perhaps it was the first one among those he published in print. Michelle Loi writes that Feng was a "friend and pupil" of Mu's.<sup>31</sup> It is quite certain that Feng was one of his friends and this poem may well have originated under Mu Mu-t'ien's influence. A certain trait in this poem is strongly reminiscent of Mu Mu-t'ien's most personal poem called *Wo yüan* [52] *I Will*.<sup>32</sup>

In this poem, imitating by its rhythm the regular movement of the waves of the sea tide, by using numerous *redoublements emphatiques*, Mu gives vent to his secret yearnings. This is not an erotic trembling as we might be led to surmise on the basis of what the author himself has betrayed about the background of this poem, nor is it an expression of his suicidal moods that were taking possession of him at the time. Woman and despair are not even mentioned here. Ideals of old Taoist hermits are depicted, though in modern symbolist rendering. The poet wants to roam about under "the sinuous lights of the lamps on the firmament", along "the grey paths by the shore of the sea", he wants to feel the smell of rice blades, to sit on a piece of rock in a pine-wood, etc. The expression *wo yüan* recurs altogether eleven times in the poem of sixteen verses.

In *Life's Elegy* Feng Nai-ch'ao does not say much about what he wants, but rather about what he does not want. Nature to Mu Mu-t'ien was a refuge, but not to Feng Nai-ch'ao. Nor was society, nor his own heart. Poetry was to him the only

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<sup>31</sup> Loi, Michelle, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>32</sup> The poem was published in *CTYK*, 2, 1926, pp. 124—125. Mu Mu-t'ien's poem has an interesting history. It was written on 10th July, 1925, as a remembrance to the summer of 1924 which Mu Mu-t'ien had spent with his friend Hsü Yao-ch'en [53] at the seaside in the little Japanese town of Ito [54]. The very ancient settlement, the bay, mountains, water, all this made an unusual impression on him. Mu became hopelessly infatuated with a buxom girl, Mr. Hsü's friend. The daily walks which he took with both of them caused him inexcruciable torments. He could not go away from this girl, and did not dare come closer to her either. One night, full of despair, he ran away from the house in which he lived and spent the whole night and the following day roaming about the country, and returned to Ito by train only at night. Hsü and his plump girl-friend had looked for him vainly the whole day and presumed he had committed suicide. (See Mu Mu-t'ien, *Retrospective Glance at My Poetic Creation*, pp. 719—720.)

ferry-boat. But where is it to take him? What is in reality that other shore? The goal for him, like for Charles Baudelaire, was to write poetry in order to resolve his “innermost conflicts and transmute to beauty the repellent world”.<sup>33</sup>

“I will not listen to sounds of rain drops  
I will not see chaotic nightly shadows  
I will not remember the fate of wounded heart  
A sandstorm of distress has filled the half of my life”<sup>34</sup>

These were Feng's first *Wo pu-yüan* [55] *I Will Not*, although they were not his first lines. By the first verse of his *Life's Elegy* “Sadly sadly cries the night rain” Feng Nai-ch'ao perhaps unconsciously took contact with the old Chinese tradition, known at least from the times of Li Ching [56] (916—961) and Li Yü [57] (937—978), father and son, two representatives of poetic decadence from the period of the Five dynasties.<sup>35</sup> In it he also took contact with the French tradition which A. Rimbaud sketched when writing his “Il pleut doucement sur la ville”<sup>36</sup> which was symbolistically moulded in a truly delightful way in the words “Il pleure dans mon cœur”, by his “Doppelgänger” P. Verlaine.<sup>37</sup>

The third verse of *I Will Not* reminds us of a certain trend the embryo of which may be seen in Feng's work. It is a hint of a surrealist image. The poet was rather young to remember “the fate of wounded heart”. He may only have thought of it. The reader gathers the impression or squarely suspects that a *pseudosouvenir* is involved. We find a perfect surrealist image in the last couplet of *The Silent Old Sanghārāma* where poetic irrationality of Feng Nai-ch'ao is already clearly manifest. In no manner of ways can “young age”—if the matter is considered in the light of universal experience—be a “memory of the barrow”, for youth precedes, as time goes, the concept and reality of grave. This is a rule that knows no exception. A surrealist image of different kind may be noted for instance, in the verse of another poem: “A soft sentimental silk scarf deeply covered a weak and grey paleness.”<sup>38</sup> Nothing can be covered “deeply”. Covering implies a twodimensional, planar quality, while depth always involves tridimensionality.

Feng's further two “I will not's” are also of importance to his poetic and human admissions:

“I will not taste the searing hot spirits

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<sup>33</sup> Gibson, Robert, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>34</sup> CTYK, 5, 1926, p. 103.

<sup>35</sup> *Li Ching Li Yü tz'u* [58] *The Songs of Li Ching and Li Yü*. Peking 1958, p. 7 and 53.

<sup>36</sup> *Choix de Poésies de Paul Verlaine*, p. 116.

<sup>37</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>38</sup> CTYK, 1, 1926, p. 77.

I will not take again powerful narcotic drugs"<sup>39</sup>

There is not doubt but that wine and spirits were favourites with the symbolist poets. The habitual haunts of French symbolist poets were cafés and salons and their most frequent drink was absinthe, a toxic "green fairy" which "offered the quickest way to detach oneself from the world".<sup>40</sup> Wang Tu-ch'ing tells us that the news of the bloody May 30th Movement reached him in one café of the Quartier Latin drinking a glass of rum.<sup>41</sup> Both Wang<sup>42</sup> and Feng used to write drinking poems. The latter wrote at least one in which he ascribed the same colour to *chiu* [61], i.e. wine or spirit as to sadness—*ch'ing* [62] green.<sup>43</sup> As it seems rather far-fetched to presume that Feng Nai-ch'ao drank wine made of grapes while in Japan, he was probably provoked to such expressions and similar verses full of grief by some "green fairy". There is nothing strange if among such poets—and Feng had something of *rimbaldisme* in his blood—the colour of alcohol is transferred to some other sphere. The great French poet too wrote about his "soul" as being "green" and "how green", i.e. "combien verte"!<sup>44</sup>

Feng Nai-ch'ao's reminiscence to narcotic drugs is a startling revelation. It is a noteworthy remembrance which we do not find anywhere else among Chinese symbolists. Did Feng really use drugs, similarly as Baudelaire, Rimbaud and others had done before him?

In the poem under analysis Feng Nai-ch'ao admits to having a "weak and sensitive heart".<sup>45</sup> This sensitive and weak heart then becomes a seismograph registering the tremors of his soul, the world in which he lived, his sadness, "malheur d'être poète", his melancholy.

Yet, this poet with a "weak and sensitive heart" simultaneously pronounced the most rebellious words ever put on paper by the brush of a Chinese poet:

"All things should be destroyed  
Whether new or old  
Everything's but sadness  
Whether strong or weak"<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> CTYK, 5, 1926, p. 103.

<sup>40</sup> Richardson, Joanna, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>41</sup> Wang Tu-ch'ing, *Wo-ti hui-kuo* [59] *I Came Back to My Country*, in *Wang Tu-ch'ing hsüan-chi* [60] *Selected Works of Wang Tu-ch'ing*. Shanghai 1936, p. 219.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33—34 and 68—69.

<sup>43</sup> The poem is known to me from Chao Chia-pi, ed., op. cit., Vol. 8, pp. 359—360, and is entitled *Chiu-ko* [63] *Drinking Song*. The word *ch'ing* may, of course, have another meaning. It may express also blue or black colour tint. Symbolists delighted in using words of multiple meanings.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Loi, Michelle, op. cit., p. 290.

<sup>45</sup> CTYK, 5, 1926, p. 108.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Together with a wish to destroy the whole world, Feng Nai-ch'ao expressed in this poem another which was to create that ferry already referred to and which will again be spoken about later.

"I want to express the mood of dense clouds of sadness."<sup>47</sup> Everything reminds Feng Nai-ch'ao of sadness and grief.

"Youth is a faded flower in a vase  
Love is a ray flashing from clouds into dusk  
Happiness is a deeply intoxicated spring breeze  
Distress is the refuge of human life"<sup>48</sup>

Sadness, grief, youth, love, happiness, distress, always seen through "green", "dark", "faded" or even "red", though it is not the red of joy and hope, but of melancholy and decadence, constitute in Feng Nai-ch'ao's work the various elements of this ferry.

In order to point out the figures which the poet utilized, we have decided to reproduce the following four lines from *Life's Elegy* also in phonetic transcription:

"Hsi t'ing pu-pu-ti ch'iung-sheng  
Sheng-sheng fa-cho ch'i-ts'ang-ti pei-ming  
Hsi k'an pu-pu-ti tsu-ch'i  
Ch'i-ch'i yin-cho an-t'an-ti hui se"<sup>49</sup>

(Silently I listen to the resounding shuffle of steps  
Giving out a sad sound of grief  
Attentively I watch the prints of feet  
Showing a fine grey)

This four-line stanza is also interesting along the formal aspect. His later poems, as shall be seen presently, improved from this point of view, but this was his first attempt. Feng Nai-ch'ao made use in it of an acoustic anaphora at the beginning of the first and third verses, a verbal anaphora in the middle of the first and third verses, while *redoublements emphatiques* figure at the beginning of the second and fourth verses.

From *Life's Elegy* it further ensues that a tombstone is to Feng Nai-ch'ao the ultimate full-stop to human life. True beauty, however, that need not be refined by decadence is only there. The poet's wish is that a woman's beautiful, delicate, culti-

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

vated hands—*yü-shou* [64] jade hands put a fresh flower (*hsien-hua*) [65] on his grave.<sup>50</sup> This is the only fresh flower to be found in Feng's poems from the symbolist era.

In Feng Nai-ch'ao's works, *Life's Elegy* opens a window to phantasy. The window motif occurs at least twice in Feng's creative life: one it is an introduction into his symbolist era, the second into the period of his proletarian criticism and writings. We shall now speak of the former; the latter figures in Feng's attack on Lu Hsün [66] (1881—1936).

The first poem from the *Window to Phantasy* is one of several of Feng's poems which manifest the poet's will, efforts, endeavours to make pretty an ugly world. Even its title betray this: *Wo yüan k'an ni-ti ts'an-pai-ti hua k'ai* [67] *I Want to See Your Grey-white Blossoms Open*. The *dramatis personae* of this poem and of the two following: *Yüeh-kuang hsia* [68] *Under the Moon* and *Lei-ling ling-ti hsün-fu shen-hua chin-la* [69] *Gone is the Happiness of Falling Tears*, are the poet and a woman referred to as She (I) [70].

Sadness with its various shades (let us recall Verlaine's *Car nous voulons la Nuance encore, / Pas la couleur, rien que la nuance*)<sup>51</sup> is ubiquitous in the symbolist era of Feng Nai-ch'ao. This sadness is mentioned four times in the first stanza of the first poem which counts eight lines altogether: twice as noun, i.e. *yu-ch'ou* [71] melancholy, and *pei-ai* [72] mournfulness, once as an adjective *yu-yü-ti* [73] sad and depressed, and once as a verb *ch'ou-ssu* [74] to tell about melancholy. Naturally, the mournful atmosphere is not evoked uniquely by the words that directly express sadness, but there is much in common between sadness and "pearls of tears" that belong to Her, and "the dust of the past" that allegorizes the poet's preceding way of life. The expression *ch'en-ai* [75] is perhaps borrowed from *Ch'u-tz'u* and implies a similar relation to reality.<sup>52</sup>

In the first poem the author strives to save himself with the aid of love that is as "the flower bud" that opens out in all the seasons of the year, that blossoms in the ruins of ancient cities, palaces, that bloomed in his (the poet's own) life, that still flowers today. Only this love appears to him as tears, as faded, wormwood-bitter

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104—105.

<sup>51</sup> *Choix de Poésies de Paul Verlaine*, p. 251.

<sup>52</sup> This expression occurs in the poem *Yü-fu* [76] *The Fisherman*, see *Ch'u-tz'u pu-chu* [77], SPPY edition, chüan 7, Tai-pei, p. 2b. For the translation see Hawkes, David, *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of the South*. Oxford 1959, p. 90. Hawkes' translation reads: "I would rather cast myself into the waters of the river and be buried in the bowels of fishes, / Than hide my shining light in the dust of the world." *Ch'en-ai* means "dust of the world".

grief. Wormwood was an important constituent of absinthe. The poet strives to set up his own ferry, to shake off that “dust of the past”. But he can construct his ferry-boat only from material that is available to him. The flowers that appear in a faded state (*ts’an-hua*) [78] cannot be revived any more.

In the second poem *Under the Moon* Feng Nai-ch’ao deals with two components of his poems: sadness and woman. The third—flowers—he only mentions.

The poems begins with these four verses:

“The melancholy mood moved her from the silk-white surface of the lake  
Her quiet lonely phantom walks the world of sleepy water lilies  
A silvery light spills out A dreamy delusion rises in this temper  
Sweetheart you are like a lonely nymph weeping on the fountain”<sup>53</sup>

“She” is in this poem already a Sweetheart (*ai-jen*) [79]. Is she truly “la femme aimée”? Probably not, for she is too idealized. Here Feng Nai-ch’ao draws the only time on Greek mythology which had so powerfully attracted Moréas and numerous European symbolists, but he imparts a totally different significance to that nymph on the fountain. That is to say, that the image of the nymph in his version does in no way correspond to its traditional concept. Nymphs of antiquity were never sad but used to be engaged in singing and dancing.

All that has something in common with water, rain, sprinkling—and fountains are no exception—reminds Feng Nai-ch’ao of sadness and melancholy. Moréas in his *Les Stances* which became a favourite book with people around Feng, i.e. Mu Mu-t’ien and Cheng Po-ch’i [80],<sup>54</sup> also comes close to grief, to the “element of water”, but also to man and woman, to flowers.<sup>55</sup> Moréas is more stoical, his poetic range is broader, while Feng Nai-ch’ao’s scope is narrower, but then his feeling is more passionate.

At the end of the poem the following words are addressed to the poet’s Sweetheart:

“From your melancholy I shall weave a fine rainbow dress  
From your tears I shall string a red necklace  
You will always dance to me in my deep dreams  
And I shall unceasingly open a beauteous imaginary world to you”<sup>56</sup>

The poet dresses his Sweetheart in sadness and its metamorphoses, wants her to be his companion, but makes of her also part of his ferry.

<sup>53</sup> CTYK, 1, 1926, p. 75.

<sup>54</sup> Mu Mu-t’ien, *On Poetry*, p. 82. Cheng Po-ch’i allegedly said about Moréas’ lines that they are like “water pearls on a tray of white jade”.

<sup>55</sup> Butler, John Davis, *Jean Moréas*. The Hague 1967, pp. 134—137, 146—149, 180—181, and 196—197.

<sup>56</sup> CTYK, 1, 1926, p. 75.

The "imaginary world" (*meng-huan hsien-hsiang*) [81] is the theme of the next poem entitled *Huang-ying* [82] *Phantasm*, the last from the *Window to Phantasy*:

"The pale-grey dawn embraces the earth's enchanted soul  
Dark clouds of distress cover up forlorn pleasure  
A mantle of dense fog hangs gracefully about trees and hills  
Sleepy spent-out waves noisily lap against the nightly scars"<sup>57</sup>

The poet sees his Sweetheart as a "beautiful dream" that diffuses in the glow of the rising sun. He hurries to create for her the promised "imaginary world":

"Out of the dark black cloud comes the metallic sound of a lyre  
Prolonged as the matutinal ringing of the monastery bell  
Sadly clearly quietly it soars far into the round universe  
Only the echo is heard of a prayer winding about mountains and trees

Silent black clothes capriciously entwining hovering spirit  
Fly into the pure and deep mountains of the Himalayas  
Penetrate the icy sanctuary of the monastery  
There my love hangs in the gloomy hall"<sup>58</sup>

What to say about this poem namely about its last part? It is the most symbolist poem of Feng Nai-ch'ao. There is nothing in it that would be without an analogy, but what is the other object? The poet only hints at it. This poem comes closest to Mallarmé's concept of poetry. It is orphic, that is oracular, has many possible meanings.<sup>59</sup> Who is that love that hangs in the gloomy hall of the cloister? Is it goddess, spirit, a saintly woman, or only a poetic vision?

Never before nor after Feng Nai-ch'ao, has any modern Chinese poet withdrawn himself to such an extent into the "ivory tower". Feng did not express the least concern for life about him, for what was going on, for the people involved in the political struggle of his days. There is almost abysmal difference between him and e.g. Kuo Mo-jo, Ch'eng Fang-wu [83] (born 1897), or even Yü Ta-fu, his senior colleagues from the Creation Society. His poems do not reflect in the least the Chinese reality of the years 1925 and 1926. At the time of the Northern Expedition (from July 1926 onwards), when the revolutionary armies fought bitter battles with the reactionary forces of warlords like Wu P'ei-fu [84], Sung Ch'uan-fang [85] and others, when there were signs that the hopes of progressive Chinese people would be fulfilled, Feng Nai-ch'ao

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>58</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>59</sup> Balakian, Anna, *The Symbolist Movement*, p. 83.

wrote about *Chüeh-wang* [86] *Hopelessness*,<sup>60</sup> about *Ts'an-chu* [87] *Dying Candle-light*,<sup>61</sup> about *Mei-yu shui-mien-ti yeh* [88] *Insomnia Nights*,<sup>62</sup> or *Lan-yeh ch'ü* [89], *Melodies of Late Night*, when the poet is awoken from his dream by the sound of the morning bell, the cock's crow, moonlight and dispersed stars<sup>63</sup>... but not by social, actual reality! Nor do we find there the Japanese reality, with the exception of "distant echoes of the city", the voice of birds of foreign country, rejoicings and sadness.<sup>64</sup>

Even more than *The Silent Old Sanghārāma*, *Phantasm* is an example of "pure poetry". Mu Mu-t'ien did not write clearly what he, together with Feng Nai-ch'ao, understood by "pure poetry". The term *poésie pure*, writes Robert Gibson, "is commonly associated with Valéry and sometimes also with Poe, Baudelaire and Mallarmé, who clearly nurtured if they did not entirely provide the body of Valéry's beliefs."<sup>65</sup>

The concept of "pure poetry" was far from being unanimously interpreted by French poets of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Some laid emphasis on musicality, others on freedom from all prosodic shackles, yet others on the very opposites. Mallarmé was interested in mysteries of language, its suggestiveness,<sup>66</sup> Valéry, on the other hand, envied musicians precisely the "purity" of their "performing instrument".<sup>67</sup>

In some of his poems, Feng Nai-ch'ao was not concerned with expressing a clear idea. He thus came closer to Mallarmé's conception addressed to Degas.<sup>68</sup> In poems of the *Phantasm*-type, message was a secondary concern, the most important was the expression of the poet's mood.

Not all poems by Feng Nai-ch'ao are of this type. In some of them the message is quite clear. For instance, in the poem *Chieh-tieh-ti luan-ying* [90] *Flying Butterfly*. In it a sleepy rose, yawning, falls slowly into a dream. A yellow butterfly "lazily gives out a continuous lyrical sigh". But the sleepy rose reacts otherwise than he had expected. It responds to his wooing "thoughtlessly though purposefully" with its thorns.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> CTYK, 8, 1927, p. 61.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67—68.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. CTYK, 1, pp. 76—77 and CTYK, 6, p. 17.

<sup>65</sup> Gibson, Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>66</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186—187.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150. According to H. Mondor, Mallarmé has reportedly said the following words to the painter Degas: "Ce n'est point avec des idées qu'on fait des sonnets, Degas, c'est avec des mots."

<sup>69</sup> CTYK, 1926, p. 76.

Death—this frequent theme with symbolists—is also found in Feng Nai-ch'ao. He does not accept death stoically like Moréas who was ready to open the door the moment it would knock. In *Ssu-ti yao-lan-ch'ü* [91] *Death's Lullaby* Feng describes the “sorrowful Mother of God” with “her sorrowful Child” in her arms. The divine Mother sings the following song to her Child:

“Close Thine eyes and sleep    Child in the black garment  
Quietly without a word as in death  
Fall asleep    I shall cover Thee with a snow-white mourning veil

Let the low glow of twilight toll to Thee as a knell  
May the quiet silence be to Thee a peaceful beautiful dream  
Thou must rest    Thou hast no eternal body  
See a long thick winter is setting about

A white snow belt reflects a dark grey mood  
Beauty    The most beautiful in the world is a silent grave  
When Thou ceasest to breathe and quietly fallst asleep  
Seven angels will joyfully lift Thee up    A whirlwind's organ will sing Thy eternal life

Close Thine eyes and sleep    Child in the black garment  
Quietly without a word as in death  
Fall asleep    I shall cover Thee with a snow-white mourning veil”<sup>70</sup>

The Chinese expression *sheng-mu* [92] cannot mean in this context nobody else but Mary, the mother of Jesus. Feng Nai-ch'ao speaks of the Madonna and her episode from the Gospel as of a nymph on a fountain. He distorts the meaning or story in order to satisfy his artistic design. According to the Gospel, Mary and Joseph ran away with the child to Egypt to escape Herod's sword. The divine Mother did all she could to save the Child.

Feng Nai-ch'ao in this poem is not cynical, as might appear at first glance. Not to live would be the best solution to the dilemma. His constant, even though perhaps unconscious, ideal is some sort of an impossible existence we find among European romanticists: bodily death, but spiritual perception, eternal life, but not the one that is the content of religious faith. Rather something similar to what Lermontov had in mind in his poem *Vykhozhu odin ya na dorogu* (*I set out alone on the road*).<sup>71</sup>

In *Death's Lullaby* Feng Nai-ch'ao brings in for the first time the motif of winter which in the works of the symbolists represented death or late age. In Feng Nai-ch'ao

<sup>70</sup> CTYK, 1926, pp. 32—33.

<sup>71</sup> Lermontov, M. Yu., *Stikhotvoreniya (Poems)*. Vol. 2. Moscow—Leningrad 1954, pp. 208—209.

winter is the symbol of the general death of nature. Death enters stealthily in the poem *Tung* [93] *Winter*.<sup>72</sup> "Spring flowers and summer leaves" (*ch'un-hua hsia-yeh*) [94] that are reminiscent of the "spring flowers and autumn leaves" (*ch'un-hua ch'iu-yeh*) [95] by Li Yü, lie buried in dark gullies.<sup>73</sup> Similarly as in famous poem by Li Yü, these flowers and leaves allegorize bygone years of the symbolist poet—half of his life. White predominates in this poem, not only as the colour of winter, but for the Chinese also the colour of mourning.

In the poem *Hsien-tai* [96] *Today*, Feng abandons the motif of death and returns to that of sadness and decadence of beauty.<sup>74</sup> "Today" has a firm place in his poetry, though it is no the "today" of the years 1925 and 1926. The poem imitates a report. Report in Chinese is rendered, among others, by the expression *chien-wen-chi* [97] record of what has been seen and heard. Feng writes about what he had heard and seen, and also what he had perceived with his sense of smell. The poem contains three stanzas. In the first he sees a faded, lifeless rose as it "deeply" kisses a "shallow" dream of the past. In the second stanza he hears a "small waterless stream-bed" as it fervently embraces the silent emptiness. In the last one he records with his sense of smell the "jade beauty" that flits in his heart. He, therefore, sees here what is invisible, hears what is inaudible and feels that which is odorless. This is a synaesthetic processing of a poetic object, very frequent with the symbolist poets. The poet, however, is here less *voyant* than he was in verses concerned with his views on youth, death and grave.

The poem *Hsiang-ch'ou* [98] *Nostalgia*, enriches the girders of Feng Nai-ch'ao's ferry with a further component: love of his native country and place.<sup>75</sup> By its "vertical" tendency it is reminiscent—at least in a far-off way—one of the best known Chinese poems: famous quatrain (*ch'ieh-ch'ü*) [99] *Ching yeh-ssu* [100] *Thoughts of the Calm Night* by Li Po [101] (701—762).<sup>76</sup> The authors of *Nostalgia* first gazes at the "silent sky" which tells him of what he has long known: his inexpressible sadness, and of the sadness of the "dissipated country" in which lived, and of dreams that belonged to his Sweetheart. When he then directs his glance to the star-lit nap of water, he is reminded of the Woman once again: he was not with his Beloved and his remembrance is full of tears. The sound of *hu-ch'in* [103] Chinese violin brings to his mind "sad and sensuous strings of the heart". And how could it possibly remind him of anything else when "foreign *puellae publicae* are like goddesses". Nevertheless, little by little the sadness recedes and the poet owns up to the love which he did not speak either before, or after:

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<sup>72</sup> CTYK, 4, 1926, pp. 33—34.

<sup>73</sup> *The Songs of Li Ching and Li Yü*, p. 73.

<sup>74</sup> CTYK, 4, 1926, p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> CTYK, 6, 1926, pp. 17—18.

<sup>76</sup> *Li T'ai-pai shih-chi* [102] *The Poems by Li Po*, chüan 7, SPPY edition, Taipei 1966, p. 10a.

“I like the orange moon that has in it the dark mood of the native place  
I like the half-bent bridges with their stone steps and the turbid waters below  
The orange moon shines on yellow junks and I think on Su-chou on the woodcut”

These fresh lines really absorb the reader's interest. The town of Su-chou may possibly have been the birthplace of Feng's ancestors. He had not seen it before writing this poem.

“Sad and sensuous strings of the heart” usher in the atmosphere of one of Feng's last poems from the symbolist era. It bears as title *Tiao-ts'an-ti ch'iang-wei nao-ping la wo* [104] *I Had a Headache From a Faded Rose*. It appeared with several others in No. 8 of the *Creation Monthly* which was the last before the definitive change of the tendency of this journal and also of the *Creation Society*. Already the title betrays that Feng was beginning to dislike sad moods:

“The moon sighs cloudily  
Sadly I roam through inseparable ruins  
Tonight there was no frenzied loving  
My head began to ache from a faded rose  
I sigh incessantly over the past seen in dreams”

The poem goes to speak about “dirtily-purple lips”<sup>77</sup> that suck the author's “sensitive youth”. Mention is made there of a “green-resplendent vase” full of wretched dreamed-out hopes. A love for vases was very characteristic for symbolists, e.g. Albert Samain.<sup>78</sup> They were also favourite with Feng Nai-ch'ao.

The poem about the “fade rose” ends with this strophe:

“Bygone years are like waters flowing eastwards  
Tonight throws about fresh drops of tears  
I feel sad over the wretchedness of my silent life  
I feel sad that sensitive youth draws to an end”<sup>79</sup>

The first line of this stanza will remind everyone who is ever so little familiar with ancient Chinese poetry, of the immensely depressed mood of the poet Li Yü at the time he lost his kingdom and personal freedom. Waters flowing to the east are the waters of the largest Chinese river Yang-tzu. They symbolized Li Yü's sadness and nostalgia.<sup>80</sup> Just the similar is true about Feng Nai-ch'ao.

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<sup>77</sup> CTYK, 8, p. 59.

<sup>78</sup> Albert Samain has two short collections called *Vas tristitiae* and *Aux flancs du vase*.

<sup>79</sup> See Note 77.

<sup>80</sup> *The Songs of Li Ching and Li Yü*, p. 73.

In the view of the author of this study, the most fundamental feeling in Feng's life at this time was not Moréas' *ennui*,<sup>81</sup> nor was Feng a poet of *sourire triste* as Samain,<sup>82</sup> his works do not contain splenetic vitriol of Baudelaire,<sup>83</sup> although one may feel a certain morbidity in his *Death's Lullaby*. Feng Nai-ch'ao's is a traditional sadness, a similar to that experienced by authors of elegies of Ch'u, Li Yü, the poetess Li Ch'ing-chao [105] (1081—1146). Only their words are more reserved. They are declarations, not a demiurgic attempt. We know relatively much about the background of these ancient poets and their works, but next to nothing about Feng's own. It would be, however, wrong to assume it was an emotional fallacy that sounded in his poems. That background and, simultaneously the fountainhead, was probably his country he had never seen, the "sensitive land" in which he lived, perhaps also "disappointed loves" among Japanese geishas, his "weak and sensitive heart", visits to Buddhist monasteries at Kyoto and the environment.<sup>84</sup>

Finally, it was also, and not in the last place, his reading of French symbolist literature.

4

Insofar as the formal aspect is concerned, Feng Nai-ch'ao wrote several noteworthy poems. We have refrained from their analysis earlier in order to avoid superfluous repetition.

One of the peaks Feng has achieved in this field is represented by his poem *Meng* [106] *Dream*. It consists of eight couplets. The poetic parallelism is thoroughly thought out and consistently carried through. The first part of the poem is highly abstract. The reader is conscious only of the melancholy dreamy mood which the poet insinuates. The second part is somewhat more concrete and it seems, personified.

Each couplet of the first part is made up of these components: the imperative *Pu-yao tien teng* [107] Do not light the lantern and the conditional *yao-shih t'a-ti* [108] if hers. Then always follows the name of a flower in the form of an adjective (for instance, rosy, violet) with a consecutive noun indicating a tint of light or shade. Then, with the aid of a verbal bond, the author situates this shade or light, for example into the traces of twilight or the dream of moonbeams. This is the scheme

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<sup>81</sup> Butler, John D., *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>82</sup> Samain, A., *Oeuvres*. Vol. 1. Paris, Mercure de France 1924, p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> Butler, John D., *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>84</sup> Mu Mu-t'ien recalls in an article *Retrospective Glance at My Poetic Creation* that during the three years of his stay in Kyoto, nothing was of interest to him except Buddhist monasteries, p. 722. Feng studied in Kyoto before coming to Tokyo, *ibid.*, p. 718. As monasteries or sang-hārāmas enter often as topic in his poems, he may have been among their admirers in Kyoto which is famous for them.

after which the first line of the couplet is always “constructed”. The second line of the couplet begins again with a characteristics of the mood: the epithet is always little expressive (as regards its intensity), and the noun, its bearer, comes from the set of Feng Nai-ch’ao’s favourite expressions: sadness, dreamy delusion, silence, silken scarf. Then comes the verb which assigns the mood from the second lines of the first four couplets to definite situations. These latter resemble those of the first lines, but are always doubly characterized. First by four characters’ samples (e.g. *k’ung-shu liao-chi* [109] empty and desolate) and then with the aid of nouns that stand in the genitive with regard to the principal word of the line (for instance, *t’ien-k’ung-ti yeh-hen* [110] night scar of the heaven).

The second part of the poem is constructed similarly. All the first verses of the second part begin with the adverb *P’ing-hsi-ti* [111] With the breath held back, followed with the verb which, however, is not the vehicle of the positive action (*tso* [112] to sit, *shui* [113] to sleep). This verbal action is again allocated to light tints, for instance, *wei-kuang* [114] weak shine, or *yüeh-hen* [115] moon wrinkles. Then comes the description of somebody left unnamed who, wilfully *jen-ch’ing-ti* [116] succumbing to his mood, performs something actively, although this activity is very moderate, for example, *ch’iao* [117] gazes, or *ch’in* [118] kisses. The last part of the first lines embodies that which the above “active” words request for completing the idea, e.g. beautiful eyes, lips, etc. and their *epitheton constans* is invariably *ai-ch’iu-ti* [119] sad. All the second lines of the second part begin with the preposition *Ts’ung* [120] From. This time they characterize not a given mood as was the case in the second lines of the first part, but a certain state, some imaginary reality from which something ensues, comes out, or in which something may be observed. But neither this emergence nor streaming is any indicator of some creative activity. It may, for example, involve “drinking of tears”, or the “gushing forth of nightly scent”.

The couplets of the first part are practically incomprehensible:

“Do not light the lantern if her violet swimming glow overflows into the old ferry  
of memory  
A dull phantasm soars in the empty lonely autumn of falling leaves”<sup>85</sup>

Those of the second part are written in a more comprehensive style:

“With retained breath (She) sleeps in the twilight and wilfully gazes with pupils of  
sad eyes  
At the evasive light dream of scent issuing from under the lid of a copper censer”<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup> CTYK, 6, p. 16.

<sup>86</sup> Loc. cit.

The poem *Hao-hsiang* [121] *As If*<sup>87</sup> was dedicated to Li Ch'u-li [122], Feng's good friend, later an enthusiastic adherent of proletarian literature. In it he characterizes briefly two Chinese traditional categories: *ch'ing* [123] emotion and *ching* [124] scene. It may not have been the author's design, but their characteristic is a fact that does tell us something of Feng's views. Emotion according to Feng Nai-ch'ao is *hsü* [125] empty, and resembles the "strips of autumn musings". Scene is a "scene of the heart" and resembles "stirred sediments".

In view of what has been said so far about the work of Feng Nai-ch'ao, there is hardly any need to add to characteristics just mentioned. Both of them intimated that the author was beginning to be dissatisfied with himself. The idea of poetry as a ferry which should help or rescue the poet had evidently a chink.

As regards Feng Nai-ch'ao's technique, it should be noted that he does not make use of diacritic signs in his poetry. There is not a single full-stop or comma to be found in all his poetic writings of the symbolist period. In the case of longer lines, Feng Nai-ch'ao helps the reader through with a visual layout or set-up of the poem. The verses are of different length comprising from two to twenty four syllables, rhyming or blank. In the case of the former, the same rhyme often recurs throughout the entire poem, as for instance, in some of those from *Window to Phantasy*. This is similar to old Chinese poetry. He also made use, however, of other schemes applied usually in stanzas, e.g. ABCA, AABA, ABCB, etc.

5

Feng Nai-ch'ao named his only symbolist collection *Hung-sha-teng* [126] *The Red Gauze Lantern*, according to one of his poems. This title was misleading in 1928 when the booklet came out in print.<sup>88</sup> At that time Feng Nai-ch'ao posed as a very active fighter for proletarian literature, but the red in the title and in the content of the poem failed to symbolize any revolutionary enthusiasm. Nor was red lantern a symbol of love as it became in a later play from the time of Anti-Japanese war entitled *Hung-teng-chi* [127] *Record of Red Lantern*. If the word *hung* [128] red, has any meaning there, then it is as in the words *hung-ch'en* [129] red dust of the world, implying contempt to this dust. It is a contempt of a poet of melancholy and bitterness. It is not an attitude of Buddhist or adherent of some other faith although the red gauze lantern is kept burning in the temple in front of the niche of an unnamed god.

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<sup>87</sup> CFYK, 4, pp. 38—39.

<sup>88</sup> The author of the present study has not succeeded in obtaining a copy of Feng Nai-ch'ao's collection. Since this collection contains only poems of his symbolist period, it may be presumed that its reading would not have substantially altered the picture we place before the readers.

The last of Feng's poems from the symbolist era—at least known to me—was written on 16th November, 1926 and is called *Melodies of Late Night*. In it Feng Nai-ch'ao repeats some of the motifs he had used in his earlier poems:

“I woke up from my dream  
The friendly chime of bell  
The friendly chime of bell  
And the old feeling in the dream  
Woke me up from my dream  
The cock's soft crow  
The cock's soft crow  
Strange dismay of the heart  
Woke me up from my dream  
The moon's shade in the window  
The moon's shade in the window  
Darting a sad feeling  
Woke me up from my dream  
The scattered stars  
The scattered stars  
Like sparkling tears  
Woke me up from my dream”<sup>89</sup>

This poem of Feng Nai-ch'ao embodies two new motifs which the poet had never spoken of earlier: the motif of awakening from a dream and that of the cockcrow. In *Insomnia Nights* he writes about sleepless nights, about nights without “dream's phantasms”. However, he introduces *hsing* [130] awakening only in this poem, after which came truly an awakening and a complete reversal.

Sometime in the first half of the year 1927, Feng Nai-ch'ao wrote the following words about a few of his symbolist poems:

“This manuscript of poems is an old work from before November of last year. Now the ‘scene’ of my heart is entirely different. I look upon my earlier works with the mood of an antiquary. Otherwise they are of no interest to me. But they are traces that I left in the past. It is an old ferry of young age.”<sup>90</sup>

And now just a few words about the cockcrow. Old French folksongs and stories often end with the words: “Le coq chanta; il était jour, et mon conte est fini.” The cockcrow frightens the night—but also the imaginary, the phantastic, it also destroys the work of art.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> CTYK, 8, p. 68.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>91</sup> Balakian, Anna, *Literary Origins of Surrealism*. 2nd ed. London—New York 1969, p. 79.

In a brief epilogue to his poems, Feng Nai-ch'ao wished that his readers considered his collection as a "smiling tombstone" (*wei-hsiao-ti mu-p'ai*) [131].<sup>92</sup> It probably did not occur to him that behind this noteworthy epithet, as also behind the cockcrow, a real tombstone would be concealed, laid on his poetic work.

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The symbolist poetry of Feng Nai-ch'ao fits in well with the self-expressionist trend of literature of the Creation Society. In contrast to the writings of the majority of the members of this society, its goal was not a social one. Kuo Mo-jo, Ch'eng Fang-wu, Yü Ta-fu followed different aims, but these were always extrovert, endeavouring to create something outside the author's subject, something that might serve others as members of the social collective. The ferry-boat of Feng Nai-ch'ao was destined to serve only his own self, if at all he ascribed it a mission. When he endeavoured to create through it a "world of poetry", it entailed no wider consequences than those of an aesthetic and literary character, make the ugly at least a little bit beautiful.

Feng Nai-ch'ao probably felt more than any of the others among Chinese men of letters, to be an outcast, alienated from society, but also from nature, from everything that had not a decadent character. The latter alone was beautiful for him and worthy of an effort.

The years 1927—1928 witnessed a violent reversal in modern Chinese literature. Nevertheless, probably in none among the Chinese men of letters was this turn as violent as in Feng Nai-ch'ao. Just as shortly before, he had allowed himself to be influenced by the spirit of decadence of French symbolists, so in 1927 he became intensely affected by Fukumotoist attitude.<sup>93</sup> The transplanting of Fukumotoist literary demands to China, in which Feng was enthusiastic helper, caused much harm and adversely affected the development of proletarian literature and criticism. Feng Nai-ch'ao appeared to have forgotten that he had begun as a poet and threw himself wholeheartedly into literary criticism. At the beginning of 1930 he took an

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<sup>92</sup> CTYK, 8, p. 68. It may be of interest to compare this Feng's conviction with the statement of Mallarmé: "Pour moi, le cas d'un poète, en cette société qui ne lui permet pas de vivre, c'est le cas d'un homme qui s'isole pour sculpter son propre tombeau..." (Gibson, op. cit., p. 30).

<sup>93</sup> For the teaching of Fukumoto Kazuo and its application in literary realm see Tatsuo, Arima, *The Failure of Freedom. A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals*. Harvard University Press, pp. 188—194 and 198.

Only after finishing this study the present writer had the occasion to read an impressive monograph by Cherkassky, L. E., entitled *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya 20-30-e gody* (*New Chinese Poetry of the 1920's and 1930's*), Moscow 1972, where the poetry of Feng Nai-ch'ao is discussed, pp. 317—321. Mr. Cherkassky had the chance to read all the 42 poems of Feng Nai-ch'ao's *The Red Gauze Lantern*.

active part in setting up the Marxist-oriented Left League of Chinese Writers (Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng) [132]. Shortly before that Feng had been among the first to attack Lu Hsün. It seems that he never recovered from Lu Hsün's vehement replies to his attacks. After a relatively abundant literary activity at the end of the twenties and beginning of the thirties, Feng Nai-ch'ao retired into background. The main reason was that he could never get even with the question of relation between aesthetic and other values in a work of art. An excessive *l'art-pour-l'artism* of the symbolist era became replaced by the idea of literature as a mere social and political propaganda. Neither the one, nor the other approach is, of course, correct, and only does harm to issues of literature and art.

1. 李金髮 2. 穆木天 3. 王獨清 4. 戴望舒 5. 馮乃超
6. 朱自清 7. 蕭言 8. 趙家璧 9. 中國新文學大系
10. 馮乃超 11. 趙景深 12. 現代文藝 雜論
13. 讀詩 14. 創造月刊 15. 柳達夫 16. 幻想的窗
17. 再讀詩 18. 我的詩歌創作之回顧 19. 王見代
20. 杜復行 21. 望舒草 22. 現代詩歌論文選 23. 日比谷
24. 郭沫若 25. 創造社 26. 消沈的方伽藍
27. 的 28. 詩的世界 29. 解一多 30. 康乃情
31. 新詩的我見 32. 音韻 33. 平仄 34. 清濁
35. 格律 36. 心官 37. 自然的音節 38. 散文的世界
39. 胡適 40. 嘗試集 41. 自序 42. 任和 43. 蛾眉
44. 玉容 45. 朱履 46. 文 47. 質 48. 生命的哀歌
49. 萬佳馬蚤 50. 屈原 51. 舊作 52. 我願 53. 徐耀宸
54. 伊東 55. 我不願 56. 李璽 57. 李璽 58. 李璽
59. 李璽詞 59. 我的回國 60. 王獨清選集 61. 酒
62. 音 63. 酒歌 64. 玉手 65. 鮮花 66. 惠迅 67. 我願看你的
- 蒼白的花開 68. 月光下 69. 淚帶帶的幸福昇華盡了
70. 伊 71. 憂愁 72. 悲哀 73. 憂鬱的 74. 秋訴
75. 塵埃 76. 漁父 77. 楚辭補注 78. 殘花
79. 愛人 80. 鄭伯奇 81. 蕩舟仙艸 82. 幻影
83. 成仿吾 84. 吳佩孚 85. 強傳若 86. 絕望 87. 殘燭
88. 沒有睡睡的夜 89. 閨夜曲 90. 蛺蝶的亂影
91. 死的摺籃曲 92. 聖甲 93. 冬 94. 春花夏葉
95. 春花秋葉 96. 瓊花 97. 見聞記
98. 鄉愁 99. 絕句 100. 靜夜思

101. 李白 102. 李太白詩集 103. 胡琴 104. 凋殘的蕾  
薇 惱 病 3 我 105. 李清照 106. 蕩 107. 不要點燈  
108. 要是它底 109. 空疏 窮寂 110. 天空底夜痕  
111. 屏息地 112. 坐 113. 睡 114. 微光 115. 月痕 116.  
任情地 117. 瞧 118. 親 119. 哀愁 120. 從 121. 好像  
122. 李初梨 123. 情 124. 境 125. 虛 126. 紅紗燈  
127. 紅燈記 128. 紅 129. 紅埃 130. 醒 131. 微笑  
笑的墓碑 132. 中國左翼作家聯盟

## MAIN ISSUES IN THE DISCUSSION ON "NATIONAL FORMS" IN MODERN CHINESE LITERATURE

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The principal discussion bearing on "national forms" took place during the years 1939 to 1940 and then was followed by another one in 1944. In this article particularly the materials from the first discussion are analysed together with the present state in contemporary Chinese literature. The discussion was probably the most important among the many since the twenties, and had serious results for the creative and critical life.

When studying the history of modern Chinese literature from the years 1937 to 1942—that is from the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese war up to Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, we note that very little has been written on this topic particularly in what we usually term world languages.<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that the years 1936—1937 and also the year 1942 are dividing lines. Chinese literature after the latter line differs considerably from what it had been before the first. The question is: Why? How was this literary reality affected by politics, literary criticism and theory? The years in between these two lines are years of discussion, and years of creation also, which for the most part had a character different from that of the preceding and the following literature.

In this article we shall endeavour briefly to point out the principal traits of the theoretical physiognomy of Chinese literature of that period.

We have just mentioned that very little has been written—at least in works written in world languages—about Chinese literature from this period. Europeans and Americans have been taken up far more with the twenties and the thirties until the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese war, because from their point of view these have represented so far the most interesting era in which also the most valuable works of the new Chinese literature have been created. The year 1942 and those following attracted their interest because they constitute an immense effort to apply Mao

<sup>1</sup> See Hsia, C. T., *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, New Haven, Yale University Press 1961, pp. 301—308, and some passages of the chapter The Veteran Writers, from this book. Also Tagore, A., *Literary Debates in Modern China (1918—1937)*, Tokyo 1967, pp. 214—217, and Goldman, M., *Literary Dissent in Communist China*, Harvard University Press 1967, pp. 15—17.

Tse-tung's teaching in the practice of writers and critics of the greatest nation in the world. What happened in between did not seem to interest scholars. The Chinese showed somewhat more interest in it than the Europeans or Americans, but mainly for the sole reason that they might criticize and condemn tendencies that appeared to them to be against Mao Tse-tung and the line of the Chinese Communist Party.

Nobody can afford to bypass Mao Tse-tung, if he wishes to study Chinese literature after the year 1942 to our times. But likewise he who intends to study Chinese literature from the first period of the Anti-Japanese war, must face him, also. Some time in 1938 Mao Tse-tung decided firmly to take in hand all serious affairs of China—and he acted accordingly. When he had already been interested in so many other questions—political, economic and cultural, not to speak of philosophical issues—he decided that he would also make use of literature for the struggle for which he was preparing with CCP. The year 1942 is more important for the development of the new Chinese literature than the year 1937. But the period 1937—1942 as one of discussions and relatively free exchange of views, was also a preparatory stage for year 1942. Mao Tse-tung's address at Yen-an would not have been possible without a large number of articles, speeches and the most diverse discussions and debates which appeared at the time. Mao-Tse-tung's theory has its prehistory in the works of other authors, usually the members of CCP close to him, from the thirties. We shall now subject some works of these writers as well as other participants in the most important discussion of this period, to a critical investigation.

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In October of 1938, Mao Tse-tung presented a report to the Sixth Plenary Session of CCP, entitled *Chung-kuo Kung-ch'i'an-tang tsai min-tsu chan-cheng chung-ti ti-wei* [1] *The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*. One of the sections of this report is called *Hsieh-hsi* [2] *A Study* and is one of the most important documents of modern Chinese literary criticism, although it does not mention literature at all.

Mao Tse-tung writes in it that communists ought to learn from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and at the same time to study their own national history and the contemporary state of things. Mao Tse-tung's speech contains really only one paragraph that can be applied also to literature and we shall quote a predominant part from it. This is required by its significance.

"Another of our tasks", writes Mao Tse-tung, "is to study our historical heritage and use the Marxist method to sum it up critically. Our national history goes back several thousands of years and has its own characteristics and innumerable treasures. But in these matters we are mere schoolboys. Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past; we are Marxists in our historical approach and must not lop off our history. We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of

today. Being Marxists, Communists are internationalists, but we can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with the specific characteristics of our own country and acquires a definite national form. The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies precisely in its integration with the concrete revolutionary practice of all countries. For the Chinese Communist Party, it is a matter of learning to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of China. For the Chinese Communists who are part of the great Chinese nation, flesh of its flesh and blood of its blood, any talk about Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is merely Marxism in abstract, Marxism in vacuum. Hence, to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has an undubitably Chinese character, i.e. to apply Marxism in the light of Chinese specific characteristics, becomes a problem which is urgent for the whole party to understand and solve."

The most important is as follows:

"Foreign stereotypes must be abolished, there must be less singing of empty, abstract tunes, and dogmatism must be laid to rest, they must be replaced by the fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love."<sup>2</sup>

The words of Mao Tse-tung found their commentators in both the Liberated Areas under the rule of CCP, and areas controlled by the Kuomintang.

Mao Tse-tung in his speech spoke of *yang pa-ku* [3] which translators of his writings have rendered as "foreign stereotypes". The translation is correct, but the term "pa-ku" implies more to sinologist than "stereotypes". *Pa-ku*, i.e. eight-legged essays, had been and still are to the Chinese a symbol of an uncreative, barren approach to questions and things, lifeless, artistically (and otherwise) worthless imitations. The expression *yang pa-ku* had already been used at least once, in 1923, by a Chinese communist Yün Tai-ying [4] with reference to literature. Already at that time this prominent spokesman of CCP had condemned every literature, every literary -ism that would not help to advance the cause of national liberation and the democratic-revolutionary movement. He was indifferrent to the artistic values by which this movement or -ism could enrich Chinese literature. He insisted that every similar literature must be refuted, as had been refuted "eight-legged essays".<sup>3</sup>

The views of Yün Tai-ying implied that he stood, above all, against the avant-garde tendencies in Chinese literature which began to make their appearance at that time at least in the area criticism. Mao Tse-tung may possibly have referred to Yün Tai-ying, but his concept of the so-called *yang pa-ku*—at least so it seems from the quoted speech—was absolutely indefinite, abstract, not concrete in the least. It left the possibility of the most diverse interpretations. Furthermore, when Yün Tai-ying spoke of *yang pa-ku*, he certainly did not have in mind home models, the creation

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<sup>2</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 2. Peking 1965, pp. 209—210.

<sup>3</sup> *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsiieh-shih ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* [5] *Material for the Study of Modern Chinese Literature*. Vol. 1, Peking 1959, pp. 192—195. Further quoted as *TKTL*.

of *Chung-kuo tso-feng yü Chung-kuo ch'i-p'ai* [6] Chinese style and spirit. Mao Tse-tung had new dimensions in view. When writing about the need of destroying of foreign *pa-ku*, Mao Tse-tung was already an "authority". His words carried an incomparably greater impact and repercussion than Yün Tai-ying's opinion could produce.

The words "foreign stereotypes" and "Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love" were the cue words here, the norms of evaluation. It all depended on how individuals interpreted them, what they saw in them: according to this key they took up their position, their stand in the attitude towards the so-called national forms which formed the object of the discussion.

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The views of participants were conspicuous by a lack of uniformity. Hsiang Lin-ping's [7] views (an otherwise insignificant Chinese critic) and those of Ko I-hung [8] (a better known critic from the thirties), represented two opposite poles. Opinions of others ranged in between these two extremes.

Hsiang Lin-ping's contribution to the discussion entitled *Lun "min-tsu hsing-shih" -ti chung-hsin' yüan-ch'üan* [9] *On Central Source of the "National Forms"* embodies these words which became later the object of the most heated controversy:

"The new originates in the womb of the old through the process of self-negation of the old. This gives rise to an independent existence of the new."<sup>4</sup>

From this it ensues that the central source of the national forms are folk forms (*min-chien hsing-shih*) [11]. By this Hsiang Lin-ping refuted that literature of the national forms should link up with the traditions of modern Chinese literature dating from the period of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and after it.<sup>5</sup>

Ko I-hung, on the other hand, in his contribution *Min-tsu hsing-shih-ti chung-hsin yüan-ch'üan shih so-wei "min-chien hsing-shih" ma?* [12] *Are the "Folk Forms" the Central Source of the National Forms?* maintained an exactly opposite view. In the name of the protection of the gains of the literary revolution he took sides with the new forms utilized by the creators of literature after the May Fourth Movement.<sup>6</sup>

Here we shall analyse in more detail the views of two persons who stood closest to Mao Tse-tung, i.e. the views of Ch'en Po-ta [14], at the time Mao Tse-tung's secretary, and of Chou Yang [15], at the time the Head of the Lu Hsün's Institute at Yen-an, the centre of the Liberated Areas.

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<sup>4</sup> *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh lun-wen hsüan-chi* [10] *Selected Essays in Modern Chinese Literature*. Cheng-chou 1957, p. 468.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 468-471.

<sup>6</sup> *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih* [13] *A History of Modern Chinese Literature*. Shanghai, Fu-tan University 1959, p. 464.

Ch'en Po-ta's contribution *Kuan-yü wen-i-ti min-tsu hsing-shih tsa-chi* [16] *Various Remarks on the Literary National Forms* was probably the first draft of a more comprehensive article or lecture.<sup>7</sup>

In his first point of this draft Ch'en Po-ta states that the question of the so-called old forms is also one that concerns the national forms. Old forms must be used in such a manner that they accept the new content, and certain components must be so processed as to give rise to new forms. The question of national forms then is not merely one of old forms, but also a question of the creation and evolution, development of new forms. New forms arise out of old ones through the help of *yang-ch'i* [17] *aufheben*. *Aufheben* is a philosophical term employed originally by Hegel and taken over from him by Marxist philosophy. In English this word means a simultaneous preserving, cancelling and lifting up.<sup>8</sup> This term occurs frequently also in Chinese philosophy of the twenties and thirties. *Aufheben* for which the English language does not have a single term implies the process resulting in the birth of something new out of the old which thereby becomes partly reserved and partly nullified and lifted up. According to Ch'en Po-ta, to utilize old forms does not mean a refusal to acknowledge the results attained by the new literary movement; on the contrary, it is something that the new literary development cannot avoid, cannot bypass. To utilize old forms does not signify "a return to the old", on the contrary, it is a new stage in the evolution of Chinese literary movement.

Ch'en Po-ta just makes no mention at all of the influence of world literature on modern Chinese creation. The reason is that he was under the impression that the new which was created after the May Fourth Movement in the literary domain, was due to that *aufheben*, and was achieved through the application of principle according to which "the new originates in the womb of old". Forms are here understood as parts of a certain self-evolution. The impact of something foreign seems to be superfluous. Ch'en Po-ta writes about Lu Hsün [18] and mentions the value of his works, but that which helped to create this work was in his view only "the wise genius of the writer of our nation".<sup>9</sup> He does not even allude to foreign impulses without which the work of Lu Hsün's genius could not be explained.

Chou Yang had undoubtedly a better literary and critical education. This is apparent also from his contribution which he called *T'ui chiu hsing-shih li-yung tsai wen-hsüeh shang-ti i-ko k'an-fa* [19] *One Opinion on the Use of Old Forms in Literature*.

Right at the start he pointed out that the literature of old forms had a better position throughout China—in the country and the towns—than that of the new forms. One example will suffice as illustration. Chou Yang states that at the time

<sup>7</sup> *TKTL*, pp. 727—730.

<sup>8</sup> The meaning of this term in English is explained, e.g. by Kaufmann, W., *Nietzsche*. Cleveland and New York 1966, pp. 204—205.

<sup>9</sup> *TKTL*, p. 727.

when the controversy was on, there was no permanent drama theatre in a single Chinese city, although there was a large number of old theatres in China. According to him, efforts should be directed towards the creation of new mass forms, simultaneously exploiting the old forms to give expression to the new content. Chou Yang had a very clear view of the political situation in which China found itself at the time and as one of the most zealous literary propagandists he gave first place to the utilization of old forms, but at the same time made it clear that stressing old forms does not mean the end to new forms: literature should thus become even more national, more the literature for broad masses. In contrast to Hsiang Lin-ping and Ch'en Po-ta, Chou Yang did not make a fetish from folk forms, nor, in contrary to Ko I-hung, did not make a fetish from new forms. Chou Yang saw the aim of the discussion on national forms and the aim of new literary endeavours in the creation of new national forms, of course, on the basis of old forms. Old forms are utilized and reformed, and thus new forms derive from them.

Among the basic characteristics of Mao Tse-tung's literary theory are his demands of the so-called *p'u-chi* [20] popularization and *t'i-kao* [21] elevation.<sup>10</sup> The former was to spread literature among the widest circles of consumers, the latter was to enhance various values of this literature. It is of interest to note that Chou Yang speaks of both these conditions—and this precisely in relation with the issue under study. He states that old forms should be utilized not to relegate new forms to the background, but quite the contrary, to help them. Old forms should be used in order that new forms could be of service to the society, to the cause of the struggle against the Japanese, and that the Chinese themselves could profit from the popularization and elevation.

What are exactly those old forms—if the discussion is to take on a concrete course?

Chou Yang ranges among old forms, e.g. folk and popular forms: old Chinese novels written in *pai-hua* (i.e. in vernacular), scripts for operas (*ch'ang-pen*) [22], folk songs up to local operas and picture books (*lien-huan-hua*) [23]. He did not include among the old forms capable of self-evolution those forms of ancient Chinese literature, namely in poetry, which had been utilized by the exploiting classes. These, according to him, had long been a part of dead literature. On this point Chou Yang held the view similar to Hu Shih [24]. It is rather paradoxical that precisely Mao Tse-tung ignored his most diligent exegete and has become known for writing nice and often valuable poems “in the forms of the exploiting classes”.

Under new forms Chou Yang did not understand European forms but national forms which, according to him, originated at the time of the May Fourth Movement, and should continue to arise further.

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<sup>10</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3. Peking 1965, pp. 80–86. Chou Yang's opinion see in *TKTL*, p. 732.

Chou Yang's philosophy of the metamorphosis of individual literary genres is of some interest. Chou Yang feels convinced that the content determines the form. The content of the new Chinese literature—and likewise of art—is neo-democratic. If this content is to be adequately expressed, then adequate new forms must be created in literature. New forms in the literary sphere are a reflection and a product of a new economy and policy. The new life that came into China following the May Fourth Movement, the new morals and new feelings created a new content which needed new forms. The old Chinese folk forms reflected life, but failed to express its complexity, impetuosity, etc. Hence, these forms became metamorphized: "... Chinese classical novel (*chang-hui hsiao-shuo*) [25] was transformed to a freer and more economic modern novel structure and old poems in vernacular changed into free verse."<sup>11</sup>

From this it would ensue that Chou Yang—similarly as Ch'en Po-ta—does not admit the influence of world literature on the origin and development of modern Chinese literature. No doubt, content and form are correlated, reciprocally and dialectically interdependent, and the reality created in China after the May Fourth Movement could not be adequately expressed with the old forms. Chou Yang, however, was wrong when he saw the metamorphoses of literary genres as a matter of self-evolution. The influence of European, American and Japanese literatures was considerable and Chou Yang could not help seeing it. He even went so far as to state, in contradiction to his philosophy of genre metamorphoses that "europeanization" manifested itself by the import of a bourgeois-democratic way of thinking, and an acceptance of new methods and structures. This is illogical in view of his other views on this point: if the metamorphosis of individual forms is self-evolutionary then it is superfluous to take foreign impact into consideration.

In this connection Chou Yang asserts that what had been accepted from abroad became Chinese. Nothing was accepted for which the Chinese soil was not prepared. Chou mentions futurism and expressionism. Quite the contrary, the greatest influence in China was exercised by literature of small and oppressed nations (*jo-hsiao min-tsu*) [26],<sup>12</sup> further Russian and later Soviet literature. Both Chou Yang and Ch'en Po-ta mention Lu Hsün's work. According to Chou Yang, Lu Hsün is the creator of "national forms" in literature. At first sight this is the same thing as Ch'en Po-ta had said about Lu Hsün. However, Chou Yang expressed much more by his words. Whether he liked it or not, new Chinese literary forms could not have come into existence without the contribution of world literature. To acknowledge this fact theoretically

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<sup>11</sup> *TKTL*, p. 733.

<sup>12</sup> The best treatment of this subject so far has been written by Galla, E., *On the Reception of the Literature of the So-Called "Oppressed Nations" in Modern Chinese Literature*. *Asian and African Studies*, VI, 1970 (Bratislava), pp. 177—186.

was for Chou Yang against the grain — and this for reasons which still require to be investigated.

Since Chou Yang's purpose was to create new, i.e. national forms, he stood on the side of these forms rather than on that of old folk and popular forms. He regretted the lack of mass character in the new forms, but on the other hand, he found no fault with and approved of their higher niveau of art in comparison with works of popular forms. Chou Yang found himself in a merry-go-round of contradictions. He admitted directly that old forms have a low artistic value. In contrast to the years before the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese war,<sup>13</sup> he was of the opinion that great art cannot be created solely with the aid of the old forms and went so far as to write that the greatness of art cannot be judged from the liking of the masses at large. If any one should think thus, then it is only a form of self-intoxication.

Chou Yang is of the opinion that old and new forms should exist side by side: the latter should become widespread among the masses, the former should become more artistic.

In conclusion he expresses his conviction that new forms do not derive solely on the basis of old forms. An indispensable condition is a true study of the real life, language, customs, faith, interest and practical life experience.

This last statement is a constant premise of Chou Yang's and later also of Mao Tse-tung's literary theory.<sup>14</sup> In the theoretical frame of both authors we find blind faith in "real life experience" in connection with the success or failure of the writers and poets.

The third critic whose views are dealt with here in connection with the present controversy, is Kuo Mo-jo [31]. At this time he lived on the territory occupied by the Kuomintang, namely in the capital of China of those days, Ch'ung-ch'ing, as a Director of the Committee for the Promotion of Cultural Activities. As a director of this organization which was under Kuomintang's competence, he dared quote in the very first lines of his article called "*Min-tsu hsing-shih*" shang-tui [32] On "*National Forms*"<sup>15</sup> entire passages from Mao Tse-tung. And he not only quoted him, but praised him as well.

Kuo Mo-jo takes very broad view of "national forms". These are not merely a matter of literature alone. They can be created in politics, economy, in the military art, and even in the production of champagne wine or whisky.

Kuo Mo-jo is against the idea according to which popular (*t'ung-su*) [33] and folk literatures are central sources of national forms.

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<sup>13</sup> See Chou Ch'i-ying [27] (Chou Yang's name), *Tao-ti shih shui pu yao chen-li, pu yao wen-i* [28] *Who Then Needs No Truth, No Literature?*, in Su Wen [29], ed., *Wen-i tzu-yu lun-pien-chi* [30] *Debates on the Freedom of Literature*. 2nd ed. Shanghai 1932, pp. 100—111.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *TKTL*, pp. 739—740 and *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3, pp. 81—82.

<sup>15</sup> *TKTL*, pp. 748—760.

At a time when Ch'en Po-ta chose to ignore foreign impact and Chou Yang spoke of it with great reserve, Kuo Mo-jo asserted that this influence is irrefutable. The influence from abroad was manifest not only in the new Chinese literature but also in other spheres of life, such as production of industrial goods or politics. Kuo Mo-jo points to *pien-wen* from the era of T'ang dynasty (618—908) and to their various "metamorphoses" and comes out with the idea that "sources" of folk forms are foreign forms and that foreign forms, if sinicized, may become national or even popular forms. This idea is right, of course, only to some extent. Kuo Mo-jo likewise points out the influence of Indian art, Western music and architecture. He puts the utilization of folk forms and creation side by side in analogy with teaching and research. The utilization of folk forms has for aim to teach and propagate something. This is not equivalent to creation which is deeper. Kuo Mo-jo speaks of the low artistic value in the new works of folk forms. Similarly as Chou Yang, he too, makes a fetish from reality in its connection with literature. According to him, artistic and other deficiencies in the works of Chinese authors will be done away with when writers will go among the masses, will live among them, will learn their language, etc.

But among Chinese men of letters, Hu Feng [34] was the one who devoted most attention to the question of national forms. In his article *Tui-yü Wu-ssu ko-ming wen-i ch'uang-t'ung-ti i li-chieh* [35] *One Interpretation of the Revolutionary Literary Tradition of the May Fourth Movement*<sup>16</sup> he analysed the views of a number of authors taking part in this discussion. They were all those whom we have already mentioned, with the exception of Ko I-hung. From among the others, it was in particular the poet and literary critic Ho Ch'i-fang [36].

So far we have omitted to point out one interesting statement. Kuo Mo-jo affirms in it that the new Chinese literature is a "synthetical unity" of two old literary forms, folk literature and literature of the gentry. From folk literature it has its popular character, from gentry its art values. And because it was influenced also by foreign literature, it became a synthetical unity also of old and foreign forms.

Hu Feng refrains from controversy with this statement, nevertheless he fails to find in it a "true explanation". He finds this explanation, at least in a partial measure, in Ho Ch'i-fang's article *Lun wen-hsüeh shang-ti min-tsu hsing-shih* [37] *On National Forms in Literature*. Ho Ch'i-fang writes in it that the literature following the May Fourth Movement is a "legitimate development" of the old literature. Old forms are senile. The new Chinese literature had been influenced by European literature in the area of forms. In this area it had gradually become europeanized, while in the area of content it became modernized and sinicized.<sup>17</sup>

Hu Feng rectified the views of all those whom we mentioned above, of course, with

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 779—784.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 780.

the exception of Ko I-hung. Hu's views approach most to those of Kuo Mo-jo's. Both speak of the influence of foreign literature on Chinese literature. However, while Kuo Mo-jo sees the decisive impact rather in the case of medieval literature, Hu Feng sees this decisive impact of foreign forms and contents in the domain of the new literature. Hu Feng's views are probably near the truth than the statements of other participants in the controversy. The Western impact according to the individual participants—excepting Ko I-hung—was either negligible, or more or less considerable. According to Hu Feng it was of far greater consequence than the influence of old Chinese literature. In some of the writers and poets of the period around the May Fourth Movement, e.g. in Yang Chen-sheng [38], Yü P'ing-po [39], this influence of old Chinese literature was fairly manifest. But these never created works of any significance and failed to play any leading role in the new literary movement. Such a role was played by Lu Hsün, Mao Tun [40], Kuo Mo-jo—hence writers whose creation was marked in a substantial degree by world literature. Among the traditions to which modern Chinese literature referred, Hu Feng does not mention Western literature globally but only its realistic traditions and the literary traditions of the “oppressed nations”. Of late it has come also to refer to traditions of proletarian literature (*hsin-hsing wen-i*) [41]. He does not mention, for instance, the impact of European romanticism or symbolism.

It is probable that the majority of European sinologists, were they to write about the problem of the impact of Western literature on Chinese literature, would agree with Hu Feng (of course, *reservatis reservandis*) rather than with the opinions of those whom we have just mentioned. In the *Introduction to the Studies in Modern Chinese Literature* we can read the following observation:

“...we may say that a deep break in the development of Chinese literature took place in this period. New Chinese literature was inspired by foreign examples rather than by the old native literature. This is best seen in the case of the writer Lu Hsün. When he recalls how he began to write he states that he was inspired by some hundred foreign stories which he had read and the remnants of his medical knowledge. He does not say a single word about old literature although there hardly was anyone who had a comparable knowledge of classical Chinese literature. Old Chinese literature had little to offer to the revolutionary Chinese writers whose mission was the creation of a literature and culture completely different from that of old China.”<sup>18</sup>

We have so far made no mention of the views of a critic who for decades belonged among the most prominent in China—i.e. Mao Tun's views. In the discussion he came out with his contribution *Chiu hsing-shih, min-chien hsing-shih yü min-tsu hsing-shih* [42] *Old Forms, Folk Forms and National Forms*.<sup>19</sup> In it he asserts that he does not

<sup>18</sup> *Studien zur modernen chinesischen Literatur*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1964, pp. 18—19.

<sup>19</sup> Mao Tun, *Wen-i tun-wen chi* [43] *Studies in Literature*, Ch'ung-ch'ing 1942, pp. 25—37. This study was written during Mao Tun's short stay in Yen-an.

admit that folk forms should be “central sources” of national forms, for they are antiquated, outdated forms originating in feudal society. They may, however, be utilized in creating national forms. He saw the new Chinese literature of national forms as the result of two trends: the influence of the old Chinese literature on the one hand, and of world literature on the other. From European and world literature, contact should be made with the old classical and the new proletarian literatures. Mao Tun endeavours not to hyperbolize the influence of either the old Chinese or of world literature on contemporary Chinese literature. What is rather sympathetic about him is that he refrains from glorifying the old Chinese literature, and at the same time does not depreciate in the least Western literature and its significance in China.

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The principal discussion bearing on “national forms” took place during the years 1939—1940 at Yen-an and Ch’ung-ch’ing, and the materials analysed here stem from these occasions. Another discussion was held at the Lu Hsün Academy of Arts at Yen-an in 1944. Both these were concerned with the same essential topic, yet both diverged in their results: all the participants wished to set up national forms, but some on the basis of old Chinese and others through reforms of the new literary forms that ensued after the May Fourth Movement.

Following these lively even heated discussions national forms were currently written about. In 1946, Ho Ch’i-fang wrote following words about national forms:

“As for my opinion, it may be briefly characterized as follows: the question of national forms is in fact one of connection between the literature and masses of the Chinese people at large. Hence, all that corresponds to the needs of the Chinese people, whether it involves new forms or those derived from new forms, whether it be old forms or those derived from old forms, all these are ‘national forms.’”<sup>20</sup>

This is of course a solution based on a wide compromise and differs from what he had expressed in the early forties. Ho Ch’i-fang strove, on the one hand, to be loyal to the literary policy of the majority of influential representatives of the Communist Party of China, and on the other, he wished to keep faith with himself as poet: as a matter of fact, he himself was capable of creating good works of literary value utilizing only “europeanized poetic forms”, for instance, the free verse.<sup>21</sup>

The problem of national forms was theoretically well apprehended by Pa Jen [46]

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<sup>20</sup> Ho Ch’i-fang, *Kuan-yü shih-ko hsing-shih wen-t’i-ti cheng-lun* [44] *A Controversy on the Forms of Poetry*, Wen-hsüeh p’ing-lun [45] *Literary Review*, 1, 1959, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16—17. On Ho’s relation to European poetry, see McDougall, B. S., *European Influences in the Poetry of Ho Ch’i-fang*. *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 5, Nos. 1—2, 1967, pp. 133—151.

(Wang Jen-shu) [47], at the end of the forties. Evidently on the basis of an extensive study he came to the conclusion that national forms must have: first, national traits, second, they must have the traits of foreign literary forms, that is, a foreign impact is directly presumed in them, without it no good modern literature is possible. The third condition was a modification of the previous one: new national forms should have the traits of world forms.<sup>22</sup> A modern expert on the theory of comparative literature might reproach Pa Jen with the differentiation between “foreign” and “world” literary forms as not being theoretically sufficiently elucidated. Nonetheless, it is rather gratifying that Pa Jen was fully conscious of the existence of national literatures and world literature and their reciprocal relationship.

Besides the question of national forms, the original controversy was to have elucidated the problem of “foreign stereotypes” in literature. It was found that according to some (even though they did not explicitly affirm it) everything foreign meant foreign stereotypes, according to others it meant all the literary movements that began to appear towards the end of the last century and lasted until the forties, comprising also the avant-garde literary trends. The majority of the participants concurred with the opinion that the “foreign” that had found its way into the Chinese literary structure was not “stereotypes” at all. They agreed that this “foreign” was absolutely indispensable for the creation of modern Chinese literature and if the new Chinese literature was not to end in a pitiable state, become artistically inferior or completely helpless, it must interlace that “foreign” into its own artistic structure.

The development after the year 1940 showed that Chinese literature made relatively smaller use of that “world” or “foreign” element in its own texture than had been the case in the previous period. One of those who condemned such a course was also Pa Jen. He characterized a return to old forms, rather frequent during the period of the Anti-Japanese War, as an “unprincipled reversion to old feudal forms of Chinese literature”.<sup>23</sup>

During the Cultural Revolution of 1966 and the following period, Ch'en Po-ta, an adherent of the “fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love”, triumphed over Chou Yang, who considered foreign impact to be necessary. Practically all Chinese writers disappeared from literary scene at that time. Kuo Mo-jo was the only one from among the prominent writers of the old generation to have survived the Cultural Revolution. Hu Feng and Pa Jen who openly pronounced themselves for foreign impact, had to quit the literary scene back in 1955 and 1960 respectively.

The Cultural Revolution swept away also Ch'en Po-ta. Its principal initiators—Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao—brought Chiang Ch'ing [49] (born about 1914), Mao

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<sup>22</sup> Pa Jen, *Wen-hsüeh ch'u-pu* [48] *First Steps in Literature*. Shanghai 1950, pp. 328—329.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

Tse-tung's wife, to the literary scene. She became the principal speaker in the sphere of literary criticism and the entire literary and artistic policy. From all the critics and theoreticians who wielded a rather important influence in modern Chinese criticism "no one has ever spoken so disparagingly of Western culture yet with so little understanding of it", as Dr. D. W. Fokkema said.<sup>24</sup>

In her "iconoclastic fervour" she condemned not only rock'n-roll and striptease, but also items that axiologically are at completely different place: impressionism, symbolism, fauvism, hence, also artistic movements that in many cases have produced valuable works of art or literature.<sup>25</sup>

"We must destroy the blind faith in what is known at the literature of the 1930's", wrote Chiang Ch'ing in the *Summary of the Forum of the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*.<sup>26</sup> Precisely the literature of the thirties was the first significant Chinese effort at the successful rapprochement with socialist literature of other countries, in particular Soviet and Japanese proletarian literature. It was an important contribution to the treasury of world proletarian literature. Naturally, Chiang Ch'ing did not spare neither the literary thought of the thirties, nor the fundamental conceptual sources of this type of literary criticism: the old Russian revolutionary democrats—Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. She called them "bourgeois literary critics".<sup>27</sup> From the impressive number of Chinese men of letters of that period she exalted only Lu Hsün, evidently for the sole reason that someone ought to be left. She evidently failed to realize that from the end of the twenties until his death in 1936, Lu Hsün vehemently fought precisely against similar pseudo-revolutionary and ultra-leftist elements as she showed herself to be.

In the *Summary* which "has been personally examined and revised by the Chairman (Mao Tse-tung, M.G.) three times,"<sup>28</sup> she also took note of the attitude of Chinese literature to world literature and also to old works of Chinese literature.

"The classical literature and art of China and of Europe (including Russia) and even American films have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some people have regarded them as holy writ and accepted them in their entirety... Old and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but we must study them critically, making the past serve the present, and foreign works serve China."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Fokkema, D. W., *Report from Peking*. London 1971, p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup> *Chinese Literature*, 9, 1967, pp. 23—38.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21. In inverted commas are the words of Lin Piao from *Comrade Lin Piao's Letter to Members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee*.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

From this it ensues that theoretically China does not shut off itself from foreign impact even at the present time, but the *Summary* fails to indicate, with one single exception, which “foreign works” could “serve China”. That exception are the “relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution”, but these too “must be analysed and not blindly worshipped, still less blindly imitated.”<sup>30</sup>

Which are these works, Chiang Ch'ing does not say. But she probably has in mind primarily the novel by Alexander Fadeev *Razgrom (The Nineteen)*, which as the only work of modern non-Chinese literature drew some laudatory mention from Mao Tse-tung in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.<sup>31</sup> Chiang Ch'ing explicitly condemned the works of Mikhail Sholokhov.<sup>32</sup>

Despite Chiang Ch'ing's judgments an almost impassable wall is being built over the past several years between the literature and art of China and those of the world. Under the present state of things prevailing in Chinese literature and art, nobody dares reach out for something foreign without an approbation by the highest organs, much less “utilize” it, for in present-day China, practically nothing has been created in the literary domain, if we except the notorious eight “good models”.<sup>33</sup> If anything at all from foreign art has received “*nihil obstat*”, it is solely some elements from classical ballet, the technique of oil painting and something from European music.

The question of “national forms” should again be put on agenda in *tempore opportuno*. Its practical solution, and one that would simultaneously be fruitful for the development of Chinese literature and art, will only be possible when its participants will have the chance of becoming conscious of the existence of world literature, the literature of the socialist epoch and will be permitted suitably to integrate the best of it into their own literary and artistic structure.

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<sup>30</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>31</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3, p. 96.

<sup>32</sup> *Chinese Literature*, 9, 1967, p. 35.

<sup>33</sup> These are as follows: *Ch'i-hsi Pai-hu-t'uan* [50] *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, *Chih-ch'ü Wei-hu-shan* [51] *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, *Sha-chia-pin* [52], *Hung-teng-chi* [53] *The Red Lantern*, *Hai-kang* [54] *On the Docks* (revolutionary Peking operas), *Hung-se niang-tzu-chün* [55] *Red Detachment of Women*, *Pai-mao-nü* [56] *The White-haired Girl* (revolutionary ballets), *Sha-chia-pin* (revolutionary symphony).

1. 中國共產黨在民族戰爭中的地位 2 學習 3. 洋八股 4. 惲代英 5. 中國現代文學史參考資料 6. 中國作風和中國氣派 7. 向林冰 8. 葛一虹 9. 論「民族形式」的中心源泉 10. 中國現代文學史論文選集 11. 民間形式 12. 民族形式的中心源泉是所謂「民間形式」嗎？ 13. 中國現代文學史 14. 陳伯達 15. 周揚 16. 關於文藝的民族形式雜記 17. 楊青 18. 魯迅 19. 對舊形式利用在文學上的一個看法 20. 普及 21. 提高 22. 唱本 23. 連環畫 24. 胡適 25. 章回小說 26. 小小民族 27. 周起應 28. 到底是誰不要真理，不要文藝 29. 蘇汶 30. 文藝自由論輯錄 31. 郭沫若 32. 「民族形式」商兌 33. 通俗 34. 胡風 35. 對於五四革命文藝傳統的一理解 36. 何其芳 37. 論文學上的民族形式 38. 楊振聲 39. 俞平伯 40. 茅盾 41. 新興文藝 42. 舊形式，民間形式與民族形式 43. 文藝論文集 44. 關於詩歌形式的爭論 45. 文學評論 46. 巴人 47. 王任叔 48. 文學初萌 49. 江青 50. 奇龍 51. 虎團 52. 智取威虎山 53. 紅燈記 54. 海港 55. 紅色娘子軍 56. 白毛女

## QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR LE CONTE VIETNAMIEN DE LA PÉRIODE DE 1930—1945

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Cette étude est orientée vers la production de la prose courte vietnamienne durant la période de 1930—1945 et présente une analyse plus détaillée du conte *Chi Pheo* par Nam Cao (1914—1951). Le but en est de mettre en cause la complexité de la vie littéraire du Vietnam durant la période en question qui a produit des œuvres non moins compliquées. En quelque sens, on peut dire en toute justesse que le conte a joué ici un rôle prépondérant, car dès 1920 il jouissait d'une certaine tradition — certes, non pas très grande — alors que le roman n'était encore qu'au seuil de son origine.

Une preuve saillante de la variété et de la multiplicité de la vie littéraire vietnamienne pendant la période de 1930 à 1945 est fournie par le nombre relativement élevé des œuvres, événements et problèmes littéraires. On menait des discussions dans les journaux littéraires (une des plus importantes était celle entre les adhérents de „l'art pour l'art“ et de „l'art pour la vie“ sur les pages de Nam Phong—*Vent du sud*), on évaluait les livres nouveaux, on débatait sur d'intéressants problèmes littéraires, de son côté l'Association littéraire Tu luc van doan (Par nos propres forces) décernait des prix, alors que les écrivains et les critiques littéraires s'animaient sur les problèmes de la littérature vietnamienne et mondiale et tout cela en harmonie avec une tendance qui n'avait dans la littérature vietnamienne aucun précédent et donc aucune tradition dont la durée pourrait être comparée avec celle des littératures européennes. Le thème qui revenait fréquemment était la relation entre l'individu et la société—un des problèmes principaux de l'art moderne en général. Il s'agissait d'une plus grande attention à la personnalité, d'une insistance sur sa corrélation envers la société. En effet, l'importance de la responsabilité et de la valeur de chaque membre de la société vietnamienne durant les premières années de la troisième décennie de notre siècle avait augmenté considérablement même dans la vie elle-même. La littérature vietnamienne classique avait prêté une telle attention par exception seulement à quelque personnalité héroïque prenant part aux événements révolutionnaires historiques. Dans la période de 1930—1945, la résultante et la rectiligne (c'est-à-dire la simple somme des qualités positives et négatives) étaient remplacées de plus en plus par l'investigation du processus de la formation de la conscience sociale chez l'homme. Un approfondissement des aperçus sur le rôle de la personnalité devenait manifeste même dans la spécificité

du genre, dans la structure de l'ouvrage et dans le choix des moyens stylistiques de présentation. Le développement et la croissance morale de la société vietnamienne— et en harmonie avec elle aussi la croissance de la personnalité—avaient porté une aide considérable au progrès de la poésie lyrique-psychologique, mais simultanément aussi à l'approfondissement du principe-problème dans la littérature vietnamienne des genres prosaïques non-traditionnels.

Une preuve de la justesse de cette observation réside dans le développement sans précédent de la prose pendant la période examinée; en même temps, un rôle de premier ordre dans ce dynamisme vers l'approfondissement de l'analyse était joué par les formes diverses du style et une connaissance des littératures européennes (en particulier des littératures française, russe-soviétique et anglaise).

Les œuvres littéraires de cette période documentent „l'expansion“ du conte comme genre littéraire dans la littérature vietnamienne. La quantité des contes publiés dans les journaux et livres font preuve de l'intérêt des écrivains (mais aussi des lecteurs) au conte. Lors même que dans les années 1930—1945 le conte n'avait pas dominé d'une manière univoque dans la prose vietnamienne, néanmoins cette période peut être désignée comme „la seconde période du développement de la prose vietnamienne“, au cours de laquelle le genre du conte a atteint son sommet (la première période se rattache aux écrits de tels auteurs du conte qu'étaient Pham Duy Ton, Nguyen Ba Hoc, Ho Bieu Chanh et autres) quant au développement de la qualité poétique et des possibilités de genre. Maurice M. Durand a écrit: „La période d'apogée (de la littérature vietnamienne moderne — J. M.) se situe dans les années qui précèdent la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1935—1945) et se distingue par une floraison multiple de genres.“<sup>1</sup> Les historiens de la littérature vietnamienne contemporaine ne sont pas d'accord au sujet de la classification de ces genres, Maurice M. Durand caractérise les contes comme „les nouvelles ou romans courts“.<sup>2</sup> Dans notre présente étude nous voulons interpréter le conte vietnamien comme un type de faits dominants dans le développement du processus littéraire, comme un produit ouvré des dispositions contemporaines idéologiques, esthétiques, psychologiques et éthiques. Naturellement, notre but n'est pas de montrer ce processus dans toute son envergure et toute sa complexité, mais plutôt de l'illustrer par quelques exemples. Nous proposons de caractériser le conte vietnamien comme un objet généalogique dont le contenu est déterminé par une œuvre littéraire concrète, uniquement un matériel concret est à même de servir comme base de départ d'une recherche généalogique.

D'un côté, la littérature vietnamienne légale de 1930—1945 permet de discerner une contradiction non pas entièrement cristallisée dans les tendances socio-réalistiques (on ne saurait y parler d'un mouvement littéraire stabilisé et univoquement déter-

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<sup>1</sup> Durand, M. M.—Nguyen Tran Huan, *Introduction à la Littérature Vietnamienne*. Paris 1969, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

miné) et de l'autre côté, une tendance qu'on appelait romantique. „Il importe de remarquer que le mot vietnamien pour ‚romantique‘ (lang man) signifie encore ‚dissipé‘, ‚indiscipliné‘. Cette nuance de différence s'est conservée aussi dans le terme littéraire associant ainsi ce mouvement au refus des normes éthiques et morales du passé.”<sup>3</sup>

Dans la littérature vietnamienne on appelait ‚romantiques‘ d'ordinaire ceux qui se groupaient autour du cercle sus-nommé „Par nos propres forces“ (Tu luc van doan) qui avait été fondé en 1932, donc précisément au temps où les colonisateurs étaient en train de réprimer au prix de carnage, le progrès du mouvement libérateur de 1930 à 1931 et la bourgeoisie vietnamienne devenait de plus en plus ouvertement passive dans la lutte pour la libération nationale.

Les écrivains du groupe „Par nos propres forces“ se mirent à chercher un réformisme graduel et un optimisme irréal. Le „Manifeste“ de ce groupe proclamait: „Il faut écrire et traduire des livres ayant un thème social, concentrant nos efforts à ce que le peuple et la société deviennent de jour en jour meilleurs.“<sup>4</sup> Il va sans dire que les écrivains du groupe „Par nos propres forces“ ne pouvaient pas y voir clair, comment un Vietnam féodo-colonial devrait s'y prendre pour devenir une réalité sociale „toujours meilleure et meilleure“. La contradiction dans leur orientation et leur but provoqua chez la plupart d'entre eux des ‚écarts‘ en face des problèmes sociaux contrastants. Ils créaient des héros qui souvent existaient en dehors des conditions sociales, qui étaient des incarnations des efforts idéalistiques subjectifs et patriotiques et en opposition aux héros prosaïques de chaque jour. Comme représentant typique de ce groupe on cite généralement le nom de Nhat Linh qui était pour un affranchissement de la personnalité des fers imposés par une réglementation confucienne et pour une adaptation „au mode de vie européen“. Assez souvent cependant, dans leurs efforts d'adopter les idées civilisatrices européennes du début de notre siècle, „les romantiques les ont essentiellement ébranchées: il ne leur resta que la forme—un appel pour agir à l'euro péenne“.<sup>5</sup> Cependant, la complexité des relations dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne était considérable, quoique compréhensible en vue des sociétés extralittéraires. Par conséquent, on ne saurait nier aux écrivains du groupe „Par nos propres forces“ un certain engagement social, une certaine attitude positive dans le domaine de la critique indirecte des conditions sociales de ce temps. Une preuve en est fournie par exemple par les contes de Thach Lam (tout particulièrement le conte *La famille de la mère Le* — Nha me Le, 1937) qui porte un tranchant social très accentué.

Le subjectivisme est caractéristique aussi pour les romantiques vietnamiens. En soulignant la différence entre le romanticisme et le réalisme dans la littérature

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<sup>3</sup> Nikulin, N. I., *Vyetnamskaya literatura*. Moscou 1971, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

vietnamienne, le critique Hoai Thanh remarque quelque peu métaphoriquement, que l'écrivain doit puiser son matériel „dans la vie réelle et dans l'âme — dans ces deux sources inépuisables“.<sup>6</sup> Lors même que dans les conditions de la lutte de classe accentuée au Vietnam, la position idéologique et esthétique de l'écrivain eût reçu un teint social, l'opinion de Hoai Thanh paraît quelque peu simpliste et même sent du cliché quand elle implique que l'écrivain devient un romantique ou un réaliste selon qu'il prend pour base de son œuvre une approche subjective vers les faits de la vie et leur embellissement romantique, ou bien prend le chemin de la connaissance des lois de la vie.

En général, on trouve aussi dans les œuvres des romantiques vietnamiens le trait positif d'une conviction de la valeur de la personnalité. Au cours des polémiques (principalement dans celles de Nhat Linh et Nguyen Cong Hoan), la valeur de la personnalité était souvent présentée d'une manière assez extrémiste en opposition directe à la valeur de la société, sans que l'unité dialectique de cette forme de valeur n'eût pas été comprise correctement de part et d'autre. Néanmoins, le problème de l'émancipation de la personnalité dans les œuvres de la littérature vietnamienne constituait, de par le seul fait de son énonciation, un élément progressif sur le chemin vers une conscience nationale.

Vers l'année 1930, toute une palette de proses courtes paraissait dans la littérature vietnamienne, partiellement comme une réaction au „romanticisme“ poétique.

Durant cette période, Nguyen Cong Hoan (1903) excellait dans le genre du conte humoristique et satirique. Il avait tout spécialement en vue la découverte de „l'alogisme ordinaire, un alogisme généralement accepté au Vietnam féodo-colonial“.<sup>7</sup> Dans son conte *Le fou* (Thang dien, 1935) la naïveté du simple villageois, au coloris humoristique, est mise en contrepoint à la logique de l'humanisme qui est le but que l'auteur a en vue. Le pauvre fermier Mui vient au secours d'un haut dignitaire de Hanoi qui est en difficulté, et celui-ci, dans une effusion extraordinaire de cordialité l'invite chez soi. Mui dans la simplicité de son âme veut rendre visite au dignitaire à une occasion favorable, mais ce dernier ne le „reconnait“ plus, le traite de „fou“ et le fait chasser de sa maison. Nguyen Cong Hoan fait usage de tous les teints du comique — à partir de l'ironie, jusqu'au grotesque, néanmoins, par endroits sa tendance satirique nous paraît comme une fin en elle-même et une hyperbolisation du négatif. Par exemple, dans le conte *Les amies* (Cac ban, 1937) nous rencontrons la femme du dignitaire de campagne Tien qui prend comme une faveur et une expression de sympathie même, le fait que la femme du mandarin, située plus haut, la prive sans honte de sa propriété sous prétexte „d'assistance“. L'idéologie de la soumission et de la perfidie est ici poussée ad absurdum.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

Un important facteur positif qui a joué un rôle considérable dans la formation de la prose vietnamienne réaliste, était la pénétration des conceptions marxistes esthétiques dans la manière de penser littéraire. Les discussions sur l'art — sa substance, forme et contenu — sur le rôle social éminent de l'écrivain et sa responsabilité, étaient initiées sur les pages de la presse légale en 1935. La polémique était menée ici par un groupe de critiques défendant les vues marxistes, avec Hai Trieu (1908—1954) en tête, et par les adhérents de la thèse bourgeoise-idéaliste de „l'art pur“. Les problèmes du réalisme littéraire étaient au centre des débats. La discussion elle-même était provoquée par les besoins du développement même de la littérature réaliste et ici aussi un rôle clef était joué par la production des contes, car la cause immédiate des polémiques était donnée par la collection des contes de Nguyen Cong Hoan *L'acteur Tu Ben* (Kep Tu Ben, 1935).

Au temps du Front démocratique on voit apparaître dans les ouvrages des écrivains-réalistes, activement engagés dans l'activité légale du parti communiste, aussi l'image (non pas entièrement affranchie du schématisme) du champion des intérêts des travailleurs. Telle est la femme simple dans le conte de Nguyen Hong *La mère chinoise* (Mot nguoi me Trung-quoc, ou sous son titre original, Nguoi dan ba Tau, 1939). C'est une image basée sur une transformation mentale de la héroïne, sur un développement complexe au cours duquel une être très ordinaire devient une lutteuse pour la cause d'un certain collectif, d'une certaine classe sociale. Une mère chinoise (comme tant d'autres réfugiés de Chine), en dépit de ses soucis de femme et de mère, fait preuve d'un courage exceptionnel, et au temps de l'incident entre les grévistes de Haiphong et la police, montre dans son attitude un haut degré de mutualité internationale d'une seule et même classe sociale.

Au début de la quatrième décennie de notre siècle, les écrivains vietnamiens de la prose courte commençaient à chercher des chemins nouveaux; on y trouve une tendance „vers une pénétration plus approfondie de la psychologie des caractères“.<sup>8</sup> Ils l'apprenaient évidemment de Tchekhov et de Dostoyevsky qui leur étaient accessibles en traductions françaises, sans toutefois jamais atteindre leur niveau et souvent ils appliquaient leurs procédures psychologiques-artistiques d'une manière fort superficielle dans leurs ouvrages.

Le représentant le plus éminent de la courte prose réaliste au Vietnam est Nam Cao (1914—1951). C'est „un investigateur perspicace de l'âme humaine, un artiste fin, à qui tout effet extérieur est étrange“.<sup>9</sup> Il devint célèbre par son conte *Chi Pheo* (1941), désigné par la critique littéraire de son temps au Vietnam comme son premier ouvrage réaliste. Le titre initial du conte était *La vieille briqueterie* (Cai lo gach cu). Subséquemment, les éditeurs, cédant aux exigences économiques-propaga-

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

trices, changèrent le titre arbitrairement en *La paire réussie* (Doi lua xung doi). A la suite de la révolution d'août, 1945, Nam Cao publia de nouveau le conte dans le journal *Sillon* (Luong cay) sous le titre *Chi Pheo*. Et subséquemment le conte a été publié à plusieurs reprises sous ce titre dans la République démocratique du Viet Nam.

Le conte parle de la vie misérable, malheureuse et tragique d'un simple et honnête ouvrier agricole, forcé par les dignitaires locaux dans le chemin d'un vagabondage inouï. Le personnage principal du conte est donc Chi Pheo qui, dès sa naissance, ne connaissait pas de famille, grandit chez des étrangers, des gens ordinaires mais travailleurs. Tout comme eux, Chi Pheo est d'un bon naturel, bienveillant, avec des désirs simples et modestes: avoir une petite famille, travailler comme laboureur salarié, avoir sa femme qui tisserait à la maison, élever un porcelet et s'ils réussissaient à mettre de côté quelques épargnes, s'acheter deux ou trois sao (1 sao = 360 m<sup>2</sup>) de champ. Ce sont là les ambitions d'un simple et honnête homme, fondées sur son propre travail et ses propres forces, tout à fait en accord avec la vie de ces temps, qui offrait peu d'occasions pour qu'un homme puisse se permettre quelque aménité que ce soit. Chi Pheo devient confiant en soi-même, fier, et méprise tout ce qui n'est pas droit, honnête. Ainsi, il avait toutes les chances de mener sa vie en paix et dans de bonnes relations avec son entourage. Mais des obstacles, résultant d'un régime archaïque féodal désuet, l'en empêchent. Les dignitaires locaux trouvent moyen de le jeter en prison sans qu'il fût coupable. Chi Pheo était très déconcerté par l'accusation portée injustement contre lui, mais en même temps il était dupé; appartenant à la couche la plus basse de la société du village, toute ses rémontrances furent inutiles. Mais ce méfait arbitraire, commis au nom d'un régime féodo-colonial, lui porte un autre coup: l'emprisonnement le transforme totalement et déforme le profil mental de cet agriculteur bon et tendre comme „le sol“ qu'il laboure. Chi Pheo sort de la prison un autre homme, tout à fait changé quant au caractère, avec un visage nouveau, des yeux différents, un homme sans souci pour son extérieur. „Il était constamment soûl. Il allait d'une ivrognerie à une autre, directement, sans interruption, de sorte que celles-ci aboutissaient en une grande ivresse sans fin... il n'était jamais dégrisé, il ne voyait jamais assez clair pour pouvoir se rendre compte qu'il existe encore au monde“.<sup>10</sup> Il était une preuve vivante de ce que les méfaits des dignitaires locaux — et sous un point de vue général, ceux du régime féodo-colonial entier, ne se bornaient pas uniquement à la répression physique, matérielle, mais étaient à même de détruire aussi le caractère de l'homme.

Cependant, Chi Pheo n'oublia pas que la cause de son malheur était le maire et le député régional, Mr. Kien. Mais quand il retourna au village, il n'était capable que d'une protestation passive consistant en des injures grossières et des lacérations de

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<sup>10</sup> *Tac pham cua Nam Cao*. Hanoi 1966, pp. 38—39.

son propre visage. Dans cet état de résistance passive, sans aucune conscience de classe, sans autre capacité que de se faire mal et éprouver sa propre douleur, il devenait plus maniable encore par son adversaire et se faisait, quoique à contre-cœur, l'exécuteur de ses ordres. De ce dilemme découlait l'idiotie de la situation et des actes de Chi Pheo, dont il sans doute partageait la faute. En effet, il devenait le serviteur qui veillait à ce que l'argent, injustement extorqué, coulât dans les poches des dignitaires locaux. Pour une bouteille de l'eau-de-vie, il était disposé à faire tort à n'importe qui et de n'importe quelle manière, voire même mettre feu à sa maison ou porter des coups de poignard. De cette façon il avait détruit les biens matériels de beaucoup de gens, foulé aux pieds le bonheur de nombreuses familles, versé le sang et fait coulé les larmes à tant de braves et honnêtes villageois — tels qu'il avait été autrefois lui-même.

Peut-être faut-il remarquer, cependant, que Chi Pheo n'était pas disposé à faire du mal n'importe quand. En dépit de tout, il y resta une étincelle d'humanité au fond de son drôle d'âme. Il suffisait d'un évènement fortuit — une rencontre avec la femme No, un amour inattendu, sincère et direct pour que cette étincelle se ravivât et forçât Chi Pheo de se réveiller de son enivrement alcoolique, pour qu'un désir de retourner vers une vie différente, digne d'un être humain, s'emparât de lui. Le réveil, hélas, n'était que de courte durée et lui servit uniquement de se rendre compte qu'il n'y avait plus d'expédient pour sortir de sa situation. Les vieilles coutumes bigotes de sa tante, et en fin de compte aussi l'égoïsme de No elle-même finissaient par empêcher Chi Pheo de se refaire une vie normale.

Dans un accès de colère et sous l'influence de son ivresse, Chi Pheo finit par tuer le maire Kien, et au milieu de désespoir, de culpabilité, de bassesses, lors même qu'il eût délivré les villageois du maître haï, il prend aussi sa propre vie. Ce dénouement tragique du drame personnel de Chi Pheo était une réaction nécessaire à une vie de désespoir, au mal et aux forces inhumaines qui le ligotaient. Le fait qu'un homme rempli de bonnes et nobles dispositions pour mener une vie réglée et honnête eût dû vivre sans respect et honneur, constitue un témoignage écœurant, une condamnation des conditions sociales, mais en même temps, la mort d'un homme sans honneur n'est même plus une mort humaine; conséquemment, la société regarde la fin tragique de Chi Pheo, comme aussi celle du maire Kien, plutôt comme un soulagement. Personne n'a de regrets pour aucun d'eux.

Après avoir lu le conte, le lecteur est laissé avec une impression concrète et très définie: le village vietnamien n'est point du tout un coin paisible et exotique, mais une unité sociale pleine de relations complexes et d'antagonismes qui devenaient essentiellement plus compliquées encore en raison des efforts faites pour les résoudre. La vie persistait également difficile et insoluble. Plusieurs questions en émergent. Les braves gens de la campagne vietnamienne souffraient-elles tout dans la bonté tranquille de leur cœur? Les dignitaires locaux les opprimaient et humiliaient d'une manière incroyable. De jour en jour quelqu'un les injurait, les frappait, tuait ou

les volait impunément. Étaient-elles des gens obstinées, têtues et en même temps indomptables? Peut-être. Mais avant tout, ils étaient très arriérés. Leur tardiveté était d'un tel degré qu'ils comprenaient même leur indifférence et égoïsme comme emplâtre aux plaies causées précisément par ces défauts. Et nous ne trouvons personne dans le conte qui aurait manifesté tant soit peu de solidarité avec Chi Pheo ou aurait été prêt à lui venir en aide. Quant à No, elle aussi était une déshéritée de la société et sa manière d'agir était de nature instinctive, orientée plutôt vers son propre „égo“, que vers une participation directe au destin de Chi Pheo. Quel aurait été le résultat si, au lieu de No, Chi Pheo avait rencontré une autre femme, raisonnable et solidaire? Certes, sa rencontre avec No lui a permis un retour momentanément à une vie normale, mais simultanément elle était la première prémisse qu'il retomberait de nouveau dans sa manière de vie précédente. Conséquemment, le titre secondaire du conte déjà rapporté, à savoir, *La paire réussie* qui ironise à juste titre la relation entre Chi Pheo et No, est en quelque sorte justifié.

L'auteur néglige quelque peu l'antagonisme, d'ailleurs très évident, entre les habitants du village et cette section vivant en misère. Il s'est concentré — non sans conséquences négatives — uniquement sur la relation entre Chi Pheo et le maire Kien qui symbolise l'antagonisme de deux classes complètement opposées l'une à l'autre dans la société vietnamienne féodale. L'écrivain l'a exprimé aussi en partie dans le portrait qu'il donne des habitants du village Vu-dai. Opprimés et exploités, ils vivent avec un sentiment de mécontentement et d'humiliation mais ne savent pas comment lutter contre lui et le refouler. C'est pourquoi, quand Chi Pheo invectivait le maire, Kien, „les voisins en faillirent devenir sourds — tant ils en étaient outragés — mais au fond ils s'en réjouissaient. De tout temps ils n'entendaient que des injures adressées à eux par la première, la deuxième, la troisième et la quatrième dame (la femme et les concubines de Mr. Kien — J. M.). Et maintenant, il se trouvait quelqu'un qui les en a vengés“.<sup>11</sup> Il y avaient ici certaines sympathies, mais cette fois-ci aussi portées non pas directement vers Chi Pheo, mais vers son activité manifestée au hasard et dirigée — également par hasard — non pas contre eux, mais dans leur intérêt.

Au point de vue économique, les dignitaires locaux étaient la cause primaire de la misère à la campagne. Usant de ruse, ils menaient adroitement maints d'entre les villageois à la ruine afin d'en faire leurs débiteurs et les exécuteurs de leur volonté. De pareilles pratiques ne les mettaient pas, naturellement, à l'abri des menaces potentielles de la part de ces gens. Ils semaient le vent et récoltaient la tempête — devenant ainsi les victimes de leur haine. A la nouvelle de la mort de Kien, les gens se disaient avec un certain plaisir: „A chacun son tour! Le vieux écorcheur a claqué, on devrait célébrer l'occasion“.<sup>12</sup> Il est évident que le désaccord entre le peuple et les

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 54—55.

dignitaires féodaux ne sauraient être résolu par aucun compromis, c'est un désaccord antagonistique qui peut être amorti pour un temps, mais qui se rallume immédiatement. L'expérience des habitants était très près de la vérité contenue dans la diction: „Autour du vieux bambou, les jeunes drageons pousseront toujours — l'un s'en va, l'autre reste... quant à nous, on n'aura jamais rien de tout ça...“<sup>13</sup>

Il en découle, que la solution de ce problème ne saurait résider dans un acte rudimentaire d'un individu, mais uniquement dans le parti pris d'une classe sociale contre l'autre classe.

Le conte de Nam Cao révèle en détail d'autres aspects de la vie de campagne: les moyens employés pour faire de l'argent, les modes d'exploiter l'homme, la vie sale des dignitaires locaux et leur corruption, fausseté, tromperies.

Cependant, Chi Pheo en ressort comme le personnage le plus remarquable. Il a le caractère bien cristallisé et était d'un bon naturel, comme les autres paysans, mais en plus d'eux, il était fier et conscient de soi. Lors même qu'il eût fini dans la misère, il pensait et agissait sans asservissement, prenait des risques comme Nam Tho, le soldat Chuc, proférait des menaces de mort contre le plus haut et le plus cruel des dignitaires du village, demandait de l'argent, demandait une solution à sa vie. Plus tard, tout comme le soldat Chuc, Chi Pheo est devenu un serviteur aveugle du maire Kien et causait beaucoup de mal à des innocents. Il avait acquis des traits propres aux vagabonds. Et malgré tout, c'est un personnage particulier et original. Il n'avait personne qui s'occuperait de lui de quelque manière que ce soit et gagnait sa vie à voler ou à se déchirer le visage. De temps à autre, sa bonté foncière, consciemment réprimée chaque jour, se révélait et alors il devenait avide d'une vie honnête et voulait vivre en bonnes relations avec tout le monde. Tout comme Binh dans le roman de Nguyen Hong *La voleuse* (Bi vo, 1938), Chi Pheo désire retourner à une vie normale, quoique par un chemin différent: en fondant une famille avec No. Quand il se rend compte qu'il ne pouvait plus retourner à cette vie, il ne se résigne pas, ne cherche pas son salut dans le monde intérieur de ses sentiments, mais tue son ennemi.

Chi Pheo a fait beaucoup de mal, mais „il l'a fait quand il était ivre; et quand il était ivre il était prêt à n'importe quoi“.<sup>14</sup> Quand il était ivre il injuriait. Il jurait contre Dieu, la vie, le village et même les pauvres gens qui l'ont conçu et qu'il n'a jamais connus. Ses invectives se ressentent d'une ironie torturante. Cet homme qui avait passé par tant de difficultés, n'a pas compris d'où elles venaient et en fin de compte, y réagissait d'une manière désespérante. Nam Cao maîtrise le monde intérieur de ses personnages avec une finesse lyrique et dépeint Chi Pheo avec sensibilité et une profonde intuition. Le lecteur éprouve du dégoût pour ses manières

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

d'agir, par lesquelles il avait fait beaucoup de tort aux gens, mais simultanément sympathise avec lui et le plaint.

Quand, cependant, nous incorporons Chi Pheo dans cette vie réelle du village, remplie de travaux et de soucis pour le plat de riz quotidien, il nous apparaît comme un caractère isolé. Par conséquent, nous ne pouvons pas agréer avec l'opinion que „Chi Pheo devient dans le conte de Nam Cao un personnage *typique* (accentué par moi), parcequ'il change en un personnage avec des traits clairs, un personnage caractéristique qui exprime quelques unes des particularités, des traits distinctifs d'une partie des paysans réduits à la misère et qu'il set en même temps le porteur de l'antagonisme principal des classes (entre les propriétaires fonciers et la classe agricole) du régime social“.<sup>15</sup> Chi Pheo apparaît atypique en ce qui concerne la vie propre du village, sa conduite est sans conventions sociales et s'esquive à tous les postulats des mœurs de la population campagnarde de ce temps. C'est pourquoi, il ne trouvait de support nulle part, restait toujours désespérément seul et le village ne fit aucun effort pour lui donner une chance quelconque.

La structure du conte est simple, bâtie par introversion sur le développement du destin de Chi Pheo. Son trait caractéristique est une expansion lyrique vers le monde et vers les gens partant de l'intérieur, un désaccord psychologique non réprimé de l'être humain, de prime abord incohérent et inutile, mais en fait établissant une synthèse de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur. Ce qui constitue le noyau dramatique de la prose de Nam Cao, c'est ce sentiment contradictoire, difficile à définir, de la vie dans la lutte avec le sentiment tragique de l'existence. Dans sa gradation de la trame, Nam Cao n'évita pas (de même que beaucoup de ses contemporains) *le hasard* fort évident et par endroits il glissa au plateau d'un descriptivisme superficiel.

Le conte *Chi Pheo* porte naturellement aussi des marques négatives du caractère général, alors encore peu fondé, de la vie littéraire vietnamienne. Les écrivains ne pouvaient s'orienter qu'avec difficulté (ce qui est d'ailleurs peu étonnant) dans un véritable mascaret des problèmes d'art dont ils étaient comblés par la littérature européenne d'un côté (très souvent une affaire hors tout contrôle), et de problèmes que posait devant eux leur propre vie littéraire, de l'autre. D'où émanait un certain état chaotique, un manque de maturité dans leurs méthodes artistiques et une exigence relativement peu élevée de la valeur de leurs œuvres.

A en juger par la critique littéraire vietnamienne, Nam Cao n'esquiva pas le naturalisme dans la description de certains personnages. Cependant, nous jugeons comme contestable la preuve avec laquelle la critique littéraire vietnamienne documente cette constatation. Il s'agit du passage où Chi Pheo et No s'expriment leurs sympathies mutuelles et leurs attraits. L'édition de l'ouvrage susvisée (probablement qualifiée de naturalistique pour ces raisons) omet entièrement le passage suivant:

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

„Il avait la joie au cœur. Il la pinça à la faire sauter. Il en sourit et dit: Tu te souviens encore de ce qui c'est passé hier soir?— Elle lui donna une légère claque comme pour dire que la plaisanterie n'était pas de son goût. Mais pourquoi en avoir honte? Elle lui plaisait lors même qu'elle était laide et quelque peu penaude. Il croyait mourir de rire. Pour lui faire encore plus peur il la pinça fortement à la cuisse. Cette fois elle ne sauta pas. Elle poussa un petit cri aigu, l'embrassa autour du cou et le tira à terre. C'est ainsi qu'ils s'exprimaient leurs sentiments et n'avaient pas besoin de se donner des baisers. A quoi bon se baiser quand l'un avait la bouche fendillée comme le sillon d'une rizière au temps de sécheresse absolue, et l'autre avait le visage déchiqueté comme une pelle de cuisine? Leur manière de faire l'amour est plus simple: ils se pincent, se tapent... C'est en somme plus simple.“<sup>16</sup>

Il va sans dire qu'une analyse brève de deux ou trois contes ne saurait suffire pour épuiser la production étendue de ce genre dans la littérature vietnamienne au cours d'une quinzaine d'années. Notre but avait été d'introduire et de mettre au point certains aspects de la prose courte vietnamienne qui, en dépit de sa jeunesse, méritera aussi dans un avenir très proche, l'attention de la science littéraire européenne.

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<sup>16</sup> Nam Cao, *Truyen ngan chon loc*. Hanoi 1964, p. 68.

## ZUR ROLLE DER QUṢṢĀS BEI DER ENTSTEHUNG UND ÜBERLIEFERUNG DER POPULÄREN PROPHETENLEGENDEN

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Im Aufsatz ist der Verfasser zum Schluss gekommen, dass die *quṣṣās* (= populäre Erzähler religiöser Stoffe) sich nicht nur um die Entstehung der Prophetenlegenden verdient machten, sondern mit ihnen auch die jahrhundertelange Lebendigkeit und Beliebtheit dieses Genres der religiösen Folklore verbunden ist.

### I

Über die anonymen Schöpfer der arabischen populären religiösen Literatur des Typus *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* wissen wir recht wenig. Allgemein wird angenommen, dass es die *quṣṣās* waren, die professionellen Ausleger der religiösen Stoffe, deren Existenz seit den ersten Jahrhunderten der Hidjra belegt ist.<sup>1</sup> Wenn wir erwägen, wer alles im islamischen Mittelalter mit dem Namen *qāṣṣ* bezeichnet wurde, dürfte diese Annahme stimmen. So führt z. B. Ibn al-Ġawzī eine Anzahl bekannter und geehrter Persönlichkeiten des frühen Islams an, die diese Profession ausübten.<sup>2</sup> Zu denen gehörten z. B. Abū Hurayra, ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Abbās, Muġāhid, Wahb ibn Munabbih, Sa‘id ibn Ġubayr, Hasan al-Baṣrī usw. Diese jedoch nehmen die höchste Stelle in der Hierarchie der *quṣṣās* ein, sie sind würdige Begründer der Tradition des *qaṣaṣ*, zu der sich später viele prominente Kenner des *ḥadīth*, des *tafsīr* und des *fiqh*, ja selbst Ibn al-Ġawzī bekannten.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So z. B. Lidzbarski, M., *De prophetis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis*. (Inaugural. Diss.), Lipsiae 1893, S. 21 sqq. Nagel, Tilman, *Die Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā, Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*. Diss. Bonn 1967, S. 122 sqq. Vgl. auch meine Artikel: *Einige Bemerkungen zu den Werken Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā in der arabischen Literatur*. Graecolatina et Orientalia I, Bratislava 1969, S. 119; *Kisā’is Werk Kitāb qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*. Graecolatina et Orientalia II, Bratislava 1970, S. 196 sqq. Vgl. ebenso D. B. Macdonald, *QIṢṢA EI II*, S. 1120—21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibn al-Jawzī’s Kitāb al-Quṣṣās wa’l-Mudhakkirīn* (ed. Merlin L. Swartz). Beyrouth, Dar el-Machreq 1971, S. 126—169 (engl. Übersetzung).

<sup>3</sup> Über die Stellung dieser inoffiziellen Prädikanten in den Moscheen berichtet ausführlich Pedersen, Johannes, *The Islamic Preacher, wā‘iz, mudakkir, qāṣṣ*. Ignace Goldziher Memorial, Volume I, Budapest 1948, S. 226—251. Pedersen behauptet vorwiegend auf Grund der Informationen von Maqrīzī (*Hiṭat*), Ġāhiz (*al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn*), al-Kindī (*The Governors and Judges of*

Tief unter jene stellt Ibn al-Ġawzī die, welche durch Entweihung religiöser Stoffe dem Geschmack und den Forderungen des volkstümlichen Publikums entgegenzukommen versuchten. Es scheint, dass man die anonymen Schöpfer der populären *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* einzig hierher einreihen kann. Ibn al-Ġawzī tritt diesen *quṣṣās* mit ernststen Vorbehalten entgegen, die er in der Einführung zu seinem Buch *Kitāb al-quṣṣās* in sechs Punkten zusammenfasst.<sup>4</sup> Einige dieser Vorbehalte kann man wirklich auch an die Werke *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* anwenden. Ibn al-Ġawzī führt z. B. an, dass die *quṣṣās* sich mit der Offenbarung nicht zufrieden gaben und diese durch Begebenheiten ergänzten, welche vom Judentum und von anderen Religionen her bekannt waren. Als Beweis einer solchen Tätigkeit dient z. B. die Begebenheit des David und des Urias, welche den islamischen Propheten in einem sehr ungünstigen Licht erscheinen lässt. Diese Begebenheit befindet sich wirklich in den populären Sammlungen *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, und das sogar in einigen Fassungen.<sup>5</sup> Ein weiterer schwerwiegender Fehler der *quṣṣās* war es, dass sie verdrehte Historien erdachten, die dem Sinn des einfachen Muslims Schaden zufügten. Dazu kommt noch die unzureichende und oberflächliche Kenntnis des Korans und der *sunna*, deren Ernsthaftigkeit und Verbindlichkeit von den *quṣṣās* missbraucht wurden.

Die Anschuldigung, die Ibn al-Ġawzī von der Position eines orthodoxen und strengen Muslims aus gegen die *quṣṣās* erhob, ist in einem hohen Masse berechtigt. Es ist jedoch fraglich, inwiefern die Kritik an den *quṣṣās* wirksam und der Sache des Islams von Nutzen war. Die *quṣṣās* waren nicht gleichmässig in allen Ländern der islamischen Welt verbreitet, dort jedoch, wo sie wirkten, hinterliessen sie einen grossen Eindruck auf ihre Zeitgenossen. Der im Grunde unklerikale Charakter des

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*Egypt*) und al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥuṣn al-muhādara*), dass die Aktivität dieser Leute toleriert wurde und zu den typischen Äusserungen des religiösen Lebens gehörte. Über die Stellung der ägyptischen *quṣṣās* schreibt Pedersen folgendes: "This survey of conditions in Egypt makes the impression of an institution that for centuries remained largely untouched by changing circumstances. The "narrator" is closely connected with the official religion and fills a reputable and influential position. His activity, making up a link in the service of the mosque, consists on the one side in the recital of the Qur'ān, on the other side in leading the prayer, and lastly in the succeeding speech." Nach Pedersen war ein "public narrator" im damaligen Irak sehr ähnlich dem ägyptischen *quṣṣā*. Vgl. dazu Massignon, Louis, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*. Paris 1922, S. 141 sqq. Massignon gibt hier eine Aufzählung der *quṣṣās* vorwiegend auf Grund der Materialien von Ġahiz und Ibn al-Ġawzī.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., S. 96—97 (engl. Übers.).

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Kisā'ī, *Vita prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), Leiden 1922, 1923, S. 261 sqq. und die Handschriften dieses Werkes: Kairo, Dār al-kutub 2702, f. 222b sqq., Kairo, Taymūriya 854, S. 208. Die Legende über Davids Sündigen habe ich in meinem Artikel *Literarischer Charakter des Werkes Kisā'ī's*, Graecolatina et Orientalia III, Bratislava 1971, S. 112 sqq. in einer kurzen Form dargelegt. Die Frage, ob auf ihre Entstehung die jüdische Literatur einen entscheidenden Einfluss ausgeübt hatte, habe ich nicht behandelt. Es ist jedoch möglich, dass die islamische Davidlegende als eine Entlehnung aus dem Jüdischen zu betrachten ist.

Islams gestattete es ihnen nicht nur an der geistlichen religiösen Tätigkeit teilzunehmen, er vermochte es nicht einmal zu vermeiden, dass sie die Lehre des Propheten mit einer bedeutenden Toleranz interpretierten. Bestimmt waren sie für das einfache Volk um vieles attraktiver als die nüchternen Theologen oder die standarden *ḥutabā*.

Den *quṣṣās* wurde jedoch, wie es scheint, nicht nur die freie Auslegung des Korans und die eigenwillige Behandlung religiöser Stoffe vorgeworfen. Es mangelte den *quṣṣās* an etwas, was für das religiöse Gefühl eines Gelehrten oder Laien von grundlegender Bedeutung ist: an Frömmigkeit und Pietät. Ibn al-Ġawzī erwähnt dies kurz auch in seiner Einleitung zu *Kitāb al-quṣṣās*.<sup>6</sup>

Die eschatologischen Vorstellungen des Korans, die von den *quṣṣās* mit solcher Vorliebe verbreitet wurden, entsprangen bei Muḥammad den Gefühlen tiefer Frömmigkeit, der Pietät, der Gottesehrung und -furcht.<sup>7</sup> Die *quṣṣās* benützten sie jedoch ohne tieferen religiösen Motiv: es gelang ihnen die Leute zu fanatisieren, sie zum Weinen zu bringen, aber nicht vermöge der eigenen inneren Überzeugung, sondern um den einfachen menschlichen Glauben zu eigenem materiellen Vorteil und eigener Popularität auszunützen. Um den Menschen Angst einzujagen schilderten sie die Grauen des Jüngsten Gerichtes und der Hölle. Muḥammads Schilderung der Gottesstrafen verbarg jedoch mehr: es war die Ehrfurcht. Und die Ehrfurcht lehrt tiefere Gefühle des Lebensernstes und der Verantwortlichkeit, die Ehrfurcht verbindet sich mit Grösse und mit Liebe zu Gott.<sup>8</sup>

In diesem Sinne kann man von einem gewissen Mangel an höherem ethischen Prinzip bei den *quṣṣās* von Entartung und von einer Art „Schmarotzertum“ im Bereich der Religionswissenschaften sprechen.<sup>9</sup>

Wie immer es auch klar und unbestreitbar zu sein scheint, dass die populären Sammlungen *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā* ein Beweis dieser entarteten Tätigkeit der *quṣṣās* sind, fällt es auf, dass in den mittelalterlichen Quellen nirgendwo erwähnt wird, in welchem Masse sich die *quṣṣās* gerade den prophetologischen Themen widmeten, ob sie ihre Schilderungen einer gewissen Ordnung nach vereinten oder ob sie diese gar in Sammlungen zusammenfassten. Mit anderen Worten: die arabischen Quellen hüllen sich in hartnäckiges Schweigen darüber, wie und wann die populären Sammlungen *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā* entstanden sind.

Es besteht kein Zweifel darüber, dass die arabischen gebildeten Schichten des

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<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., S. 97 (engl. Übers.).

<sup>7</sup> Siehe Andrae, Tor, *Muhammad, sein Leben und Glaube*. Göttingen 1932, S. 43–76.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., S. 60: „Die Gottesfurcht ist mehr als Angst.“

<sup>9</sup> Es steht ausser allem Zweifel, dass die *quṣṣās* viel gemeinsames mit Abū Zaid, dem Helden der *Maqāmen* von Ḥariri haben. Auf diese Tatsache haben mehrere Autoren (Pellat, Charles, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ġāhiz*, Paris 1953, S. 116, Anm. 1; Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muhammedanische Studien*. II. Halle 1890, S. 164 sqq.) hingewiesen, jedoch wurde das Verhältnis zwischen Abū Zaid und den Volksprädikanten niemals einer gründlichen Untersuchung unterzogen.

Mittelalters keinerlei Interesse daran hatten, dass sich die populären Prophetenerzählungen auch in schriftlicher Form verbreiteten. Andererseits scheint es ihnen gleichgültig gewesen zu sein ob die *quṣṣās* ihre Aussprüche schriftlich festhielten oder nicht. Dieser notwendige technische Detail der Tätigkeit der *quṣṣās* war vom gesellschaftlichen Blickpunkt von keinerlei Bedeutung und deshalb finden wir darüber nur sporadische, zufällige Erwähnungen. Ibn al-Ġawzī erwähnt z. B., dass Aḥmad al-Ġazzālī, ein bekannter *qāṣṣ* aus Bagdad und Bruder des berühmten Mystikers seine Aussprüche eingeschrieben hat.<sup>10</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī erwähnt diese Tatsache jedoch nur deshalb, weil das Autograph jener Aussprüche für ihn eine authentische Quelle bildete, auf Grund der er eine niederschmetternde Kritik Aḥmad al-Ġazzālīs üben konnte.

Proben, die Ibn al-Ġawzī aus al-Ġazzālīs Tätigkeit als Prediger anführt,<sup>11</sup> bestehen aus Aussagen und kurzen Anekdoten. Sie enthalten geistreiche und logisch durchdachte Ausfälle gegen das offizielle System der Glaubenslehre (*Iblīs* sei der einzige konsequente Anhänger des *tawḥīd*, da er ausser vor Allāh vor keinem sein Haupt geneigt hatte), kleine Erzählungen von den Propheten (im Gewand Christi fanden die Engel eine Nadel, die ihm in Allāhs Augen grossen Schaden zufügte), sowie eigene seelische Erlebnisse al-Ġazzālīs (er begegnete *Iblīs*, er begegnete dem Propheten). Es scheint, dass all dies nie als Unterlage für ein zusammenhängendes Erzählen diente. Al-Ġazzālī behandelt hier in attraktiver Form einige verbreitete Ansichten der Sufis und beantwortet die „ewigen Fragen“ (z. B. wer nach dem Propheten als erster den Islam annahm) mit dem Bewusstsein eigener Ausschliesslichkeit, die ihn dazu berechtigt. Er ist also gewissermassen ein Argumentator und er weckt den Eindruck eines scharfsinnigen Demagogen, der einen Dialog mit dem halbgebildeten Publikum führt. In ein ähnliches Licht stellt Ibn al-Ġawzī auch die anderen *quṣṣās* (es sind meist Sufis), die zu seiner Zeit den Banner des Islams in der Stadt des Friedens gefährdeten.

Die *quṣṣās* dieser Art waren selbstverständlich von den anonymen Sammlern legendärischer Erzählungen von den Propheten weit entfernt. Die Erzählungen der anonymen Sammler bestehen nämlich nicht aus Aussprüchen und geistreichen Sophismen. Es sind Begebenheiten, in denen über etwas berichtet wird. Die Autoren der Erzählungen waren vor allem gute Fabulisten mit viel Sinn für längere, novellenartig aufgefasste prosaische Gebilde. Sie verlachten keine Autoritäten und liessen sich in keinerlei theologische Streitigkeiten ein.

Es scheint, dass ein *qāṣṣ* von der Art Aḥmad al-Ġazzālīs für den offiziellen Islam, besonders für seine ḥanbalitische Vertreter viel gefährlicher war als ein Strassenerzähler von Prophetenlegenden. Davon zeugt schon die Tatsache, dass Ibn al-Ġawzī die Legendenerzähler nicht ad personam erwähnt und auch keine Proben aus derer

<sup>10</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., S. 184 (engl. Übers.).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., S. 184—187.

Tätigkeit anführt, obwohl doch zu seinen Zeiten in Bagdad viele Manuskripte im Umlauf sein mussten, in denen Erzählungen von Propheten festgehalten waren.

Es lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, ob zu Ibn al-Ġawzīs Zeiten bereits umfangreiche Legendensammlungen umliefen, die wir von später her kennen und die als Kisā'īs Sammlung angeführt werden. Es besteht jedoch unbedingt die Möglichkeit, dass in Ibn al-Ġawzīs Hände zumindest Notizen einzelner Legenden geraten konnten, da die *quṣṣās* ihre Erzählungen wahrscheinlich schon seit den ältesten Zeiten schriftlich vermerkten. Dieses Notieren konnte anfangs oder auch über eine längere Zeitspanne hindurch einen Hilfscharakter haben. Es war von grosser Wichtigkeit für die eigentliche Erhaltung der zahlreichen legendenhaften Erzählungen, die sich dank der Fabulierfähigkeiten der *quṣṣās* mit der Zeit mehrten und anwuchsen.<sup>12</sup>

Auch über diese Notizen haben wir weder aus den älteren noch aus den jüngeren Zeiten irgendwelche verlässliche Nachrichten.<sup>13</sup> Maqdisī spricht zwar über die *kutub quṣṣās al-muslimīn*, in denen sich unerhörte Lügen befanden, seine Angabe ist jedoch weder konkret noch gezielt.<sup>14</sup> Eine weitere Angabe, die uns in dieser Hinsicht ein wenig weiter halfen konnte, führt Adam Mez laut Ibn Haldūn an.

Mez,<sup>15</sup> der von den *quṣṣās* im Sinne Goldziher's<sup>16</sup> berichtet, führt an, dass die *quṣṣās* im 4/10 Jahrhundert gänzlich zum Volk herabgesunken sind, dem sie für Geld fromme Geschichten erzählten. Zu dieser Zeit haben sie das Vertrauen der frommen Mohamedaner völlig eingebüsst. Ihre Nachfolger wurden laut Mez die *mudakkirūn*,<sup>17</sup> die ihre Predigten nicht frei vortrugen, sondern diese aus einem Heft (*daftar*) vorlasen.

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<sup>12</sup> Nach gründlicher Untersuchung mehrerer Abschriften der Sammlung *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* von Kisā'ī (Kairo, Dār al-kutub 2702; Kairo, Dār al-kutub 3466; Kairo, Dār al-kutub m135; Kairo, Taymūriya 854; al-Azhar 42688 'Arūsī 2732; Münch. 444; Münch. 445 -- die Beschreibung dieser Handschriften siehe in meinem Artikel *Kisā'īs Werk Kitāb Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, S. 224--227) konnte ich feststellen, dass die Textabweichungen am Anfang der Sammlung gering sind. Das heisst, dass die Anfangspassagen (die Einleitung usw.) der Sammlung ohne Textänderungen abgeschrieben wurden, während der darauffolgende überwiegende Teil der Sammlung beständig redigiert und ergänzt wurde.

<sup>13</sup> Abbott, Nabia, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II*, Chicago 1967, S. 15, führt zwar an, dass einige *quṣṣās* ihre Erzählungen niedergeschrieben haben und belegt diese Tatsache durch einen Beispiel aus Ṭabarī (= ed. de Goeje, II, S. 881--886; in der von mir benutzten Ausgabe Kairo, Dār al-Ma'ārif, VI, S. 216--219), jedoch müssen wir das von ihr angeführte Beispiel von den populären Prophetengeschichten streng unterscheiden. Es handelt sich hier nämlich um einen historischen *ḥabar*.

<sup>14</sup> Maqdisī, Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir, *Kitāb al-bad' wa al-ta'rīḥ*, (ed. Huart. Reprint: Maktabat al-Muṭanna, Bagdad 1962) II, 47: *wa fī kutub al-quṣṣās al-muslimīn 'ašyā yaḏīq al-ṣadr 'anhā*.

<sup>15</sup> Mez, Adam, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Unveränderter Abdruck: Georg Olms, Hildesheim 1968). S. 314 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muh. St.* II, S. 158 sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Diese Ansicht wird aber nicht von allen Autoren geteilt. Pellat, Charles, *Le milieu basrien*, S. 112 sqq., sieht den Nachfolger von einem guten *qāṣṣ* in einem *wā'iz*. Nabia Abbott, op. cit.,

Wir wissen nicht genau, was alles in diesen Zeiten den Inhalt der Predigten der *mudakkirūn* bilden konnte. Ibn al-Ġawzī unterscheidet in seiner Einführung zwar zwischen den Termini *qaṣaṣ*, *wāʿiz*, *tadkīr*,<sup>18</sup> im weiteren verwechselt er jedoch diese Begriffe und verurteilt die schlechten *mudakkirūn* oder *wuʿāz* aus denselben Gründen wie die schlechten *qāṣṣ*. Ein guter *qāṣṣ* hingegen sollte seiner Ansicht nach dieselben Kenntnisse und Eigenschaften haben wie ein guter *wāʿiz* oder *mudakkir*.<sup>19</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die Tatsache interessant, dass die Charakteristik eines guten *mudakkir*, so wie sie von Abū Zaid al-Samarqandī angeführt wird,<sup>20</sup> haargenau dem entspricht, was sich Ibn al-Ġawzī unter einem richtigen *qāṣṣ* vorstellt.<sup>21</sup>

Dies könnte vielleicht ein Beweis dessen sein, dass in einem bestimmten Zeitraum diese Professionen sehr eng miteinander verschlungen waren,<sup>22</sup> und dass wahrscheinlich ein *qāṣṣ* ähnlich vorging wie ein *mudakkir*, der sich seine Predigten notierte. Indirekt ergibt sich daraus die weitere Tatsache, dass nicht nur ein *qāṣṣ*, sondern auch ein *wāʿiz* oder ein *mudakkir* zur Gesamtorientierung der populären Prophetenlegenden erheblich beitragen konnten. In den Prophetenlegenden erscheinen ständig die koranmässigen eschatologischen Vorstellungen, auf die sich in ihren Belehrungen und Ermahnungen, wie wir wissen, der *wāʿiz* sowie der *mudakkir* gern stützten.<sup>23</sup>

Wollen wir jedoch den *wuʿāz* oder den *mudakkirūn* einen gewissen Anteil beim Schaffen populärer Sammlungen von der Schöpfung und der Propheten einräumen, müssen wir wieder jene suchen, die auf der untersten Stufe der Hierarchie dieser Professionen stehen.<sup>24</sup> Es sind abermals anonyme Meister, und das gelehrte islamische Mittelalter verachtete sie genauso wie es den ungebildeten *qāṣṣ* oder den Verbreiter falscher Traditionen verachtete. Deshalb wird ihre Tätigkeit in der polemischen Literatur kaum erwähnt, während Proben aus Busspredigten bedeutender *wuʿāz*, wie z. B. von al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, vom Autor zum Autor angeführt werden.<sup>25</sup>

Das religiöse Leben des Islams konzentrierte sich seit ältester Zeit in der Moschee.

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S. 15, 16, formulierte die traditionelle Ansicht auf den Unterschied zwischen einem *qāṣṣ* und *wāʿiz* mit diesen Worten: "While the preacher (*wāʿiz*) concentrated on moral exhortation and the dreaded Day of Judgment, the story teller (*qāṣṣ*) with much the same object in mind, fashioned tales with a moral around biblical and Qur'anic stories and legends, in which the stories of the prophets loomed large, supplemented by other legends from ancient story and folklore." Jedoch hatten diese Professionen ohne Zweifel viele gemeinsame Züge. Über den Verwandtschaftsgrad dieser Professionen (*qāṣṣ*, *mudakkir*, *wāʿiz*) berichtet Pedersen, *The Islamic Preacher*, S. 226 sqq.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., S. 96–98 (engl. Übers.).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., an verschiedenen Stellen im Text. Vgl. dazu die Einleitung von M. Swartz zu seiner Edition, S. 51 sqq.

<sup>20</sup> Siehe Mez, Adam, op. cit., S. 316.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., 96 sqq., 109 sqq. (engl. Übers.).

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Pedersen, *The Islamic Preacher*, S. 237. Siehe dazu auch den vom demselben Autor geschriebenen Artikel: MASĠID, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden 1953, S. 339.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., S. 238 sqq. Abbott, Nabia, op. cit., S. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. dazu Mez, Adam, op. cit., S. 318.

Hier trafen sich Gelehrten und hierher kam das Volk, um sich die Worte echter Wissenschaftler sowie Dilettanten anzuhören. Jedermann stand es frei hier zu lehren oder dem Volk zu predigen. Gerade diesem Demokratismus des Islams verdanken wir das Entstehen und die lange Tradition der populären religiösen Literatur. Und wenn auch dieser Literatur seitens der offiziellen islamischen Kreise nie Anerkennung zuteil wurde, ist es paradox, dass sie gerade unter dem Kerzenlicht der islamischen Gelehrtheit entstand. Zur Verbreitung dieser Literatur trug wohl am meisten der *qāṣṣ* bei, aber jeder, der in der Moschee öffentlich auftrat und das Volk belehrte, darf als ihr Mitgestalter angesehen werden.<sup>26</sup> In den Predigten, die in den populären Sammlungen *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā* die Propheten ihrem Volk halten, sieht man auch Spuren der offiziellen *ḥuṭba*. Alle stereotypen Sprüche, mit denen laut Ibn Qutayba<sup>27</sup> der Prophet Muḥammad seine Predigten einleitete, legten die Volkspredikanten der *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā* auch in den Mund der vorislamischen Propheten. Dabei ist ein vorislamischer Prophet keineswegs ein *ḥaṭīb*. Die *ḥuṭba*, so wie wir sie kennen, ähnelt eher einem liturgischen Gebet, das einer bestimmten formalen und inhaltlichen Konvention entspricht. Die Predigt eines vorislamischen Propheten dagegen stellt gleichzeitig eine Aufforderung (den einzigen Gott zu ehren), eine Warnung (vor der Sünde) und eine Drohung den Ungläubigen dar. Ein vorislamischer Prophet wirkt in der Regel *in partibus infidelium* und sein Kampf für die Sache des echten Glaubens ist erfolglos. Mit seinem moralisierenden Charakter steht also die Predigt eines vorislamischen Propheten der Busspredigt (*maw'iza*) viel näher.<sup>28</sup>

Obleich der anonyme Legendenerzähler mit demselben Erfolg in der Moschee, auf der Strasse oder im Hause eines reichen Privatmannes wirken konnte, war es vor allem das geistliche Milieu eines islamischen Gebethauses, wo er nach schöpferischer Inspiration suchte. Hier lernte er das Handwerk des Redens, hier fand er neue Impulse zwischen Menschen breiter Bildung und hier lernte er zu verstehen was der einfache Muslim hören wollte. Die Erzählungen von den Propheten sind nichts anderes als das Ergebnis dieser drei bestimmenden Faktoren. Ein jeder von ihnen wirkte anders bei der Schaffung dieser Literatur, die wir ganz knapp so charakterisieren können:

— vom islamologischen Blickpunkt aus enthält sie populär-religiöse Vorstellungen aus dem Bereich der Kosmologie, der Prophetologie, der Eschatologie und der Dämonologie, um nur vom Wichtigsten zu sprechen;

<sup>25</sup> Z. B. Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-aḥbār* (Kairo 1964. Reprint der Edition Kairo, Dār al-kutub) II, S. 344. Ḡāhiz, *Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabyīn* (ed. Kairo, Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, 1956), III, S. 131 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> Siehe Pedersen, MASĠID, *ShEI*, S. 338. Der Autor berichtet hier über alle offizielle und inoffizielle Angestellten einer Moschee.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Qutayba, op. cit., II, S. 231.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. z. B. Kisā'i, *Vita prophetarum*. S. 28 sqq. An dieser Stelle befindet sich eine von Adam an die Engel vorgetragene *ḥuṭba*.

— von literarischen Gesichtspunkten gesehen haben wir vor uns eine Art erzählerischer Prosa, Erzählungen, die dank der relativ sehr frühen schriftlichen Festlegung viel von ihrem mündlichen Charakter eingeübt haben;

— von den literarisch-historischen Gesichtspunkten her haben wir vor uns eine der Gattungen der arabischen Volksliteratur.

Da das Volk die Existenz einer solchen Literatur erzwungen hat, verdanken wir ihm indirekt auch deren schriftliche Festhaltung und Erhaltung. Es ist nicht bekannt, ob die anonymen Verbreiter der Prophetenlegenden sich zuerst den Lebenslauf einzelner Propheten notierten, um danach mündlich vortragen zu können, oder ob man den ganzen Legendenstoff auf einmal, ungefähr in dem Ausmass, wie er uns überliefert wurde, niedergeschrieben hat. Bestätigen können wir lediglich die zweite Alternative: die ältesten Manuskripte der populären *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, die uns zur Verfügung stehen, erhalten bereits gewissermassen eine Zusammenstellung von Legenden, also eine Sammlung. Diese Sammlung zeichnet sich durch eine einheitliche Art der Darbietung der Legendenstoffe aus und ihre Erzählungen sind ungefähr chronologisch gereiht. Sie hat sogar ihren Verfasser, bzw. Sammler, der in allen Manuskripten als al-Kisā'ī bezeichnet wird.

Während die ältesten Abschriften der Sammlung Kisā'is aus dem 7. Jahrhundert der Hidjra stammen,<sup>29</sup> sind die anderen, im populären Geist verfassten anonymen *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, oder die einzeln erhaltenen kürzeren anonymen Erzählungen viel jüngeren Datums. Im arabischen Schrifttum mangelt es keineswegs an Literatur dieser Art. Sie ist jedoch bisher noch sehr wenig durchforscht, so dass wir von ihr, mit einigen Ausnahmen, nur von kargen Beschreibungen in den Handschriftenkatalogen erfahren.<sup>30</sup>

Die Sammlung Kisā'is nimmt in der volkstümlichen prophetologischen Literatur eine zentrale Stellung ein, was der Tatsache zu verdanken ist, dass sie die älteste ist und dass sie von einem Sammler stammt. Zu ihrem Ruf trug schliesslich in bedeutendem Masse auch Eisenbergs Edition bei.<sup>31</sup>

Kisā'ī selbst ist jedoch im arabischen literarischen Kontext völlig unbekannt. Über seine Existenz, sowie über die Entstehungszeit der ihm zugeschriebenen Sammlung wurden viele, einander oft widersprechende Meinungen geäussert.<sup>32</sup> Es ist möglich, dass er selbst ein professioneller Erzähler (*qāṣṣ*) war, der aus seinen Erzählungen eine Sammlung zusammenstellte, die mit der Zeit um neue Legenden-

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<sup>29</sup> Die älteste bekannte, vollkommen erhaltene Abschrift Kisā'is Br. Mus. Suppl. 497 stammt aus dem Jahr 617 A. H. — 1220 A. D. Eine andere Abschrift Kisā'is und zwar Berl. 1024, von der nur ein Fragment erhalten wurde, war nach Ahlwardt um das Jahr 600 A. H. — 1203 A. D. geschrieben worden.

<sup>30</sup> Über diese Literatur habe ich kürzlich in meinen Artikeln *Kisā'is Werk Kitāb Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (S. 207, 208, Am. 37), *Einige Bemerkungen zu den Werken Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (S. 117 sqq.) berichtet. Vgl. dazu auch Nagel, op. cit., 122—161.

<sup>31</sup> Zu dieser Edition siehe meine kritischen Anmerkungen, *Kisā'is Werk*, S. 211 sqq.

stoffe bereichert wurde. Es ist aber auch möglich, dass er bloss eine Sammlung zusammenstellte aus verschiedenen älteren Vorlagen, die uns nicht erhalten blieben. Auf jeden Fall darf er jedoch als Repräsentant der volkstümlichen religiösen Literatur angesehen werden.

Die Definierung eines solchen Schriftstellers ist jedoch sehr unbestimmt, insbesondere was die Beurteilung seines intellektuellen Niveaus betrifft; seine eigentliche religiöse Bildung und sein Überblick werden unklar gemacht durch die häufigen späteren Eingriffe in sein Werk, deren Ziel das augenscheinliche Bestreben nach einer Popularisierung war, ein Bestreben nach einer weiteren Anpassung dem volkstümlichen Geschmack. Ich bin nämlich der Auffassung, dass Kisā'is Sammlung, die gerade von den *quṣṣās* verbreitet wurde, diesen Prozess einer gewissen Vervolkstümlichung durchmachen musste. Andererseits scheint es auch sehr wahrscheinlich zu sein, dass bereits Kisā'ī selbst sein Werk für einen solchen Prozess vorgesehen hat: einmal durch die Auswahl der Themen, einmal durch die Auswahl des Stoffes, den er den *quṣṣās* augenscheinlich skrupellos entlehnte.<sup>33</sup>

Einer ähnlichen Tendenz war offensichtlich auch die zweite Sammlung Kisā'is *Kitāb 'ağā'ib al-malakūt* ausgesetzt gewesen.<sup>34</sup> Diese jedoch anscheinend in einem nicht so hohem Masse, da die Thematik dieses Buches (Erzählungen von der Schöpfung, die islamische Kosmographie und Eschatologie) für das breite Publikum doch nicht so attraktiv war, als die *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*.

Die Sammlung *Kitāb 'ağā'ib al-malakūt* ermöglicht es unserer Ansicht nach weit mehr über Kisā'ī selbst in Erfahrung zu bringen, von seiner wahrscheinlichen Bildung und Orientierung. Aber nichteinmal die Analyse dieser Sammlung erlaubt es uns Kisā'ī anders zu klassifizieren als einen populären religiösen Schriftsteller.<sup>35</sup>

Kisā'is Sammlung *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* ist zwar das Endergebnis einer Intergration mehrerer formativer Elemente, aber das Wichtigste davon ist das einfache Erzählen mit prophetologischer Thematik, also eine gewisse Art religiösen Folklores. In seinem monumentalen Werk *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde* (Stockholm, 1918) zeigt Tor Andrae, dass der religiöse Folklor, dessen Kern die prophetologische Thematik war, bereits in der ältesten Biographie des Propheten Muḥammad, in der *Sīra* von Ibn Ishāq, belegt werden kann. Hier, vor allem in den Legenden von Muḥammads Jugend und Kindheit wurden märchenhafte und mythologische Elemente erhalten. Tor Andrae hält die *quṣṣās* für die Autoren dieses legendarischen Bestandteiles im Lebenslauf des Propheten: „Die Tätigkeit der *quṣṣās*

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. Nagel, Tilman, op. cit., S. 131 sqq. Dazu auch *Kisā'is Werk*, S. 194 sqq.

<sup>33</sup> Nagel, op. cit., S. 122 sqq. *Kisā'is Werk*, S. 196 sqq.

<sup>34</sup> *Haji Khalfa* IV 8075; V 10527. Das Werk wurde in mehreren Abschriften erhalten. Vgl. *GAL*, G I 429; S I 529.

<sup>35</sup> Zu dieser Ansicht bin ich nach dem Durchlesen der leydenschen Abschrift (Leyd. 2042) dieses Werkes gekommen.

wird sich hier indessen nicht, wie die Muslimen meinen, darauf beschränken, dass sie die alten wahren Traditionen ins Fabelhafte ausgeschmückt haben. Die legendarischen Bestandteile der *Sīra* dürfen im grossen Umfange überhaupt ihnen ihre Entstehung verdanken.<sup>36</sup> Tor Andrae urteilte im weiteren sehr richtig, dass vom literarischen Standpunkt her die *quṣṣās* durch „lange, novellistisch ausgeführte Geschichten“<sup>37</sup> gekennzeichnet sind, welche in dieser Form weder Ibn Ishāq noch seinen Nachfolgern zustanden. Deshalb wurden sie von den Autoren der ältesten *Sīra* abgeändert, indem sie ihnen einen sachlicheren und wissenschaftlicheren Charakter verleihen.<sup>38</sup>

Es ist klar, dass sich die legendarischen Überlieferungen die wir in der *Sīra* finden, formal wie auch inhaltlich (sie sind an die Persönlichkeit Muḥammads gebunden) von den Erzählungen von den Propheten in den populären *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā* unterscheiden. Schliesslich sind die Erzählungen in der Form, wie wir sie in der Sammlung *Kisāʾis* finden, zeitlich viel jünger. Die einen wie die anderen wuchsen jedoch unverkennbar aus demselben Nährboden, d.h. von den religiösen Vorstellungen heraus, die sich der älteste Islam vom Judentum und vom Christentum zu eigen machte. Aus diesen Quellen bildeten sich die Grundstoffe der vorislamischen Geschichte, also die anfänglichen und notwendigen Kapitel der arabischen Weltchroniken, aus ihnen schöpfte der *tafsīr* und dort, wo es unablässig war auch der *ḥadīth*.

Die populären Erzählungen von den Propheten entfernten sich im Prozess ihrer Gestaltung sehr von den alten Überlieferungen von den vorislamischen Propheten, um deren Verbreitung sich von allem Wahb ibn Munabbih, Ibn ʿAbbās und Kaʿb al-Aḥbār verdient machten. In meinen älteren Aufsätzen erwähnte ich des öfteren wie die Beziehungen zwischen diesen Tradenten und den Erzählungen, die ihnen die anonymen Legendenverbreiter absichtlich zuschreiben, aufzufassen sind.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Andrae, Tor, *Die Person Muhammeds*. S. 27, 28.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 27.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 27, 28: „Gewiss macht Ibn Ishāq schon ernste Versuche, den Stoff wissenschaftlich zu gestalten, indem er seine Erzählungen mit *isnād'en* zu stützen weiss. Es scheint ihm indessen keine Skrupel zu bereiten, eine Notiz mit den Worten einzuführen: „einer der Gelehrten, ein Glaubwürdiger hat mir erzählt“; zuweilen teilt er die Geschichte ohne jede Angabe über ihren Ursprung mit. Oft trägt er den Stoff in breiten zusammenhängenden Erzählungen vor, in welchem Falle er meistens mehrere Gewährsmänner für die betreffende Geschichte anführt mit der Erklärung, dass „der Bericht des Einen mit dem des Anderen vermengt worden ist“. Das ist die Art der *quṣṣās*... Die „Wissenschaftlichkeit“ der folgenden Chronisten, eines Ibn Saʿd, Tabarī usw., zeigt sich besonders darin, dass sie sich bemühen, die breiten Erzählungen in Sonderberichte, jede für sich durch Gewährsmänner gestützt, zu zerlegen und auch ihrer Darstellung eine knappere, mehr sachliche Form zu geben.“ Vgl. dazu Caētani, *Annali dell' Islam* I, S. 32., und auch Watt, W. M., *The Materials used by Ibn Ishāq* (in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis und P. M. Holt, Oxford Univ. Press 1962), S. 25 sqq.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. *Kisāʾis Werk*, S. 196 sqq., *Ein Werk Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā von Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥijrī al-Aḥbārī*, *Asian and African Studies* VI, Bratislava 1970 (1972), S. 87–91. Einen

Die populären Erzählungen von den Propheten sind in ihrer erhaltenen Form dem *ḥadīṭ* und dem *tafsīr* gleich fern. Diese Tatsache scheint in einem gewissen Sinne paradox zu sein, insbesondere wenn wir erwägen, welche Aufgabe das islamische Mittelalter den *quṣṣās* bei der Verbreitung von — wenn auch falschen — Traditionen zudenkt.

Dieser Frage widmen wir im weiteren einige Bemerkungen.

## II

Die grosse Mehrheit der islamischen Autoren, die in ihren Werken über die *quṣṣās* schreiben, verknüpft deren Tätigkeit mit der Verbreitung der Traditionen des Propheten und mit dem Lesen und Deuten des Korans.<sup>40</sup> Als erster beobachtete diese Tatsache Ignaz Goldziher, der seine Auslegungen über die *quṣṣās* in die umfangreiche Abhandlung von den Traditionen *Das Hadīth als Mittel der Erbauung und Unterhaltung*<sup>41</sup> mit einbezog und gleichzeitig den *quṣṣās* eine grosse Aufmerksamkeit auch in seinem Buch von der Entwicklung der Koranexegese widmete.<sup>42</sup>

Die Hauptquelle, der Goldziher seine Informationen entnahm, war Ibn al-Ġawzī. Auf Grund dessen Buches *Kitāb al-quṣṣās* konstatierte Goldziher, dass sich die *quṣṣās* um die Verbreitung jener Art von Traditionen verdient machten, die meist aus andächtigen Erzählungen oder ethischen sowie erzieherischen Lehrsätzen bestanden. Goldziher meint, es bestünde kein Zweifel darüber, dass die Mehrzahl dieser Traditionen falsch und unterstellt war, ja dass man in des Propheten Mund nicht nur religiöse Sentenzen, sondern oft auch solche Aussprüche legte, die das Publikum belustigten.

Die Bedeutung der *quṣṣās* für das Entstehen und Verbreiten neuer Traditionen erwähnen auch weitere Autoren.<sup>43</sup> Nabia Abbott<sup>44</sup> weist darauf hin, dass die *quṣṣās* sich vor allem um die Popularisierung des Gedankens von Belohnung und Strafe

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wertvollen Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der literarischen Arbeit von Wahn ibn Munabbih präsentiert die gleich erschienene Monographie von Khoury, R. G., *Wahn ibn Munabbih* (Teil 1: Der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23. Leben und Werk des Dichters. Teil 2: Faksimiletafeln), Wiesbaden, Cito Harrassowitz 1972. Vgl. den Index zum ersten Teil: *Qiṣaṣ al-ambiyā, quṣṣās* usw. Siehe auch von demselben Autor: *Un fragment astrologique inédit attribué à Wahn ibn Munabbih*, in: ARABICA, XIX, 1972, S. 139 sqq.

<sup>40</sup> Siehe Ġāḥiz, *Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabyīn* (ed. al-Sandūbī, Kairo 1956), I, S. 377–379. Maqrīzī, *Hiṭat*, Būlāq 1270, II, S. 253 sqq., oder ed. Kairo 1326: IV, 16 sqq. Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., S. 109 sqq.

<sup>41</sup> Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* II, S. 153–174.

<sup>42</sup> Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, S. 58 sqq.

<sup>43</sup> Munir-ud-din Ahmed, *Muslim Education and the Scholars' Social Status up to 5th Century Muslim Era in the Light of Ta'rikh Baghdad*. Zürich 1968, S. 37. Pedersen, J., *The Islamic Preacher*, S. 237.

<sup>44</sup> Abbott, Nabia, op. cit., 15.

(*tarǧīb wa tarhīb*) verdient machen, der bald in den damals noch nicht stabilisierten Korpus der Traditionen einging.<sup>45</sup> Manche *quṣṣās* sammelten sogar Traditionen und ergänzten diese durch eigene Stoffe, die jedoch meist sehr zweifelhaften Quellen entstammten (*isnād*).<sup>46</sup> Da es sich jedoch um Stoffe handelte, die für das religiöse Leben des Islams eine reichlich positive Bedeutung hatten, nahm laut Nabia Abbott ihnen gegenüber die Kritik des *isnāds* eine recht versöhnliche Haltung ein.<sup>47</sup>

Ganz anders als diese sog. „versöhnliche“ Kritik bewertet die Tätigkeit der *quṣṣās* in diesem Sinne Ibn al-Ġawzī. In seinem Buch *Kitāb al-quṣṣās* hält er für den grössten Mangel eines populären Predigers (*qāṣṣ, wāʿiz*) das unkritische Behandeln von Traditionen, geschweige denn deren Fabrizierung.<sup>48</sup>

Wie immer man den Anteil der *quṣṣās* an der Verbreitung der Traditionen bewerten mag, eins steht fest: die Mehrheit von ihnen kam mit diesem umfangreichen Zweig der islamischen religiösen Literatur in enge Verbindung. Diese Tatsache geht schliesslich schon vom eigentlichen Charakter des Berufs eines *qāṣṣ* hervor und sie bedarf daher keiner weiteren eingehenderen Forschung.

Und hier kommen wir zu einer interessanten Feststellung: beim Lesen vom Kisāʿīs populären Sammlung *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, die eines der Zeugnisse von der Tätigkeit der *quṣṣās* ablegt, habe ich festgestellt, dass die Traditionen darin nur vereinzelt vorkommen.

Es sind Traditionen die, bis auf einige Ausnahmen,<sup>49</sup> in den kanonischen Sammlungen nicht zu belegen sind.<sup>50</sup> Einige davon dürften völlig erdacht sein. Andere wieder werden in abgeänderter, vermittelter Fassung angeführt.<sup>51</sup> Manchmal wieder werden mehrere Sprüche des Propheten willkürlich miteinander verknüpft.<sup>52</sup> Der Zusammensteller oder Überlieferer dieser Sammlung scheint überhaupt nicht unterschieden zu haben, welche von den Traditionen echt und welche unterschoben sind. Das beweist die gänzliche Stellungnahme, die in dieser Sammlung zu den zitierten Tradi-

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Beispiele dazu siehe bei Abbott, op. cit., S. 75, 111, 114 usw.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., S. 15, Anm. 108. Vgl. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, II, S. 153 sqq.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., S. 110 (Anm. 1), 180, 182, 183 usw. Vgl. die Paragraphen 207—217.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Kisāʿī, *Vita prophetarum*, 44. Im ersten Ausspruch vom Propheten wird jener gelobt, der eine Schlange (*hayya*) tötet. Zu diesem Ausspruch vgl. Abū Dāʿūd, ADAB 162; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal I, 460. Im zweiten Ausspruch vom Propheten wird jener gelobt, der eine Eidechse (*wazja*) tötet. Zum Ausspruch vgl. Abū Dāʿūd, ADAB 163; Muslim, SALĀM 146.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. Kisāʿī, *Vita prophetarum*, S. 13 (eine Tradition über den Engel Isrāfil). Siehe dazu Macdonald, MALĀʾIKA (*ShEI*, S. 318), der führt an, dass vom Engel Isrāfil keine Erwähnung weder im Koran noch in den kanonischen Traditionen ist. Vgl. ibid., S. 8 (eine Tradition über *āyat al-kursī*), S. 11 (eine Tradition über *ʿaql* und *ʿāqil*), S. 54 (eine Tradition über *al-ġarād*), S. 152 (eine Tradition deren Wortlaut heisst: *anā ibn al-dabīḥayn*).

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. ibid., S. 14, 15 (eine Tradition über dem Engel Ġibrīl).

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., S. 16 (Traditionen über die Einzigartigkeit des *yawm al-ġumʿa*).

tionen eingenommen wird: für interessant wird vor allem ihr Inhalt gehalten; ob dies eine passende oder nichtpassende Ergänzung zur Erzählung bildet.

Dem Wortlaut dieser Sammlung ist es nicht zu entnehmen ob bereits Kisā'ī selbst seine Erzählungen aus solchen Materialien zusammenstellte, in denen die Traditionen nur einen am Rande liegenden Charakter hatten, oder ob diese Erscheinung das Ergebnis späterer Eingriffe in Kisā'īs Text ist.<sup>53</sup> Es steht jedoch fest, dass die Verbreiter der populären Prophetenlegenden ohne den *ḥadīṭ* ganz gut auskommen konnten. Das Anführen von kurzen Aussprüchen (Traditionen) widerspricht schon der eigentlichen novellistischen Auffassung ihrer Erzählungen. Aus diesem Grunde bemerken wir bei den Schöpfern populärer Prophetenlegenden auch keinerlei Bestreben neue Traditionen zu erzeugen. Ihre schöpferische Bestrebung ist ausschliesslich auf die attraktive märchenhaft-mythologische Gestaltung des Lebens der Propheten orientiert.

Betrachten wir die populären Verbreiter der Prophetenlegenden mit den Augen islamischer Autoren, müssen wir sie wieder auf die tiefste Stelle in der Hierarchie der *quṣṣāṣ* weisen. Ja dessen mehr. Es sei hinzuzufügen, dass sie die Traditionen überhaupt nicht kannten und sie sogar überhaupt nicht zu kennen brauchten. Dabei besteht kein Zweifel darüber, dass der *ḥadīṭ* — wenn auch indirekt — die Verbreitung von volkstümlichen religiösen Vorstellungen aus dem Leben der Propheten förderte. Es geht hierbei jedoch nur um eine sehr freie, vermittelte Interpretierung verbindlicher religiöser Dokumente. Populäre Prophetenlegenden gehören qualitativ einer ganz anderen Ebene als ihre ursprünglichen Quellen an und sie hatten selbstverständlich auch eine andere funktionelle Anwendung als die restliche religiöse Literatur.

In diesem Zusammenhang muss betont werden, dass der Einfluss des *ḥadīṭ* weit markanter ist bei den Werken der *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā*, die sich direkt vom *tafsīr* oder von der historischen Literatur her entwickelten, resp. bei jenen, die nur eine gewisse Auswahl aus dieser Literatur bilden, welche nach bestimmten thematischen Prinzipien geordnet sind. Hierzu gehören z. B. die bekannten *'Arā'is al-maǧālis fī qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā* von Ta'labī und weitere Werke, die Nagel<sup>54</sup> und teilweise auch der Autor dieser Studie beschrieben hatten.<sup>55</sup> In einem gewissen Sinne kann man her auch das

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<sup>53</sup> Vgl. *Kisā'īs Werk*, S. 217–224 (Die Grundtendenzen bei der Eintragung des Werkes Kisā'īs).

<sup>54</sup> Siehe Nagel, Tilman, op. cit., das Kapitel Die *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā* als selbständige vorwiegend aus dem erzählenden Tafsīr geschöpfte Werke, S. 80 sqq. Es gehören hierher unter anderen die *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā* von Tarafī (ibid., S. 103 sqq.), die *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā* des Ḥusaynī (ibid., S. 119 sqq.). Siehe dazu auch Aichele, *Biblische Legenden aus dem Prophetenbuch des Ḥosaynī*, MSOS, 1915, Teil II, S. 27–57.

<sup>55</sup> *Einige Bemerkungen*, S. 111–123. *Ein Werk Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā von Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad i. Sa'īd al-Ḥiǧrī al-Aḥbārī*. Asian and African Studies, VI, Bratislava 1970, S. 87–91. *Ein unbekanntes Autograph Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā von Aḥmad ibn Abi 'Uḍayba*. Asian and African Studies, V, Bratislava 1969, S. 71–77.

Buch *Kitāb al-bad' wa al-ta'rīh* von Maqdisi einreihen.<sup>56</sup> Mit der Art der Manipulierung mit Traditionen, sowie der Übernahme historischer Nachrichten (*ahbār*) unterscheiden sich diese Autoren im Prinzip nicht von jenen *quṣṣās*, die von den islamischen Quellen als Sammler und Verbreiter von religiöser und historischer Literatur bezeichnet werden.<sup>57</sup>

Neben der Verbreitung von Traditionen widmeten sich die *quṣṣās* auch der Erläuterung des Korans. In seinen *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* führt Goldziher eine ganze Reihe von Gründen an, die sie dazu führten,<sup>58</sup> und er dokumentiert ihre kommentatorische Tätigkeit mit einer Anzahl von Beispielen, die die *quṣṣās* in ein sehr ungünstiges Licht stellen: „Diese Leute schwelgten natürlich in der Ausmahlung der letzten Dinge und was sie aus fremden Informationsquellen beibrachten, oder aus eigener Phantasie hinzutaten, gaben sie als beglaubigte Koranerklärung aus. Es gab für sie kein Geheimnis und es machte ihnen weder Mühe noch Skrupel, ihre an den Koran geknüpften Phantasiebilder durch irreführende Anlehnung an angesehene Männer glaubhaft zu gestalten.“<sup>59</sup>

Andererseits kennt jedoch Goldziher unter den *quṣṣās* auch durchaus ernst zu nehmende Kommentatoren. In den *Muhammedanischen Studien* führt er auf Grund des Ġāhiz (*Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabyīn*) die Namen einiger bedeutender *quṣṣās* an, die hauptsächlich in Baṣra tätig waren; ausser einer gründlichen Kenntnis des *tafsīr* und der Traditionen zeichneten sich diese Prediger auch durch ausserordentliche rhetorische Fähigkeiten aus, so dass ihre Zusammenkünfte (*maḡlis*) sich einer allgemeinen Beliebtheit erfreuten.<sup>60</sup> Pellat, der viel ausführlicher von den prominenten basrischen *quṣṣās* berichtet,<sup>61</sup> übersetzte aus *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn* eine ganze Passage, die Ġāhiz ihnen widmete.<sup>62</sup> Ġāhiz zählt hier namentlich alle bedeutende Volksprädikanten auf und charakterisiert kurz deren Tätigkeit. Wie sehr er sich auch für ihre Fähigkeit den Koran ausführlich zu kommentieren begeistert,<sup>63</sup> behauptet er

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<sup>56</sup> Mehr über dieses Werk siehe bei Mez, Adam, op. cit., S. 190 sqq., und Miquel, André, *La Géographie humaine du monde musulman*. Paris 1967, S. 212–217.

<sup>57</sup> Nagel, Tilman op. cit., S. 91 sqq., hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass mehrere *mawā'iz* sich im Werk Ta'labī befinden. Der Autor fügt hinzu, dass Ta'labī diese Form des Predigens von den mystischen Kreisen übernommen hat. Diese Vermutung ist höchst wahrscheinlich. *Mawā'iz* und *waṣāyā* waren für die islamischen Prediger typisch. Zu den Terminen *wa'z* — *waṣīya* vgl. Pedersen, *The Islamic Preacher*, S. 237, 238.

<sup>58</sup> Goldziher, Ignaz, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*. Leiden, Brill 1952 (Reprint), S. 58 sqq.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., S. 59.

<sup>60</sup> Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muh. Studien. II*. S. 162, 163.

<sup>61</sup> Pellat, Charles, *Le milieu basrien*. S. 108 sqq.

<sup>62</sup> In der von mir benutzten Ausgabe (ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Kairo 1956) befindet sich diese Passage im ersten Band, S. 377–379.

<sup>63</sup> Ġāhiz, *Bayān* (ed. Kairo 1956) I, S. 378: das Beispiel des Abū 'Alī al-Uswāri.

nirgends, dass sie die originellen *mufassirūn* ihrer Zeit seien. Ğāhiz schätzt bei ihnen vor allem die Art in der sie den Menschen Gottes Offenbarungen vermitteln vermochten. Ihre Beredsamkeit (*faṣāḥa*) erhob sie zu einem der Weltwunder (*‘aǧā’ib al-dunyā*).<sup>64</sup> Sie scheuten es nicht den Zuhörern einen ganzen Korpus zusammengeklauter Erläuterungen in passender Form und mit Enthusiasmus vorzulegen. Diese Erläuterungen ergänzten sie durch verschiedene Geschichten lehrreicher und erzieherischer Art (*aḥādīt*), was zwar zum eigentlichen *tafsīr* nicht gehörte, trotzdem aber dessens beliebte Ergänzung bildete.

Die kommentatorische Tätigkeit dieser baṣrischen *quṣṣās*, die von Ğāhiz so hoch geschätzt wurden, überschritt gewiss nicht den Rahmen der traditionellen Art der Koranerklärung.<sup>65</sup> Sie hat deshalb nur wenig gemeinsames mit dem, was wir in den viel späteren Manuskripten der populären *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* finden. Hier kann nämlich überhaupt nicht von einer Verwandtschaft mit dem *tafsīr* die Rede sein,<sup>66</sup> obgleich gerade der Koran und seine Auslegung eine Anregung zum Entstehen der islamischen prophetologischen Literatur dieses Typus gaben.

Die Einstellung der Autoren der populären *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* war zum *tafsīr* genauso wie zum *ḥadīt* sehr frei, und sie sahen darin eher eine geeignete Quelle schöpferischer Inspiration als authentisches Quellenmaterial. Es entspricht zwar der Wahrheit, das wir z.B. auch in der Sammlung Kisā’is relativ häufig Verse aus dem Koran finden; diese sind jedoch nicht das Objekt der Erläuterung. Sie dienen mehr oder weniger als in den Text eingelegte Beispiele, die die Echtheit und Glaubwürdigkeit der legendarischen Prophetenerzählungen bestätigen.<sup>67</sup> Die Autoren der populären *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* strebten die Exegese der erzählerischen Teile des Korans nicht an. Diese Arbeit vollbrachten für sie bereits andere,<sup>68</sup> und wenn die Sammler der *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* auch auf den Ergebnissen dieser Arbeit ihren umfangreichen Korpus der Legenden aufbauten, hat ihr Werk von der formalen Seite her mit dem *tafsīr* nichts gemeinsam. In ihren Erzählungen überwiegen die märchenhaften und mythologischen Elemente dermassen, dass die sporadischen Zitate aus dem Koran das Werk über eine Ebene der Volksdarbietung nicht erheben konnten. Hierbei möchten

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Kurze Charakteristik (mit kritischen Bemerkungen) der islamischen Koranlegung siehe bei Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*. II. Leipzig 1919, S. 156–182.

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. meine Artikel: *Islamische Legende über Buḥnaṣṣar (Nebukadnezar) und ‘Uǧ ibn ‘Anāq, ein sagenhafter Riese, Untersuchungen zu den islamischen Riesengeschichten* (Graecolatina et Orientalia IV und V), wo ich auf die Verarbeitung des legendarischen Stoffes im Werk Kisā’is ohne Rücksicht auf *tafsīr* mehrmals aufmerksam gemacht habe.

<sup>67</sup> Ein Beispiel auf die Zitierung des Korans im Werk Kisā’is siehe in meinem Artikel *Literarischer Charakter des Werkes Kisā’is*, S. 113.

<sup>68</sup> Eine kurze und treffende Beschreibung der Anfänge der Koranexegese und ihrer drei Quellen siehe bei Gardet, Louis und Anawati, M. M., *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*. Paris 1948, S. 29 sqq. Vgl. dazu Nöldeke-Schwally, op. cit., S. 156–163.

wir jedoch unserer Meinung Ausdruck verleihen, dass sich die Schöpfer und Überlieferer der Prophetenlegenden auch nie irgendwelche höhere Ziele setzten.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist es abermals notwendig Ta'labīs Werk *'Arā'is al-maǧālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* von den populären Sammlungen *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* klar zu unterscheiden. Dieses Werk ist die Schöpfung eines professionellen *mufassirs* und es kann in einem gewissen Sinne als Supplement zu Ta'labīs bekanntem *Tafsīr* angesehen werden.<sup>69</sup> Dem Genre nach ist es verwandt mit den übrigen Werken *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, die Nagel im 2. Kapitel seiner Arbeit beschrieben hat.<sup>70</sup>

Nach den strikten islamischen Gesichtspunkten erfüllt aber auch Ta'labī nicht die Anforderungen, die Ibn al-Ġawzī an seriöse *quṣṣās* und *wu'āz* stellt. Im 10. Kapitel seines Werkes *Kitāb al-quṣṣās wa al-mudakkirīn* kritisiert Ibn al-Ġawzī das Werk folgendermassen: „Mehrere Perser verfassten Homiletica (*kutub fī al-wā'z*) die ungläubliche Gedanken und verdrehte Geschichten enthalten. Vieles davon kann man in den *tafāsīr* von Abū Ishāq al-Ta'labī finden. In der Erzählung von Dū al-Kifl spricht er von al-Kifl, der böse Taten beging. Er gehörte zu den gottlosen Sündern im Volke Israel. Des weiteren identifiziert ihn jedoch Ta'labī mit dem Propheten Israels. In anderen *tafāsīr* führt er wieder an, dass David Urias gefangen genommen, getötet und dessen Frau geheiratet hätte. Oder aber sagt er, dass Joseph sein Wams bereits gelockert hätte,<sup>71</sup> da sei aber Jacob erschienen, hätte ihn in die Hände gebissen und so hätte Joseph widerstanden.“<sup>72</sup>

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Den Unterschied zwischen einem guten und einem schlechten *qāṣṣ* fühlten die islamischen Theologen bereits seit sehr langer Zeit.

Eine grosse Gruppe der Vermittler religiöser Stoffe, deren Erzählungen uns in den populären Sammlungen *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* erhalten blieben, gehört der niedrigsten Kategorie in der Hierarchie der Volksprädikanten (*quṣṣās*) an.

Es ist dies die Gruppe, die weder den *ḥadīth* noch den *tafsīr* direkt kannte, die jedoch eine umfangreiche religiöse Literatur hinterliess.

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<sup>69</sup> Ta'labī (vgl. *Ibn Hallikān*, ed. Kairo 1948—1949, Nr. 30; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, Nr. 185; Lidzbarski, *Diss.*, 15 sqq.) schrieb in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts der Hidjra einen Kommentar zum Koran, der *Kaṣf al-bayān 'an tafsīr al-qur'ān* hiess. Der Kommentar war lange Zeit populär und beliebt aber wurde später durch relativ bessere Kompilationen von Bayḍāwī und Suyūṭī in den Hintergrund gedrängt.

<sup>70</sup> Vgl. die Anmerkung 54 zu diesem Artikel.

<sup>71</sup> Das heisst, dass Josef bereits bereit war mit der Frau Putifars eine Sünde zu begehen aber sein Vater Jacob hat ihn auf diese Weise in der letzten Weile gerettet.

<sup>72</sup> Vgl. Ibn al-Ġawzī, op. cit., S. 103 (arab. Text), S. 183 (engl. Übers.).

Diese Literatur besteht aus einfachen Erzählungen, in denen märchenhafte, phantastische und mythologische Elemente ineinander verknüpft sind. Sie kann als eine Art religiösen Folklore gewertet werden: Dies beweist nicht nur ihr Inhalt, sondern auch die Art der Transmission, die jedwede definitive schriftliche Fixierung des tradierten Stoffes ausschloss.

Die *quṣṣās* machten sich nur nicht um die Entstehung der populären Prophetengeschichten verdient, mit ihnen ist auch die jahrhundertelange Lebendigkeit, Zeitgemässigkeit und die Beliebtheit dieses Genres unter den einfachen Moslems verbunden.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

## A COMMENT ON TWO BOOKS ON MODERN CHINESE POETRY

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The book by Professor Michelle Loi, bearing the title *Roseaux sur le mur* and the subtitle *Les poëts occidentalistes chinois 1919—1949*, is the first comprehensive work on the history and theory of modern Chinese poetry and simultaneously, probably also the most voluminous one ever written on modern Chinese literature.<sup>1</sup> It embodies the results of more than ten years of study and the authoress has received for it "le Doctorat d'Etat".

Mme Loi's book is remarkably balanced. It comprises three sections of twelve chapters each and each of these sections would constitute a minor book by itself. Every section is in fact, in a certain sense, an individual work, complete with *Conclusions*, the last one having *Conclusions générales* appended to it.

As may be expected of a work conceived on a such broad scale, the individual chapters are of varying value. Mme Loi's being a wide-angle take, some of the chapters inevitably carry items that are generally known, but others are revealing and as such will claim not only the reader's attention, but likewise his appreciation.

In the first section called *Écoles et Mouvements*, the most innovative is the last but one chapter concerned with symbolism (Li Chin-fa) [1] (born in 1901), modernism (Tai Wang-shu) [2] (1905—1950) and the so-called *métaphysiciens* (Feng Chih) [3] (born in 1905). Professor Loi attempted to elucidate certain issues relative to Li Chin-fa's biography, nevertheless, we might say it is a pity that she came across no more than 19 (not, as she states, 17) of Li's poems from *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsieh ta-hsi* [4] *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature* (further mentioned only as *Great Anthology*), besides some poems published in the journals Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [5] *The Short Story Magazine* and Hsien-tai [6] *Les Contemporains*. Consequently, this analysis of Li Chin-fa's works cannot be said to be complete; it might have been far better had Mme Loi taken the trouble to consult Lu Hsün's Library in Prague which has got a volume of Li Chin-fa's collection *Wei hsin-fu erh ko* [7]. Li had given it the German name *Sehnsucht*. When dealing with Li Chin-fa, Mme Loi

<sup>1</sup> Éditions Gallimard, Paris 1971, 609 pp. Further quoted as Loi.

makes reference to Verlaine. It should be observed here, that in his relation to Verlaine Li Chin-fa did not confine himself to a mere selection of Verlaine's verses as mottoes to his own poems, but actually translated the whole book and this was to have been published by the K'ai-ming shu-tien Press [8].<sup>2</sup> We have no positive evidence available that the book was actually published, but Su Hsiieh-lin [10] does cite from Li Chin-fa's translations of Verlaine in her article *Lun Li Chin-fa-ti shih* [11] *On Li Chin-fa's Poetry*, which has apparently also remained unknown to Mme Loi.<sup>3</sup> Incidentally, Su Hsiieh-lin's reference to the translations lends support to the view that the book has been published. There will be occasion yet to speak of Verlaine in connection with Li Chin-fa elsewhere in this review article.

The best passages in the whole book—and this is understandable—are those which Mme Loi devotes to the poet she is most familiar with, Tai Wang-shu. Here she does well also as a literary comparatist when comparing Tai Wang-shu's works with Spanish modernists and French symbolists. From among Chinese critics she draws on the views of Tu Heng [12] or Su Wen [13], a well-known supporter of Literature of the Third Category (ti san chung wen-hsüeh) [14], which was an object of continuous attack on the part of Lu Hsün [15] (1881—1936) and the Chinese Communists. Tai Wang-shu was a friend of Tu Heng's. But there were also many writers in China of the thirties who disagreed with Tai Wang-shu. Such were, for instance, Marxist-oriented critics and poets from Chung-kuo shih-ko hui [16] Chinese Poetry Association. One who used to express himself very critically and even mockingly about Tai Wang-shu's poems was P'u Feng [17], a leading figure and the principal organizer of this association.<sup>4</sup> An almost complete disagreement with Tai's *L'Art poétique* was also voiced by Liu Ch'ien [20], adducing arguments whose foundations were probably derived from the school of Russian revolutionary democrats and were later taken over by Soviet literary criticism.<sup>5</sup> Another poet in opposition to Tai Wang-shu at this time was Tsang K'o-chia [22] (1905).<sup>6</sup>

Professor Loi devotes very little space to two short-lived phenomena of Chinese symbolism and later poets or critics of a proletarian orientation: Mu Mu-t'ien [24] (born 1900) and Wang Tu-ch'ing [25] (1898—1940). As far as the first of these is concerned, Mme Loi had very little material to go by—practically only a few of his poems from the *Great Anthology*, and the views of some critics none of whom had

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<sup>2</sup> One of the front pages, unnumbered, of the book *Sehnsucht* carries a reference to *Fan-lun-na-ti shih-hsüan* [9] *Verlaine's Poems* and also a note that the book is to appear in K'ai-ming.

<sup>3</sup> Hsien-tai [6] *Les Contemporains*, 3, 3, July 1933, p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> P'u Feng, *Wu-ssu tao hsien-tsai-ti Chung-kuo shih-t'an niao-kan* [18] *A Bird's Eye-View of the Chinese Poetry From the May Fourth Movement to the Present Day*, in *Hsien-tai shih-ko lun-wen hsüan* [19] *Selected Essays on Contemporary Poetry*. Shanghai 1936, pp. 65—66.

<sup>5</sup> Liu Ch'ien, *Wang-shu Shih-lun shang-ch'üeh* [20] *On Tai Wang-shu's L'Art poétique*. *Ibid.*, pp. 303—305.

<sup>6</sup> Tsang K'o-chia, *Lun hsin shih* [23] *On New Poetry*. *Ibid.*, pp. 308—309.

made a more detailed study of Mu's writings. Mu Mu-t'ien is the author of only one collection of symbolist poems, but of a number of critical works (partially associated also with problems of symbolism, and thus satisfies better than many others the conception of an "occidental poet"). Mme Loi came across the latter's relatively representative collection entitled *Wang Tu-ch'ing hsüan-chi* [26] *The Selected Works of Wang Tu-ch'ing*, from the year 1936, only after she had completed her book. His poetical work, however, is far more comprehensive and his literary views, too, are of interest. He is the author of numerous articles and essays that were published at least in the collection called *Tu-ch'ing wen-i lun-chi* [27] *Literary and Critical Articles* by Wang Tu-ch'ing, of which one in particular, analysing the principles of symbolism, would have been of value to the book under review.<sup>7</sup>

The chapter being dealt with makes no mention at all of Feng Nai-ch'ao [31] (about 1900) whom Chu Tzu-ch'ing [32] (1899—1948), a historian of modern Chinese poetry, appreciated most among Chinese poets influenced by symbolism. As, however, he is the subject of the study in the present volume, we refrain from going into more details here.

Another chapter from the first section that presents some interest is the fifth one in which mention is made of the first book of modern Chinese poetry—*Ch'ang-shih-chi* [33] *Experiments* by Hu Shih [34] (1891—1962).

The topics treated of in the remaining chapters of this section are more or less known in the history of modern Chinese literature. A certain exception is the seventh chapter about translations and translators. But the authoress might have devoted greater attention to this chapter. Mme Loi begins it with a very inaccurate quotation from the *Introduction to Studien zur modernen chinesischen Literatur*.<sup>8</sup> Its author would never say about Mao Tun that his knowledge of foreign languages "est presque incroyable".<sup>9</sup> Later too, there will be occasion to point out inaccuracies in Mme Loi's citations. Not much was done in China in the field of translations of European poetry—decidedly less than in the realm of fiction or drama—but certainly more than would appear from Loi's book. She has concentrated predominantly on data from the *Great Anthology*, but this goes only as far as the year 1928. Evidently, she had no access to *Chin-pai nien lai Chung i hsi shu mu-lu* [35] *Books Translated into Chinese During the Last Hundred Years*, Taipei 1958, a very rare but very useful book by W. Franke and Dsang Schau-dien, *Titelverzeichnis chinesischer Übersetzungen deutscher Werke*, Peking 1942, the well-known catalogue *Wu-ssu shih-ch'i ch'i-k'an*

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<sup>7</sup> The title of the article is *T'an shih* [28] *On Poetry*. This article appeared also in *The Selected Works of Wang Tu-ch'ing*, p. 225. The original title is *Tsai t'an shih* [29] *On Poetry Once Again* and was published in Ch'uang-tsoo yüeh-k'an [30] *Creation Monthly*, 1, March 1926, pp. 89—98. Further quoted as CTYK.

<sup>8</sup> Berlin 1964, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Loi, p. 79.

chieh-shao [36] *An Index to the Periodicals of the May Fourth Movement*, Peking 1959, or *Ch'uan-kuo tsung-mu-lu* [37] *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*, Shanghai 1935. In addition, her data might have been far more abundant had she had access to all the issues of *Les Contemporains*, or had she perused the largest and the most important Chinese literary journal of the thirties called *Wen-hsüeh* [38] *Literature*, and the journal *I-wen* [39] *Translations*. It may be noted that Prague possesses almost complete collection of these journals.

Storm's work *Immensee* does not belong to the poetic genre. Feng Chih's view that *Immensee* was translated into Chinese three times has probably been taken over from one of the bibliographies by Hsü Tiao-fu [40].<sup>10</sup> In reality, these translations, in full or abridged, are far more numerous. According to my own research in this area they numbered eight between the years 1927—1940.<sup>11</sup> This figure, too, may not be complete. A similar example is that of Goethe's novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* which found seven translators up to the year 1949,<sup>12</sup> or that of his *Faust* which found five translators.<sup>13</sup> From among more recent authors, it was principally E. M. Remarque, nearly all of whose works have been published in China in several translations: for instance, his novel *Im Westen nichts Neues* was translated in China four times between the years 1929—1936,<sup>14</sup> and the novel *Der Weg zurück* as many as five times within a single year, 1931.<sup>15</sup> The authoress of the book under review may be interested in the fact that Tai Wang-shu was one of the translators of the French medieval romance *Aucassin et Nicolette*.<sup>16</sup> This work too, found three translators in China.<sup>17</sup> And besides Verlaine,<sup>18</sup> Tai translated also Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.<sup>19</sup>

The other two sections of the book under review entitled *Symboles et Thèmes*, and *Formes et Procédés* respectively, do not deal exclusively and unambiguously with modern problems. Mme Loi often draws on ancient Chinese poetry for arguments

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<sup>10</sup> P'u Shao [41] (pseudonym of Hsü Tiao-fu), *Han-i tung-hsi-yang wen-hsüeh tso-p'in pien-mu*, [42] *A Catalogue of Translations of Foreign Literary Works Into Chinese*, in Chang Ching-lu [43] ed., *Chung-kuo hsien-tai ch'u-pan shih-liao* [44] *Material Relating to the History of Modern Chinese Printing*. Vol. 1. Peking 1954, p. 292.

<sup>11</sup> See *Preliminary Research-guide. German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*. München 1971, p. 55.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45—46.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>16</sup> *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*, p. 433.

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Tai Wang-shu translated some Verlaine's poems and published them in a literary decade called *Ying-lo* [45] *Brooches*. See Shih Chih-ts'un [46], *Wo-ti ch'uang-tso sheng-huo-chih li-ch'eng* [47] *A Story of My Creative Life*, in *Ch'uang-tso-ti ching-yen* [48] *Creative Experiences*. Shanghai 1935, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> The book was published in Shanghai. Cf. *Les Contemporains*, 5, 1, May 1934.

and translations, or at the least, compares modern Chinese poetry with it. And just as in the first section, so also in these two, she takes examples from European or American literature for her comparisons. In processing the two sections, Michelle Loi was able to draw full support from the abundant experiences of the French Sinological School (P. Demieville and Y. Hervouet among others), from Etiemble as also from the book by Wang Li [49], a professor of Peking University, entitled *Han-yü shih-li-hsüeh* [50] *Chinese Poetics*. She is also thoroughly familiar with authors writing in or translating into English. She seems, however, not to be familiar with the works of Professor A. Hoffmann on tz'u poetry [51].<sup>20</sup>

Again, as regards the last two sections of Loi's book, a single premise seems to create the basis for all her remaining considerations. This premise is expressed in the following words which are simultaneously the opening sentence of the second section: "La poésie chinoise classique est un symbolisme au sense large, non entaché de précision historique et géographique comme le symbolisme occidental."<sup>21</sup> Chinese poetry is then symbolist, but not in the way we know symbolism from modern European history. The same applies, according to Professor Loi, also to romanticism: "La littérature chinoise... a des traditions romantiques. Mais le romantisme chinois n'est pas le même que celui du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle européen. Il est plus réparti et non pas propre à une période."<sup>22</sup>

True, all this may be found in Chinese literature. Nonetheless, what is realistic need not signify realism, or romantic romanticism, or symbolist symbolism. We ought to be careful and use discretion when employing European terms in connection with the study of old (and partially also modern) Chinese literature. Chinese literature is different—both in theory and practice.

Let us take at least a brief note of the problem of symbolism. Michelle Loi's statement that "la poésie chinoise est un symbolisme au sense large" is unequivocal. Ancient Chinese poetry certainly contains much that may be, or is termed symbolist. It may perhaps be termed even "natural" symbolism, although, on the other hand, it might also be called differently. In the old Chinese theory of poetry there are two aesthetic terms that remain hard nuts for the researchers: pi [52] and hsing [53]. "Il serait", writes Mme Loi of these two important categories of ancient Chinese poetics, "par conséquent, très intéressant d'en définir exactement les notions, mais c'est très difficile."<sup>23</sup> Marcel Granet has rendered these two terms as "allégorie" and

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<sup>20</sup> We have in mind two books of translations with rich commentaries: *Die Lieder des Li Yü* from the year 1950, and *Frühlingsblüten und Herbstmond* from the year 1951. Both appeared in Greven Verlag, Köln.

<sup>21</sup> Loi, p. 195.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 356—357.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 442.

“comparaison”.<sup>24</sup> Vincent Yu-chung Shih, the translator of *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* [54] *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, translates them as “metaphor” and “allegory”.<sup>25</sup> But the Taiwan author T’an Tzu-hao, whom Mme Loi cites, has made the whole problem far too simple in his book *Lun hsien-tai shih* [55] *On Modern Poetry*: “Le symbole n’est absolument pas une importation ni le monopole du symbolisme français. Le *bi* chinois en est l’équivalent. Plusieurs milles d’années avant le symbolisme français la Chine avait déjà produit quantité d’œuvres symboliques... Le *xiangzheng* (“symbole”) n’est qu’un autre nom du *bi*, ou le symbole est, sans aucun doute, la particularité nationale de la Chine. Sous un autre nom, c’est tout.”<sup>26</sup>

T’an inserted the sign of equality between pi and “symbol” and the arduous problem of interpretation of both important aesthetic categories ceased to exist.

I. S. Lisevich of Moscow wrote an article *Iz istorii literaturnoi mysli v drevnem Kitae* (*From the History of Literary Mind in Ancient China*) in which he takes note of these two categories, as also fu [56] from the time of Mao Ch’ang [57] (2nd cent. B. C.) until the philosopher Chu Hsi [58] (1130—1200 A. D.). Mao Ch’ang ascribes an “allegoric character” to the category hsing.<sup>27</sup> Mao Ch’ang, however, does not elucidate the term pi in any detail. According to Liu Hsieh [59] (ca. 465—522 A. D.), both the categories have an allegorical character. In the case of pi the meaning is clear, in that of hsing, the significance is veiled.<sup>28</sup> The commentator K’ung Ying-ta [60] (574—648 A. D.), on the other hand, saw in hsing an analogy or parallelism,<sup>29</sup> just as did Chu Hsi, though the latter understood it also allegorically.<sup>30</sup> The term pi—according to Chu Hsi—represents a pure allegory.<sup>31</sup>

But is allegory identical with symbol? Many authors speak either of the one or of the other only, but have in mind one and the same thing. A symbol as an indispensable part of modern symbolism is something else: a symbol is not an allegory “since it (i.e. symbol, M. G.) leaves a gap to be filled in by the imagination of him who hears it.”<sup>32</sup> And according to Stéphane Mallarmé: “... il y a symbole, il y a création...”, or: “C’est le parfait usage de ce mystère qui constitue le symbole: évoquer petit a petit un objet pour montrer un état d’âme, ou inversement, choisir un objet et en dégager un état d’âme, par une série de déchiffrements...”<sup>33</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 443 and Liu Hsieh, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, transl. by Vincent Yu-chung Shih, New York 1959, p. 195.

<sup>26</sup> Loi, p. 442.

<sup>27</sup> *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa), 4, 1962, p. 158.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 161—162.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>31</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>32</sup> Balakian, Anna, *The Symbolist Movement*. New York 1967, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Gibson, Robert, ed., *Modern French Poets on Poetry*. Cambridge 1961, p. 144.

Allegory is always more straightforward, a symbol is more complex as regards both its meaning and impact. Of course, we have in mind here symbols produced by modern symbolism. Modern symbols embody, or at least should embody, a far greater suggestiveness. Symbols ought to bring closer the mood (*état d'âme*) of poet and poem. According to N. Frye: "Poetic images do not state or point to anything, but, by pointing to each other, they suggest or evoke the mood which informs the poem. That is, they express or articulate the mood. The emotion is not chaotic or inarticulate: it would merely have remained so if it had not turned into a poem, and when it does so, it is the poem, not something else behind it. Nevertheless the words suggest and evoke are appropriate, because in *symbolisme* the word does not echo the things, but other words, and hence, the immediate impact *symbolisme* makes on the reader is that of incantation, a harmony of sounds and the sense of growing richness of meaning unlimited by denotation."<sup>34</sup>

*Roseaux sur le mur* is an allegory, and so is *pousses de bambou* (if we are to use the words that led Mme Loi to give that title to her book), but "*il pleure dans mon cœur*" (Verlaine) is a symbol of modern symbolism, whether by its suggestiveness, evocation of mood and music—its harmony of sounds. Someone might object that verses similar to Verlaine's had already been written in ancient China. For example, Mme Loi points to the poet Ch'in Kuan [61] (1049—1101) who wrote the verse: "A l'infini la pluie s'effile/aussi subtile que l'ennui." She compares these words (without commentary) with verses by Verlaine: "Pour un cœur qui s'ennuie/o le chant de la pluie!"<sup>35</sup> May we observe that similar verses had been written in China before Ch'in Kuan and are not rare in Chinese poetry? Li Ching [63] (916—961) in his poem written to the same melody as Ch'in Kuan's (i.e. Huan hsi sha [64]), has this verse: "Pink blossoms of clove-tree (*Jambosa caryophyllus*) join of their own the sadness of rain."<sup>36</sup> His son, the celebrated poet Li Yü [65] (937—968) likewise made use of a similar imagery. In one of his verses he writes of "morning rain" and of "new sorrow".<sup>37</sup> Yet there is a difference between European symbolism and ancient Chinese lyrics. In the best symbols the European symbolism, e.g. in Valéry's *La Jeune Parque*, Mallarmé's *Hérodiade* or A. Blok's *Beautiful Lady*, achieves a greater degree of suggestiveness, there is greater "richness of meaning". We cannot but agree with a critic who wrote: "Truly, symbolists did not comprehend a symbol as a mere allegory, but as a concealment, a reinforcement of the object, an interpretational inexhaustibility."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Frye, Northrop, *Anatomy of Criticism*. New York 1968, p. 81.

<sup>35</sup> Loi, p. 380. Ch'in Kuan's personal data are totally incorrect. They are more approximate on p. 238.

<sup>36</sup> *Li Ching Li Yü tz'u* [62] *The Songs of Li Ching and Li Yü*. Peking 1958, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Blok, Alexander, *Verše o prekrásnej dáme* (Lines About the Beautiful Lady). Bratislava 1972, p. 125.

Probably, the most important was the difference between the *Weltanschauung* of the modern symbolists and ancient Chinese poets. The belief in *correspondances* was a part of symbolists' literary credo and their world view. We do not find such a faith among the Chinese men of letters.

The question as to what interested Chinese symbolists in their French or other teachers is very difficult to answer at the present state of research. A probably influence seems that of Rodenbach and Samain on Mu Mu-t'ien, of Moréas on Feng Nai-ch'ao. Wang Tu-ch'ing imitated some of Laforgue's procedures, Li Chin-fa sometimes chose Verlaine's verses as mottoes for his poems. But this does not imply that Verlaine's influence in these poems is evident. Let us consider, for instance, Li's poem *Yüan-ti-ti ko* [66] *A Song from Far Away*.<sup>39</sup> This poem has as its motto the first four verses of Verlaine's VIIth poem from *Ariettes Oubliées*: "O triste, triste était mon âme/A cause, à cause d'une femme./Je ne me suis pas consolé/Bien que mon cœur s'en soit allé." Yet, Li Chin-fa's product contains nothing from the formal perfection of Verlaine's poem. The sophisticated turns that appeal to the lover of poetry, are absent. Li's poem, too, describes mood. But that is a different one, a different sadness, a dejection over the loss of a girl, perhaps a dancer, a singer, as may be gathered from the text. The poem consists of the description of a double situation. Formerly it used to be an "old and weak hope" that ended in an "echo that was never repeated". Now there remains only "the vestige of a sad sigh that may be heard in the heart". The new experience is "more real than the last snow and new flowers".

The mood of the poem is more reminiscent of that *T'i Tu-ch'eng nan-chuang* [67] *Southern Suburb of Ch'ang-an* by Ts'ui Hu [68], and those poems that later came to imitate it: "This day yesteryear at this gate, /The face was pink like the peach blossom./ Who knows what has happened this year to the face? /Only the peach blossom smiles in welcome to the spring wind."<sup>40</sup>

The second and third section of the book under review will prove helpful to those who may have read *The Art of Chinese Poetry* by James J. Y. Liu. Its topics is broader than that in Liu's book and covers, of course, also modern poetry which is beyond the scope of Professor Liu's work.

Mme Loi's book has its strong points as has been shown above, and will certainly be an aid in the study of modern Chinese poetry, facilitating research in this domain, practically not surveyed until the early seventies.

There are drawbacks or inconsistencies, however, not evident at first sight, that might prove a stumbling block to the unwary. Inaccuracy in citations seems not be purely incidental. In places its form is such that the authoress does not reproduce the

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<sup>39</sup> Li Chin-fa, *Sehnsucht*, pp. 84-86.

<sup>40</sup> *T'ang shih i pai shou* [69] *One Hundred T'ang Poems*. Peking 1959, p. 91.

text itself, but only some sort of a précis of the passage quoted, yet puts this "content" between quotation marks. Thus, for instance, she quotes Lu Hsün according to Liu Shou-sung [70]: "Je suis reconnaissant à la Création de m'avoir obligé à étudier les théoriciens du réalisme socialiste."<sup>41</sup> Lu Hsün actually wrote: "One debt of gratitude I must pay to the Creation Society: they forced me to read some scientific literary criticism, which cleared up many questions which had remained unsolved in my mind in spite of all earlier literary critics had said."<sup>42</sup>

The same may be said also of a quotation from Wang Tu-ch'ing. In the book under review this quotation runs as follows: "Jusqu'alors j'ai écrit des poèmes avec Hugo et Byron en tête. Maintenant mon art poétique s'applique à développer la couleur et la musique de mon langage."<sup>43</sup> In reality, Wang Tu-ch'ing wrote the following sentences: "Mo-jo (i.e. Kuo Mo-jo, M. G.) says that I have taken a fancy to the symbolist method of expression: hence the change. As in the past I used to follow completely Byron or Hugo in my poetic creation, this assertion is correct. Now I should like to talk with you (i.e. Mu Mu-t'ien, to whom the letter is addressed, M. G.) about poetic art. That means, I should like to discuss with you my recent experiences concerning the use of colour and music in our own language."<sup>44</sup>

When Mme Loi wrote about Li Ta-chao [74] (1888—1927) as poet, she had only one of his poems at her disposal. According to Chang P'ing [75], a Reader at the Faculty of History at Peking University, Li Ta-chao was the author of at least nineteen poems which were re-published in Shih-k'an [76] Poetry, 6, 1958, pp. 8—11.

In addition, there are also some minor errors in the book. Wen-hsüeh hsün-k'an [77] is not a Revue littéraire trimensuelle, but a Literary Decade; it appeared every ten days and not every three months. Kuo Mo-jo became a Marxist in 1924 and not 1925.<sup>45</sup> Le Déluge (Hung-shui) [79] was a title of a journal and not of a literary association. Shih-k'an was not the first review specifically devoted to poetry. Members of Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-hui [80] Literary Association, had already earlier published their journal Shih [81] Poetry. Lu Hsün's translations of the works by Plekhanov and Lunacharsky were commented on with meticulous precision by the Soviet scholar M. E. Shneider.<sup>46</sup> Lu Hsün did not translate Lenin.

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<sup>41</sup> Loi, p. 120. In the book by Liu Shou-sung entitled *Chung-kuo hsün wen-hsüeh shih ch'u-kao* [71] *The First Draft of the History of Modern Chinese Literature*. Peking 1957, p. 212. The same reference is cited as in note 42.

<sup>42</sup> Lu Hsün, *San hsien-ti hsi-yen* [72] *Preface to "Three Leisures"*, in *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi* [73] *Complete Works of Lu Hsün*. Vol. 4, Peking 1957, p. 6. The translation is taken from the *Selected Works of Lu Hsün*. Vol. 3. Peking 1959, p. 147.

<sup>43</sup> Loi, p. 161.

<sup>44</sup> Wang Tu-ch'ing, *On Poetry*, in *The Selected Works of Wang Tu-ch'ing*, p. 227.

<sup>45</sup> Loi, p. 118. Cf. Kuo Mo-jo, *Ku-hung* [159] *The Lonely Swan*, CTYK, 1, 2, April 1926, pp. 127—139.

<sup>46</sup> Shneider, M. E., *Perevodny trudov po marksistskoi estetike v Kitae v 20-30-e gody* (Transla-

At the end of the first section of this review article let us once more take note of the title of the book under review and the inference that ensues from it.

The title *Roseaux sur le mur* has its origin in Mao Tse-tung. In his article *Kai-tiao wo-men-ti hsiieh-hsi* [82] *Reform Our Study*, from the year 1941, Mao Tse-tung made use of the following couplet which Professor Loi renders in French as follows: "Roseaux sur le mur, tête lourde, pieds faibles, racines minces./Pousses de bambou sur les monts, bec acéré, peau épaisse, ventre creux."<sup>47</sup>

When writing this characteristic, Mao Tse-tung had no intention to show in it a portrait of the so-called "occidentalists" whose poetic works, devices, forms, etc. Michelle Loi analyses in her book. Mao Tse-tung was then concerned with a far greater number of people, with those who were at the core of "China's economics, politics, army and culture" and in particular with the cadres of the Communist Party of China. He was under the impression that Chinese intellectuals of his time were far too extrovertly oriented, that it does not suffice to know Greece, but China too should be known, it is not enough to know the revolutionary history of other countries, but that history of their own country should be studied.<sup>48</sup> The words *Roseaux sur le mur* should be looked upon as carrying an evaluating inference. Were those to whom the authoress devotes her attention truly such poets to whom Mao Tse-tung's characteristic could be applied? Or could these words be applied at least to the majority of them? And who were they? Was Lu Hsiün, as the most prominent among them, even though not as poet, one of them?

At one place which has not been inserted into *Selected Works of Lu Hsiün* this famous Chinese writer remarked: "When reading some Chinese book, I feel sinking more and more into some peaceful calm and getting detached from reality. When, however, I read a foreign book, except for Indian books, I feel hurt against real life and am forced to some activity." From this observation Lu Hsiün explicitly deduces: "Therefore, I think less Chinese books (perhaps none at all) should be read and far more foreign books."<sup>49</sup> As far as we know, none of the prominent Chinese scholars has given such unequivocal advice to the young of that time.

Lu Hsiün wrote these pronouncements in 1925 in an inquiry of the Peking newspaper *Ching-pao* [83] at the request of his pupil Sun Fu-yüan [84]. The reply was published in *Ching-pao fu-k'an* [85] Supplement to *Ching-pao* together with those by numerous prominent personalities of the times. The question of Sun Fu-yüan was: "Which ten books should be read by the young?"

Some of the replies might be taken up here. In the first place it is that by Hu Shih,

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tions of Works in Marxist Aesthetics in China of the Twenties and Thirties). Narody Azii i Afriki, 5, 1961, pp. 190—191.

<sup>47</sup> Loi, p. 544.

<sup>48</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3. Peking 1965, p. 19.

<sup>49</sup> *Complete Works of Lu Hsiün*. Vol. 3. Shanghai 1956, p. 9.

the first modern Chinese poet, to whom Professor Loi devotes considerable space indeed. Were we to judge by this inquiry, then Hu Shih proved to be far less "occidental" than Lu Hsün. According to Hu Shih's recommendation, young Chinese ought to read the following Chinese books (or authors): *Lao-tzu* [86], i.e. the famous *Tao-te-ching* [87] *The Way and its Power*, *Mo-tzu* [88], *Lun-yü* [89] *The Analects* by Confucius (551—479 B. C.), *Lun-heng* [90] *Critical Essays* by Wang Ch'ung [91] (27—ca 97 A. D.) and *Ts'ui Tung-pi i-shu* [92] *Posthumous Edition of Ts'ui Tung-pi's Writings* by Ts'ui Shu [93] (1740—1816). Five books are by Western or foreign authors. Here he listed Plato's *Apology*, *Phaedrus* and *Crito*, further, *The New Testament*, *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill, *On Compromise* by John Morley, and the work by his American teacher Professor John Dewey entitled *How We Think*.<sup>50</sup>

Chou Tso-jen [96] (1885—1966), Lu Hsün's younger brother, was likewise more "occidentally-minded" than Hu Shih if we are to judge by his participation in this inquiry. Chou Tso-jen proposes only three Chinese books: *Shih-ching* [97] *Book of Songs*, *Shih-chi* [98] *Records of the Historian* by Ssu-ma Ch'ien [99] (145—ca 86 B. C.) and *Hsi-yu-chi* [100] *Pilgrimage to the West* by Wu Ch'eng-en [101] (ca 1500—1582). In contrast to Hu Shih, he recommends reading of the *Old Testament* (literary passages of the Bible). All the remaining books belong to Western authors, the first being Yen Fu's [102] (1853—1921) translation of Edward Jenks' *A History of Politics*. Also all the other books he recommends to read by young Chinese had already been translated into Chinese: *Love's Coming of Age* by Edward Carpenter, *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, *Gulliver's Travels* by Swift and *Gardens of Epicurus* by Anatole France.<sup>51</sup>

A position statistically similar to that occupied by Hu Shih was also taken up by Lin Yü-t'ang [103] (born in 1895) who, however, was not a poet and consequently, with one single exception, Professor Loi does not make any reference to him. Lin Yü-t'ang does not recommend ten, but twenty books for reading, ten being Chinese and ten foreign. From the literary aspect, his advice presents the most interest. If we take up his suggestion in the order in which his titles follow, we find him to start with E. A. Poe and end with Chuang-tzu [104] (3rd cent. B. C.). Among the works recommends we find Schopenhauer's *Parerga und Paralipomena*, *Faust* by Goethe, Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, and *Outlines of Psychoanalysis* by S. Freud. Among the Chinese books are, for instance, *Hung-lou-meng* [105] *Dream of the Red Chamber* from the area of fiction, *Shih-ching* and *Wen-hsüan* [106] *Literary Anthology* from the area of poetry, the work *Lao-tzu*, *Chuang-tzu* and *Ssu-shu* [107] *Four Books*, from the domain of philosophy.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Chün Sheng [94], ed., *Hsien-tai lun-wen hsüan* [95] *A Collection of Contemporary Essays*, Shanghai 1936, pp. 168—169.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170—171.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173—175.

There were also other respondents to the inquiry. For example, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao [108] (1873—1929) gave reply to inquisitive query of Sun Fu-yüan—but his answer proved diametrically opposite to that of Lu Hsün. Among the ten books, not a single one was by a Western or foreign author.<sup>53</sup> A reply similar to that by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao came from Ma Yu-yü [109] who likewise recommended only Chinese books to be read, but only from the last three centuries, beginning with Ku Yen-wu [110] (1613 to 1682) and ending with Chang P'ing-lin [111] (1867—1936). In a supplementary note, however, he added that young readers should also devote their attention to works by modern Chinese authors. He named explicitly Wu Chih-hui [112] (1864 to 1953), Hu Shih, Ch'en Tu-hsiu [113] (1879—1942), Lu Hsün and Chou Tso-jen.<sup>54</sup>

Not all the replies to this inquiry have been available to us, and thus we are not in a position, however hard we would try, to show up the measure of “occidentalization” or of appurtenance to traditional Chinese culture of the Chinese reading community. And besides, this undertaking—if we have in mind the gains of literary sociology—would anyhow fail to throw light on what is here essential. A correct reply would require far more data than we possess at the present stage of study of the problems involved in modern Chinese literature and culture.

Had the question of this inquiry been postponed by a few years, the submitted lists of recommended works would probably show a substantially different pattern. After the year 1928, Chinese intellectuals began to show far greater interest in books of social, sociological and political character, and books on philosophy and economics too, came in for their share of attention. From among the seventy or eighty books figuring in the inquiry of the Ching-pao accessible to us, we find only two that could be characterized as sociologic: *Principes de l'Economie Politique* by Charles Gide,<sup>55</sup> and the other one is that by E. Jenks, already referred to. Young people, and communist intelligentsia read other books.

The year 1929 is generally recognized as one of a breakthrough. Since that time a whole mass of books dealing with sociological or economic topics have been translated into Chinese.

Five years later Chang I-p'ing [114] wrote an article on a similar theme and in it he criticized the views of his predecessors on Sun Fu-yüan's question. Many things had changed between February 1925 and October 1930 when Chang I-p'ing wrote his article.

In this article he wrote: “I am not a communist, nor do I believe blindly in dialectical and historical materialism, but I feel convinced that economics is an important component of social culture and the *Capital* is a great economic treatise.”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 169—170.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 171—172.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

Among the ten works which he recommended to Chinese youth he included also Marx' *Capital*. He also listed in it Kropotkin's book *Mutual Assistance* as a counter-balance to both Marx' work and *Origin of Species* by Darwin.

Much was written in China in thirties on problems of what to read and how to read. The review to devote most attention to this question was Tu-shu yüeh-k'an [115] *The Readers Monthly* which, unfortunately, is for the most part inaccessible in Europe. Nevertheless, materials are not lacking completely and we may judge on the nature of the reading from what was published in the fields which mainly the young were interested in.

Before the year 1938 when Mao Tse-tung held his first "anti-occidental" speech, the translation in China were in a large measure from Marxist literature. Our data are based on a bibliographic processing of the German impact on Chinese culture. If we take as our aid the *Preliminary Research-guide. German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*, we find among translations of Marxist philosophical works (and those written against them) that from 187 titles, beginning somewhere at the time of May Fourth Movement (1919) and ending before the Cultural Revolution (1966), 44 had been translated before the year 1938. The corresponding figures as regards original Chinese philosophical works are 13 out of a total of 52 for the same period of time. But the situation is more favourable as regards translations of economic literature. Here, of a total number of 59 titles, 41 date from the period before 1938! Never before, nor after did Chinese readers show such interest in economic theories (in particular Marxist) and in their history.

Perhaps it was the "predominance" of theory with which Mao Tse-tung found fault. In his own words he resented yang pa-ku [116] foreign stereotypes. But what did Mao Tse-tung understand under "foreign stereotypes" in literature and art? Mao Tse-tung's words on "foreign stereotypes" and "lovely Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love" stimulated, among others, also discussions on national forms (min-tsu hsing-shih) [117]. Mme Loi just takes no note of these discussions at all. She only recalls the views of Chu Tzu-ch'ing published in 1937, hence prior to Mao Tse-tung's speech, and that of Kuo Mo-jo from the year 1963 when that which she calls *occidentalisme* was a thing of the past. She also points to an article by Yeh Sheng-t'ao [118] (born 1893) from the year 1957 who speaks about the foreign influence on such authors as Lu Hsün, Kuo Mo-jo and Mao Tun [119] (born 1896).<sup>57</sup> Had she studied, however, the materials of the real discussion from the years 1939—1940, eventually those from a later period, she would probably have viewed the problems analysed in the last chapter of the book in somewhat different light. Hence, the chapter *Recherche de formes nationales modernes à partir des formes traditionnelles et populaires* is misleading, for the great majority of relevant materials is lacking.

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<sup>57</sup> Loi, pp. 535—536.

The present writer is of the opinion that to identify oneself with the idea of *roseaux sur le mur*, as done by Mme Loi, is wrong. Those among Chinese writers who have created the best works in Chinese literature were influenced by foreign literature: Lu Hsün, Ai Ch'ing [120] (born 1910), Kuo Mo-jo, Hsü Chih-mo [121] (1896 to 1931), Wen I-to [122] (1899—1946), Feng Chih, Ping Hsin [123] (born 1902) and others. Nor could it be otherwise, for where could Chinese literature of modern times have found models for creating revolutionary literature if not in European realistic literatures, in Russian and Soviet literature, in literatures of “oppressed nations”?<sup>58</sup>

A study of world literature could not make of Chinese poets and writers *roseaux sur le mur* or *pousses de bambou sur les monts*. It could only help them. The existence of a “world literature” in the twentieth century has become a reality. Lu Hsün, whom Mao Tse-tung always marked out among Chinese writers, was considerably influenced by foreign literature. And yet, precisely Mao Tse-tung wrote of him that he was “the greatest and the most courageous standard-bearer” of modern Chinese cultural army.<sup>59</sup>

Which characteristic is right then? This one or that implied by *roseaux sur le mur*?

Mme Loi could well have chosen a more appropriate title for her book.

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The book by Leonid E. Cherkassky entitled *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya. 20—30-e gody* (*New Chinese Poetry of the 1920's and 1930's*)<sup>60</sup> appeared on the book market about a year after that by Mme Loi, reviewed above. It is likewise the result of many years of study and it should be said right at the start that it is a unique comprehensive book on the history of modern Chinese poetry. The book by Professor Loi, while embodying numerous technical and thematic elements that are frequently associated with old Chinese poetry, is rather too much connected with what is referred to in it as *occidentalisme*.

When we pool the knowledge provided by Cherkassky's book, and that mediated by Mme Loi, further by the book *Die Literatur des befreiten Chinas und ihre Volkstraditionen*<sup>61</sup> and by Kai-yu Hsu's *Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry*,<sup>62</sup> we suddenly

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<sup>58</sup> Cf. Galla, Endre, *On Reception of the Literatures of the So-Called “Oppressed Nations” in Modern Chinese Literature (1918—1937)*. Asian and African Studies, VI, 1970 (Bratislava), pp. 177—186.

<sup>59</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 3. Peking 1965, p. 372.

<sup>60</sup> Publishing House Nauka, Moscow 1972, 496 pp. Further quoted as Cherkassky.

<sup>61</sup> Artia, Prag 1955.

<sup>62</sup> New York 1963.

become aware that we are as conversant with modern Chinese poetry—about which we knew so little only a few years ago—as with modern Chinese fiction.

The book under review is easily the best work of its kind in sinologist literature. We can adduce several reasons in support of our claim:

First, Cherkassky's book includes several chapters that represent the peak in research in the area of modern Chinese poetry. A case in point is, e.g. the eight chapter entitled *Zhanr korotkogo epicheskogo stikhotvoreniya — siaoshi* (*The Genre of Short Lyrical Poems — hsiao-shih*) in the first part of the book. The author analyses in it the genre of hsiao-shih, its affinity with the old Chinese tradition, gives characteristics of this genre and its morphological analysis. He makes a successful attempt also at a comparative solution of the problem of hsiao-shih in relation with the Japanese haiku and tanka, and with Tagore's short poems. Another similar chapter in this part is the fourth one entitled *Realisty (Realists)* in which the author analyses the production of the poets of the Literary Association, i.e. Liu Pan-nung [124] (1891 to 1934), Liu Ta-pai [125] (1880—1932), Hsü Yü-no [126] and Wang Ching-chih [127] (born in 1903). This is the first more comprehensive treatment of the work of these poets in one of the world languages. A certain exception is Hsieh Ping-hsin whose poetic creation has been analysed outside of China, for instance, in *Postscript* to the Czech translation of Hsieh Ping-hsin's *Fan-hsing* [128] *Stars* and *Ch'un-shui* [129] *Spring Waters*, by J. Häringová.<sup>63</sup>

As to the second part of the book, the present reviewer considers the last two chapters to constitute the greatest contribution: *Massovoe realisticheskoe iskusstvo i sovremennost* (*Realistic Art For Masses and Modern Times*) and *Zhanr epicheskoi poemy* (*The Genre of Epic Poem*). In the former Mr. Cherkassky analyses in detail the Chinese Poetry Association and poets who subsequently wrote the so-called Poetry of National Defence. He devotes most attention to P'u Feng who was the most prolific among them, but we also meet here with Mu Mu-t'ien, this time class and nationally oriented, further with Yang Sao [130], Liu Ch'ien and his collection *Sheng-ming-ti wei-hen* [131] *Scars of Life*, with Wen Liu [132] (1912—1937) and others. In the last chapter of the book under review Mr. Cherkassky writes mainly on young T'ien Chien [123] (born in 1916) and Tsang K'o-chia and their long epic poems. It is possible, however, that many readers will give preference to two other chapters of this part: *Simvolisty (Symbolists)* and *Gruppa Novolunie (Crescent Moon Society)*. In the former, a passage stands conspicuously out, that where the author analyses the work of "Poet of Rainy Street". This is a cover name for Tai Wang-shu. Cherkassky has devoted relatively much space to an analysis of his modest work

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<sup>63</sup> The article by Stolzová, M., *On the Origin of Modern Chinese Prosody (An Analysis of the Prosodic Components in the Works of Ping Hsin)*. *Archiv orientální*, 32, 1964, pp. 619—643 is mentioned by Cherkassky in his bibliography, p. 481.

(a total of 16 pages of the book under review), allotting more space to only a few other poets, for example, Hsü Chih-mo or Wen I-to. An outstanding part in the other chapter is that dealing with the last period of Hsü Chih-mo's creative activity which presents, in conjunction with the preceding passages, an outstanding picture of Hsü's life and work. Perhaps Mr. Cherkassky could have devoted more space to the poet Chu Hsiang [134] (1904—1933).

Second, Mr. Cherkassky is conscious of the fact that modern Chinese literature is a part of world literature and endeavours to point to its impact in the field of modern Chinese poetry. For example, he reserves a whole chapter of his book to the question of modern Chinese poetry and its relationship to Western literature. Clearly, this is a chapter intended to be—and in fact was—published independently.<sup>64</sup> Somehow it does not tune in with the context of the book whose design is not to point solely to the impact of Western, but also Eastern literatures (Japanese and Indian) and the young Soviet literature. The other aspects of the influence of foreign literatures on modern Chinese poetry are underlined by Cherkassky, as occasion arises, in the remaining chapters of the book.

Third, the bibliography of this book is practically exhaustive in range and the author had access to over 400 books and studies (individual and collective collections, the most diverse literary works in Chinese, Russian and other European languages). Though Mme Loi's list of references is likewise fairly comprehensive (includes about 275 books and articles and not always exactly cited works from the most diverse journals), familiarity with original poetic material appears incomparably greater with Cherkassky. A few examples as illustration: writing on Wang Tu-ch'ing's poetry, Professor Loi had access only to four poems from the *Great Anthology*, while Mr. Cherkassky had seven collections of his original or selected poems. He had likewise at his disposal two collections of poetry by Mu Mu-t'ien, while the authoress of *Roseaux sur le mur* knew of only some of his poems. Chu Hsiang, undoubtedly one of the *occidentalistes* according to Mme Loi's terminology, was known to her only from the *Great Anthology* and some occasional poems in *The Short Story Magazine*, *Les Contemporains*, Wang Li's and Kai-yu Hsu's works. Cherkassky had the possibility of investigating all of Chu Hsiang's four collections. The French scholar knew Shao Hsün-mei [135] (born in 1903) only from Kai-yu Hsu, while Cherkassky had the possibility to analyse his whole—though only one—collection of poems. And we could go on in this confrontation of data. Mme Loi possessed enough material only on the poetic works of Hu Shih, Kuo Mo-jo, Lu Hsün and Liu Ta-pai. But in the latter case she failed to utilize the material from Royaumont, evidently because she did not count Liu among *occidentalistes*.

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<sup>64</sup> Afanasev, A. G., et al., *Dvizhenie "4 maya" 1919 goda v Kitae (The May Fourth Movement 1919 in China)*. Moscow 1971, pp. 252—261.

The book under review begins with an important *Vvedenie (Introduction)* in which the author acquaints the readers with the historiography and the problem of periodization of the new Chinese poetry. Following a short prehistory of modern Chinese literature which began with the so-called *hsin wen-t'i* [136] New Literary Style initiated by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and *shih-chieh ko-ming* [137] Revolution in Poetry led by Huang Tsung-hsien [138] (1848—1905), Cherkassky takes up the question of periodization of modern Chinese poetry.

Practically all the authors dealing with the new Chinese poetry—and literature too, for that matter—citizens of People's Republic of China, in so far as they wrote after 1949, based their periodization on the so-called “four periods of the united front of cultural revolution”, about which Mao Tse-tung has written in his work *On New Democracy*. They are the following: the first, 1919—1921, hence from the May Fourth Movement to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party; the second, 1921—1927, up to the Northern Expedition; the third, 1927—1937, up to the beginning of the Anti-Japanese War; the fourth, 1937—1940— eventually the subsequent years. For instance, Ts'ai I [139], author of *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh chiang-hua* [140] *Lectures in the New Chinese Literature*, Liu Shou-sung in his book mentioned above, both adhere consistently to Mao Tse-tung's periodization. Wang Yao [141] in his book *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh shih-kao* [142] *An Outline of Modern Chinese Literature* adopts a somewhat altered scheme; the great beginning, 1919—1927; ten years of the Left League, 1928—1937; poetry of the Anti-Japanese War, 1937—1942, but his approach is too subservient to the political and social tendencies of those times. Cherkassky criticizes these approaches in the following words: “Chinese scholars were constantly apt to forget that the literary process does not go simultaneously with military, political and economic processes, even though it is related with them and constantly perceives and reflects them. Literature, writes A. I. Beletsky, for instance, ‘follows reality, but diverges from it at one time, contradicts it at another, or overtakes it...’”<sup>65</sup>

Mr. Cherkassky does not agree even with his favourite poet P'u Feng who in his extensive article *A Bird's Eye-View of the Chinese Poetry from the May Fourth Movement to the Present Day*, divided the history of modern Chinese poetry up to the year 1934 into four periods: the first, from the beginning until the first half of 1925 and called it the period of “trials” or “shaping”; the second, from mid—1925 to 1927 which he termed the period of a “call to arms”; the third, from 1928 to 1931 was a period of “decline”, and the last, i.e. from 1932 to 1934 a period of “Renaissance”. The years 1932—1934 were the most successful years of the Chinese Poetry Association and P'u Feng as one of the most prominent members was eager to associate

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<sup>65</sup> Cherkassky, p. 9. The quotation is from Beletsky, A. I., *Izbrannye trudy po teorii literatury* (Selected Works on the Theory of Literature). Moscow 1964, p. 427.

with his organization and his name the best that was created by modern Chinese poetry. Such an attitude was, of course, highly subjective, one-sided and unjustified. For instance, many significant poetic works were written during the period of the so-called "decline" by such poets as Hsü Chih-mo or Tai Wang-shu, and many symbolist and decadent poems were written during "call to arms" by Mu Mu-t'ien or Feng Nai-ch'ao.

In the *Introduction* Mr. Cherkassky refers to further literary historians also, for instance, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un [143] (born in 1905) who connected the question of periodization of Chinese poetry with various important journals of the time, e.g. Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien [144] Chinese Youth (1923—1927) or Creation Monthly or T'ai-yang yüeh-k'an [145] Sun Monthly (1928). Chao Ching-shen [146] (born in 1902) based his periodization on the development of poetic forms, for instance, short poems, free verse, and so on. Cherkassky mentions also further attempts at periodization.

But the author of the book under review himself attempts his own periodization. "In this book," writes Cherkassky, "we attempt a periodization of modern Chinese literature by taking into account the specific features of literature as one of the forms of social consciousness which develops relatively independently... We look on modern Chinese poetry as that of the May Fourth Movement, then that of the twenties and thirties, and the period of the Anti-Japanese War, without stipulating any definite chronological frameworks for the first and second period. The poetry of the May Fourth Movement, engendered by literary revolution and the patriotic May Fourth Movement developed also in the revolutionary years of 1925—1927. The poetry of the twenties and thirties, when revolutionary and proletarian tendencies predominated, but also symbolism and aestheticism, began in the mid-twenties. In other words, an exact boundary line between the end of the first and the beginning of the second period is difficult to draw. The third period, however, which is beyond the scope of our research, is quite clear and is characterized by poetry of the Anti-Japanese War (1937—1945)."<sup>66</sup>

One may very well agree to this characterization.

Mr. Cherkassky more than past research-workers takes note of the material (particularly Chinese) on the subject of his study. He read articles and essays by Chu Tzu-ch'ing, Pa Jen [147], Mao Tun, Jen Chün [148], Chao Ching-shen and many others whose names and works are quoted in the references. It would be difficult to find someone among the students of modern Chinese literature who would have examined more attentively and on such a wide scale, the works of his Chinese predecessors. As to their share in the book under review, the author made the following note: "To evaluate all these materials in this introduction would be impossible.

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<sup>66</sup> Cherkassky, p. 12.

Without them, however, our work could hardly have been written.<sup>67</sup> This last sentence may be an expression of the author's modesty, but on the other hand, it is true that he has devoted at times too much attention and space to materials of earlier Chinese critics. For example, almost the entire passage dealing with Kuo Mo-jo's *Nü-shen* [149] *Goddesses* consists of mere quotations or views of Chinese men of letters.<sup>68</sup> This is, of course, an extreme example.

Mr. Cherkassky certainly impresses as being today the best informed scholar in the field of modern Chinese poetry of twenties and thirties. The bibliography and works he has consulted and studied could hardly be supplemented, and if, then such supplements can have no decisive impact on the picture of the history of modern Chinese poetry. In the bibliographic references we miss that to Chu Hsiang's book of literary and critical articles entitled *Chung-shu-chi* [150], Shanghai 1934, where alongside the works by Wen I-to and Hsü Chih-mo, the author analyses also those by Kuo Mo-jo (two articles), Hu Shih, K'ang Pai-ch'ing [151] and Liu Meng-wei [152]. The same applies also to Shen Ts'ung-wen's [153] *Mo-mo-chi* [154] *Salivas*, Shanghai 1934, where Kuo Mo-jo, Liu Pan-nung and Chu Hsiang are also dealt with. The last of these essays would have suitably supplemented Chao Ching-shen's article on Chu Hsiang of which Mr. Cherkassky made abundant use. An interesting information on Tai Wang-shu could be found in fourteen letters of Shih Chih-ts'un to Tai Wang-shu published in K'ung Ling-ching [155], ed., *Hsien-tai tso-chia shu-tien* [156] *The Letters of Contemporary Chinese Writers*, Shanghai 1936. These, it appears, remained unknown also to Mme Loi.

Literary criticism of the fifties (insofar as it was related to the content of this book) received only perfunctory attention from the author. If nothing else, then at least the bibliographic section of this book would have profited by articles which Chinese critics devoted, after 1949, for example, to Chu Tzu-ch'ing, Kuo Mo-jo, Chiang Kuang-tz'u [157] and others.<sup>69</sup>

From what has been said so far, it ensues that the book under review consists of two parts. The chronological and topical division between them—as shown above—is an undetermined one. It may be set, however, in a certain wider temporal space to the period 1925—1927, i.e. between the Chinese free verse and short poems on the one hand and the so-called Europeanized or regular verse on the other.

The first part of the book called *Poeziya "4 maya"* (*Poetry of the May Fourth*

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 138—146.

<sup>69</sup> Bibliographical material from the fifties is included in *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-chia tso-p'in p'ing-lun tzu-liao so-yin* [158] *An Index to the Critical Articles on the Works of Modern Chinese Writers*. The Normal School of Fukien Province. 2 Vols, 1961—1962. See Daiian reprint, Tokyo 1967. It seems that this book escaped the attention of Mr. Cherkassky.

*Movement*) comprises eight chapters, the second entitled *Realisty i dekadenty* (*Realists and Decadents*) six chapters.

Reference has already been made to the eighth chapter of the first part. From the remaining chapters of this section the fourth and fifth chapter represent an important contribution to a knowledge of modern Chinese poetry. The fourth chapter entitled *Gumanisticheskaya ideya poezii "4 maya"* (*Humanistic Idea of the Poetry of the May Fourth Movement*) seems at first sight to have been written for some other purpose rather than for this book.<sup>70</sup> It fulfills, however, its mission under present conditions: it shows up the humanistic face of the period of the May Fourth Movement which numerous Chinese critics—particularly in the recent past—have condemned. In the fifth chapter the author analyses the poetic production of the members of the Literary Association who have been known in past primarily as fiction writers. He devotes attention to the poems by Liu Ta-pai, Hsü Yü-no and Wang Ching-chih, and in the sixth chapter deals with Kuo Mo-jo, Wen I-to, Hsü Chih-mo, Wang Tu-ch'ing and Chu Tzu-ch'ing. The first three are relatively known. Chu Tzu-ch'ing's works processes Mr. Cherkassky better and with a rather greater attention than those by Wang Tu-ch'ing. The poet Wang Tu-ch'ing deserves better notice and would be a grateful theme for literary comparatist.

We have already spoken of the outstanding passages of the second part of this book. A few additional remarks will suffice. Mr. Cherkassky devotes rather too much attention to Chiang Kuang-tz'u. A poet's place in the history of literature should correspond to his true position in the literature of his period. He devoted more space to Chiang Kuang-tz'u than to Tai Wang-shu, or Chu Hsiang, or Chu Tzu-ch'ing or even to Kuo Mo-jo, although each of these has done incomparably more for the history of modern Chinese poetry than Chiang Kuang-tz'u. The history of literature and art always produces documents of its times. Sometimes, however, it creates also noteworthy works, and even monuments. Unfortunately, Chiang produced only documents. The author's view according to which Chiang Kuang-tz'u's poetry lacked "the oxygen of facts, a depth of generalization, simply—mastership",<sup>71</sup> ought to have been written at the beginning of a more than twenty pages long passage, not at its end. Even an uninitiated reader would then know immediately how he stood. Cherkassky devotes great attention also to the poet Hsü Chih-mo—altogether over fifty pages—which is far more than the other poets were given. Hsü Chih-mo is *Kronzeuge* of this book.

As to the bibliography appended to the book, anyone intending seriously to study the history of modern Chinese poetry cannot afford to leave it unnoticed. Earlier

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<sup>70</sup> *Idei gumanizma v literaturakh Vostoka* (*The Humanistic Ideas in Oriental Literatures*). Moscow 1967, pp. 64—72.

<sup>71</sup> Cherkassky, p. 295.

we have remarked that it will be more difficult to supplement this bibliography with Chinese sources, though easier to do so with European works. It is to Mme Loi's credit that she has pointed to many of the latter. We draw the attention of the students of modern Chinese poetry to the fact that some Chinese critical works, for instance that written by Chao Ching-shen, be taken with caution. They are often superficial.

The reader of Mr. Cherkassky's book will also be helped by the index of Chinese names. It is a pity that an index of European authors and a subject index are missing. Their inclusion would be certainly appreciated by those interested. The vocabulary of poetic terms will be welcome to those engaged in the study of modern Chinese prosody.

Mr. Cherkassky's book is one of those that should be read with concentrated attention by everyone intent on a serious study of modern Chinese poetry.

1. 李金髮 2. 戴望舒 3. 馮至 4. 中國新文學大系
5. 小說月報 6. 現代 7. 為幸福而歌 8. 開明
9. 范倫納的詩選 10. 蘇雪林 11. 論李金髮的詩
12. 杜衡 13. 蘇汶 14. 第三種文學 15. 魯迅
16. 中國詩歌會 17. 蒲風 18. 五四到現在的中国詩壇鳥瞰
19. 現代詩歌論文選 20. 柳倩 21. 戴望舒詩論
22. 高權 23. 卞之琳 24. 穆木天 25. 王獨清
26. 王獨清選集 27. 獨清文藝論集 28. 譚詩 29. 再譚詩
30. 創造月刊 31. 馮乃超 32. 朱自清 33. 嘗試集
34. 胡適 35. 近百年來中譯西書目錄 36. 五四時期期刊介紹
37. 全國總目錄 38. 文學 39. 譯文 40. 徐調孚
41. 蒲梢 42. 漢譯東西洋文學作品編目 43. 張靜廬
44. 中國現代出版史料 45. 王雲五 46. 施蛸存
47. 我的創作生活之歷程 48. 創作的經驗 49. 王力
50. 漢語詩律學 51. 詞 52. 比 53. 興 54. 文心雕龍
55. 論現代詩 56. 賦 57. 毛萇 58. 朱喜 59. 劉勰 60. 孔穎達
61. 秦觀 62. 李璟 李煜詞 63. 李璟 64. 浣溪沙
65. 李煜 66. 遠地的歌 67. 題鄧城南莊 68. 崔護
69. 唐詩一百首 70. 劉綏松 71. 中國新文學史初稿
72. 三閒的序言 73. 魯迅全集 74. 李大釗 75. 張平
76. 詩刊 77. 文學旬刊 78. 馮鴻 79. 洪水 80. 文學研究會
81. 詩 82. 改造我們的學習 83. 京報 84. 張伏園
85. 京報副刊 86. 老子 87. 道德經

88. 黑子 89. 論語 90. 論衡子 91. 王充 92. 崔東壁遺書  
93. 崔述 94. 從生 95. 現代論文選 96. 周作人 97. 詩  
經 98. 史記 99. 司馬遷 100. 西遊記 101. 吳承恩  
102. 嚴復 103. 林玉堂 104. 莊子 105. 紅樓夢 106. 文  
選 107. 四書 108. 深歎起 109. 馬幼漁 110. 顧炎武  
111. 章炳麟 112. 吳稚暉 113. 陳獨秀 114. 章衣萍  
115. 鐘靈月刊 116. 洋八股 117. 民族形式 118. 葉聖  
陶 119. 茅盾 120. 艾青 121. 徐志摩 122. 閉一多  
123. 冰心 124. 劉半農 125. 劉大白 126. 徐玉諾  
127. 汪靜之 128. 鄭君 129. 春水 130. 楊馬星 131. 生  
命的微痕 132. 溫流 133. 田間 134. 朱沐月 135. 邵  
洵美 136. 新文骨豐 137. 詩界革命 138. 黃遵憲  
139. 蔡儀 140. 中國新文學講話 141. 王瑤 142. 中國  
新文學史稿 143. 錢杏邨 144. 中國青年 145. 太陽  
月刊 146. 趙景深 147. 巴人 148. 任鈞 149. 女神 150.  
中書集 151. 康白情 152. 劉夢葦 153. 沈從文 154.  
沫沫集 155. 孔另境 156. 現代作家簡簡 157. 蔣  
光慈 158. 中國現代文學作家作品評論資料  
索引 159. 孤鴻

## DAS DRAMATISCHE WERK MĪRZĀ FETH-‘ALĪ AHUNDZĀDE’S

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Der Persönlichkeit und dem Werk Mīrzā Feth-‘Alī Ahundzāde’s (im weiteren nur MFA) wurde lange Zeit nicht die Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, die sich dieser aufklärerische Dichter, Denker, materialistischer Philosoph, Demokrat und dramatischer Schriftsteller seiner Bedeutung nach zweifelsohne verdient. Während die sowjetische Orientalistik in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten ihre Schuld dem grossen Denker gegenüber durch Neuausgaben seines Werkes, eine Anzahl von Studien und monographischen Arbeiten über sein Leben und Werk, seine philosophischen, ästhetischen und politischen Ansichten<sup>1</sup> zurückzuzahlen bemüht ist, haben die Orientalisten im Westen in dieser Hinsicht noch so manches nachzuholen. Der Name MFA’s war ja in Westeuropa in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts dank der verhältnismässig häufigen Übersetzungen seiner Komödien ins Deutsche, Französische und Englische nicht ganz unbekannt. Die erste Übersetzung seiner Komödie *Hikāyet-i-Monsieur, Jordan hekīm-i-nebātūt ve Mosta‘lī Šāh mešhūr be-ġādūger* (Die Geschichte von M. Jordan, dem Botaniker und von Mosta‘lī Šāh, dem berühmten Zauberer) wurde bereits zwei Jahre nach deren Entstehung (1850) in der Berliner Zeitschrift *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, Teil 11 veröffentlicht, gleichzeitig mit der kurzen Analyse dieser, sowie der ersten Komödie Achundovs *Hikāyet-i-Mollā Ibrāhīm Hālil-i-Kimyāger* (Die Geschichte von Mollā Ibrahim dem Alchimisten).<sup>2</sup> In den Jahren 1882—1906 erschienen die ersten Übersetzungen von fünf Komödien von MFA im Englischen und Französischen, zwei Komödien wurden ins Deutsche übersetzt.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Die bibliographische Übersicht aller Arbeiten, die in der UdSSR erschienen sind, führt A. K. Rzaev an, *Političeskie vzgljady M. F. Achundova*. Baku 1968, S. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Diese erste Übersetzung behandelt näher Kandel, B. L., *O pervom perevode komedij M. F. Achundova na nemeckij jazyk*. *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, 1956, Nr. 3, S. 138—140. Kandel nimmt an, dass der Autor der Übersetzung und Analyse Wilhelm Schott, Professor der Sprachen Südost-Asiens an der Berliner Universität, war.

<sup>3</sup> Alle europäischen Ausgaben angeführt in der Publikation Mamedov, S. M., *Mirovozzrenie M. F. Achundova*. Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1962, S. 40.

Die Monographie H. W. Brands' (*Azerbaidschanisches Volksleben und modernistische Tendenz in den Schauspielen Mirzā Feth-'Alī Aħundzāde's (1812—1878)*) von Horst Wilfrid Brands, Mouton and Co. 's-Gravenhage — Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1958) aktualisiert, nach einer Pause von mehr als 50 Jahren seit der letzten westeuropäischen Herausgabe der Komödien von MFA aufs neue dessen dramatisches Schaffen.

Im ersten Teil der Monographie — I. *Feth-'Alī Aħundzāde's Leben und Gesamtwerk* (S. 11—18) führt Brands alle grundlegenden Daten über das Leben MFA's an und schenkt seine Aufmerksamkeit jenen Faktoren, die bei der Gestaltung von dessen Persönlichkeit, Denken und Schaffen von Wichtigkeit waren. Er lässt auch den Einfluss des Dichters und Lebensphilosophen Mirzā Šafi' Vazeh (1805—1852) auf den jungen MFA nicht ausser Acht. Die sowjetischen Wissenschaftler messen diesem Einfluss bei der Gestaltung von MFA's Weltanschauung eine grosse Bedeutung bei, indem sie behaupten, dass MFA sich gerade unter dem Einfluss Mirzā Šafi's von den islamischen Dogmen abgewandt hat.<sup>4</sup> Brands konnte eine so wichtige Tatsache wie MFA's langjähriges Wirken im Dienste des Staates nicht unbeachtet lassen. MFA hatte als Dolmetscher für orientalische Sprachen bei der russischen Gouv-ernementsverwaltung die Möglichkeit mit gebildeten Leuten Kontakte aufzunehmen, mit der russischen, und durch diese auch mit der westeuropäischen Kultur sowie dem gesellschaftlichen Denken vertraut zu werden. Das Leben im administrativen und kulturellen Zentrum des Kaukasus Tiflis ermöglichte ihm seine Kenntnisse weiter zu vervollständigen, sich aus dem Bannkreis orientaler wissenschaftlicher Dogmen zu befreien. Als Staatsbeamter nahm er an Expeditionen teil, bei denen er mit dem wirklichen Leben seiner Landsleute in unmittelbare Beziehungen eintrat und so ein klares Bild von den damaligen Verhältnissen gewinnen konnte. Von den Ursachen seiner positiven Haltung zur Existenz Aserbaidschans unter der Oberherrschaft Russlands wird noch im weiteren im Zusammenhang mit der Charakterisierung der zaristischen Beamten in den Komödien MFA's die Rede sein.

MFA widmete dem künstlerischen Schaffen nur sieben Jahre seines fruchtbaren Lebens, den Rest hat er sozialen und politischen, wie auch philosophischen Fragen geweiht. Diese sieben Jahre waren aber ausreichend, um in der Geschichte der aserbaidschanischen Literatur einen mächtigen Schritt vorwärts zu machen, indem er mit seinen sechs Komödien das Fundament des dramatischen Genres legte, welches bisdahin nicht nur in der aserbaidschanischen Literatur, sondern in der Literatur des islamischen Orients überhaupt etwas Unbekanntes war. MFA schuf seine Komödien unter dem unmittelbaren Einfluss von Gogols literarischer Schule. Und so kam es, dass unter dem Einfluss des russischen realistischen Dramas im

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<sup>4</sup> Mamedov, S. 36—37; Šarif, Aziz, *Žizň i tvorčestvo M. F. Achundova*; Achundov, M. F., *Sočinenija*, Tbilisi 1938, S. 13; Džafarov, D., *M. F. Achundov*, Baku 1962; Rafili, M.; *M. F. Achundov*, Baku 1939.

Aserbaidshan das Drama mit tiefgreifendem sozialen Inhalt entstand, während in Westeuropa der Romantismus im Drama noch seine festen Positionen behaupten konnte. MFA betrachtete gerade die Komödie als das geeignetste Mittel für die Darstellung und Kritik der Gesellschaft und als das den breiten Volksschichten zugänglichste Genre.

Mit dem genauen Inhalt aller Komödien MFA's macht Brands den Leser im II. Kapitel seines Werkes bekannt. Auf 36 Seiten (S. 19—54) reiht der Autor chronologisch die Inhaltsangaben der einzelnen Stücke unter Anführung der auftretenden Gestalten. Die Inhaltsangabe eines jeden Stückes wird von einem kurzen Kommentar begleitet, der die Entstehung des Stückes, dessen Erstaufführung und einzelne Herausgaben im Original sowie in Übersetzungen behandelt. Dieses Kapitel ist nur als Informationsmaterial für den Leser von Wichtigkeit, der keine Möglichkeit hatte mit den Komödien MFA's bekannt zu werden und so tiefer in die Analyse einzudringen, die dann Brands im III. Kapitel der Monographie (*Landschaften und Volksleben Aserbaidschans im Spiegel der Komödienhandlungen*, S. 55—73) vornimmt. Dieses Kapitel ist in Unterkapitel geteilt, von denen das erste den Orts- und Stammesbezeichnungen gewidmet ist. Im zweiten Unterkapitel, Volksleben und Überlieferung betitelt, widmet Brands seine Aufmerksamkeit der Frage, wie MFA die spezifischen Einzelheiten aus dem Volksleben im damaligen Aserbaidshan geltend gemacht hat. Gastrecht, Brautentführung, Religion, Dichtung, all das fand sein Spiegelbild in den Komödien MFA's, wobei es ihnen eine eigenartige Prägung verlieh.

Im dritten, der Charakterisierung der Gestalten von MFA's Komödien gewidmeten Unterkapitel, setzt sich Brands mit einigen charakteristischen Typen auseinander. Im Sinne seiner materialistischen Auffassung der Ästhetik hielt MFA die reale Wirklichkeit als das Objekt des künstlerischen Erkennens: für die Kunst ist es wichtig, dass sich in ihr die aktuellen Erscheinungen des sozialen Lebens widerspiegeln; im dramatischen Werk ist es möglich, im Zusammenhang mit der allseitigen Enthüllung des menschlichen Charakters, seiner Psychologie. Im Werdegang, in der Entwicklung der auftretenden Gestalten kristallisierte sich in den Stücken MFA's das Bild der gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts im Aserbaidshan und im Iran herrschten. Die Komödie *Sergüzešt-i-merd-i-basis* (Das Abenteuer des Geizigen), die mit Recht als der Gipfel des dramatischen Schaffens des MFA angesehen wird, erfüllt in höchstem Masse diese Voraussetzungen. In den Gestalten der zwei Hauptpersonen — des Wucherers Hağgi Qara und des Feudalherren Haydar Bey — widerspiegelt sich „die Kritik der wachsenden Rolle des Geldes in den existierenden gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen, der Zerfall gewisser adeliger Schichten, die es nicht vermochten sich den veränderten Lebensbedingungen rechtzeitig anzupassen und vom Wucherkapital ökonomisch abhängig wurden“.<sup>5</sup> Die

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<sup>5</sup> Mirzoeva, S., *Estetičeskie vzgljady M. F. Achundova*. Baku 1962, S. 41.

Kraft der künstlerischen Meisterschaft des MFA liegt in seiner Fähigkeit Həğgi Qara durch dessen eigene Sprache, seine Niederträchtigkeit und Niedrigkeit, dadurch aber auch die Verrottenheit der Gesellschaft, der solche Typen entstammen, zu enthüllen. Alle Elemente der Geizigkeit konzentrierend schuf MFA das typische Bild eines Menschen, geboren in der vom Milieu und der Epoche gegebenen Umständen. Die Komödie *Sergüzešt-i-merd-i-ħasīs* ist eine reichhaltige Galerie der Typen aus verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Schichten Aserbaidschans in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ausser dem Darsteller der Handelsbourgeoisie Həğgi Qara begegnen wir hier auch den drei Darstellern des verfallenden Landesadels. Həydar Bey, 'Askar Bey und Şafar Bey, die infolge ökonomischer und gesellschaftlicher Veränderungen nach dem Anschluss Nordaserbaidschans zu Russland verarmt sind, sind nicht bereit ihren Lebensunterhalt mit ehrlicher Arbeit zu verdienen. Sie riskieren Gefängnis und Tod bei abenteuerlichen Räuber- oder Schmugglerunternehmungen, oder hungern, jede Arbeit für Schändung ihrer Ehre und Würde haltend. Im Gegensatz zu ihnen stehen die armenischen Bauern Mkrdiç und Arakel in der Komödie, als Vertreter des arbeitsamen, friedliebenden Volkes. Brands widmet diesen Gestalten — im Gegensatz zu den aserbaidshanischen Wissenschaftlern — keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Als Darsteller des armenischen Volkes hob Brands die Gestalt Ohāns, des Hauptmanns der Armenier-Miliz, der hier als komische Figur auftritt, hervor.

In der Komödie *Sergüzešt-i-merd-i-ħasīs* sind ausser den erwähnten Typen auch weibliche Gestalten vertreten, über die wir noch später berichten werden, und Russen. „*Bei den Russen, die MFA auftreten lässt, handelt es sich fast immer um Gouvernements-Funktionäre (Distriktschefs, Friedensrichter, Kosaken; MJ, HQB, SMH) als die alltäglichen Repräsentanten Petersburgs im Kaukasus. Wenn der Dichter sie bei ihrer Tätigkeit schildert, so fehlen auch recht realistische Anspielungen auf die Zeitumstände und gelegentliche ironische Seitenhiebe nicht.*“<sup>6</sup> Brands führt Beispiele an, in denen diese sehr vorsichtig gewählten Anspielungen vorkommen. Im Grunde jedoch erscheinen diese Gestalten der Repräsentanten der zaristischen Macht idealistisch: sie sind streng aber gerecht und edelmütig. Ihren Teil trugen dazu zweifelsohne auch die Befürchtungen vor den Eingriffen der Zensur bei. Wir dürfen aber auch die Tatsache nicht vergessen, dass hier eine wichtige Rolle die politische Orientierung des MFA spielte, der im Anschluss von Nordaserbaidshan zu Russland einen Beitrag sah: einmal was die Erhaltung von dessen Selbständigkeit betrifft, da es so von der Expansion der Türkei und des Iran geschützt wurde, einmal was die ökonomische Entwicklung Aserbaidschans betrifft. MFA selbst äussert sich in einem seiner Briefe wie folgt: „*Unter dem Schutz des russischen Staates befreien wir uns von den abenteuerlichen Überfällen der Vergangenheit und in unserem Lande herrscht nunmehr*

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<sup>6</sup> Brands, S. 66.

*Ruhe. Das Leben, das Eigentum und die Ehre 'der Azerbaidshaner' sind unter dem Schutz und in der Türkei sich in einer kläglichen Lage befinden...*<sup>7</sup>

MFA war ein begeisterter Anhänger der abendländischen Zivilisation. In seinen Komödien liess er deren zwei Vertreter erscheinen. Während der reisende Tierdressur „Frans Fuq“ in der Komödie *Hikāyet-i-bürs-i-quldur-basan* (Die Geschichte vom Bären, der den Räuber ergriff) eine rein komödienhafte Figur ist und wie Brands richtig hinzufügt: „Die tiefere Absicht, wie MFA sie mit der Hauptfigur in MJ allem Anschein nach verbindet, fehlt hier“,<sup>8</sup> dient die Gestalt des Pariser Botanikers Monsieur Jordan zum Hervorheben des Kontrastes zwischen den beiden Welten — einerseits der asiatischen Welt mit seiner tiefen Unwissenheit, dem Glauben an Zauber und Aberglauben, der Unfreiheit der Frauen, andererseits der Welt der europäischen Zivilisation und Freiheit. Das Hervorheben dieses Gegensatzes widerspiegelt die Weltanschauung des MFA in den fünfziger Jahren, da er die Ursache des sozialen Übels noch nicht in der verrotteten Gesellschaftsordnung, sondern im religiösen Fanatismus, Abergläubigkeit und Rückständigkeit sieht.<sup>9</sup> Aus letzterer können eben tüchtige Betrüger wie Mosta'li Šäh, der berühmte Magier aus dem Stück *Hikāyet-i-Monsieur Jordan hekim-i-nebātāt ve Mosta'li Šäh mešhūr be-ğādūger* (Die Geschichte von M. Jordan, dem Botaniker, und von Mosta'li Šäh, dem berühmten Zauberer), sowie Mollā Ibrāhīm Halil, der Alchemist und dessen Komplizen Mollā Hamid und Derviş 'Abbās aus der Komödie *Hikāyet-i-Mollā Ibrahim Halil-i-Kimyāger* (Die Geschichte von Mollā Ibrahim dem Alchimisten) Nutzen ziehen. „Während Mosta'li Šäh offen auftritt, die Abergläubigkeit der patriarchalischen Grundbesitzerfamilie ausnützend, verlässt sich Mollā Ibrahim auf die Autorität der gelehrten Mollas, auf die mittelalterliche scholastische Wissenschaft, wobei er die Unwissenheit der örtlichen zaristischen Beamten und Einwohner missbraucht.“<sup>10</sup> Leider behandelt Brands in seiner Monographie diese zwei interessanten Gestalten nicht ausführlicher.

Zuletzt möchten wir noch bei der durch und durch negativen Gestalt des Chans aus dem Schauspiel *Sergüzešt-i-vezir-i-Hān-i-Serāb* (Die Geschichte vom Vezir des Hāns von Serāb) stehen bleiben. Brands erwähnt sie nur in einer kurzen Notiz.<sup>11</sup> Es ist die einzige Komödie deren Sujet der Autor nicht aus der Gegenwart, sondern aus dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts nimmt, als Aserbaidshān noch in eine Anzahl von ständig untereinander kämpfenden Chanate zersplittert gewesen war. Der Chan im Schauspiel hat keinen Namen, er ist das Symbol der politischen Gewalt, des Despotismus und der Willkür. Die glückliche Lösung, durch den zufälligen Tod des Chans gegeben,

<sup>7</sup> Achundov, M. F., *Pis'mo J. A. Isakovu*. Izbrannyye filosofskie proizvedeniya. Baku 1953, S. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Brands, S. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Rafili, S. 157.

<sup>10</sup> Rafili, S. 162.

<sup>11</sup> Brands, S. 62, Bemerkung 10.

entspricht nicht den politischen Idealen MFA's — konnte er wohl der Überzeugung sein, dass der Despotismus und die Tyrannei ihr Ende finden, wenn der grausame Chan durch einen gerechten ersetzt wird?<sup>12</sup>

Nicht allzu passend reihte Brands hinter das Unterkapitel mit der Charakterisierung kaukasischer und abendländischer Typen das Unterkapitel über das wirtschaftliche Leben des damaligen Aserbaidshans, wie es sich in den Komödien des MFA widerspiegelt.<sup>13</sup> Es wäre eher angebracht, wenn der Charakterisierung der Männergestalten unmittelbar das den Frauengestalten und ihrer Stellung gewidmete Unterkapitel (5. Die Frau und ihre Stellung, S. 71—73) gefolgt wäre. Dieses Unterkapitel kann als der am besten gelungene Teil von Brands' Monographie angesprochen werden, er vermochte es relativ treffend die Bedeutung des Mitwirkens von Frauengestalten in den Komödien des MFA im Verhältnis zur Stellung der Frau in der aserbaidshanschen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts zu erfassen.

Die Heldinnen bei MFA zeichnen sich durch Tatkraft und Zielbewusstsein aus, sie kämpfen für ihr persönliches Glück, sie lieben ausdauernd und treu. Ihr naiver Glauben an Zaubereien ist eine Folge des Einflusses der Umgebung in der sie leben. Sie wollen sich mit der rechtlosen, sklavischen Stellung, in die sie die islamische Religion und das islamische Recht weist, nicht zufrieden geben.

Ein interessanter Konflikt entsteht in der Komödie *Hikāyet-i-vukalā'-i-murāfa'ā* (Die Geschichte von den Prozess-Bevollmächtigten). Zwei Frauen führen Streit um die Erbschaft des Kaufmannes Hağgi Gäfür: Säkine, die Schwester des Verstorbenen, und dessen mutā'-Frau Zeyneb. Säkine gewinnt den Prozess, es bleibt jedoch fraglich ob man diese Lösung als einem glücklichen Ausgang des Schauspiels betrachten kann. D. Džafarov und M. Rafili<sup>14</sup> idealisieren Säkine und sagen ihr alle Rechte zu. Wir stimmen mit der Ansicht A. K. Rzaev's überein, dass sich die Komödie nicht nur gegen das orientalische Gerichtswesen kritisch richtet, sondern auch gegen die Institution der sog. zeitweiligen Ehe, von der š'iten-Sekte der Zwölf Imams genehmigt (arabisch *ihnā' ašarija*), sie enthüllt den reaktionären Charakter der šariat-Gesetze, die eine derartige Institution legalisiert, wobei es sich hier eigentlich um eine verhüllte Form von Prostitution handelt, die der mutā'-Frau nach dem Tode ihres Mannes jedes Recht auf eine finanzielle Sicherung streitig machen. Der Sieg Säkines bedeutet für Zeyneb einen völligen Ruin.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Džafarov, S. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Angaben, die Brands hier anführt, sind sehr knapp (S. 70—71). Eine Vorstellung über das wirtschaftliche Leben des Aserbaidshans im 19. Jahrhundert können wir uns auf Grund der Publikation der Aserbaidshanschen Akademie der Wissenschaften *Prisoedinenie Azerbajdzana k Rossii i ego posledstvija v oblasti ekonomiki i kultury (XIX — načalo XX veka)*, Baku 1955, Razdel II, *Ekonomičeskie posledstvija prisoedinenija Azerbajdzana k Rossii*, S. 58—258 bilden.

<sup>14</sup> Džafarov, S. 100—108; Rafili, S. 172—173.

<sup>15</sup> Rzaev, S. 147.

Das vorletzte Kapitel der Monographie (IV. *Die Schauspiele als Ausdruck der Reformgedanken Ahundzāde's*) ist den Leit-Tendenzen der Schauspiele und der Hervorhebung jener Gestalten der Stücke MFA's gewidmet, die Träger der Reformgedanken sind. In der Komödie *Die Geschichte von Monsieur Jordan* ist unserer Meinung nach die Leit-Tendenz des Verfassers die Betonung des Kontrastes zwischen Orient und dem Abendland, und nicht wie Brands behauptet, die Naivität der Frauen.

Das absolutistische Staats- und Rechtswesen ist Gegenstand einer scharfen Kritik in den Komödien *Die Geschichte vom Vezir des Hāns von Serāb* und *Die Geschichte von den Prozess-Bevollmächtigten* und, wie Brands hier sehr richtig anführt, auch in der historisch-satirischen Erzählung *Aldanmīs Kevākeb* (Hikāyet-i-Yūsuf Šāh; Die betrogenen Sterne oder die Geschichte von Yūsuf Šāh). Brands schätzt sehr hoch diese Erzählung, in der „die Kritik an den Sefeviden sicherlich auch für die zeitgenössischen *Qağāren Irans* gelten“ soll.<sup>16</sup> Der Autor der Monographie stimmt mit der Meinung V. Yurtsevers (Yurtsever, A. Vahap: *Mirza Fethali Ahunt zadenin Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Ankara, 1950, S. 15—17) nicht überein, dass die Kritik auch gegen den russischen Absolutismus und dessen kaukasischen Regime gerichtet sei.

Als Träger der Reformgedanken können drei Gestalten aus den Komödien MFA's betrachtet werden. In ihrem Auftreten in der Handlung nur episodisch, in der Bedeutung jedoch sehr wichtig ist die Gestalt des Dichters Ḥağğī Nūrī aus der Komödie *Die Geschichte von Mollah Ibrahim*. In ihr widerspiegelt sich die seelische Tragödie des MFA. Die brillante Antwort Ḥağğī Nūrīs den reaktionären Notabeln von Nahū-Nūhā<sup>17</sup> ist ein schmerzliches Bekenntnis des MFA, der sein ganzes Leben dem Kampf gegen Finsternis, Rückständigkeit, religiöse Vorurteile widmete, beim Volk jedoch kein Verständnis fand und zum Feind der Religion gebrandmarkt wurde.

Der Thronfolger Timur und der junge Grundbesitzer sind zwar die Helden der Komödien *Die Geschichte vom Vezir...* und *Die Geschichte von M. Jordan...*, in diesen Gestalten entfaltete jedoch MFA seine fortschrittlichen Ideen nicht in einem so grossen Masse wie in der Gestalt Ḥağğī Nūrīs. Timurs reformatorischen Pläne überschreiten den Umkreis des Saray nicht, und wir erfahren nichteinmal, ob er nach dem Antritt auf den Thron diese Reform überhaupt verwirklichte. Šehbāz ist der Vertreter jenes Teiles der aserbajdschanischen Jugend, die die bisherige Lebensweise nicht befriedigte und die sich bemühte eine europäische Bildung zu erreichen.

Brands betrachtet als Symbol des Fortschritts auch den Antritt tapferer junger Stammesleute, wie Haydar Bey und seine Gefährten, oder Bayram in den Dienst der russischen Regierung.<sup>18</sup>

Das Abschlusskapitel der Monographie (S. 80—81) hebt die Rolle des MFA als Mittler zwischen zwei Kulturwelten, der des Orients und der Europas, hervor.

<sup>16</sup> Brands, S. 75.

<sup>17</sup> Brands, S. 78.

<sup>18</sup> Brands, S. 79.

Brands betont die Wichtigkeit des Einflusses der russischen Kultur auf die allgemeine Orientierung MFA's. Die hervorragende Kenntnis der russischen Sprache, die engen Beziehungen zu zahlreichen zeitgenössischen Vertretern des russischen kulturellen und politischen Lebens ermöglichten es MFA nicht nur mit den bedeutendsten Werken der russischen, sondern auch der abendländischen Literatur und Philosophie bekannt zu werden.

Abschliessend reiht Brands MFA zu den namhaften Reformvorkämpfern der islamischen Welt, deren Wirken die heutige Evolution der orientalischen Völker mitbestimmt.

Die Monographie H. W. Brands' kann man als wertvollen Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der Persönlichkeit des aserbaidchanischen Aufklärers betrachten, der von der westlichen Orientalistik zu unrecht unbeachtet blieb. Es wäre lobenswert, wenn diese Arbeit Brands' nicht vereinzelt bliebe und in der westlichen Orientalistik seinen Fortsetzer fände.

## TURKISH PENETRATION IN THE SAHARA

NAĐA ZIMOVÁ, Prague

The question of Turkish penetration into the inner parts of the Sahara, as well as the subsequent problem of the maintenance of Turkish domination in that area became a focus of interest as an important factor in the history of Northern and Saharan Africa during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This question obviously has deep roots. The relations and interdependence of these questions with those connected with the French occupation of Algeria, and especially with the Turkish reconquest of Tripolitania itself, are self-evident. On the other hand, this whole complex of questions became most intense during the period of the "scramble" for Africa,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the partition of the African continent among the various colonial powers and the delimitation of the boundaries of their respective spheres of interest.

The first attempts of Ottoman Turks to penetrate into this area of the Sahara, and even south of the Sahara, date, however, from the first period of the Turkish presence in Northern Africa—i.e. from the time of the occupation of certain parts of Northern Africa by Turkish corsairs in the 16th century. Official documented Ottoman interest in the inner parts of the African continent, as far as Lake Chad, can be traced as far back as some twenty years after the date when Turkish military forces took over Tripolitania.<sup>2</sup> Although these interests were never completely forgotten, the 19th century introduced some new aspects into the history of Turkish penetration into Africa, and emphasized the individual interest in that area. In contrast to the importance ascribed to Anglo-French and Italian rivalry and influence, Turkish participation in the partition of Africa has often been underestimated. It is true that if one considers the scramble for Africa as a whole, Turkish participation in it was not a major factor. On the other hand, however, Turkish influence in this partition,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Scramble' et 'course au clocher' par Henri Brunschwig in *The Journal of African History*, XII/1, 1971, pp. 139—141.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. İltter, A. S., *Şimali Afrika'da Türkler*. 2nd Vol., Istanbul 1937, p. 128; Orhonlu, Cengiz, *Osmanlı-Bornu Münasebetine âid belgeler*. Tarih dergisi, 23, 1969, pp. 111—130; Martin, B. G., *Mai Idris of Bornu and the Ottoman Turks (1576—1578)*. Documents from Islamic Chaneries, ed. S. M. Stern, II, Oxford 1969.

especially during the second half of the 19th century, acquired a relatively lasting influence, affecting the political geography of Africa, or at least its northern and Saharan regions.

It is the credit of the outstanding Italian Orientalist, Ettore Rossi, that he understood this importance of the Turkish factor in the partition and administration of Africa. Moreover, he demonstrated that Turkish domination over Tripolitania and Turkey's attempts to penetrate into Saharan Africa were worth studying, not only because of their economic aspects, but primarily because of their political importance within the broader context of the interlocking interests of the European Powers and Ottoman Turkey in that area. Rossi's work, which first appeared, in the form of detailed studies and contributions scattered through various research reviews during his lifetime, was published in a summary form only relatively recently in a posthumous edition covering the period from the Arab domination till the end of the Ottoman Turkish rule.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, the most important positive feature of Rossi's work is his new methodological approach to these questions which he studied by comparing materials from both the European side (European consular sources and the reports of European explorers) and also from the Ottoman Turkish side: he pioneered in the field of research into Arab sources as well as in the field of research into the Ottoman Turkish Archives in Tripoli and elsewhere. The importance of the study of such Turkish sources with respect to the history of Africa has been recently stressed.<sup>4</sup> Rossi was one of the first scholars to devote attention to the existence of a new trend towards an improvement in the economic condition of Tripolitania under Ottoman rule, and to Turkey's limited attempts to revive the Ottoman power and administration. He also studied the intensified efforts of the Turkish rulers to maintain their influence in one of their last-remaining provinces in Africa, within the context of both the external and internal situation of Ottoman Turkey.

This area of research was later followed by several other European scholars. I have in mind notably the works on the Turko-French border between Tunis and Tripolitania by André Martel<sup>5</sup> and the works by Robert Mantram<sup>6</sup> which—though mainly oriented towards the history of Tunisia—obviously could not altogether neglect

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<sup>3</sup> Rossi, Ettore, *Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania della conquista araba al 1911*. Edizione postuma a cura di Maria Nallino. Roma 1968. Cf. Our review of this important book in *Asian and African Studies*, VIII, 1972, pp. 252—254.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Martin, G. B., *Five letters from the Tripoli Archives*. Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1962, p. 350. See also our contribution *Quelques aspects de la deuxième période ottomane dans la Tripolitaine*. *Archiv orientální*, 41, 1973, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Martel, André, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881—1911)*. Vol. 2. Paris 1965.

<sup>6</sup> Mantram, Robert, *Le statut de l'Algérie, de la Tunisie et de la Tripolitaine dans l'Empire ottoman*. Estratto del volume: *Atti del I. Congresso Internazionale di Studi Nord-Africani*, Cagliari 22—25 Gennaio 1965.

questions of Ottoman rule in neighbouring Tripolitania. Intense academic interest on the part of Turkey is expressed especially in the recent publication of Abdurrahman Çaycı.<sup>7</sup> This book presents the results of the author's research to "Turkish policy with regard to the Sahara problem". It deals with this problem within the context of Turkish relations with the neighbouring French power, but the author concentrates upon Turkish aspects of the problem and attempts to explore and analyse the field which he rightly calls "the Turkish Sahara policy". It is not unimportant to stress that the pioneer work on the subject, that of Ettore Rossi, also encouraged some preliminary research in this field, since Rossi too, analysed certain new concepts of the Turkish approach to the solution of questions connected with the inner parts of Tripolitania—at least, during the rule of several perspicacious governors such as Mustafa Asim Paşa and Receb Paşa—and described their efforts to militarily defend the territory, as undertaken by Mehmed Nazif Paşa.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, when Çaycı formulates the conclusion that "Ottoman Empire, within her bound of possibility, had her own Sahara policy", his conclusion is supported by earlier research as well. According to Çaycı, this Turkish Sahara policy should be studied within the more general context of the Turkish-French competition in those parts of Africa.

The author has deliberately chosen the year 1858 as the starting-point for his study. From both the methodical and theoretical standpoints, this seems a good choice, since it was, in fact only in the late 1850's, after the consolidation of the internal affairs of Tripolitania that the Turkish rulers were able to begin to develop a more orderly system of administration and to attempt to improve the territory's economic situation.

We also agree with the author's concept of the individual phases of the development of Turkish-French relations as they took shape after the Paris Congress, the Berlin Congress and the Anglo-French and French-Italian Agreements of 1890 and 1900—1902. The author's evaluation of the official Ottoman policy also seems entirely correct: in general, this policy was more or less dependent on, or at least in conformity with the desires, plans and intentions of the European Powers. We think, however, that some conclusion have been drawn, which do not fall entirely within this general framework. Uncontestably, Çaycı's explanation of the "climax of the Turkish policy's successes" between 1871—1881 is also generally correct, especially in the light of the facts he has presented and analysed. But their presentation by the author is such that it may convey the impression that this decade brought to an end such—even modest—success on the part of these attempts of the Turks and that the following periods were notable for Turkish failure only. In our opinion, even during the periods following this successful decade, certain new initiatives were taken by the

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<sup>7</sup> Çaycı, Abdurrahman, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız rekabeti (1858—1911)* (Turkish—French Rivalry in the Sahara). Erzurum 1970.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rossi, Ettore, *op. cit.*, pp. 321, 339 and 345.

Turkish administration, especially its provision of assistance and protection to a certain amount of the African populations, by maintaining or even extending the Ottoman presence in the Sahara.<sup>9</sup>

An interesting aspect of Çaycı's work is his integration of research into the political aspects of Turkish policy and activity in Tripolitania with similar research into the economic development of the province, and notably in its efforts to increase the economic output of the region. From this point of view, the Ottoman Empire's attempts to protect trade in the Sahara and the Sudan are interesting. This was apparently a very slow process, nevertheless it appears that the Ottoman Empire, though itself generally suffering stagnation and undergoing a decline, was attempting to struggle against time in order to prevent the necessary and unavoidable evolution.

However, Professor Çaycı's handling of the subject fortunately overcomes the limitation imposed on the handling of this subject by narrow Europocentric views. In contrast to certain early European scholars, he refuses to treat this problem merely as one aspect of European expansion. The tone of the work reflects the author's position based upon the view that the history of Africa must be studied from the standpoint of the moves made not only by the Europeans, but by the Turks and Africans in the broadest sense.

This methodical approach of the author may perhaps be clearly seen in his selection of material: thus, Çaycı's documentary evidence is drawn not only from European (mainly French) metropolitan sources, but also from Turkish Government archives, publications and other documentary sources. He has made use of the material available in the Istanbul archives, especially Turkish diplomatic documentation selected from Başbakanlık Arşivi, Yıldız Arşivi and Dışişleri Bakanlığı Hazine-i Evrak Müdürlüğü. These sources are quite rich and valuable in themselves. We should perhaps add that further study could be enriched by the material from the archives in Tripolitania itself.<sup>10</sup>

In conclusion, it must be said that the book is very significant with respect to African history in general. It represents an important contribution to our knowledge not only of the history of the Ottoman Empire, but also of the history of Tripolitania and the Sahara. In this analytical work, the author has compiled a considerable

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. our contribution to the VIIth Turkish Historical Congress, *Les relations entre les Turcs ottomans et l'Afrique Noire*, VII Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 25—29 Eylül 1970. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, 2nd cilt, pp. 625—629.

We also have in mind the official Turkish attitude as expressed, for example, by Turkish Colonel Omar Subhi. In 1888 he presented to Sultan Abdülhamid II his analysis of the situation in Tripolitania and suggested Tripoli and Bengazi as centres for economic and political penetration into the inner regions of the Sahara. See, Rossi, Ettore, op. cit., p. 341.

<sup>10</sup> We found certain materials from the Tripoli Archives very useful for a similar purpose, although their aim was more restricted and modest. See our publication *Quelques aspects...* referred to in Note 4.

amount of detailed information and has documented conditions and events which have significance for the history of Libya, as well as for that of the Ottoman Empire.

Though detailed studies capable of preparing the ground for a possible broader synthesis which will set the whole question in its proper context are still to be undertaken, Çaycı's book is likely to remain a landmark in the study of the history of Tripolitania under Turkish domination. Moreover, it indicates documentarily that the question of Turkish penetration, contacts and its presence in Africa offers a very rich and tempting field for further research.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Golovin, B. N., *Yazyk i statistika* (Language and Statistics). Moscow, Prosveshchenie 1971. 190 pp.

The author has decided to write the present book because he thinks that linguists teaching at universities are in need of the aid of mathematics now. This aid consists in the ability to use at least basic procedures of mathematical statistics. The ambition of the author is to help lecturers, students, and scholars who desire to get acquainted with mathematical statistics. Golovin expounds the principles of statistics in such a way as to make them accessible to those who are not versed in mathematics.

Language, in addition to its qualitative features, displays also a variety of quantitative characteristics that can be described adequately only by means of statistical techniques. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods makes it possible to investigate both dynamic (i.e. absolute) and statistical (i.e. probabilistic) laws. While the former can be described with intuitive (i.e. qualitative) methods, the latter can be discovered only by means of statistical techniques. An exhaustive description of a language can be achieved only provided both intuitive and quantitative methods are combined.

The bulk of this publication is devoted to the discussion of some basic statistical techniques that are widely used in linguistic statistics. The book includes also some statistical tables, a bibliography, and an index. On the whole, the present handbook gives only elementary information and those who intend to pursue their interest in statistics should no doubt use other sources as well.

*Viktor Krupa*

Katsnelson, S. D., *Tipologiya yazyka i rechevoe myshlenie* (Typology of Language and Speech Thought). Leningrad, Nauka 1972. 216 pp.

In this book Katsnelson discusses some general problems of grammatical theory, namely those that are of interest for the so-called content typology. The latter is not

an established linguistic discipline yet, despite the fact that first attempts in this direction were undertaken as early as two or three centuries ago.

According to the author, the aim of typology is to give comparative characteristics of languages, not their classification (cf. p. 8). The term relational typology is suggested by the present reviewer for this line of research.

Although Katsnelson is thoroughly up-to-date as far as his methodological views are concerned, at the same time he pays due attention to the Russian theoretical tradition, especially to Potebnya and Shcherba. Katsnelson's attitude towards typology of universals may be characterized as critical. However, he is not right when maintaining that typology of universals does not proceed from observations to generalizations (p. 10).

Aside from introductory remarks (pp. 5—16), the present publication consists of three chapters, i.e. Morphological Categories and Their Reductional Analysis (pp. 17—77), Covert Grammar and Ways of Its Discovery (pp. 78—94), and Thought and Communication in Relation to Grammatical Structure (pp. 95—216). Most linguists will appreciate Katsnelson's content analysis of some grammatical categories, especially that of gender, case, and parts of speech. However, Katsnelson's treatment of sentence subject seems to be biased in favour of psychologism. Thus the author fails to see that the two functions of nominative in the languages of the so-called ergative type are far from incompatible (cf. p. 72). It is the passivity in relation to their predicate that makes both intransitive subjects and transitive objects capable of being marked by one and the same case form.

Katsnelson's theory has very much in common with W. Chafe's views (cf. his book *Meaning and the Structure of Language*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1970). This is especially obvious in his treatment of the predicate (pp. 83—89). The reviewer readily agrees with Katsnelson's positive attitude towards the existence of distinctive semantic features in the objective reality of language (pp. 89, 117). Solntsev, another prominent Soviet linguist, confines them to the gnoseological level.

Katsnelson is obviously inclined to distinguish language as a system from speech as a form of existence of the language elements (p. 95). The reviewer, however, does not think that speech is nonsystemic. Speech is the final product of speech activity and can be regarded as a sequence of linear systems. Unlike speech, language is a nonlinear system consisting of a variety of hierarchically organized subsystems. Speech activity is the process of producing speech from language elements by means of combinatorial rules, i.e. a device for linearizing nonlinear systems.

Katsnelson's analysis of sentence structure is likewise very interesting (pp. 139—145). The author maintains the view that the facts of reality are reflected by communication units (i.e. sentences or sets of sentences). Perhaps it would be more precise to state that a particular sentence reflects the reality through an individual, while the particular words reflect it in a generalized way, as an experience of the whole language community.

Deictic words are interpreted by the author too loosely and relativity sometimes seems to be mistaken for deixis (p. 147). However, if relativity is accepted as typical of deictic words, then one is justified to regard kinship terms as closer to pronouns than to proper names (cf. p. 166).

The reviewer regards Katsnelson's book as a remarkable contribution to the methodology of typology. As such it will be read with interest by all scholars engaged in the study of theoretical questions of linguistics.

Viktor Krupa

Makovskii, M. M., *Teoriya leksicheskoi attraksii* (A Theory of Lexical Attraction). Moscow, Nauka 1971. 250 pp.

In this book the author puts forward a new theory concerned with the mechanism of structural and functional relations between units of vocabulary and semantics. His theory can briefly be explained as follows. The presence in a certain language environment of a definite continuum of lexemes that are transferable or preservable in space or time is termed lexico-semantic microstructure. Then lexical attraction is used to denote the functional-dynamic processes owing to which the separate elements of microstructures are more or less connected during a certain period of time. The absence of a word (or group of words) in a system is also regarded as structural. Makovskii's theory of lexical attraction investigates various structural laws governing the presence or absence of a given set of words or meanings.

In Chapter I (pp. 10—44), the author gives general characteristics of lexico-semantic systems. He criticizes those who treat vocabulary as an "asystemic" level of language. In this chapter, Makovskii gives his definitions of structure and system. However, what Makovskii defines as structure is actually system and, vice versa, his definition of system explains structure (p. 11). Makovskii follows structuralists when maintaining that the most important stabilizing factor of vocabulary is an incessant trend towards structural balance (p. 16). The latter is defined as a strictly determined set of lexemes that do complement but do not overlap one another (p. 16). The structural balance, as defined above, is an ideal construct that denotes a state asymptotically approached but never achieved by a living language. External factors are considered by Makovskii to be the most important sources of disturbing relative stability of language vocabularies (p. 17). Vocabulary is treated by the author as a set of mutually dependent lexical microstructures (p. 42).

Makovskii explains his principles of structural and functional analysis in etymology (Chapter II, pp. 45—92), typology of vocabulary (Chapter III, pp. 93—122), borrowing (Chapter IV, pp. 123—173), and in linguistic geography of Germanic vocabulary (Chapter V, pp. 174—232). Chapter V includes also a useful aid for

translators—a dictionary of “translator’s false friends”, i.e. of misleading words in Russian, English, French, and German (pp. 139—167). Throughout his book the author pays attention chiefly to Germanic languages, with occasional examples from some Eastern languages.

The theory suggested by Makovskii no doubt deserves attention of typologists but its validity ought to be proved in the process of its application to various languages of the world.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Obshchee yazykoznanie. Vnutrennyaya struktura* (General Linguistics. Internal Structure). Edited by B. A. Serebrennikov. Moscow, Nauka 1972. 564 pp.

This volume is a joint work of a team of Soviet linguists and represents an organic continuation of a publication titled *General Linguistics. Forms of Existence, Functions, and History of Language* that appeared in 1970.

The volume under review discusses several essential aspects of the internal structure of language. A special attention is paid to the problems of system and structure in language. The authors trace the development of the idea of system not only in linguistics but also in other scientific disciplines, and especially in philosophy (Chapter 1, pp. 8—91). They criticize structuralism for its structural bias and at the same time stress the need to study both substantial and structural aspects of language. This approach is termed systematic (p. 27); however, if the investigation covers language in functioning as well, then the former can be characterized as an integral approach (p. 29).

Another important question treated in this book is that of language levels (Chapter 2, pp. 92—119). Chapters 3 through 7 (pp. 120—515) analyse various questions of phonology, morphology, derivation, lexicology, and phraseology. It is the chapters on lexicology, derivation, and phraseology that can be regarded as the most exhaustive ones.

Chapter 8 (Linguistic Typology, pp. 516—545) defines the microtype and type of language. In the last chapter (pp. 545—561) the authors try to give a definition of linguistic universals that is more exact than definitions found elsewhere.

Each chapter is complemented by a detailed selective bibliography. The publication may serve as a helpful and informative handbook for students of linguistics and as a reference book for all persons interested in the theory of linguistics.

*Viktor Krupa*

Solntsev, V. M., *Yazyk kak sistemno-strukturnoe obrazovanie* (Language As a System and Structure). Moscow, Nauka 1971. 292 pp.

The publication under review supplies another piece of evidence of an ever increasing interest in theoretical questions of linguistics. In this book V. M. Solntsev, a renowned Soviet Orientalist and specialist in Chinese and other Southeast Asian languages develops his own theory of language as a secondary material system. The author refers to two main sources of his work. He has based his theory first of all upon the achievements of his long research in the so-called isolating languages, as well as upon his study of some general ideas, categories, and properties of language (p. 4). Recent linguistic work is taken into account insofar as it is relevant to the ontology of language. Solntsev's book is notable also for an inventive combination of the Marxist viewpoint with the conception of language as a system. The author argues that the investigation of structure that exists in the very object of linguistic description is an inevitable assumption for the development of an objective and exact theory of language. However, an investigation of structure ought not to be identified with the traditional structuralism. The latter was notable for an unjustified restriction of form to relations, although the idea of form in language covers both relations (i.e. structure) and elements (i.e. inventory). In recent decades, linguistics has devoted too much attention to structure and now, according to Solntsev, it should return to a structural-substantial attitude, to be sure, enriched with new methods and ideas (p. 6). Solntsev does not proclaim himself the preacher of the only true theory of language, which is certainly a very refreshing feature in works of this type. Paraphrasing C. Bazell, he maintains: "Should the contradictions between linguists be neutralized, the archview would be equal to zero" (p. 5).

The book consists of three main sections, i.e. (1) Language as a whole (pp. 9—91), (2) Sign (pp. 92—139), (3) Units (pp. 140—267).

The first section deals with the most general properties of language. System is defined by Solntsev as a coherent object consisting of interrelated elements (p. 11). This is an entirely satisfactory definition. However, the term coherent is superfluous here since coherence can be regarded only as a network of interrelations. Solntsev distinguishes ideal and material systems, characterizing language as a secondary material system (p. 15). Unlike a mere material system, the elements of a secondary material system are relevant not due to their substantial properties, but due to the properties assigned to them, or, put another way, due to the meaning that is transferred by them. Secondary material systems are semiotic or sign systems (p. 16). Here the organizing moment is to be sought in content, information, i.e. in the ideal principle (p. 21). As for the interrelationship of elements and structure, Solntsev stresses their relative independence. This means that substantially identical elements can be utilized also for the organization of a structurally different system. On the

other hand, one and the same structure can be discovered in substantially different objects (p. 29). The latter phenomenon is known under the name of isomorphism.

Discreteness, linearity, heterogeneity, and hierarchization are considered by the author to be basic properties of language. These four properties are briefly characterized on pp. 59—60. However, the two former, i.e. discreteness and linearity would have deserved more attention. Solntsev discusses also the opposition *langue*—*parole* and characterizes *parole* as a set of concrete systems that are constructed of elements by means of rules. At the same time, *langue* is a set consisting of meaningful units and rules that enable combining them into sentences. Thus the rules represent a set of potential interrelations among the elements, interrelations that are manifested in *parole*. The rules restrict the combinatorics of elements. Unlike *parole*, *langue* is a set of elements plus a set of rules (pp. 63—65). Positions of the elements in *parole* are defined as relational or functional positions (p. 69). This implies a nonlinear character of the deep structure in syntagmatics—but Solntsev prefers not being explicit upon this point. On p. 78, the position is defined as a distribution of an element (in the descriptivist sense). However, the distribution is better regarded as a set of all positions in which an element can occur. A good deal of attention has been devoted by the author to syntagmatics and paradigmatics (pp. 65—78) and to the notion of language levels (pp. 78—86).

The second section deals with language from the point of view of sign theory. Solntsev interprets as linguistic signs the phonic shapes of morphemes and words (p. 97). The meaning of word, in relation to idea, is defined as such a minimum of features of the idea that makes the word understandable and capable of functioning in the speech (p. 107). Arbitrariness and conventionality applies only to the sign itself, not to its meaning (p. 110). As far as meaning is concerned, the morpheme, unlike the word, does not refer to an idea but to a certain spectrum of meanings (p. 113). A few lines are devoted by Solntsev also to the criticism of the theory of linguistic relativity (pp. 123—125).

In the third section, the particular units of *langue* as well as those of *parole* are characterized by Solntsev. According to him, the units of *parole* are typically freely combined units of *langue* and as such they are always complex (p. 145). The properties of the units of *langue* are enumerated on p. 183.

Relatively sparse are Solntsev's comments on the rules despite the fact that they represent an essential component of the language system (cf. pp. 188—190). With some reserves they are considered units of *langue*, even if of a different type than phonemes, morphemes, and words. Solntsev does not analyse their mutual relationships and is of the opinion that they are not organized hierarchically. On the other hand, more attention is devoted to semantic units. Solntsev distinguishes a *soneme* (phonic shape of morpheme) from a *sememe* (its meaning) and, likewise, a *nomeme* (phonic shape of word) from a *lexeme* (its meaning, cf. p. 195). The semantic distinctive features are regarded by Solntsev as different from the phonological ones and

conditioned subjectively (p. 200). In other words, they are said not to exist objectively in the language but only in the description of language where they are introduced by the linguist. However, Solntsev's view is incompatible with the objective articulation of reality and with the existence of interrelations between the real objects which are reflected by language. In the conclusion of the third section Solntsev touches upon the problem of parts of sentence (pp. 202—211) and upon that of variability in language (pp. 211—239).

In the conclusion (Signs and linguistic units, pp. 268—275), Solntsev summarizes his theory of language, stressing its character as a sign system. The volume is complemented with a bibliography (pp. 276—282) and an index (pp. 283—289).

Despite the few insignificant critical remarks made here Solntsev's book ranks among the most interesting theoretical works on language published in recent years. This is due both to Solntsev's competence in theoretical questions and to his familiarity with a variety of typologically interesting languages of Southeast Asia.

Viktor Krupa

*Linguistics in Oceania. Current Trends in Linguistics.* Ed. by Sebeok, T. A. Volume 8, Parts I and II. The Hague, Mouton 1971. 1381 pp.

The present volume, edited by J. D. Bowen, I. Dyen, G. W. Grace, and S. A. Wurm, follows two aims. The first is to give an idea of the linguistic situation in Oceania, and the second to furnish a survey of the research in the languages of Oceania. The area is defined so as to cover (1) islands and portions of Asian continent where Austronesian languages are spoken, (2) New Guinea and adjacent islands inhabited by peoples speaking Papuan languages, including the Andamans in the west, (3) indigenous Australia and Tasmania.

While Part I includes articles on the indigenous languages, Part II is devoted to intrusive languages in the area, language contacts, standardization and allied topics. The material included in both parts makes use of a variety of approaches, which, inevitably, results in a certain deal of overlapping and gaps.

More than half of Part I is devoted to the Austronesian family, in many respects the most important linguistic family inside the Oceanic area (pp. 3—505).

The development of Austronesian languages from Proto-Austronesian, and problems of mutual relationships among the individual languages are discussed by I. Dyen (pp. 5—54). A brief survey of research done in the past is followed by sections devoted to subclassification and reconstruction. Dyen does not hesitate to include the controversial question of possible relations of Austronesian with other linguistic families, especially with Indo-European. As a question of a theoretical import, the

applicability of the comparative method to the Austronesian languages is discussed to a considerable extent and with a great insight.

E. M. Uhlenbeck's contribution (pp. 55—111) is a guide to the history of research in the languages of Indonesia and Malaysia. His bibliography covers Western as well as East European and Soviet literature.

Separate chapters are devoted to the languages of the Philippines (by E. Constantino, pp. 112—154), to the Austronesian languages of Formosa (by I. Dyen, pp. 168—199), to the Chamic languages of Indochina (by I. Dyen, pp. 200—210), and to Malagasy (by I. Dyen, pp. 211—239), all of which are frequently labelled as Indonesian.

Since Melanesian has recently not been regarded as a homogeneous branch of Austronesian, the languages of this area are discussed in five separate chapters. However, the groups selected are defined, at least to some extent, in geographical terms: the Austronesian languages of Australian New Guinea (by A. Capell, pp. 240—340), languages of the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands (by G. W. Grace, pp. 341—358), languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands (by A. Haudricourt, pp. 359—396), Fijian and Rotuman (by G. B. Milner, pp. 397—425), and Micronesian languages (by B. W. Bender, pp. 426—465).

The individual authors have chosen different methods to tackle their tasks. While A. Capell's approach is largely typological, G. W. Grace and G. B. Milner pay more attention to bibliography, A. Haudricourt prefers discussing phonology, and, finally, B. W. Bender combines all approaches.

B. Biggs has contributed a survey of the Polynesian languages (pp. 466—505). A brief account of the history of research is followed by a typological characteristic of the group. Maori has been selected by Biggs to illustrate the grammatical structure of East Polynesian languages, while Samoic as well as Tongic languages are only said to have more complex structures. Biggs pays considerable attention to the genetic comparison as well as to subgrouping of the Polynesian languages. His paper is complemented by a checklist of the Polynesian languages.

An extremely exacting task is the description of the linguistic situation in Papua and indigenous Australia. D. C. Laycock and C. L. Voorhoeve (pp. 509—540) have sketched a history of research in Papuan languages, perhaps the first one ever to appear, while S. A. Wurm gives a competent survey of the incredibly complex and changing linguistic situation in New Guinea (pp. 541—657).

As far as Australia (and Tasmania) is concerned, the history of research has been compiled by A. Capell (pp. 661—720), while the classification of the indigenous Australian languages has been sketched by S. A. Wurm (pp. 721—778). A separate though small chapter deals with the lexicographic research in aboriginal Australia (by G. N. O'Grady, pp. 779—803).

Part I of Volume 8 is concluded by J. H. Greenberg's study titled *The Indo-Pacific Hypothesis* (pp. 807—871). Greenberg, known for his large-scale comparative

work, this time intends to demonstrate that the bulk of non-Austronesian languages of Oceania from the Andaman Islands through New Guinea to Tasmania (excluding Australian languages) forms a single group of genetically related languages. He proposes the term Indo-Pacific for this tentative grouping. Greenberg bases his hypothesis upon eleven items of grammatical evidence as well as upon a set of eighty-four lexical cognates.

As mentioned above, Part II of the volume includes articles on some selected topics. As far as influence of non-indigenous languages in the Pacific is concerned, the most prominent part has no doubt been played by English. The impact of English and other Germanic languages is discussed by D. C. Laycock (pp. 877—902). K. J. Hollyman investigates the influence of French (pp. 903—937) and J. D. Bowen that of Hispanic languages (pp. 938—952). As for Asian languages, only the influence of Indian languages is discussed by J. Gonda (pp. 955—968) and the position of Japanese in Taiwan by T. Sugimoto (pp. 969—995). However, the role of Chinese (in Taiwan and the Philippines) as well as that of Arabic (in Indonesia, Malaya, and, possibly, Madagascar) would also deserve a certain attention.

An extreme case of extraneous linguistic impact and of linguistic interference is the existence of pidginized and creolized languages, especially in Melanesia. This is studied by S. A. Wurm (pp. 999—1021).

Another positive feature of the present volume is the inclusion of socio-linguistic problems, especially language policy and standardization. These questions are discussed by S. A. Wurm (New Guinea and Australia, pp. 1025—1038), B. P. Sibayan (The Philippines, pp. 1038—1062), G. J. Trifonovitch (Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, pp. 1063—1087), S. T. Alisjahbana (Indonesia and Malaysia, pp. 1087—1109), and H. Lavondès (French Polynesia, pp. 1110—1128). One has also to mention J. L. Fischer who deals with style contrasts in the languages of Oceania (pp. 1129—1162). The last article by T. S. Barthel (pp. 1165—1186) discusses the problem of the existence of a pre-European writing in the Easter Island. It would be useful to have also included other pre-European writing systems in the area, particularly those of Indian origin, once current in Indonesia and the Philippines.

The volume is concluded by a checklist of Oceanic languages (pp. 1189—1278), biographical notes on the contributors (pp. 1279—1286), index of names (pp. 1287 to 1305), and index of languages (pp. 1306—1381).

Giving a fair review of this valuable publication is hard, if not impossible. Let it only be said that this monumental work compares very well with the other volumes of the whole series and for a long time to come will remain an indispensable reference book for all linguists interested in the study of languages of the vast Oceanic area.

*Viktor Krupa*

Krupa, Viktor, *Polynesian Languages. A Survey of Research*. Janua Linguarum. Series critica 11. The Hague, Mouton 1973. 108 pp.

The monograph *Polynesian Languages. A Survey of Research* summarizes what has been done in the field of Polynesian linguistic studies from its modest beginnings in the era of geographical discoveries till this day. It is a sort of a research guide to literature on Polynesian languages. The author traces the history of linguistic investigation of Polynesia and pays special attention to works of methodological interest. Having sketched a periodization of Polynesian linguistic studies, the author summarizes the salient features of particular periods and points out to innovations in methodology. At the same time, he aims to give a critical evaluation of at least the most important works. The book covers comparative studies, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, and each chapter is complemented with a brief typological characteristics of the particular linguistic level based upon the most recent achievements in the field.

The introductory chapter (pp. 13—18) supplies general information on Polynesia, its geographic conditions, settlement, ethnic situation as well as a survey of languages and oral literature. Chapter 2 titled A Historical Survey of Research (pp. 19—39) gives a chronologically arranged discussion of the development of Polynesian linguistic studies. The author suggests a plausible periodization and gives at least a brief evaluation of the most important milestones in the history of Polynesian linguistics. Chapter 3 is titled External and Internal Relationships of Polynesian languages (pp. 40—46). Special attention is devoted by the author to phonology (pp. 47—57) and grammar (pp. 58—74). The readers will appreciate the inclusion of a chapter dealing with semantic problems (pp. 75—85) that have largely been neglected.

A comprehensive bibliography of books and papers concerned with the Polynesian languages is added to the monograph. The author has included also Soviet and East European items. The General Bibliography (pp. 86—101) lists several hundreds books, articles, and reviews dealing with various aspects of Polynesian languages. The Selective Bibliography (pp. 101—108) is arranged systematically and contains only the most important publications.

The book may serve both as an introduction to the study of Polynesian languages and as a research guide. It may be used as a textbook by university students and as a reference book by all linguists interested in the languages of Oceania and in typology.

The present publication is the first and the only book that gives an exhaustive survey of research in the field of Polynesian languages.

*Jozef Genzor*

Bernabe, Emma—Lapid, Virginia—Sibayan, Bonifacio, *Ilokano Lessons*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. XXIII + 447 pp.

The reviewed manual, *Ilokano Lessons*, is the language course for beginners. It has been developed at the University of Hawaii under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute and is part of a larger series on Philippine languages (PALI Language Texts: Philippines).

Ilokano (also known as Iloko, Iloco, Ilocano, Ilukano, or Ilokan) is member of the Austronesian language family. Within Western Austronesian languages of the Philippine type it should be included in the so-called Northern or Cordilleran subgroup of the Philippine languages. This division includes most of the languages of northern Luzon. Ilokano is the most important of them, occupying much of north-west and northern Luzon. It is the lingua franca throughout northern Luzon. As to the number of native speakers, it occupies the third place in the Philippines, being outnumbered only by Cebuano and Tagalog.

The Introduction (pp. XIII—XXIII) of the textbook contains some directions concerning the use of the book, teaching the lessons, types of pattern drills, instructions to the teacher and to the student, and a note on orthography.

The textbook comprises forty-one lessons (pp. 1—356), seven appendices (pp. 357—418), and a glossary (pp. 419—447). Each lesson generally consists of a dialogue or a basic cycle (a very short communication situation consisting of a single exchange between two speakers), pattern drills, supplementary dialogue combining the new items of the lesson with those learned previously, a vocabulary, and the notes giving usually morphophonemic and cultural explanations. There is also a review section giving a short summary of the previous lesson or lessons but the former is not found in each lesson.

Appendix A contains a table of Ilokano pronouns, Appendix B classroom expressions, Appendix C some useful conversational expressions, Appendix D Ilokano and Spanish numerals, Appendix E useful vocabulary lists (with lexical items arranged according to semantic groups); Appendix F is a set of twenty short, authentic dialogues with Ilokanos. Appendix G contains six Ilokano songs.

*Ilokano Lessons* is a concise description of the language and a convenient handbook for those who are interested in learning Ilokano as a spoken language.

*Jozef Genzor*

- Bunye, Maria Victoria R.—Yap, Elsa Paula, *Cebuano for Beginners*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. XLI + 797 pp.
- Bunye, Maria Victoria R.—Yap, Elsa Paula, *Cebuano Grammar Notes*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 109 pp.
- Yap, Elsa Paula—Bunye, Maria Victoria R., *Cebuano-Visayan Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. XXV + 507 pp.

The three volumes under review have been published in the remarkable series of PALI (Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute) Language Texts: Philippines. They represent a complete manual of the language, including textbook, grammar, dictionary, and texts. The dialect used in them is the standard Cebuano dialect.

Cebuano, also known under other names (Sugbuhanon, Sugbuanon, Sebuano, Cebu, Cebuan, Cinibuhano), is member of the Austronesian linguistic family and one of the major languages of the Philippines. It is spoken by more people than any other Philippine language since it is the mother tongue of approximately one fourth of the total population of the country. It is spoken in Cebu, Bohol, West Leyte, along the northern coasts of Mindanao, and on smaller nearby islands, and as a trade language throughout Mindanao. Only Tagalog is more important and enjoys greater prestige.

Parts I—IV (pp. XV—XLI) of *Cebuano for Beginners* contains general information on the structure of language, arrangement of the textbook, types of pattern drills and notes to the teacher.

The *Cebuano for Beginners* includes forty-seven lessons and nineteen supplements to the lessons (pp. 1—540), a glossary (pp. 541—596), three appendices (pp. 597—667), and two sets of supplementary materials (pp. 668—797).

The lessons are organized in the following way: (1) the dialogue containing the basic texts with its English equivalent is followed by (2) the dialogue broken down into its constituent parts. Usually, (3) the related utterances are added and, besides, (4) the vocabulary list containing the new lexical items in the lesson, (5) the drills of different types (e.g. a drill consisting of repeating sentences after a model; a drill constituting an accumulation of several related dialogues previously learned), (6) the lexical and grammatical notes furnishing structural or cultural explanations of certain items in the lesson are also provided.

Supplementary Materials appear for the first time after the fifth lesson and then reappear at an interval of 2—4 lessons.

Appendix I contains charts giving various grammatical paradigms of Cebuano, Appendix II comprises helpful conversational expressions and idioms, and Appendix III includes some useful lexical items classed in semantic groups.

Supplementary Materials I include only information on Cebuano intonation. The section entitled A. Cebuano Phonology Lessons, is missing.

Supplementary Materials II are additional exercises in reading. The first section (Narratives for the Dialogues) discusses the dialogues given in the text. The following

section contains further conversational materials followed by questions and answers. The rest of the materials include games, legends, recipes, and songs and riddles.

Content of the *Cebuano for Beginners* guarantees the learner a solid knowledge of this Philippine language. The manual is designed for study with the aid of a teacher but an autodidact can effectively use it, too.

*Cebuano Grammar Notes* can be characterized as a reference grammar. It is intended for students who desire to go beyond the classroom discussion.

This brief outline of the Cebuano grammar consists of phonology (pp. 1—15), morphology (pp. 16—63), and syntax (pp. 64—109). The chapter devoted to morphology contains all the parts of speech except the verb. The latter and its constructions are discussed in the section on syntax. The manual is well-arranged, however, the reviewer believes that in the section on numerals it would have been desirable to give a brief note on numerals borrowed from Spanish and their use in Cebuano.

In the table of Cebuano consonants (p. 1) *w* is probably by mistake listed as velar and not as labial. The phonemes /*p, t, k*/ in Cebuano are voiceless unaspirated stops. They are introduced in the section on phonology as “voiceless aspirated stops” (p. 1). This is evidently a misprint because further they are rightly discussed as unaspirated.

*Cebuano-Visayan Dictionary* contains 6,500 lexemes. The majority of the entries that are exemplified have been taken from *Cebuano for Beginners*. Complete entry information includes main entry in capital letters, word class to which the entry is assigned, variant and short forms, verbal affixes, the meaning of the entry, sentences with translations, and reference to the root or stem.

The dictionary is intended primarily as a manual for the users of *Cebuano for Beginners*. However, it can be used for other purposes as well.

Jozef Genzor

Forman, Michael L., *Kapampangan Grammar Notes*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. IX + 136 pp.

Forman, Michael L., *Kapampangan Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. XIII + 246 pp.

The volumes under review form part of a series on Kapampangan (the third book, *Speaking Kapampangan* compiled by Leatrice T. Mirikitani, is not reviewed here). They have been developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute of the University of Hawaii. Kapampangan materials have appeared in the series entitled PALI Language Texts: Philippines.

Kapampangan (other names: Pampango, Pampanga, Pampangan, and Pampangueño), a member of the Western Austronesian branch, is one of the major languages

of the Philippines spoken by nearly one million people in the central plain of Luzon, on the northwest flank of the Tagalog speech area. It belongs to the so-called Central (Mesophilippine) subgroup, together with such widespread languages as Tagalog and Cebuano. However, some scholars are inclined to class it as a subgroup by itself.

*Kapampangan Grammar Notes* consist of Introduction (pp. 1—8), Phonology and Orthography (pp. 9—41), Grammar (pp. 42—81), Sentence and Clause (pp. 81—126), Minor Sentences (pp. 126—134), and Conclusion (p. 135).

The introduction gives some very useful and interesting information on the Kapampangan language and its present situation, on the Kapampangan speech community, and a survey of earlier studies on the Kapampangan language.

Morphology is discussed in the chapter titled Grammar, while the description of syntax is given in the three following chapters.

Kapampangan dictionary contains some 3,500 entries. However, the number of lexemes listed is at least five times greater than that since an entry consists not only of a root but includes usually quite a few derived words.

The compilation of the dictionary is a valuable contribution to Philippine lexicography as there is no Kapampangan-English dictionary available till now.

The reviewer believes that some phenomena need further investigation. This concerns, first of all, the inclusion of the phonemes [j], [c] in the inventory of Kapampangan phonemes. Objections may be raised against the marking of a glottal stop in the vocalic beginning (cf. Note on p. 106 of the dictionary). This problem arises in other Philippine languages as well and the reviewer is of the opinion that the writing system of Kapampangan is in need of revision and unification. This, however is a task for the Kapampangans themselves.

When evaluating literature on the Kapampangan language we see that very little work on it has been done so far, although it is one of the major Philippine languages. From the earlier studies, we can cite a dictionary and a grammar by D. Bergaño: *Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga en romance* (1732, reprinted 1860) and *Arte de la lengua pampanga* (1736, reprinted 1916), and the *English-Spanish-Pampango dictionary* by L. Parker (1905). These are the most important studies on Kapampangan available.

Taking into account these remarks, one can only welcome Forman's materials on Kapampangan and express a wish that more Philippine languages will be described in a similar manner.

Jozef Genzor

Makarenko, V. A., *Tagalskoe slovoobrazovanie* (Tagalog Word-Formation). Moscow, Nauka 1970. 170 pp.

The main task of the present work is "the examination of the system of morphological word-formation in the contemporary Tagalog language, the classification of its types and models, and also the determination of their relative productivity, number, and compatibility" (p. 14).

The author discusses the problem of word-formation in four chapters. However, a thorough analysis of Tagalog morphological word-formation cannot dispense with at least a brief survey of the phonological system. V. A. Makarenko introduces the reader into phonology in Chapter 1 titled Phonemic Structure of the Contemporary Tagalog Language (pp. 15—46). Discussing the phonological system of Tagalog, the author also gives examples from other Philippine and Indonesian languages

The bulk of the book is taken up by Chapter 2—Morphological Elements of the Word in Contemporary Tagalog (pp. 47—105). The author distinguishes the following structural types of word: (1) root words, (2) derived or affixed words, (3) partially reduplicated words, (4) complex words, (5) reduplicated words. The author also pays attention to some theoretical questions. He suggests a unified terminology of derivational elements in Tagalog as well as in the related Indonesian languages. Borrowing from Chinese, Sanskrit, Spanish, English are discussed here, too.

Reduplication and affixation (i.e. prefixation, infixation, suffixation) as highly productive types of word-formation in Tagalog, are the object of investigation of Chapter 3—Word-Formation (Affixation) in Contemporary Tagalog (pp. 106—137). In addition, morphophonemic changes, changes of stress, affixal and anomalous word-formation are dealt with here.

From the etymological point of view, composition and reduplication are the earliest and most productive types of word-formation in Tagalog. These phenomena are extremely frequent in Tagalog and are examined in Chapter 4—Composition and Reduplication in Contemporary Tagalog (pp. 138—153). Abbreviations are likewise described in this chapter.

There are three appendices at the end of the book. Appendix I (pp. 154—164) comprises an extensive bibliography of works concerning problems of Tagalog word-formation, Appendix II (pp. 165—169) deals with the literature quoted in the monograph, and Appendix III (pp. 170—171) is a list of abbreviations used in the publication. With an index added, the book would be more lucid.

Philippine languages are notable for a complexity of their verb—and to a lesser extent of their noun morphology. The monograph under review is the first systematic description of word-formation in the contemporary Tagalog language. That is why it should not be missing in the library of any Philippinist.

*Jozef Genzor*

Mintz, Malcolm W., *Bikol Grammar Notes*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 279 pp.

The present grammar of Bikol forms part of a language course intended for beginners, the other materials being *Bikol Text* as well as a *Bikol Dictionary* compiled by the same author but they are not reviewed here. The Bikol materials have been published in the Philippine series of the PALI (Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute) Language Texts.

Bikol, sometimes spelled Bicol or Vicol, is the prevailing language in the southern half of Camarines Norte, in Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Catanduanes, and in some towns of Masbate, i.e. mostly in southeast Luzon and some adjacent islands. Bikol is one of the eight major Philippine languages, closely related to Tagalog and spoken by over two million people. Bikol has at least ten dialects; this grammar is based on the Naga dialect.

The manual is divided into the following parts: (1) The Basic Sentence Structure (pp. 5—96), (2) Additions to the Basic Sentence Structure (pp. 97—152), and (3) Additional Affix Series (pp. 153—268). An Index (pp. 269—279) is also added. All three parts expound both morphology and syntax while notes on phonology are missing. Mintz' method is that of descriptivists who underestimate the distinction between combinations of morphemes on the one hand, and those of more complex units, on the other.

Even if the monograph under review is a reference grammar, the reader would appreciate a more transparent internal organization. Neither is the reviewer sure that Mintz' description of Bikol is sufficiently exhaustive.

Although the author and the editor believe that "many will be encouraged to learn Bikol through these materials", the latter obviously cannot be used without the aid of a teacher.

Jozef Genzor

Ramos, Teresita V., *Tagalog Structures*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. X + 176 pp.

Ramos, Teresita V., *Tagalog Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. XLIII + 330 pp.

The books under review represent two of the three volumes on the Tagalog language (the third being *Tagalog for Beginners* by Teresita V. Ramos and Videa de Guzman). These volumes have appeared in the series entitled PALI Language Texts: Philippines. The series has been developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii.

*Tagalog Structures* is a synopsis the aim of which is to assist the learner of Tagalog in understanding basic structures. It consists of ten parts. Part I (pp. 1—13) deals with consonants, vowels, diphthongs, consonant clusters as well as with prosodic features. Morphology is discussed in Part II entitled Word Formation (pp. 14—77). The Tagalog verb is no doubt the most difficult word class to be mastered. This is why one would appreciate a more detailed treatment of verbs.

There are several chapters devoted to syntax (III. Basic Sentence Construction, pp. 77—114; IV. Basic Sentence Types, pp. 115—124; V. Expansion of Sentences, pp. 124—144; VI. Comparative Constructions, pp. 145—147; VII. Causative Sentences, pp. 147—160; VIII. Topicless Sentences in Tagalog, pp. 160—164; IX. Exclamatory Sentences, pp. 164—166).

*Tagalog Structures* can be used as a reliable, if brief, reference grammar of the most important Philippine language. It is conveniently complemented by the *Tagalog Dictionary*. The latter comprises some 4,000 lexemes. It includes words of high frequency and enables a non-Tagalog user to be conversant in everyday situations in the Philippines. Most of the entries listed are root words. The dictionary is well-arranged. Each entry is followed by a symbol which identifies the part of speech of the item. The latter identification is followed by an affix or affixes (if any), enclosed in slashes. The definition of the entry comes next, with synonyms or variants added. Many verb entries are illustrated by Tagalog sentences.

Numerous loanwords that have become part of the Tagalog vocabulary are designated by abbreviations of their source languages. However, the designation is carried out in an inconsistent way. It is not clear why numerous words, clearly of foreign origin, are labelled as such while others are not.

There can be no doubt that these manuals (together with the third volume, *Tagalog for Beginners*, not reviewed here) give the student a clear idea of Tagalog and will encourage further research and study of the Tagalog language. These publications form a solid basis that enables all students to penetrate into the structure of Tagalog.

*Jozef Genzor*

Schachter, Paul—Otanés, Fe T., *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London, University of California Press 1972. 566 pp.

The present publication is another proof of an increased interest in the study of Philippine languages. Thanks to P. Schachter and F. T. Otanes, an excellent manual is now available for the most important Philippine language. This reference work is notable for some features of a confrontational grammar since Tagalog structures are frequently compared with their English equivalents. The book is arranged in ac-

cordance with the requirements of transformational generative grammar; Basic Sentence Structure (pp. 59—85) precedes the discussion of nominals (pp. 87—194), adjectivals (pp. 195—282), verbals (pp. 283—410), and adverbials (pp. 411—484). Derived and Minor Sentence Structures are explained in the last chapter (pp. 485 to 555). The only exception to the transformational generative arrangement may be seen in the first chapter containing information on both phonetics and phonemics and titled rather inconveniently Pronunciation (pp. 1—58). Throughout the book elements of the transformational approach are used on a moderate level and without the usual notation. This is not at all meant as a critical remark.

Another feature typical of American linguistics is the tendency to a fused treatment of both morphology and syntax. Four classes of sentence components are distinguished by the authors, i.e. nominals, adjectivals, verbals, adverbials (p. 87). At the same time, a classification of the vocabulary into various word classes is completely lacking. In other words, the authors regard as irrelevant the distinction between sentence components and word classes. This is an objectionable solution although it may well fit into their theoretical framework.

The importance of the semantic factor for such a type of classification is inevitably underestimated here and as a consequence, pronouns and quantifiers are included in other groupings.

The book contains an index, unfortunately, no bibliography is included. Yet the present publication is a most valuable work and a major contribution to the Philippine studies.

*Jozef Genzor*

Wolff, John U., *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*. The Linguistic Society of the Philippines. (Philippine Journal of Linguistics. Special Monograph Issue Number 4. June, 1972.) XX + 1164 pp.

Cebuano or Sugbuhanon (other names: Sebuano, Sugbuanon, Cebu, Cebuan) is one of the eight major languages of the Philippines. There are some eight million native speakers of Cebuano. It is spoken in the central parts of the Philippines, in Cebu, Bohol, West Leyte, along the northern coasts of Mindanao, and on smaller nearby islands, and as a trade language throughout Mindanao. Cebuano, like the other major Philippine languages, especially Tagalog and Ilocano, has an extensive literature, and is widely used in broadcasting and newspapers. Although the native speakers of Cebuano outnumber those of any other language in the Philippines, the official language is Tagalog that is widely spoken as a second language by a considerable proportion of the Filipinos. Cebuano cannot compare with Tagalog (Pilipino) either as to its prestige or its importance and development.

The reviewed dictionary contains some 25,000 entries and an addenda of 700 lexemes. It has been published jointly by the Southeast Asia Program and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. The compilation of this work covers a period of eleven years and was done by more than a hundred persons. Professor John U. Wolff, the author of this dictionary, used only native sources and illustrations supplied by native speakers. The explanations are given in English, however, "the aim of this work is not to provide English equivalents but to explain Cebuano forms in terms of themselves. It is meant as a reference work for Cebuano speakers and as a tool for students of the Cebuano language" (p. III).

The dictionary consists of Preface (p. III), List of Abbreviations (p. VI), Introduction (pp. VII—XX), Entries (pp. 1—1141), Addenda (pp. 1141—1163), and Bibliography (p. 1164).

The Introduction deals with the present state of Cebuano and its dialects. Dialectal forms are not listed except for a few items "which tend to find their way into standard Cebuano" (p. VII). The dictionary includes also a brief outline of phonology, alternations, inflection, verbal derivation, active and passive verb classes (pp. IX—XX).

The main bulk of the dictionary is devoted to entries. The lexemes are arranged in a strictly alphabetical order and the derived words are not listed separately but under their roots. It is a fully justified procedure in a Western Austronesian language, as Cebuano is. A different arrangement would vastly increase the size of the volume.

The dictionary comprises many expressions and constructions which are typical of everyday speech. However, more formal styles of Cebuano are not ignored either. Numerous words are exemplified and supplied with illustrations, but some of the words are merely translated. In most cases both a translation and an illustration are given. The majority of words (nearly a million) are taken from texts and informants. They illustrate the usage in a variety of topics and styles.

*A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan* is a very useful aid for all students who want to achieve an active and practical knowledge of Cebuano. Naturally, every dictionary contains a finite amount of words and can never be complete. However, according to the author himself, he is going "to produce an expanded and improved version with illustrations" (p. III). But even in its present form this volume constitutes a significant increase in published information on one of the most important Philippine languages.

*Jozeff Genzor*

Saito, Shiro, *Philippine Ethnography. A Critically Annotated and Selected Bibliography*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1972. XXXI + 512 pp.

The Philippine Islands are inhabited by numerous nations, nationalities and tribes. That is why they are highly interesting for an ethnographer. The present

bibliography represents a valuable aid to all scholars engaged in the study of Philippine ethnography.

The author of the present publication spent one year (1967/68) doing field work in the Philippines and gathering data. However, the preparation of the volume lasted some three years.

The compiler himself characterizes the aim of his work rather modestly: "The primary purpose of this bibliography is to provide bibliographic guidance to researchers who are conducting initial literature searches for references outside their immediate interests, or to graduate students embarking on their first search, and to assist librarians in locating Philippine materials for their clientele, non-specialist as well as other" (p. XV).

The bibliography is divided into four parts. Part I (pp. 1—268) is general, Parts II—IV (pp. 269—484) are on Luzon, the Bisayas and Palawan, and Mindanao and Sulu. In these sections, each part is divided into two subsections—the first is arranged by subject-matter and the second by cultural-linguistic group. As for annotation, the rating begins from 1—poor to 5—excellent primary data, time period covered is from pre-Spanish times to 1968 inclusive. Publications listed here are those that were published in the major western languages. There is a list of annotators added in the introductory section.

*Philippine Ethnography* was published as a part of the East-West Bibliographic Series. It is equipped with Cultural-Linguistic Group Index (pp. 485—486) and Author Index (pp. 487—512).

In conclusion it must be said that Saito's book ranges among the best bibliographies of this kind ever published.

*Jozef Genzor*

Alieva, N. F.—Arakin, V. D.—Ogloblin, A. K.—Sirk, Y. K., *Grammatika indonezijskogo jazyka* (A Grammar of the Indonesian Language). Moscow, Nauka 1972. 462 pp.

Indonesian studies have been pursued in the Soviet Union only for some 25 years. Therefore, it is not surprising at all that this volume represents the first exhaustive grammar of Indonesian published in the USSR. Its aim is to give a systematic treatment of phonology, morphology, and syntax of the contemporary standard Indonesian language (to be more precise, of its written variant). The authors are fully aware of the instability of the Indonesian linguistic norm. Their grammar is based chiefly upon data from modern fiction and only to a lesser extent upon journalistic texts.

The authors treat language as a system containing nothing casual. They discuss first of all the form and through it the most important grammatical categories and

meanings, applying both distributional and transformational methods where necessary (p. 4). The style and selection of terminology used here have been influenced by their intention to furnish a description accessible both to scholars and laymen interested in mastering Indonesian. This, however, does not mean that the present publication can be used as a textbook.

An independent and original approach to the description of Indonesian becomes apparent especially in the treatment of word classes (pp. 103—110) and verbal categories (pp. 111—180). However, one of the greatest merits of this book is the fact that nearly two hundred pages describe the syntax of Indonesian (pp. 253—447), one of the least studied subjects so far.

The classification of words adopted in this publication differs to some extent from what is usually found in available descriptions of Indonesian.

The pioneering character of the present volume puts certain restrictions upon its contents. The authors have concentrated their attention on gathering, describing, and classifying linguistic facts and postponed their theoretical interpretation and generalization. However, some problems of general interest are discussed *passim* in chapters devoted to syntax.

Although one may object to the treatment of a variety of problems, this in no way reduces the importance of the Soviet reference grammar. However, in so far as the publication is intended for practical purposes as well, one would appreciate at least a brief survey of all grammatical morphemes (whether affixes or particles) of Indonesian. Such a purely formal approach would conveniently complement the detailed and careful discussion of these same forms given under various grammatical categories. The reviewer as well as readers would also welcome an index. The bibliography (pp. 450—455) lists some 120 items both in Russian and in other languages, including all relevant literature of any importance, with one possible exception, i.e. R. Ross Macdonald and Soenjono Darjowidjojo's *Student's Reference Grammar of Modern Formal Indonesian* (published in Washington, Georgetown University Press 1967, 278 pp.).

The reviewer believes that it would be a good idea to publish this Soviet grammar of Indonesian in English as well. This would be a welcome contribution to Indonesian studies abroad.

Viktor Krupa

Ionova, A. I., "*Musulmanskii natsionalizm*" v sovremennoi Indonezii (1945—1965) ("Muslim Nationalism" in Contemporary Indonesia). Moscow, Nauka 1972. 281 pp.

The Islamic question has been the object of relatively considerable attention in connection with post-war development in Indonesia, but only a few Indonesianists

have been concerned with its ideological implications. Hence, authors such as J. Prins, H. M. Federspiel, L. M. Yefimova or A. F. Korobkov, who lay particular emphasis on the ideological aspect of the Islamic question are rather an exception than the rule. And thus, the present A. I. Ionova's monograph constitutes within this frame of reference, the most complete attempt to show the roles of Islam in the ideological life of Indonesia during the period following World War II.

The authoress sets as her aim "a study and discovery of the social roots and an analysis of the theological, socio-political and economic doctrines of ideologies that have developed on the basis of a 'Muslim nationalism' " (p. 3).

The first half of her goal is dealt with in the first chapter (pp. 8—99). In it the authoress has attempted "a reconstruction of the psychological, political and social background from a general world-wide outlook, against which various Muslim conceptions were formed" (p. 4). She points out the historical roots of present-day Muslim ideology in Indonesia and includes also the question of relations of the Indonesian government towards the Muslim community. She discusses important changes in the leading circles of the Muslim community. Inside the latter, the traditional leaders-representatives of the theological hierarchy are ousted more and more during the post-war period by new leaders from the ranks of high bourgeoisie. Not in the last place, the authoress underlines the role of Islamic political parties in the public life of the country.

The substance proper of the monograph is given in the following three chapters (pp. 100—264) in which the authoress deals with those theories and their adherents that represent the principal tendencies in present-day Muslim ideology. These are mainly the theory of "Islamic democracy", further that of "Muslim socialism", and finally diverse caliphate conceptions.

The essential characteristic of the first two theories is embodied in the very title. "Islamic Democracy", or also the theory of a "National Islam State" lays the principal stress of the political doctrine that takes as its model a bourgeois type of democracy and its parliamentary republic. The deficiencies of bourgeois democracy criticized by adherents of this movement should be remedied by the application of Islamic principles. It is hardly necessary to underline that these principles are reassessed from the aspect of new needs, often with a considerable dose of utilitarianism. The authoress aptly characterizes this approach as an effort at conciliating reason and faith.

As against this, "Muslim Socialism" is an extension of socialist ideas in post-war Indonesia. If to the bourgeois group of this movement, socialist ideas were nothing but "characteristic ideological mimicries dictated by a sober estimate of the impasse of capitalist enterprising among Indonesian masses" (p. 155), then the little bourgeois adherents of this trend are characterized by a sincere endeavour at resolving the social problems. At the same time, they put a considerable emphasis on the specific condition of Indonesia (cf. Abikusno Tjokrosujoso's "Eastern collectivism"). The

above two groups of "Muslim socialism" stand closer to the views of "Islamic democrats" through their disavowal of class struggle and solving of social problems within the framework of the existing capitalist system.

The last chapter (pp. 211—264) is concerned with the ideology of the "caliphate" or "caliphatism". This form derives from Panislamism and is based on a conviction that Islam possesses the extraordinary ability to assure supra-class and supra-national unity of 'umma' (Muslim community). The caliphate where the caliph has both the political (emirate) and spiritual (imamate) power passes for the acme in stateshood. Those professing this ideology represent the most diverse social strata with definite conservative views. The social diversity corresponds to one of persuasion: its adherents included the aristocracy in the service of the Dutch, collaborating with "the enemies of the faith" as well as adherents of the fanatical patriarchal movement Darul Islam with Kartosuwirjo at the head.

On the whole, A. I. Ionova evaluates the religious forms of Indonesian ideology as a rightist and more conservative variant of the ideological views of secular bourgeois and little-bourgeois groups. At the same time she ascribes a significant role to the narrow-mindedness of the religious form which necessarily turns Muslim ideological conceptions towards conservative traditions.

The authoress approaches the question of Islam ideology in Indonesia from a very broad context, putting to advantage her thorough knowledge of Indonesian sources and literature dealing with this problem (she refers to 27 of the most prominent theorists of "Muslim nationalism" and her truly representative bibliography (pp. 268—280) comprises over three hundred titles).

The above factor, together with a critical approach from the aspect of a Marxist *Weltanschauung* enabled her to judge the problem of "Muslim nationalism" with a deeper understanding for its inner diversification than is usual in similar works by other authors. Besides, A. I. Ionova makes no secret of the fact that her work is a polemic with a simplified division of Islamic ideology into two basic movements—"a reformatory" and "an orthodox" one, which appears in the work by Harry J. Benda *The Crescent and the Rising Sun*, published in 1958, but which is also common in more recent studies.

A. I. Ionova's monograph is an original, well-processed contribution towards a Marxist understanding of the problems of Islam under modern Indonesian conditions.

*Štefan Fatura*

Bausani, Alessandro, *Le letteratura del sud-est asiatico* (Les Littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est). *Le letteratura del mondo*, 37. Firenze—Milano, Sansoni/Accademia 1970. 442 pp.

Dans son livre *Le letteratura del sud-est asiatico* Alessandro Bausani s'est donné pour but une tâche extrêmement difficile et complexe — écrire une œuvre sur les littératures en question capable de les enfermer comme un tout unitaire. Il s'agit d'un immense travail si l'on prend en considération toute la diversité des langues et des cultures de la région, qui, néanmoins — et on l'a tant de fois souligné — ont des caractéristiques très propres permettant de parler d'une unité culturelle de la région.

L'œuvre de A. Bausani commence par une introduction qui passe en revue les événements historiques les plus importants de la région. L'introduction comprend aussi une courte caractéristique des langues dont les littératures respectives seront le thème de son exposition. On y trouve aussi un bref aperçu sur les littératures philippines.

L'exposition-même est divisée en cinq chapitres, chacune d'elles correspondant à une de littératures traitées. Ce sont: la littérature birmane, siamoise (thaïlandaise), cambodgienne, vietnamienne, et javanaise avec malaise-indonésienne. L'importance relative des littératures particulières, l'accessibilité variée des matériaux à l'auteur et ses connaissances pas toujours équilibrées ont causé que différentes littératures sont sujettes à traitement différent. Cela se reflète dans la division proportionnelle de son œuvre: si le traité sur la littérature malaise-indonésienne comprend 106 pages, les littératures philippines devaient se contenter avec quatre pages seulement, ce qui est lamentablement peu.

Nous avons déjà signalé un aspect important de l'œuvre de A. Bausani: il croit que sa position de l'unique auteur lui fera possible de „abbracciare i vari fenomeni letterari del sud-est asiatico come un tutto unitario dando qua e là giudizi comparativi sia su questi fenomeni fra di loro, sia fra questi e quelli di altre letterature asiatiche“ (p. 5). Loin d'être persuadés de la réussite d'une pareille méthode pour créer une image réelle des relations complexes entre différentes littératures, nous devons pourtant avouer que l'auteur montre plus de compréhension pour les problèmes des relations et des influences mutuelles des littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est que n'en font preuve de pareilles œuvres écrites par plusieurs auteurs.

L'œuvre de A. Bausani est destiné au grand public et son but consiste à donner des informations fondamentales sur les littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est au lecteur généralement peu informé. C'est en ce sens que l'on s'explique l'introduction linguistique et historique. Au même but sert une quantité d'exemples de courts textes épiques et de poésies. L'accent est mis aussi sur la théorie des formes littéraires, surtout là où absence de pareilles formes dans nos littératures européennes rend cet accent indispensable. L'œuvre est complétée par une bibliographie contenant les ouvrages de référence les plus importants.

En s'occupant de l'œuvre de A. Bausani nous ne pouvons pas omettre de souligner les qualités de son style. L'auteur a déjà prouvé dans *La letteratura persiana* qui a apparu dans la même série (Le letteratura del mondo) qu'il possède l'art d'écrire d'une manière vive et intéressante. Dans le présent ouvrage il ne fait que réaffirmer ces avantages. A cet égard, la seule chose à lui reprocher serait l'accumulation des noms et des faits dans certains passages, ce qui rend l'exposition moins efficace. Moins de faits mieux sélectionnés auraient donné quelquefois une solution plus acceptable.

Dans son ensemble, *Le letteratura del sud-est asiatico* représentent un remarquable apport novateur à nos connaissances des littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est et elles serviront d'une source valable des informations aux cercles les plus larges des intéressés.

Štefan Fatura

Marr, David G., *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885—1925*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London, University of California Press 1971. 322 pp.

We may say right at the beginning and with full responsibility that the publication by Prof. David G. Marr of Cornell University is a unique, thorough, and as regards problem contents and their qualitative assessment an exhaustive study. It is written and conceived on a strictly scientific basis and its incontestable priority lies in its wide range of take of the investigated material.

The author has concentrated his attention on a study of the Vietnamese resistance during the French colonial domination from 1885 to 1925. This period includes only four historical decades but in Vietnamese history they have come to mean more than whole centuries before. David G. Marr makes abundant use of French, Vietnamese, Japanese, Chinese and American sources and his book is thus a valuable historiographic collection. He makes a comparative study of this material and insofar as Vietnamese sources are concerned, those from both the North and South are represented. Understandably, those most abundant are French materials which the author found in the Archives Nationales (Section Outre-Mer), and publications that appeared over the past fifteen years.

In his introduction, historically well-founded, the author states why he has chosen the term Vietnam and not some of the earlier forms, as for instance, Nam-Viet, Dai-Viet, or Dai-Nam. With regard to regional designations, he uses the terms North, Middle and South Vietnam.

He also draws abundantly on Marxist historiography (Hanoi, Paris) and underlines thoroughness in the economic and social sphere while expressing certain reservations as regards the intellectual, psychological and cultural area.

The core of the book is made up of ten independent chapters which, however, historiographically link up well one with another.

In the introduction he starts from the symbolic value of street names according to Vietnamese patriots who became famous in the struggle against the colonial power, and this both in the South and the North. He expresses an interesting view—the majority of Vietnamese scholar-gentry collaborated after 1885 with the French on a spiritual or psychological basis rather than on an economic or material one. According to him, economic factors played a more important role in anticolonial activity only during the period of 1919—1939. In addition, he explains why he decided for the term “anticolonial” to characterize the Vietnamese national movement during the above period. Some might perhaps consider such terms as “anti-French”, “resistance”, or “nationalist” more apt and exact. In his view, the term “anti-French” is more suitable to designate the period 1858—1898 in the same sense as the expressions “antiforeign” and “antimodern” are being used in certain frames of reference. The term “resistance” in Vietnam carries a wider connotation and designates the basic traditional resistance to foreign intervention (Mongol, Ming, etc.). And finally, why does he not use the term “nationalist movements”? “I have avoided the terms national or nationalist, largely because the nearest Vietnamese equivalents, *quoc-gia* and *quoc-dan*, carry unpardonable contemporary loads of political controversy and bitterness. The term *dan-toc* is more appropriate and acceptable, but that really has developed from the centuries-old Vietnamese sense of “peoplehood”, which is involved more with ethnic and cultural-linguistic factors than with national and territorial ones” (p. 6).

In the first chapter D. G. Marr deals with the nature of Vietnamese identity. He explains “group identity” paradoxically on the basis of “group differentiation”. He points out the complex nature of the territory from the geographical and ethnical aspect, where the Vietnamese came into contact with members of Tai, Mon-Khmer, Malayo-Polynesian and Sinitic groups who were of a different extraction and on a different degree of advancement. He makes a more detailed comparison of the style of life of the Vietnamese with mountain nations, the Khmer, Laosans and Chinese. He lays particular stress on the Vietnamese relation towards China, the ethnological origin of the Vietnamese nation and on the ability of the Vietnamese to preserve some kind of a “separate identity” during the course of a millennial Chinese dominance. He gives a characteristic of the Vietnamese, their culture and way of thinking in a chronological sequence of changing dynasties and in particular during the anti-Mongol struggle which, in his view, created the first real Vietnamese cultural hero (he points out the difference as regards the significance of Tran Hung Dao, the Trung sisters and Ly Thuong Kiet). This is in fact a history of the Vietnamese nation from the aspect of its fight for and endeavours at a national self-existence, beginning with myths and legends until the arrival of the French in 1858.

In the second chapter headed *A Patrimony Lost*, D. G. Marr analyses the meas-

ures taken by the Vietnamese king Gia Long in his relations to the Chinese ruler Minh Mang (1820—1841) and to the values of the Confucian ideology. He characterizes the period of the emperor Tu Duc's reign (1847—1883) as the misery of Vietnamese history. He brings to light numerous insights and problems in connection with the systematic subjugation of Indochina by France (initiated by admiral Charner and admiral Bonard), problems associated with collaboration and opposition (the well-known literary scholar Nguyen Dinh Chieu), catholicism, the impact of the French defeat by Germany in 1870. Special attention is devoted to the complex relations between France, Vietnam and China, with a detailed portrayal of the 1865 incident when following his defeat at Taiping in China, the Chinese military leader Liu Yung-fu (in Vietnamese Luu Vinh Phuc) crossed the Chinese-Vietnamese border with several hundreds of his followers, and on Vietnamese territory organized anti-French units known under the name Black Flags (Co Den). He has this to say on the situation of the Vietnamese in the mid-eighties of the 19th century: "In the end, for many Vietnamese the deepest psychological agony would stem from a realization that the French from this point onward succeeded in consolidating their power largely by the use of some Vietnamese to destroy other Vietnamese" (p. 43).

Chapter three is concerned with the movement Can Vuong (Loyalty to the King), also called Van Than, that spread already during the first years following signature of the French-Vietnamese treaty (1884), mainly in Central and Northern Vietnam. It was the first stage in the national liberating movement at the head of which stood patriotic representatives of the feudal strata (for the rescue of the king Ham Nghi). In reality that was an edict of resistance in the spirit of classical tradition, of a feudal-monarchistic character with a nationalist undertone. The beginning was the uprising of Ton That Tuat (1885—1888)—the regent of the young king Ham Nghi at Hue, later in the Quang Tri province. The representative of this movement in Nghe An province was Nguyen Xuan On (1925—1889), in the Ha Tinh province it was Phan Dinh Phung (born in 1847) and Cao Thang. In the North, Nguyen Quang Bich was appointed to coordinate resistance—however, until his death in 1890 he did not succeed to organize an active resistance. In the Mekong delta the highest degree of this resistance was achieved in the provinces of Hung Yen, Hai Duong and Bac Ninh. In the mountainous regions it was led by Hoang Hoa Tham, better known under the name of De Tham, "Tiger of Yen The". At the time when general Paul Doumer (February 1897) came to Indochina in his function of Governor, the Can Vuong movement was a thing of the past. D. G. Marr characterizes it as follows: "The Can Vuong movement was never national in scope, even among the scholar-gentry class alone. It was a mass movement only at times and in rather restricted locations" (p. 76). In general then, there was here no idea that could be said to have been revolutionary. It was a matter of a minority of the educated who acted solely within the framework of their own idealist-ethical conceptions. The farming popula-

tion just followed them loyally, similarly as had been the case during their resistance against the Chinese in the preceding centuries. Nevertheless, the moral value of this movement of resistance against a totally new usurper cannot be denied. The relative successes of this movement were carried on, even though with some scepticism, by the next generation of anticolonial resistance.

The fourth chapter *A Generation Lasts and Firsts* presents a new generation that ensued roughly between the years 1860 and 1885. Among its principal representatives (the author mentions nine) here are at least some of the more important ones: Phan Boi Chau (1867—1947), Phan Chu Trinh (1872—1926), Huynh Thuc Khang (1876 to 1947) and Ngo Duc Ke (1878—1929). Contrary to Can Vuong, these started from the assumption that a foreign domination over one or several generations, though representing the loss of political sovereignty, need not bring about an ideological or a cultural loss. D. G. Marr analyses further the system of education and the problems ensuing from its disruption by the French administration, takes note of the juridical, economic, financial and business development of the country. Interesting though questionable is the author's opinion that simple economics could be managed by a generation that strove to cooperate rather than resist.

The anticolonial movement in Vietnam was further influenced by the Japanese victory over Russia (1905), the reformist movement in China and the works of Japanese, Chinese and Western reformers. This is dealt with in chapter five, *Phan Boi Chau's First Trip to Japan*. In Vietnam, mainly Chinese studies on Meiji reforms in Japan were largely propagated, (e.g., Liang's article *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao—The Renovation of the People*). Phan Boi Chau, too, wrote that he had read those articles before he left Vietnam in 1905 to seek help in Japan, a country he looked to as a model of an eastern state and considered it as the liberator of Asian nations from Western colonisers. Even before leaving (1904) he founded the Vietnamese society *Duy Tan Hoi* (Reformation Society) whose strategy was embodied in the three generally known points. Its programme followed strictly Mencius' tradition and their own strength, laid emphasis on "popular zeal" (*dan-khi*), "popular intellect" (*dan-tri*) and the cultivation of talent (*nhan-tai*). While in Japan, Phan Boi Chau established contacts with the Chinese (Sun Yat-sen, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao) and the Philippine (Mariano Ponce) nationalist movements and wrote his work *Viet-Nam Vong Quoc Su* (History of the Loss of Vietnam), which D. G. Marr analyses thoroughly in the book under review.

The sixth chapter is dedicated to the *Dong Du* Movement. This involved an organized sending-out of Vietnamese youth to study in Japan (*Eastern Study*). One of the incentives had been a pamphlet by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao *Khuyen Quoc dan Tu Tro Du Hoc Van* (Encouragement to Citizens to Contribute for Overseas Study), which had a considerable impact so that the movement spread a great deal in the period 1906—1908. In the second part of this chapter the author analyses the verified work of Phan Boi Chau *Hai Ngoai Huyet Thu* (Overseas Book Inscribed in

Blood) in which he drew inspiration, on the basis of Chinese materials, from the trio of the Italian heroes—Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour.

The seventh chapter The Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc deals with the foundation and activity of a private school in Hanoi (open in March, 1907) for four to five hundred students, which was oriented historically and was meant to promote the education of the young in the spirit of anticolonial struggle.

In the subsequent chapters D. G. Marr is concerned with the historical consequences of the failure of the anticolonial movement of this period (Nineteen-eight and the Historical Implications of Failure), the socio-cultural events of the second decade of our century (Hostages) and the anticolonial movement of the first half of the twenties already with the active participation and under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh (Changing of the Guard).

In a brief conclusion of his book, David G. Marr assesses in particular the activity of both the great national Vietnamese leaders (Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh), their mistakes, legacy, present-day popularity, its causes, etc.

The book is suitably supplemented with a well-arranged glossary, a detailed but clearly set bibliography, orienting maps and an index.

*Ján Múčka*

Syromiatnikov, N. A., *Drevneyaponskii yazyk* (The Old Japanese Language). Moscow, Nauka 1972. 176 pp.

The present publication has appeared in the series Languages of Asian and African Peoples founded by late Professor Serdiuchenko.

The Old Japanese is defined by Syromiatnikov as the ancestor language of Modern Japanese spoken in the era from the 3rd to the 8th century A. D. This monograph is based upon prosaic and poetic texts dating from the 8th century as well as upon rich linguistic literature published on the subject both in the Soviet Union and abroad.

The author pays a good deal of attention to the Old Japanese vocabulary, to its affinities with numerous languages of North, East, and South Asia (esp. pp. 17—25) and he also uses the method of internal reconstruction (esp. p. 12). According to Syromiatnikov, the Old Japanese was no isolated language as far as its phonology, grammar, and vocabulary is concerned (p. 13). His etymologies are no doubt interesting but the reviewer would class them into several layers according to their degree of plausibility (affinities with Korean, Altaic, and Austronesian, etc.). Comparisons such as Old Japanese *puru* “ancient”—Indonesian *purba* “ancient” (the latter of Sanskrit origin), Old Japanese *pa* “tooth”—Indonesian *papar* “flat”, etc. ought to be omitted. On the other hand, the author should include such obvious parallels as, e.g. Old Japanese *pi* “fire”, Indonesian *apuj* “fire”.

A special chapter treats phonetics and phonology of the Old Japanese language (pp. 26—42) but writing is dealt with rather briefly (pp. 42—48). Another chapter discusses vocabulary and derivation including word tabu and reduplication (pp. 48—76). However, the bulk of the monograph is devoted to morphology (pp. 77 to 143) and syntax (pp. 143—161). The appendix includes a useful index of affixes and auxiliary words (pp. 162—168), a list of abbreviations (pp. 169—170), and a brief bibliography (pp. 171—174).

Despite the fact that the results of Syromiatnikov's etymological comparison are regarded by the reviewer as preliminary, though helpful, the present monograph is a welcome aid to those who desire to get acquainted with Old Japanese and to understand better the grammatical structure of Modern Japanese.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Sovremennaya Koreya. Spravochnoe izdanie* (Contemporary Korea. A Handbook Edition). Moscow, Nauka 1971. 417 pp.

The book has been compiled by a team of Koreanists of the Oriental Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and other scientific institutions. It is the first reference book on Korea in the Soviet literature.

The book is divided into three sections: Section I—Country and Population (pp. 5—145), Section II—Democratic People's Republic of Korea (pp. 146—289), and Section III—South Korea (pp. 290—414). This grouping is fairly proportionately distributed, only the third part is somewhat smaller.

Section I contains general information on the whole of Korea, including physical geography, administrative division, population with an ethnographical outline added, religion, language and writing, and history. The latter forms the largest part, i.e. almost two thirds of Section I (pp. 56—145) and is further subdivided into ancient history and Middle Ages, recent history, modern history, Korea after the liberation from the Japanese colonial rule (North and South) and, finally, the struggle for a peaceful unification of the country.

Both Sections II and III consist of four chapters dealing with: (1) state system, (2) political parties and social organizations, (3) economy, and (4) culture. Individual chapters contain many statistical data and information on science, literature, and the arts.

There can be no doubt that this is a useful manual. Unfortunately, the compilers have not deemed it necessary to include maps, a bibliography and an index, which would greatly enhance the value of the publication.

*Jozef Genzor*

Adjimamudova, V. S., *Yü Ta-fu i literaturnoe obshchestvo "Tvorchestvo"* (Yü Ta-fu and the Literary Society "Creation"). Moscow, Nauka 1971. 191 pp.

The book by V. S. Adjimamudova, a member of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., consists of two relatively independent parts—the first dealing with the Creation Society, Ch'uang-tsoo-she (1921—1929), and the second with the writer Yü Ta-fu (1896—1945). In addition, there is a supplement appended to it with a brief characteristic of the journals edited by the Creation Society.

In the first part the authoress presents perhaps the most comprehensive and complex treatment thus far of the history of the Creation Society from the aspect of the artistic and social views of the Creationists. But alongside the attitudes of the latter, she also brings in the polemical reactions of the other writers and literary theorists. V. Adjimamudova's study on the Creation Society is an analysis of the inner development of views within this society seen in relation to the overall situation in Chinese literary criticism of the twenties, and thus, besides a detailed explanation of the theoretical attitudes of the Creation Society, the book also elucidates the principal problems, tendencies and discussions within Chinese literary thinking of the whole decade. This part of the book will prove of value also to the literary historian as it reveals little known facts on the organizational and personnel background of the Society's history and activities.

A detailed and comprehensive biography of Yü Ta-fu forms the first section of the second part of the book. In this second part, V. Adjimamudova processes the prose writings of an outstanding modern Chinese writer. As in the great majority of modern Chinese writers, also in the case of Yü Ta-fu there comes up the problem of determining the genre of the various works. The authoress has concentrated in large measure on this question. She resolves it by his prose writings into—according to her terminology—plotless prose (*san-wen*) and artistic prose with a plot (*hsiao-shuo*). As it ensues from her explication of the genesis and actual state of *san-wen*, she allots into this category diverse forms of short prose. In the section on *hsiao-shuo* she analyses Yü Ta-fu's short stories. V. Adjimamudova is conscious of the problematic nature of determining genre in Yü Ta-fu's works which in more than one case is truly disputable, and states that neither in theoretical articles nor in artistic practice did Yü Ta-fu ever put up an impassable wall between *san-wen* and *hsiao-shuo*. The authoress did not aim at a complex processing nor introducing the whole of Yü Ta-fu's prose works. She concentrated on some prose writings and short stories which she analysed thoroughly from the aspect of an artistic method and ideological design.

V. Adjimamudova's book brings proof of the authoress' erudition, and her care in collecting and commanding extensive, often hardly accessible source material. Her contribution does not consist merely in that she has enabled a deeper insight

into an interesting, important and as yet inadequately processed subject, but likewise in the stimulating methodical approach which she has used.

*Anna Doležalová*

McCutcheon, James M., *China and America. A Bibliography of Interactions, Foreign and Domestic*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1972. X + 75 pp.

“This is a highly selective list of secondary materials available in English that deal with Chinese-American relations” says the blurb of this slim, though valuable publication. Valuable because it represents the first step that will probably lead to an investigation of an as yet little known area in sinology—the one relating to the question of impact and response between China and the rest of the world. This bibliography is the result of several years of the author’s work with graduate students in seminar entitled “Asian Influences in American Life”.

The present reviewer would like to profit by the occasion of the publication of this little volume to point out issues worth considering. First, American sinology ought to take note of and process bibliographically “primary sources”—their abundance should not be a deterrent—insofar as they deal with problems of Sino-American relations. Second, all the accessible Chinese materials relating to this area of study should be also recorded. Third, American sinologists should also note the opposite tendency to the one that commonly forms the object of various impact-response researches: a serious investigation ought to be initiated bearing on the American impact on China in all the spheres of life. The impact of the Anglo-Saxon world on modern China was evidently the strongest and can be compared only to that of Soviet Union and Japan.

Not to receive the book under review favourably would be a sign of a lack of understanding. It has a wide-angle take and may serve as a research-guide to students of different interests: China and American foreign policy and public opinion, China and American economic life, China and American missions, Chinese immigration and exclusion, the Chinese communities in the United States of America, China and American education, literature and arts.

But perhaps the most useful may prove that concise section of the booklet called Bibliography. The compiler lists in it 36 diverse bibliographies that will prove of interest to the student of Sino-American impact independently of the reviewed work.

Every “highly” selective list may satisfy beginners or those intent on gaining a solid though not an exhaustive insight. A claim to such a bibliography as would treat the given subject-matter in at least an approximately exhaustive

manner, is as yet premature, even though the booklet is a step in the right direction.

At the end of this review only two remarks. On p. 56 the author of "Oriental Culture in the Works of J. D. Salinger" is not Dzh. D. Selindzera but E. V. Zavadskaya and A. M. Pyatigorsky. Mrs. Zavadskaya is also the author of the study *Chto Selindzher ishchet v "dzen"?* (What Salinger Is Searching in "Zen"?), in *Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniya* (Studies in History and Philology), Moscow 1967, pp. 451—456.

*Marián Gálik*

*Dvizhenie "4 maya" 1919 goda v Kitae* (The May Fourth Movement of 1919 in China). Moscow, Nauka 1971. 330 pp.

The present book is a collection of sixteen studies by Soviet sinologists and a personal remembrance of Mr. Yen Wen. The authors have not confined themselves to an analysis of the May Fourth incident alone, nor to the turbulent demonstrations and strikes between May 4th to June 28th 1919. In harmony with the majority of works on this theme, they interpret it as an important moment in the political, social and cultural development of modern China and see its causes and effects in a sequence of conditions and events in the decade preceding and following it.

The collection, of course, does not claim to exhaust all the aspects of this wide-embracing topic.

The first five studies are devoted to politico-economic conditions and problems of the May Fourth Movement. V. Plyushetskin processes the history of the movement and assesses its significance in modern Chinese history. Its climax, that is the events of May and June of 1919, is characterized as a bourgeois-democratic antiimperialist movement that ensued under the impact of ideas of the October revolution in Russia. E. Popova analyses the background and the facts from the debate on the Chinese question at the Versailles conference. G. Sukharchuk and O. Nepomin deal with the development of Chinese national bourgeoisie during World War I. In the following articles O. Nepomin analyses the progress of manufactory capitalism during the years 1914—1920 and T. Akatova the peculiar features in the shaping of Chinese working class.

In the next section of the collection A. Afanasev describes the role of Li Ta-chao in the May Fourth Movement and A. Evgenev introduces the history of Marxist penetration into China from the very first references and translations until the first works by Chinese Marxists, but simultaneously notes also the activities of anarchism, Malthusianism, etc. and Marxists' polemics with these theories. M. Shneider makes a detailed analysis of the character and orientation of two practically unknown cultural-political journals of the May Fourth Movement period, Hsin she-hui (New

Society) appearing once every ten days from November 1, 1919 till April 20, 1920 and the monthly Jen-tao (Humaneness) whose only number appeared on August 5, 1920. In an article on the Creation Society during the period 1921—1924, V. Ad-jimamudova concentrated on a detailed exposition of the artistic and societal attitudes of the members of this society. Two contributions by L. Cherkasskii are devoted to questions of poetry of the May Fourth period and to the relation between the new Chinese poetry and Western literature. L. Eidlin, in his work dedicated to the seventieth birthday of Prof. Cheng Chen-to who met a tragic end, analyses his literary views from the twenties. The problems of the new Chinese theatre and discussions on its reform are dealt with in the study by S. Serov, while the new elements in Chinese painting are characterized by E. Zavadskaya's article. The last two articles by A. Shprintsin and V. Solntsev analyse a very important part of the May Fourth Movement, namely the struggle for replacing classical Chinese by the living spoken language in written works.

Each study is provided with references.

As has already been observed and as the editors mention in the introduction, the collection is not intended to elucidate the entire complex of problems of the May Fourth Movement. However, the absence of any contribution devoted to so important a part of the efforts of the May Fourth Movement as was modern Chinese short story and fiction, is a serious omission in the conception of the collection. This is a pity despite the fact that a number of monographs on modern Chinese prose writers have appeared in Russian.

The present collection brings numerous facts unknown thus far and new interpretations of historical, ideological and artistic aspects of the May Fourth Movement. Alongside such works as Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Cambridge 1960 and the collection *The May Fourth Movement in China*, Prague 1968, the collection under review belongs among the most comprehensive works on this movement. On this occasion it may be fitting to point to another interesting Soviet study. It is a collection of memoirs of participants in the May Fourth Movement, newspaper articles and primary documents from May and June, 1919, which are there translated for the first time from Chinese—a book bearing the same title as the one under review *Dvizhenie 4 maya 1919 goda v Kitae* (The May Fourth Movement of 1919 in China), Moscow, Nauka 1969, 359 pp., compiled, translated, with a foreword and commentaries by Y. Garushyants.

*Anna Doležalová*

Hsü, C. I. Immanuel, *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1970. xxii + 147 pp. + lii.

This is a second printing. The first one appeared in 1959. In the meantime several books have been published, e.g. Joseph Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate* (3 Vols.), or David Nivison, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsiieh-ch'eng*, that elucidate some of the issues better and more thoroughly than this concise and in places fairly superficial work. Evidently, this lack of thoroughness (it was written within two weeks) was in no way detrimental to this book and its second printing testifies to its popularity. Readers are attracted by its smaller size, the erudition of its translator, and probably also the personality of its author—Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873 to 1929)—one of the most interesting figures that China gave to the world in the second half of the last century.

Students of the Chinese *Geistesgeschichte* who have not as yet reached out for this book will do well to read it. Not so much because of its contents, for better works have appeared on this topic, for instance that by Ch'ien Mu entitled *A History of Intellectual Trends in China During the Last Three Hundred Years* (*Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu shih*) as rather because of the portrait of its author which is well outlined in the book. Liang's figure—his objectivized portrait is valuable—as it enables us to come to know a certain type of man who did much to promote mutual understanding in China at the time of its encounter with the rest of the world, and to preserve lasting values of its own civilization.

The intellectual life of the period 1644—1911 was in a large measure a preparation for the intellectual life of the subsequent years. Readers of this book will find in it the most fundamental information on problems of the intellectual life of the Ch'ing period.

Marián Gálik

Ryckmans, P., *La vie et l'œuvre de Su Renshan, rebelle, peintre et fou, 1814—1849?* Paris—Hong Kong, Centre de publications de l'U.E.R., Extrême Orient—Asie du Sud-Est de l'Université de Paris 1970. ix + 225 pp.

Cet ouvrage, publié avec le concours du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, est dans la littérature mondiale le premier travail complexe sur la figure intéressante et originale du peintre et homme, Su Renshan. Le livre est paru au Centre de publication de l'U.E.R. aussi en traduction anglaise. L'ouvrage est réparti en quatre cahiers et édité à la perfection en deux volumes, insérés dans un étui à la manière traditionnelle chinoise.

L'art de Su Renshan n'avait pas reçu l'attention qu'elle méritait ni durant sa vie, ni plus tard. Ses peintures se sont conservées grâce à quelques collecteurs, principale-

ment Jen You-wen, dont la collection comprend 163 peintures et de Suma Yakichiro qui avait rassemblé 93 de ses peintures. Les peintures de Su Renshan ont apparu à maintes reprises aux expositions et en reproductions entre 1940 et 1950, plus tard dans la Chine populaire et à Hong Kong. Après les quelques travaux partiels sur ce peintre, le présent livre de P. Ryckmans est vraiment une œuvre synthétique défricheuse.

Dans le premier cahier l'auteur fait une analyse du milieu qui avait influencé Su Renshan, donc de la tradition dans la culture de sa patrie, la province de Guangdong et les spécificités de la peinture cantonnaise. Dans le chapitre suivant il traite la bibliographie détaillée et à tous égards de cet individualiste fort, de cet enfant terrible en ce qui concernait la société, de cet homme malade, mort prématurément. Le troisième chapitre est consacré à l'analyse de son œuvre originale, non-conformiste au point de vue de l'art, à la manière de traitement de ses peintures jusqu'ici et aux critères pour distinguer les vraies des fausses peintures de Su Renshan. Le second cahier contient un système extrêmement riche en notes dans lequel l'auteur a élaboré aussi une analyse textuelle profonde des passages de Su Renshan inscrits sur ses peintures et a donné, comme annexes, les sources commentées de ce livre. Dans le troisième cahier on trouve les reproductions de 106 œuvres et documents de Su Renshan, alors que le quatrième cahier comprend l'inventaire commenté des 360 œuvres de Su Renshan rangés dans l'ordre de leur enregistrement dans les collections privées et aux musées (XXI).

Un important produit secondaire des travaux préparatoires pour ce livre est l'origine des archives photographiques couvrant toutes les peintures de Su Renshan que l'auteur a découvertes. Ces archives se trouvent au "Centre of Asian Studies" de l'université de Hong Kong et en Europe à l'Institut belge des hautes études chinoises à Bruxelles.

Le livre de P. Ryckmans est le résultat d'une collection de matériel énorme, mais l'auteur y est toujours à la hauteur de sa tâche; il témoigne d'une préparation professionnelle remarquable car l'auteur s'y montre bien au courant de l'histoire de l'art chinois, bien avisé sur les choses chinoises, sur sa philosophie et esthétique, et un maître en ce qui concerne la méthode de l'histoire de l'art. Son étude sur Su Renshan, portant sur tous les aspects de sa vie et de son œuvre, intéressera non seulement les historiens et théoriciens de l'art, mais aussi les investigateurs des phénomènes socio-politiques en Chine du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

*Anna Doležalová*

Schrecker, John E., *Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism. Germany in Shantung*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1971. 322 pp.

After Helmuth Stoecker's book, *Deutschland und China in 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1958, the book under review represents the most noteworthy result of investigation of German-Chinese relations. Its aim—similarly as that of the other studies—is to investigate political and economic history. As such, it takes little note of the cultural life of the Shantung province, partly occupied by Germans.

The book may be said to be consistent and thorough and its author to know well the problems he treats. However, he does not focus attention merely to the facts as such, but rather to their significance, whether to imperialist Germany or to poor China. Of particular merit are those passages which deal about the Chinese response to German impact. Originally the author intended to concentrate more on the Chinese side of the story and this is evident from his work. Subsequent investigation, however, made it imperative for him to devote attention also to a study of the German participation in this process. From this point of view, the book presents an equitably balanced picture.

The first chapter entitled The Acquisition of the Sphere of Influence shows up the rapacious policy of German imperialism and its all-out efforts to have a share in the division of the world. The pretext for seizing Chiao-chou Bay—as is generally known—was the murder of two German missionaries.

The second chapter called The Chinese Response will probably interest the readers most, though the chapters that follow bring likewise important material.

The last sixth chapter entitled The Germans and Developments in Shantung, besides question of transportation, communication, industry, commerce and finance, also takes note of educational issues. This is the only field of culture to which Mr. Schrecker devotes attention. The present reviewer is of the opinion that any further investigation of Chinese-German relations should be more oriented precisely to this domain. "Germany in Shantung" in the economic and political sphere is not so important as "Germany in China" in the domain of philosophy, literature and culture in general. Prominent representatives of German culture—Goethe, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Marx and Engels have left far deeper imprints on modern Chinese culture.

The book under review is fittingly provided with maps, very detailed notes, references to quoted material, a glossary and index. However, the absence in the bibliography of an article by H. Bräutigam entitled *The Shantung Problem*, published in *The May Fourth Movement, Major Papers Prepared for the XXth International Congress of Chinese Studies*, Prague 1968, pp. 189—220, is felt to be an omission.

Marián Gálík

Yu, Ping-kuen, *Chinese History: Index to Learned Articles, Volume II, 1905—1964* (Harvard-Yenching Library). Cambridge, Harvard University 1971. 690 pp.

The book under review is the second volume of *Chinese History: Index to Learned Articles*. The first volume was published in Hong Kong in 1963 and contains articles to be found at the Fu Ping Shan Library Collection of the University of Hong Kong, while the present volume comprises articles and reviews from journals found on the territory of the United States and Europe. Both the volumes bring data covering a period of about sixty years from the beginning of this century up to the recent past.

The two bibliographic volumes compiled by Mr. Yu have a tremendous advantage in comparison with similar bibliographies, namely, their users know immediately in which of the important libraries the relevant data are to be found. The majority of other bibliographies—especially those compiled by Chinese authors, whether from the People's Republic of China or from Taiwan—have a purely bibliographic character. The research-worker finds there the required data, but is often at a loss where to find the corresponding material. These two volumes by Mr. Yu will certainly facilitate sinological research.

The subject-matter of the book is Chinese history — but in a very broad sense of the term. Bibliographic data on historical articles are by far the most numerous, but there is a fair amount of data relating to literature, philosophy, linguistics, economics, art, geography — in a word, it is an excellent aid not only for historians, but practically for all sinologists, with the exception of those interested in problems of the most recent past and the present. The compiler has selected material from 599 journals and lists a total of 8,425 names of authors or their pseudonyms under which the articles had been published.

There is no doubt that the two volumes will prove of great help to sinologists in the most diverse areas of investigation, especially when certain deficiencies are remedied or drawbacks removed in a subsequent elaboration and publication of a subject and author index. The user of the volume is at present obliged to look for anything that interests him under various authors—a rather exacting and time-consuming procedure. Likewise, a greater attention ought to have been devoted to question of pseudonyms and deciphering of Chinese names or transcription of various European and American names.

The present reviewer may appear rather punctilious or even strict, but the author might truly have paid more meticulous attention to the questions of pseudonyms. On pp. 20—24 of the book under review, Mr. Yu does list pseudonyms with the author's names, but their number is relatively small, and some of them, even those well-known, are not identified in any informative manner. Here I shall mention only pseudonyms of prominent Chinese men in the field of literature, philosophy and culture in general. For instance, the pseudonym Fang Yüeh (No. 0343, p. 86) belongs to T'ao Hsi-sheng, a well-known sociologist

(p. 460). And to him also belongs the article that was published under the name T'ao Hui-tseng (No. 5386, p. 461). Ch'ang Yen-te (No. 4241, p. 371) and Ch'ang Yen-sheng (No. 4252, p. 372) is one and the same person. The same applies also to the philosopher Chang Shen-fu (No. 4320, p. 375) and Chang Sun-nien (No. 4462, p. 388). Chia Ch'en (No. 0974, p. 135) is the pseudonym of the writer Shen Ts'ung-wen, while under that of Ch'ü I (No. 2655, p. 256) hides the literary critic Wang Jen-shu, known in the Chinese literary world generally as Pa Jen. Ts'an Chiang (No. 6222, p. 577) is a relatively well-known pseudonym of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Tsou Hsiao (No. 6410, p. 539) stands for the literary historian Chao Ching-shen and Fu Sheng (No. 1117, p. 147) for the author Hu Yü-chih. The greatest number of pseudonyms left unidentified by Mr. Yu in the book under review, belong to the writer and literary critic Mao Tun. They are the following: Ping Sheng (No. 0822, p. 120), Hsing T'ien (No. 1801, p. 202), Feng (No. 3392, p. 314). This last one is his pseudonym only in the journal Wen-hsüeh (Literature) from the thirties. Something similar may be said of the pseudonym Po (No. 3558) under which Mao Tun published articles also in Wen-hsüeh. The article listed in the work under the name *Kuan-yü "shih-liao" yü "hsüan-chi"* (On "Materials" and "Selected Works") on p. 330, is likewise by Mao Tun, not by Sun Hai-po. Mao Tun is also the author of the articles listed under the pseudonym T'i Jo (No. 4614, p. 399), and the pseudonym listed under reference No. 5543, p. 475 is wrongly entered as Hsing Jo, instead of the correct one T'i Jo! And the last two pseudonyms which we shall mention here also belong to Mao Tun, namely, Hui (No. 7388, p. 609) and Lan (No. 8014, p. 664).

The question of pseudonyms in the field of Chinese culture is far from elucidated, much less resolved, and consistent attention must be devoted to it. And it will have to be looked into with greater perspicacity also by Mr. Yu in his proposed indexes. It was not the reviewer's aim to carry out an identifying research consequently.

The user of this bibliography may truly appreciate its "broad coverage, convenient arrangement and careful proof-reading" (Lien-sheng Yang's Foreword). Nevertheless, as far as "careful proof-reading" goes, it certainly does not include the names of European and American scholars and their works. Fortunately there is a redeeming *Addenda* appended to the book where these errors are corrected.

The last pages of the second volume of this bibliography carry the names of Soviet sinologists in Chinese characters, without Mr. Yu's attempting to give their Latinized forms. For instance, L. Hsi-meng-no-fu-ssu-k'a-ya is the Soviet historian L. Simonovskaya, E. K'o-wa-lie-fu is the historian E. Kovalev, A. A. P'i-te-lo-fu is the philosopher A. A. Petrov, H. Fei-te-lin or H. Fei-te-lin-k'o is the literary historian N. T. Fedorenko, Wei So-lo-chin is the literary historian V. Sorokin, E. A. Pei-lo-fu or E. A. Pie-lo-fu is also the Soviet historian E. A. Belov, etc.

*Marián Gálík*

Kaufmann, Walter, *Musical Notations of the Orient* (Indiana University Humanity Series Number 60). Second printing. Bloomington—London, Indiana University Press 1967. XIII + 489 pp.

Much information on the music of high cultures of the Orient has remained concealed to this day in hundreds of old manuscripts of which no proper records exist and whose processing could not even be envisaged as their texts could not be read. Fortunately, this situation is improving under our very eyes and the book under review belongs among the pioneering works justifying such optimistic views.

Walter Kaufmann has undertaken a grandiose task—to process in a textbook form the basic notations of the Orient. His work *Musical Notations of the Orient* constitutes the first step of this design which, according to the author, may be understood as an independent book dealing with musical notations of Central, East and South Asia. This is to be followed by Notations of Japan, the Ryukyu Islands, Indonesia and the Islamic world.

The division of the contents of the book *Musical Notations of the Orient* is determined primarily by the mode of arrangement of the different types of notation:

Characteristic for the first part of the book Chinese Lü and Related Notations are systems involving words, syllables or their abbreviations in the notation. The introductory section of this part presents a concise historical and theoretical exposition of the use of pipes lü in setting up musical scales and in dialectically joining tones with extramusical elements. Besides the Chinese five- and seven-tone notation based on lü, the author also deals with the kindred Korean notation Yul-cha-po (Principal letter notation).

The second part The Chinese Kung-ch'ê-p'u and Related Notations; Indian Notations and North Indian Drumming is concerned with notations which, in contrast to the preceding ones, also make use of signs for rhythmic values. Such is the Chinese notation Kung-ch'ê-p'u from the times of the Mongol domination in China, or the notation for vocal music P'ing-tsê utilizing the four-tone pronunciation of Chinese syllables. The author further deals with the Korean notation Kong-chük-po, O-üm-yak-po (Five sound abbreviated notation), Chüŋ-kan-po and the syllabic notation Yuk-po. He treats of the ephonetic notation Yün-üm-pyo (Continued sound symbols) and Su-tzu-p'u (Common notation) that was used outside Confucian temples and the imperial court. Here, Kaufmann mentions also the Indian notation where he deals with tonal syllables, rhythmic modes and in particular words for drum phrases in North-Indian music which he graphically describes on interpretational problems of the technique of instrumental play.

The third part is entitled Zithers Tabulatures and is devoted to two Chinese tabulatory notations for the zithers Ch'i and Se and the Korean zither tabulature.

The last part The Notations of the Buddhist Chant (Tibet) deals with the neumatic notation prevalent in the Tibet.

The book by Walter Kaufmann is a valuable contribution mainly in the field of Oriental heuristic, but it certainly brings numerous stimuli for other aspects of a study of Oriental music. Notation systems reveal significant correlations elucidating the symbolics of tones and their extra-musical bonds and help in the processing of instrumental problems, musical theory, as well as musical interpretation and function of music in society.

Ivan Mačák

Ligeti, Louis (Ed.), *Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta I). Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1971. 268 pp.

*Monuments Préclassiques I. XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV siècles* (Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta II). Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1972. 296 pp.

*Monuments en écriture 'Phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise* (Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta III). Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1972. 170 pp.

*Monuments Préclassiques I. XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV siècles* (Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum I). Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1970. 169 pp.

*Monuments Préclassiques I. XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV siècles* (Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum II). Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1972. 382 pp.

The renowned Hungarian Orientalist, Academician L. Ligeti began publishing—since 1970—two mutually complementary series “Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta” and “Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum”. The first of these series will encompass the oldest literary monuments of “middle Mongolian” (from the 13th to the beginning of the 17th century),<sup>1</sup> i.e. the preclassic period.

Our review is devoted to the first three volumes of the above edition, available so far. They deal with monuments from the 13th and 14th centuries. The texts of these monuments have been prepared either from originals or photocopies accessible to the editor. The edition of old-Mongolian literary monuments dates back to the last century when renowned mongolists and sinologists became first acquainted with the sources and began to publish them either as texts with commentaries or as translations. Mention should be made, for instance, of I. J. Schmidt, D. Banzarov, H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, A. M. Pozdneev, I. A. Klyukin, the Japanese Tamura and Haneda,

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<sup>1</sup> A more detailed study can be found in the article by Poppe, N., *Das Mittelmongolische*, pp. 96–103, in the publication *Mongolistik, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Leiden—Köln 1964.

P. Pelliot, A. Mostaert, E. Haenisch, W. Fuchs, W. Kotwicz, etc. This tradition is perpetuated, for instance, by F. W. Cleaves, H. Franke, M. Weiers, W. Heissig, L. Hambis, Murayama, N. Ts. Munkuyev, the Mongolian researchers B. Rinchen, Ts. Damdinsüren, Kh. Perlee and others. A systematic study of these problems has been undertaken by the Hungarian linguistic-literary school of Academician Ligeti. The results of their work were at first published in the Hungarian edition of *Mongol Nyelvelméletár*, Vols. I—IV, Budapest 1962—1964, at present they appear in a revised, supplemented and extended French version.

The oldest Mongolian literary sources are recorded in several kinds of scripts, notably Uighur-Mongolian, Chinese and 'Phags-pa. Each literary monument published in the established Romanized transcription, is listed with a foreword and bibliographic note and ends with a survey of literature. It is no chance that the first of the series brings the best-known, even if not the oldest, ancient Mongolian literary monument, *The Secret History of Mongols*. Its importance and extent surpass—by far—the older fragmentary monuments. Therefore the text is preceded by an introduction (pp. 7—21), containing bibliographic notes on the history of the discovery of the text and of the individual editions. On the basis of some new evidence, Academician Ligeti sides with those scholars who affirm that the preserved text of the monument in Chinese transcription is not original, but was preceded by an Uighur-Mongolian text which, however, has not been preserved. Ligeti's edition is based on the text of Yeh Te-hui (1908). The reconstruction of the Mongolian text from Chinese characters is very difficult. This is due to the very character of Chinese which lacks a number of consonants and does not in fact express the pronunciation; another problem arises from the way in which the scribe (Mongolian or Chinese?) pronounced the words he transcribed. The bibliography at the end is rather short. Since the Hungarian publication in the *Mongol Nyelvelméletár* (1962) there have appeared new editions of the texts and translations which were not available to the author. Mention should be made of the first part of a complete modern English version with a brief introduction, published by I. de Rachewiltz (1971) in the *Papers on Far Eastern History* and of a translation by Prof. M. Murakami (Vol. 1, 1970). According to our estimate the translation of the *Secret History of Mongols* has appeared in about 20 languages, among them, also in Czech (1955, P. Poucha), and Polish (S. Kałużyński).

In the Second Volume of the Edition the texts are divided into several groups, namely, according to the supposed place of origin or sometimes the place of discovery: Mongolia proper (I—VI, pp. 13—27), China (VII—XVI, pp. 29—110), Turkestan (XVII—XXI, pp. 111—237), Iran (XXII—XXV, pp. 239—274), the Golden Horde (XXVI—XXVII, pp. 275—287).

Each group is preceded by a chronological table of rulers in the individual territories that used to form part of the Great Mongolian Empire. The editor has always chosen for publication but those texts that seemed most authentic to him. The individual texts have a brief title and an indication of the date of origin and a short content,

a designation of the place of discovery, eventually the present location of the monument (in some cases, alas, missing). The bibliographic note is very useful not only for mongolists, literary scholars and historians, but also for the wider circle of those interested in this field. This note reveals by whom, where and when the facsimiles and texts, their translations or comments were published. To specialists it will serve as a basic bibliographic information for further research, to others it will give an idea of the degrees and extent of research concerning the individual monuments.

Obviously, it was sometimes difficult to determine into which geographic group should this or that monument be classified. Thus, for instance, in the group "Mongolia" we find inscriptions on tombstones, clauses on seals, etc., all dating from the period preceding the inauguration of the Yüan dynasty. To these the editor added, for geographical reasons and affinity of content, also Chinese-Mongolian inscriptions from Qara-qorum. Among Mongolian monuments, the well-known Chingis' Stone, dating from 1224—1225, is listed in the first place, further the Mongolian seal on a Persian letter by Güyük to the Pope, sent through the intermediary of Carpini to Europe, an epitaph on a tombstone erected in honour of Khan Möngke, and two fragments of Chinese-Mongolian inscriptions. The Chinese group contains 12 monuments summarized in 10 subgroups originating mostly from the findings in Tun-huang and Qara-qoto.

The Turkestan group contains predominantly Buddhist texts found or written in the Chagatai ulus, once used in the territory of the present Hsin-chiang-Uighur Autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. It was often difficult to determine whether the individual monuments had been also printed in this territory or dispatched from some other renowned printing houses of mediaeval China. This group embraces more than 20 literary monuments and fragments classified into 5 subgroups, the last one of which we consider as very interesting, and which contains 17 different documents from Turfan, particularly four letters of safe conduct for messengers.

The Iranian group contains primarily official documents and records of Ilkhans, letters of safe conduct, letters to European rulers, etc., many of which have been discovered only recently in the Vatican, French and Iranian archives and museums. It is enlarged by documents originating from Syria and Anatolia, solely to obviate the need for creating a further group.

The last group, originating from the territory of the Golden Horde, contains, apart from three inscriptions on *p'ai-tzu*, the well-known poem on birch rind, discovered and described by N. Poppe in the thirties.

The IIIrd Volume of the Edition is devoted to documents written in 'Phags-pa and contains also a list of Mongolian emperors of the corresponding periods, when the official Mongolian documents were written in the script composed by the Tibetan lama 'Phags-pa (1235—1280) on the request of Khubilai, and published in 1269.

In spite of the ban to use Uighur script in official documents (issued in 1284), the 'Phags-pa scripts failed to come into general use and ceased to be utilized from the middle of the 14th century onwards. The second part of the volume contains specimens of official documents transcribed in Chinese characters (pp. 135—163).

The first two volumes of *Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum* belong in fact to the Second Volume of the Edition of *Monumenta*. They contain an alphabetically arranged glossary of texts already published, very often supplemented with a corresponding lexical phrase and an indication of the places where they occur. As the order of monuments published in the second volume of *Monumenta* has not been kept, a concordance of pages is given on pp. 375—376 of the second volume. The materials of the individual vocabularies are to serve for *Dictionary of Middle Mongolian*, which is in preparation. The words therein will also have a French glossary.

We are of the opinion that both above-mentioned series will become an indispensable handbook to every researcher. Academician Ligeti has thus provided a complete survey of all accessible literary monuments of ancient Mongolia, recorded in different scripts.

*Jiří Šíma*

*Afghanistan. Natur, Geschichte und Kultur, Staat, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* (Erdmann Ländermonographien, Band 3). Herausgegeben von Professor Willy Kraus im Auftrag der „Arbeitsgemeinschaft Afghanistan“. Tübingen — Basel, Horst Erdmann Verlag 1972. 428 S.

Nach der zweibändigen „Bibliographie der Afghanistan Literatur (Hamburg 1968—1969)“ stellt der hier rezensierte „Afghanistan-Band“ das zweite Ergebnis gemeinsamer Arbeit deutscher Spezialisten, der Mitglieder der „Arbeitsgemeinschaft Afghanistan“ vor. Das Buch gibt sachkundige Gesamtdarstellung Afghanistans und ist bisher das beste Werk seiner Art in der deutschen Sprache. Es ist in der ersten Reihe dem deutschen Leser bestimmt, aus diesem Grunde hat der Herausgeber, Prof. W. Kraus, im Vorworte kurz die Geschichte der deutsch-afghanischen Beziehungen und gemeinsamer Zusammenarbeit entworfen.

An der Zusammenstellung des Buches nahmen insgesamt 21 Wissenschaftler und Spezialisten teil, deren Hauptvorteil darin liegt, dass sie alle als Forscher und Beamte direkt im Afghanistan tätig waren oder noch sind. Dieser wichtiger Umstand bedingt, wie die Aktualität und Objektivität der angeführten Informationen sowohl auch die Gültigkeit einzelner Interpretationen der komplizierten sozialen Realität Afghanistans. Prof. W. Kraus aus Bochum führte die Gesamtedaktion des Buches durch, die anderen Mitglieder der Arbeitsgruppe konzipierten ihre Einzelbeiträge als geschlossene Einheiten, für die sie allein als Autoren verantwortlich sind.

Das Buch stellt sich zum Ziel, ein ausschöpfendes aber zugleich auch das Interesse erweckendes Bild des heutigen Afghanistan zu geben, und wir müssen zugeben, dass es dieses Ziel im höchsten Masse erfüllt. Dem Leser, der sich um diese Problematik interessiert, stellt es verlässliche Informationen zur Verfügung und orientiert ihn in komplizierten Problemen, mit denen sich Afghanistan heute auseinandersetzt.

Die Konzeption des Werkes ist durch die Absicht, das Land und sein Leben erschöpfend zu beschreiben, gegeben. Daraus geht die Teilung des Buches in vier Abschnitte aus, und zwar: I. Der Naturraum (S. 15—91), II. Geschichte und Kultur (S. 93—161), III. Mensch und Gesellschaft (S. 163—266) und IV. Staat und Wirtschaft (S. 267—386). Jeder Abschnitt besteht aus einzelnen Teilbehandlungen, die zusammen eine informative Gesamtübersicht liefern. So z. B. der Abschnitt I, Der Naturraum, besteht aus sieben Einzelbeiträgen: Lage, Grenzen und naturräumliche Grossgliederung; Geologie und Lagerstätten; Das Klima; Grundzüge der Oberflächengestaltung; Flora und Vegetation; Die Tierwelt und ein sehr wichtiger geomeditizinischer Überblick.

Eine spezielle Aufmerksamkeit verdient der Abschnitt III, Mensch und Gesellschaft, der aus folgenden Beiträgen besteht: Die ethnischen Gruppen von P. Snoy; Die traditionellen Lebensformen von H. Hahn, E. Grötzbach und Ch. Jentsch; und Die gegenwärtigen Tendenzen sozialen Wandels von E. Knabe-Wohlfarth. Die genannten Autoren beweisen durch ihre Angaben und Meinungen eine tiefe und empirische Kenntnis der dargestellten Probleme. Sie beurteilen sie, wie im Lichte einer historischen Bedingtheit, sowohl auch unter dem Gesichtspunkte einer sich verändernden gesellschaftlichen Realität Afghanistans. Wenn wir die komplizierte ethnische Schichtung Afghanistans in Betracht nehmen, wie auch seine differenzierte Sozialstruktur, müssen wir desto mehr die Zweckmässigkeit eines solchen Zugangs schätzen.

Das Buch ist mit einem aktuellen Bildmaterial ausgestattet (insgesamt 82 Fotos und 11 Karten). Es muss bemerkt werden, dass die Photographien die Arbeit einzelner Autoren sind, was noch weiter beweist, dass dieser „Afghanistan-Band“ wirklich von kompetenten Spezialisten vorbereitet wurde. Der Textteil ist durch Abschnitt V. Anhang (S. 387—414) erweitert, der die Informationen über die Schreibung afghanischer Namen; über die Zeittafel; über die Provinzen, die Masse, die Gewichte, die Währung und den Kalender; über ärztliche Ratschläge; über Teppiche aus Afghanistan—Begriffe und Muster und über das Schrifttum über Afghanistan enthält. Ein kleiner Druckfehler: Seite 128 statt Neda-e khalq (Stimme des Volkes) soll richtig Seda-e khalq geschrieben werden.

Wir sind überzeugt, dass dieser informative und interessante „Afghanistan-Band“ einer verdienten Schätzung bei dem Leser findet. Seine Seiten beweisen, dass sie von Autoren geschrieben wurden, die in sich Fachmässigkeit mit Begeisterung und Liebe für ihr geographisches Objekt, d. h. zauberhaftes Afghanistan, verbinden. Wir gestatten uns überdies einen Wunsch auszusprechen, dass uns Horst Erdmann Verlag

in der Zukunft mit einem weiteren und ähnlichen Bande seiner Ländermonographien eine Freude mache.

*Kamil Baňák*

Reinert, Benedikt, *Ḥāqānī als Dichter. Poetische Logik und Phantasie*. (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, Neue Folge, Band 4.) Berlin, Walter de Gruyter 1972. 120 S.

Obwohl die meisten Verse Ḥāqānī's nur durch die Vermittlung von verschiedenen Kommentaren dem Leser zugänglich sind, ist Ḥāqānī's dichterische Meisterschaft unbestreitbar und versicherte ihm eine repräsentative Stelle in der persischen klassischen Poesie.

Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus, tritt der Autor des besprochenen Buches an die Schöpfung Ḥāqānī's heran. Durch die systematische Beschreibung versucht er, die poetischen Darstellungsformen, die nicht nur für Ḥāqānī, sondern auch für die gesamte persische Poesie charakteristisch sind, zusammenzustellen und zu ordnen. Der Beschreibungskreis ist durch die rein systematischen Gesichtspunkte begrenzt, die entwicklungsgeschichtlichen und quantitativen Gesichtspunkte werden nicht erforscht. Das System der poetischen Darstellungsformen, das der Autor beschrieb und ordnete, geht direkt aus der Schöpfung Ḥāqānī's hervor, aber die Detailbegriffsunterscheidungen nehmen die Möglichkeit der breiteren Verwendung des zusammengestellten Systems vorweg. Die Arbeit stellt sich das Ziel, eine allgemeine systematische Basis zu schaffen, die im weiteren der Forschung der Schöpfung Ḥāqānī's sowie anderer persischer Dichter dienen wird.

Die Arbeit besteht aus fünf Kapiteln: A. Vergleich und Metapher (S. 1—22), B. Sinnentsprechungen (S. 23—38), C. Laut- und Positionentsprechungen (S. 39 bis 50), D. Die Hyperbel (S. 51—73) und E. Die phantastische Ätiologie (S. 74—79). Dazu gehört das systematisch geordnete Symbolverzeichnis (S. 80—87), sowie das Personenverzeichnis, Ortsnamenverzeichnis, Sachwortverzeichnis und die Bibliographie (S. 88—120).

Das vom Autor zusammengestellte System der Beschreibung der dichterischen Struktur der Poesie Ḥāqānī's ist sehr breit und erst seine Verwendung bei der Beschreibung der Schöpfung anderer Dichter wird zeigen, bis zu welchem Masse es gültig und verwendbar ist.

*Kamil Baňák*

Hazai, G., *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsány* (Ottoman Turkish in XVIIth Century. Examination of the Transcription Texts by Jakab Nagy de Harsány). Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XVIII. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1973. 498 pp.

Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica has again enriched Oriental sciences with a pretty publication, valuable for the investigation of the history of Osmanli. The research in this field has a certain tradition. The scholars solving the problems of Turkish historical grammar turned against to the Turkish language monuments as early as the end of the previous century. They concentrated their attention primarily on the language monuments of the earliest period (XIIIth-XVth century). These works being written in Arabic characters which do not specify the vowels precisely (or omit them altogether), did not permit a successful solving of Turkish historical grammar and above all of historical phonetics. In the subsequent centuries (XVIth—XIXth), an additional problem emerged: literary Osmanli became very strongly influenced by the Arabic and Persian languages, and this foreign stratum fully covered the development of Turkish forms. For this reason, scholars have neglected a linguistic elaboration of the works originating at this period.

Solving the problems of historical phonetics is much better satisfied by Turkish language monuments which were written in Roman, Greek, Armenian or Russian characters, than by those written in Arabic, for the former graphic systems designate the vowels fairly precisely. For this reason, during the last few decades scholars have directed their attention to these texts, the so-called transcription texts. It must be admitted that the number and the extent of these transcribed texts is limited, but their importance is considerable as they supplement the results gained from the works written in Arabic characters. In the field of Turkish historical phonetics, these monuments of literary language are indispensable.

For these reasons, Georg Hazai selected a language monument written in Roman characters for his historical-linguistic elaboration, viz. the work of Jakab Nagy de Harsány. The title of Harsány's book reads as follows: *Colloquia Familiaria Turcico-Latina seu Status Turcicus Loquens, Coloniae Brandenburgicae, anno 1672*. This work can be considered a key monument for the history of the Turkish language, because it originates in an important and little known period of the development of the Turkish language. Another great value of this work lies in the fact that it records the Turkish language as spoken in the second half of the XVIIth century. The value of its texts for historical phonetics is increased by the circumstance that Jakab Nagy de Harsány was a Hungarian. Starting from Hungarian phonetics, he could comprehend and record the Turkish speech-sounds, especially vowels, more fully than the authors of other national communities who transcribed Turkish texts into Roman characters. The extent of Jakab Nagy's Turkish texts exceeds by far all hitherto known and

published transcribed texts, and thus they are particularly suitable for statistical study in the field of historical phonetics and morphology.

The nucleus of the publication is built by Jakab Nagy de Harsány's Turkish and Latin texts (translations) which are supplied with an accurate, well-arranged and brilliant technical apparatus and a German translation (pp. 33—199).

This fundamental part is preceded by a brief opening passage (pp. 11—31), introducing into the problems of transcribed texts, giving a brief piece of information on Jakab Nagy de Harsány's work, on working technical principles, and lastly, a list of special works consulted, and abbreviations.

Another important part of the book is the Wortregister which consists of three parts: Verzeichnis der Wörter des Korpus (pp. 201—207), Verzeichnis der übrigen türkischen Wörter des Werkes (pp. 268—278), and Index zu den Wörterverzeichnissen (pp. 278—318).

In the first and the second vocabulary, the items are mentioned in Jakab Nagy's orthography, then, in brackets, there is a proposal for the reconstruction of the pronunciation in a scientific transcription, then the modern Turkish word form follows and, finally, the German translation. In addition, data are given, on which pages of the original and in which forms the particular words occur. E.g., *csesme* (*češme*) *çeşme* "Brunnen; Quelle" *ler* (*ler*) 370. In the second vocabulary, the Turkish words are given occurring sporadically in the commentary on the original. In the index to the vocabularies, the words are arranged in the form of present-day literary Turkish.

The core of the publication lies in the VIth chapter (pp. 319—463): Die Sprache des Korpus. It is a linguistic analysis of the material comprised in Jakab Nagy de Harsány's work.

Jakab Nagy de Harsány (1615—ca 1677) hailed from Transylvania. He studied oriental languages, above all Turkish, at German and Belgian universities. In 1651, he came to Berlin where he became commercial correspondent and a diplomat at the court of Friedrich Wilhelm, the Prince of Brandenburg. He spent 7 years in Turkey, mainly in the capital but visited also other places of the Empire. The author declared that the aim of his book was to introduce those interested into the everyday Turkish language whose true face was covered under Arabic characters. He wanted to introduce his readers into every sphere of life so that the range of their understanding of the language might be as wide as possible. Then he gave comprehensive information on the organization of the Ottoman Empire, on its peoples, their habits, etc. On the basis of his experience, he used really living and spoken Turkish. Therefore, his texts are of immense value for a linguistic historical research.

Compiling Jakab Nagy's texts, G. Hazai used the statistical method. The application of the statistical method is of great significance for gaining accurate data on the frequency of linguistic phenomena. Thanks to it, the author has reached convincing results throwing a new light on the history of Turkish speech-sounds, especially vowels, and thus giving us a new, more lucid picture of the vowel harmony and the

assimilation of vowels. It is a plausible way in the field of linguistic historical research.

The way of compiling Jakab Nagy's texts has a synchronistic character, and the explanation of the factors of the morphological system and their mutual relation is also a novelty in the research of the history of the Turkish language. The author has followed the method of structural linguistics. He describes a synchronic picture of the given cross-section of the language. The phonological and grammatical picture elaborated by G. Hazai differs in numerous categories from the picture given by other structuralists.

As follows from the character of Jakab Nagy's fundamental texts, the most ample and most valuable parts of linguistic compiling are Phonetics (pp. 319—361) and Morphology (pp. 364—438). Morphology and Syntax are much smaller in extent and importance (pp. 439—463).

All passages of the grammatical part of the publication are elaborated with great care and provided with numerous statistical charts that are very instructive.

The texts of this linguistic monument give evidence that in the second half of the XVIIth century there occurred the variant  $\overset{>}{g}$  and  $\overset{<}{g}$  of the phoneme *g*, the variant  $\chi$  of the phoneme *h* and the variant  $\acute{e}$  (closed *e*) of the phoneme *e*, but the phoneme *η* had become extinct almost entirely.

As regards vowel harmonization, Jakab Nagy's texts give clear evidence that the labial and illabial vowel harmony respectively harmonization was still developing, it was far from being completed and even in the case of some morphemes it was then only in the primary stage. At the same time it is interesting to note that the illabial assimilation developed more quickly than the labial one. According to numerous data, not even the velar and palatal assimilations were as yet completed.

The assimilation processes developed at a different rate for different classes of morphemes, e.g. the equalization of the morphemes of the E-class: The figure for the equalized forms is 3163, that for those not equalized being 842. But the ratio for the I-class of morphemes is 153 : 321, and for the Ü-class of morphemes it is 793 : 1529. Besides, particular morphemes developed at a different rate some keeping the older forms for a longer time, viz. the participial suffix *-duk*, the possessive suffix *-(s)i*, etc., while others took on new forms more quickly, e.g. the converbial suffix *-(y)up*, the genitive suffix *-(n)un*, etc.

The last chapter of the book is Register der gebundenen Morpheme (pp. 465—498).

G. Hazai's publication is a valuable contribution to Turkology. The author's merit lies in his distinguishing the extraordinary value of Jakab Nagy's texts for the history of the Turkish language and in compiling them in a linguistic-statistical form. This method—apart from the very valuable results it yields—represents an innovation in the research of the history of Osmanli, and opens new perspectives in this field.

*Jozef Blaškovič*

Dukanović, Marija, *Kroz tursku narodnu poeziju* (Durch die türkische Volkspoesie). Beograd, Filološki fakultet Beogradskog univerziteta 1969. 170 S.

Die türkische Volkspoesie, seit Jahrhunderten von Volksdichtern geschaffen, deren Namen meist im dunkeln verblieben sind, entwickelte sich in einen ungeheuren inhaltlichen wie formalen Reichtum. Zum Unterschied von der gekünstelten Poesie des Diwans, die den persischen und arabischen Einflüssen voll Rechnung trägt, widerspiegelte die Volkspoesie die Seele des Volkes, sein alltägliches Leben. Von den gebildeten Schichten lange unterschätzt, weckte die türkische Volkspoesie eine verdiente Aufmerksamkeit erst mit dem Wachwerden des türkischen nationalen Bewusstseins.

Die Monographie der Marija Dukanović ist in drei Teile geteilt. Der erste Teil Eine Entwicklungslinie der türkischen Poesie (Jedna razvojna linija turske poezije, S. 5—26) hat einen informativen Charakter. Nach einem kurzen Überblick über die politische Geschichte der Türken nach derer Umsiedlung nach Kleinasien folgt der Überblick über die Kulturgeschichte mit Hinweisen darauf, wann und unter welchen Umständen es zum Dualismus in der türkischen Literatur gekommen war. Dieser Dualismus wurde zeitweilig abgeschwächt während der Regierung der ersten osmanischen Sultane, „die, zum Unterschied zu ihren Vorgängern, den seldschukischen Sultanen, die türkische Sprache als die offizielle Sprache und als das Symbol der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit bewahrten“ (S. 8).

Die Autorin erwähnt die ersten schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen türkischer Volksliteratur und die bahnbrecherische Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der türkischen Folkloristik. Sie weist auf die Wichtigkeit der Unterscheidung der anonymen Volkspoesie von der Poesie der Ašiks und dem Schaffen der Poeten der Derwischbrüderschaften hin, wobei sie die beiden letzteren aus dem Gebiet der Volkspoesie, mit der sie eng verbunden sind, nicht ausschliesst.

Die türkischen Volkslieder zeichnen sich durch eine grosse thematische Mannigfaltigkeit aus, die das persönliche und gesellschaftliche, wie auch das Familienleben des türkischen Volkes widerspiegelt. Die Autorin charakterisiert die Grundtypen des türkischen Volksliedes *türku* vom inhaltlichen und formalen Gesichtspunkt her. Sie betont das Überwiegen der erotischen und Liebeslieder, sowie die Widerspiegelung der engen Naturverbundenheit des Türken-Nomaden. In diesem Zusammenhang wäre es angebracht die realen Züge der Liebe und der Natur in der türkischen Volkspoesie zu betonen, und zwar im Gegenteil zur klassischen Poesie, wo die Liebe stets platonisch ist, wo der Natur die blosse Aufgabe eines Symbols zugedacht ist. Auch die Dialogform, von der die türkische Volkspoesie mit grosser Vorliebe Gebrauch macht, ist eins der Elemente des Realismus.

An die Volksliedtradition knüpften die Dichter der Derwischbrüderschaften und die wandernden Volksdichter—die Ašiks—an, deren Poesie Marija Dukanović als eine Zwischenstufe zwischen der folkloristischen und künstlerischen Poesie bezeichnet.

Die Autorin macht den Leser mit dem Begriff „Ašik“ vertraut, mit der Rolle, die diese Volkssänger (*halkšair*) als Schöpfer einer dem Volksgeist nahen Poesie und als Träger der Liedererbschaft voriger Generationen spielten. Die Ašiks in zwei Kategorien, dem Milieu nach dem sie entstammten, oder in dem sie wirkten, teilend, führt die Autorin charakteristische, gerade durch dieses Milieu bedingte Züge ihres Schaffens an. Die erste Gruppe, die in der Mehrheit den nomadischen Stämmen entstammt, blieb den volkstümlichen Vorbildern treu, zum Unterschied zur zweiten Gruppe, die von der klassischen Poesie beeinflusst wurde. Zur zweiten Gruppe reiht Marija Dukanović auch die Dichter der Derwischorden der Bektaši, Rufai und Mevlevi.

Die Autorin macht den Leser weiter mit einigen Grundtypen und -formen aus dem Repertoire der Ašiks bekannt. Neben den volkstümlichen Formen wie *destan*, *kočak-lama*, *güzelleme* usw. wäre es wohl richtig auch die der Poesie des Diwans (*kalenderî*, *semaî*, *devriye* usw.), sowie die in der Klosterliteratur gebrauchten Formen (*tekke edebiyatı*, *tarikât edebiyatı*), von denen die Autorin lediglich *ilâhi* nennt, zu erwähnen.

Die Autorin hebt die Bedeutung des Schaffens der Ašiks für die Entwicklung der nationalen Sprache hervor, die von der künstlerischen Sprache der Poesie des Diwans stark bedroht war.

Mit einem kurzen Überblick der historischen Entwicklung der Poesie der Ašiks schliesst die Autorin den einleitenden Teil der Publikation.

In den Anmerkungen zur Übersetzung (Nekolik reči o prevodu, S. 27—28) erwähnt M. Dukanović einige grundlegende Verschiedenheiten zwischen dem türkischen Original und der serbokroatischen Übersetzung. In dieser konnte der Verständlichkeit halber die Kürze der türkischen Phrase nicht immer beibehalten bleiben. Die Autorin bemühte sich vor allem um die Erhaltung des Inhalts und der edlen Schlichtheit des Originals. Aus demselben Grund bewahrte sie auch den ursprünglichen Reim des Originals nicht.

Der Textteil der Publikation besteht aus Teilen: Auswahl von der Volkspoesie (Izbor iz narodna poezija, S. 30—96) und der Auswahl von der Poesie der Ašiks (Izbor iz poezije ašika, S. 98—165). Die Auswahl enthält den originalen Text und die Übersetzung. Den türkischen Text ergänzen Erklärungen von Archaismen, Provinzionalismen und Fremdwörtern in der gegenwärtigen türkischen Literatursprache. Der serbokroatische Text wieder ist begleitet von Anmerkungen zum Wortspielereien, die die Übersetzung nicht berücksichtigen konnte, zu islamischen Realien, zu besonderen Begriffen, die mit dem gesellschaftlichen und Familienleben der Türken zusammenhängen, zur Entstehung einiger Lieder; im zweiten Teil der Auswahl befinden sich auch die wichtigsten Angaben über die einzelnen Autoren.

An die Spitze der Auswahl von Volkspoesie stellte die Autorin die beliebte vierstrophige Form *mani*, die dem persischen *rubai* verwandt ist. Gerade bei der Form *mani*, die durch einen gedrungenen Gedankenausdruck in knapper Form gekennzeichnet ist, war es am schwierigsten zumindest einigermaßen die ursprüngliche

Geschlossenheit der Wortverbindungen beizubehalten und den gedanklichen Inhalt der Phrase dabei nicht zu zerstören. Marija Dukanović gelang dies am besten bei den mit dem gemeinsamen Motiv der Nelke verknüpften *manis*.

Die erotischen Liebeslieder sind unter anderem auch durch das überaus populäre Lied Das turkmenische Mädchen vertreten, das in der Form eines Dialogs gesungen wird. In ihrer Mannigfaltigkeit und Pracht dominiert die Natur in den Schäferliedern. Hierher reihte Marija Dukanović auch ein Lied, dessen Autor bekannt ist (es ist Gevheri), das jedoch in seinen häufigen Varianten den Namen des Autors aus seiner letzten Strophe wegliess. Die Auswahl bringt einige Soldaten- und Hochzeitslieder. Die Trauerlieder (*ağut*) und die Wiegenlieder (*nini*) sind mit je einem Lied vertreten.

Der zweite Teil der Auswahl bringt eine Probe aus dem Schaffen Yunus Emres. Diesen grossen Mystiker von der Wende des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts kann man kaum als Aşik bezeichnen, obwohl es in seiner Lyrik, die von einer genialen Einfachheit der Sprachgebilde gekennzeichnet ist und die eine Fülle frischer und plastischer Bilder enthält, nicht an realistischen Zügen mangelt. Die Liebe jedoch, der seine Poesie geweiht ist, ist einzig und allein eine mystische Liebe, sie bringt die Sehnsucht nach dem Verschmelzen mit Gott zum Ausdruck. Unter seinem Einfluss schufen in den folgenden Jahrhunderten die Dichter der Klosterorden der Bektaşi und Hurufî, sowie die Poeten der Alevî-Sekte: Haci Bayram Veli, Kaygusuz Abdal, Pir Sultan Abdal, der wegen Verbreitung heterodoxer Ideen und Teilnahme an einem Bauernaufstand unter Süleyman I. zum Tode verurteilt wurde. Seine schönsten Gedichte entstanden im Gefängnis in Sivas, wo er den Strafvollzug erwartete. Diese Tatsache führt die Autorin in der Anmerkung zur Persönlichkeit Pir Sultan Abdals leider nicht an. Mit einem Auszug aus dem Werke Kul Himmets, des begabtesten Schülers Pir Sultan Abdals, endet der Überblick des Schaffens der Dichter der Derwischbrüderschaften.

Die Poesie der Ašiks ist durch solche Namen wie Koroğlu, Karocaoğlu, Aşik Kerem, Aşik Ömer, Gevheri, Dadaloğlu und weitere vertreten. Aus ihrem Schaffen übernahm die Autorin in die Auswahl den Teil, der sich noch bis jetzt grosser Beliebtheit erfreut. Sie hebt das allmähliche Schwinden der Lauterheit, die Zerstörung der sprachlichen Reinheit und das Einwirken arabischer und persischer Einflüsse auf die Form der Poesie der Ašiks hervor. Diese Erscheinungen hängen mit dem allmählichen Anschliessen der Ašiks an die gebildeten Schichten zusammen.

Es ist schade, dass die Autorin in ihrer Auswahl nicht auch eine Probe aus dem Schaffen der Ašiks unseres Jahrhunderts anführt, wir denken hier vor allem an den kürzlich verstorbenen Aşik Veysel Satioğlu, den nicht nur das Volkspublikum, sondern auch prominente intellektuelle Kreise anerkennen und schätzen.

Mit einem bibliographischen Überblick (S. 167) sowie einem Liederverzeichnis (S. 169) schliesst Marija Dukanović ihren wertvollen Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der türkischen folkloristischen Erbschaft. Die Autorin schuf mit ihrer Monographie

Beachtliches. Der einführende Teil ist verhältnismässig karg, über das türkische Volkslied und dessen Autoren hätte wohl wesentlich mehr gesagt werden können, wir möchten es jedoch nicht als Mangel der Monographie betrachten, da der Schwerpunkt des Werkes in der Übersetzung liegt, die durchaus positiv zu bewerten ist. Die Übersetzung M. Dukanovičs bewahrte das Dynamische der türkischen Volkspoese, ihre Gedankentiefe und Lebhaftigkeit, sowie die Eigenart ihrer poetischen Bilder.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Jeremejev, D. E., *Etnogenez turok. Proischoždenije i osnovnyje etapy etničeskoj istoriji* (Ethnogenesis der Türken. Der Ursprung und die Grundetappen der ethnischen Geschichte). Moskau, Nauka 1971. 272 S.

Das Problem der Ethnogenese jedes Volkes stellt in der Wissenschaft eine komplizierte und oft diskutabile Frage dar. Trotz gewisser Gesetzmässigkeiten in der historischen Entwicklung verschiedener Völker ist es notwendig, das Spezifikum der Ethnogenese in jeden Fall separat zu behandeln, wobei alle Bestandteile, die bei der Gestaltung dieses oder jenes Volkes gewirkt haben, berücksichtigt werden.

Die Ethnogenese der Türken hat ihre Besonderheiten vor allem in der ausdrucksvollen Verschiedenheit der Komponente, aus welchen das türkische Volk entstanden ist. Der Autor verfolgt das gesamte Problem der Ethnogenese der Türken als eine Reihe von Prozessen, die zur Bildung der türkischen Nationalität und dann im Schosse der kapitalistischen Produktionsbeziehungen und unter den veränderten politischen Beziehungen zur Entstehung des türkischen Volkes führten. Alle diese Prozesse erforscht der Autor in einem breiten Zeitrahmen von der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jh. bis zur Gegenwart. Seine Schlussfolgerungen stellte der Autor auf einer umfangreichen Quellenbasis und einer grossen Menge von, vor allem historischer, ethnographischer, linguistischer und archäologischer Literatur dar. Auf diese Art und Weise schuf der Autor eine erwünschte Voraussetzung, die komplizierten Fragen der Ethnogenese mit Hilfe der Ergebnisse mehrerer Sozialwissenschaften zu lösen und so zu gut fundierten und tieferen Beschlüssen zu gelangen.

D. E. Jeremejev beginnt seine Arbeit mit der Übersicht der Grundquellen und der Literatur (S. 5—45). Einen grossen Teil dieser Übersicht umfasst die Polemik mit der panturkistischen und nationalistischen Literatur und obwohl der Autor ihre Schlussfolgerungen abweist, benützt er ihr faktographisches Material.

Das erste Kapitel Die ethnische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung Anatoliens vor dem Massenvordringen der türkischen Stämme (S. 45—73) ist mit Rücksicht auf die wahrhaftige Rolle, die diese Periode für die Ethnogenese der Türken spielte, seinem Inhalt nach, sehr umfangreich und enthält aus diesem Grund auch viele problematische Urteile.

Die Hauptergebnisse der Arbeit des Autors über die Ethnogenese der Türken sind in folgenden weiteren Kapiteln enthalten: II. Die Umsiedlung der türkischen Stämme nach Anatolien im 11.—13. Jh. und ihre ethnische Geschichte (S. 74—124); III. Die Bildung der türkischen Nationalität (S. 125—159); IV. Die Gestaltung der türkischen Nation (S. 160—220). Der Autor kam zur Ansicht, dass die türkische Nation aus mehreren ethnischen Komponenten entstanden sei, aus welchen die türkischen Stämme, vor allem Oguzen und Turkmenen, die wichtigsten waren. Eine weitere Komponente bildete die autochthone Bevölkerung Kleinasien (Griechen, Armenier, Kurden, Lazen, Grusinern) und teils auch die balkanischen Völker. Jeremejev machte hier auf die zwei Besonderheiten dieses Prozesses aufmerksam — die Assimilierung der Türken durch die einheimische Bevölkerung auf wirtschaftlich-kulturellem Gebiet beim Übergang auf die ansässige Lebensart und die Durchsetzung der türkischen Sprache als der Sprache des zahlreichsten, herrschenden Ethnikums in Anatolien.

In der historischen Entwicklung wies Jeremejev wieder auf die Bedeutung des Osmanischen Reiches hin, das in der Zeit seines Aufschwunges in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. und in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jh. die wirtschaftliche, politische und kulturelle Einheit des türkischen Ethnikums und dadurch auch die Entstehung der türkischen Nationalität ermöglicht hatte. Durch die Krise der herrschenden Ordnung im Osmanischen Reich und auf Grund der Notwendigkeit, diese Krise zu lösen, bildeten sich Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung der kapitalistischen Beziehungen. Diese brachte die Formierung der nationalen Ideologie, die sich nach dem 1. Weltkrieg in den Kämpfen um die Unabhängigkeit heraus kristallisierte, und zur Entstehung des türkischen Nationalstaates und der türkischen Nation führte.

Die historische Auslegung der Entstehung der türkischen Nation wird in dem Kapitel über die ethnische Charakteristik der gegenwärtigen Türken (S. 221—248), das auf die anthropologischen Typen, auf die Sprache, sowie auf die Besonderheiten der materiellen und geistlichen Kultur hinweist, abgeschlossen.

Das Buch D. E. Jeremejews stellt, sowohl dem Inhalt als auch methodologischer Seite nach, einen wirklich kostbaren Beitrag dar.

Vojtech Kopčan

Kornrumpf, Hans-Jürgen (unter Mitarbeit von Jutta Kornrumpf), *Osmanische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa*. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung. Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten. Hrsg. von B. Spuler. Ergänzungsband VIII. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1973. XXIV + 1378 S.

Der schnelle Aufschwung der Balkanistik nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg, sowohl in den Zentren der traditionellen Forschung als auch in Staaten, die in der Balkan-

nistik eine geringe oder keine Tradition hatten, führte zur Gründung einer selbständigen Association bei UNESCO — Association internationale d'études du sud-est européen (AIESEE). Diese internationale Organisation veranstaltet seit einigen Jahren regelmässige Kongresse AIESEE und aus deren Anlass gibt das Institut d'études balkaniques im Sofia seit dem Jahr 1966 die *Bibliographie d'études balkaniques* (bisher 6 Bände) regelmässig heraus.

Das besprochene Buch H.-J. Kornrumpfs ist auf Publikationen gerichtet, die sich auf das Osmanische Reich und den Zeitabschnitt seiner Herrschaft in Europa beziehen, und in der internationalen islamischen Bibliographie, *Index Islamicus* (ed. J. D. Pearson), nur sporadisch vermerkt sind. Er ergänzt so in geeigneter Weise nicht nur die erwähnte Bibliographie Pearsons, sondern auch weitere bibliographische Publikationen, sowie die *Bibliographie d'études balkaniques*, die besonders in den ersten Bänden wesentliche Desiderata aus der türkischen und griechischen Produktion aufwies.

Kornrumpfs Bibliographie erfasst Publikationen, die in den Jahren 1945—1970 erschienen sind. Eine Ausnahme bilden nur einige türkische Zeitschriften, die nach 1945 besprochene Publikationen und die Reeditionen. Der Zeitabschnitt, den die Bibliographie verfolgt, ist sehr breit. Sie vermerkt Arbeiten, die der Periode seit dem Einzug der Seldschuken nach Kleinasien bis zu den Balkan-Kriegen (1912—1913), als sich der grössere Teil des europäischen Gebietes von der osmanischen Untertänigkeit befreite, gewidmet sind.

Der erste Teil der Bibliographie vermerkt die Produktion nach den Autoren. Der Zweite Teil ist nach Zeitabschnitten und dann nach Ländern und Sachgebieten gegliedert. Um die Bibliographie den Forschern, die das Türkische, sowie die balkanischen und osteuropäischen Sprachen nicht beherrschen, leichter zugänglich zu machen, bringt H.-J. Kornrumpf auch deutsche Übersetzungen der Beiträge, die in westeuropäischen Sprachen nicht erschienen sind.

Bei den Büchern führt die Bibliographie auch Rezensionen, insofern sie dem Verfasser zugänglich waren, an. Der Verfasser vermerkte in der Bibliographie den überwiegenden Teil der angeführten Publikationen aus den Originalen, und nur einen kleineren Teil bilden Vermerke aus zweiter Hand, was ebenfalls positiv eingeschätzt werden kann.

Bei einem gründlicheren Studium der Bibliographie wird es klar, dass der Verfasser sein Interesse vor allem auf Publikationen aus Jugoslawien, Bulgarien, Rumänien, Albanien und relativ auch aus der Türkei und Griechenland, die auch beachtenswert komplett sind, richtete. Mehrere Lücken weist die Bibliographie Ungarns, der Tschechoslowakei, der Sowjetunion, jedoch auch einiger westeuropäischen Länder auf.

Aus diesem Grunde richten wir uns weiter in unserer Besprechung auf die Ergänzung der Produktion aus der Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn, die in die Bibliographie nicht aufgenommen wurden.

Von den bibliographischen Arbeiten sind vor allem folgende tschechoslowakische und ungarische Bibliographien zu erwähnen:

*Bibliografie československé historie*. Praha, Nakladatelství ČSAV (seit 1955); *Československá orientalistika* (Bibliography of Czechoslovak Oriental Studies), 1963—1964, 1965—1966, 1967 bis 1968. Praha, Státní knihovna ČSSR, 1965—1972; *Asian and African Studies in Czechoslovakia*. Moscow, Nauka 1967, 165 S.; *Bibliografie československé balkanistiky za léta 1966—1968*. Brno, Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970, 63 S.

Kosáry, D., *Bevezetés a magyar történelem forrásaiba és irodalmába, I—III*. Budapest 1951 bis 1958; *A magyar történettudomány válogatott bibliográfiája 1945—1968*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1971, 856 S.

Ferner führen wir Beiträge, den einzelnen Autoren nach eingereiht, an, zunächst von tschechoslowakischen und dann von ungarischen Autoren:<sup>1</sup>

Blaškovič, J., *Ein Schreiben des ofener Defterdār Muştafā an den hatvaner Mauteinneher Derviš Baša*. In: *Charisteria orientalia*. Prag, Nakladatelství ČSAV 1956, S. 60—71.

Blaškovič, J., *Die Tradition und die Aufgaben der Turkologie in der Slowakei*. In: *Studia semitica philosophica necnon philologica Joanni Bakoš dicata*. Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo SAV 1965, S. 55—68.

Blaškovič, J., *K dejinám tureckej okupácie na Slovensku*. In: *HŠ*, 8, 1963, S. 95—116.

Blaškovič, J., *Peniaze, miery a váhy používané na území okupovanom Turkami*. In: *HŠ*, 14, 1969, S. 208—213.

Blaškovič, J., *Rimavská Sobota pod osmanskotureckým panstvom*. In: *Kapitoly z dejín a prírody okresu Rimavská Sobota*. Bratislava, Obzor 1968, S. 23—70.

Beňko, J., *Obrana stredoslovenských banských miest v rokoch 1552—1564*. In: *Historie a vojenství* 1/1969, Praha 1969, S. 1—20.

Blanár, V., *Otázka lexikálnych turcizmov v slovenčine*. In: *Jazykovedný časopis*, 13, Bratislava 1962, S. 76—87.

*Dějiny Jugoslávie*. Praha, Svoboda 1970. 513 S.

Dřímál, J., *Účast moravské zemské hotovosti v boji proti Turkům při obraně Bělehradu r. 1521*. In: *SPFFBU*, C 8, 1961, S. 149—160.

Horáček, C., *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Aspekte der Türkenkriege im 16. Jahrhundert*. In: *Charisteria orientalia*. Prag 1956, S. 103—112.

Horáček, C., *Der Beitrag der Böhmischen Länder zum Feldzug 1566*. In: *Szigetvári Emlékkönyv 1566—1966*. Budapest 1966, S. 269—284.

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<sup>1</sup> Abkürzungen:

ČMM — Časopis Matice moravské, Brno

ČsČH — Československý časopis historický, Praha

HČ — Historický časopis, Bratislava

HK — Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapest

HŠ — Historické štúdie, Bratislava

SA — Slovenská archivistika, Bratislava

SHS — Studia historica slovacca, Bratislava

SPFFBU — Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university, Brno

- Kabrda, J., *Bibliografické pomůcky k dějinám jihovýchodní Evropy a Blízkého východu*. In: Český časopis historický, L, 1947—1949. Praha 1949, S. 103—128.
- Kabrda, J., *Nové úkoly bulharské historické vědy*. In: ČMM, 71, 1953, S. 130—140.
- Kabrda, J., *Nový zdroj k ruským dějinám (Turecké kadijské registry)*. In: SPFFBU, II, 1953, S. 237—260.
- Kabrda, J., *Úspěchy bulharské historické vědy*. In: ČMM, 71, 1953, S. 391—413.
- Kabrda, J., *Les problemes de l'étude de l'histoire de la Bulgarie à l'époque de la domination turque*. In: Byzantinoslavica, 15, 1954, S. 173—208.
- Kabrda, J., *Prameny k hospodářským dějinám Bulharska v době rozkladu tureckého feudalismu*. SPFFBU, III, C 1, 1954, S. 79—91.
- Kabrda, J., *Izvori za stopanskata istorija na Bălgarija v period na razloženiето na turskija feodalizăm*. In: Izvori na Visšija finansovo-stopanski institut I. Svištov, 1955, S. 102—114.
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Die Osmanische Bibliographie, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa, verfasst von H.-J. Kornrumpf, ist in Bezug auf die Präzision und den Reichtum der Angaben ein unentbehrliches Handbuch für jeden Forscher, der sich mit der osmanischen Geschichte befasst.

Vojtech Kopčan

Preradovich von, N., *Des Kaisers Grenzer. 300 Jahre Türkenabwehr*. Wien—München—Zürich, Verlag F. Molden 1970. 320 S.

Die Probleme der Grenze sind eine interessante Frage von breiter historischer Bedeutung. In den Grenzgebieten wurden, mit Rücksicht auf die unterschiedlichen Lebensbedingungen, nicht nur andere wirtschaftlich-soziale Beziehungen, wie in den Zentralgebieten, geschaffen, sondern es entstand hier auch ein psychisch unterschiedlicher Menschentyp, der durch seine soziale und nationale Zugehörigkeit bedingt war.

Das Buch von Preradovich befasst sich mit einem wichtigen Phänomen in der Geschichte der südslawischen Bevölkerung — mit der Militärgrenze. Diese entstand ursprünglich schon im 15. Jahrhundert, während der Herrschaft der Könige Sigmund und Mathias Corvinus, als Verteidigungslinie gegen die osmanische Expansion, und wurde unter der Drohung der grossen osmanischen Feldzüge gegen Ungarn und die österreichischen Länder entgeltig geformt. Die Verteidigung dieser Grenze lastete nicht nur auf den Söldnergarnisonen oder dem Feudalheer, wie es in anderen Gebieten

Ungarns der Fall war, sondern wurde schon früher den Umsiedlern aus den, von Türken eingenommenen Gebieten — überwiegend den Serben — anvertraut. Die letzten sind uns aus den Quellen unter den Namen Uskokon, Morlacken oder einfach Ratzen bekannt. Die serbischen Kolonisten wirkten hier nicht nur als militärisches Element, obwohl die Verteidigung der Grenze ihre Hauptaufgabe war, sondern halfen auch bei der Besiedlung der verwüsteten Gebiete. So entstanden Siedlungen, deren Bewohner Verteidigungspflichten zu erfüllen hatten, von Steuer und Robot befreit waren und meistens aus Viehzucht und aus dem Anteil an der gewonnenen Beute lebten. Mit der Bildung eines selbständigen Kommandos über die serbischen Grenztruppen auf der kroatischen Grenze wurde der Grundstein einer Militärorganisation gelegt, die sich später auf das ganze Grenzgebiet zwischen den Ländern der Habsburger und dem Osmanischen Reich ausbreitete.

Das Hauptinteresse richtet Preradovich in seinem Buch nicht so sehr auf die Anfänge der Militärgrenze, sondern viel mehr auf den Zeitabschnitt am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts, als sich die Grenzorganisation auf das umfangreiche Gebiet vom Adriatischen Meer bis an Siebenbürgen ausdehnte. Der Autor verfolgt in einem breiteren Rahmen der politischen Geschichte eine ganze Reihe ethnischer, militärischer, wirtschaftlicher und religiöser Fragen, die das Leben an der Grenze auf verschiedene Art beeinflussten. Grossen Wert legt Preradovich der Rolle der Persönlichkeiten, die an der Grenze wirkten, oder das Kommando über die Grenztruppen führten, bei, z. B. beschreibt er ausführlich das Schicksal des Barons von Trenck u. a.

Das Buch kann nicht von einem streng wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus betrachtet werden, da der Autor weder einen Anmerkungsapparat, noch die Literatur, aus der er schöpft, anführt. Dem Autor ging es mehr um eine gewisse literarische Bearbeitung der Geschichte der Grenze und um einen Hinweis auf die Rolle, die die Grenztruppen und ihre prominenten Repräsentanten im Habsburger Kaisertum gespielt hatten. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus kann das Buch als ein gelungener Versuch, der die Probleme der Verteidigung der Südgrenze gegen die Türken einem breiteren Leserkreis annähert, betrachtet werden. Dagegen muss dem Autor vorgeworfen werden, dass er der Transkription der geographischen Benennungen eine ungenügende Aufmerksamkeit widmete, vor allem die heutigen Benennungen vollkommen ignorierte und gewisse Ausdrücke, wie zum Beispiel „Maria-Theresia, die unvergessliche Mutter ihrer Völker“, etc. anführte.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

*Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege.* Hrsg. von Othmar Pickl. Grazer Forschungen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. Band 1. Graz, Im Selbstverlag der Lehrkanzel für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Universität Graz 1971. 366 S.

Das Sammelbuch bringt Beiträge, die auf dem 1. internationalen Symposium über die Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Südosteuropas in Graz (vom 5. bis 10. Oktober 1970) vorgetragen wurden. Das Ziel dieses Symposiums, an dem Fachleute aus Österreich, der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Ungarn, Polen, Jugoslawien und Frankreich teilgenommen haben, war die Forschung der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege auf Südosteuropa.

In den Beiträgen von I. Bog (Türkenkrieg und Agrarwirtschaft, S. 13—26), H. Kellenbenz (Südosteuropa im Rahmen der europäischen Gesamtwirtschaft, S. 27—58) und Ph. Braunstein (Venedig und der Türke (1450—1570), S. 59—70) sind breitere Probleme des gesamten Südostraumes, sowie anderer Teile Europas zusammengefasst, ob es sich nun um die Finanzierung und Versorgung der Habsburger Truppen in den Türkenkriegen, die Handelsverbindungen Europas mit dem Osten, oder um das Verhältnis zwischen Venedig und dem Osmanischen Reich, das als die „bewaffnete Neutralität“ bezeichnet wird, handelt.

Der umfangreiche Beitrag des Herausgebers des Sammelbuches und des Initiators des Symposiums, O. Pickl, befasst sich mit den Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege auf den Handel zwischen Ungarn und Italien im 16. Jahrhundert (Die Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege auf den Handel zwischen Ungarn und Italien im 16. Jahrhundert, S. 71—129). Der Autor weist darauf hin, dass bei dem Handel zwischen Ungarn und Italien finanzielle Massnahmen des Wienerhofes und handelspolitische Gesichtspunkte von grösserer Bedeutung als Militäraktionen waren.

H. Prickler (Das Volumen des westlichen ungarischen Aussenhandels vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1700, S. 131—144) korrigiert die Ansichten Gy. Embers auf die Gestaltung und den Umfang des ungarischen Aussenhandels mit dem Westen.

Zwei Beiträge der polnischen Autoren J. Małecki und J. Bieniarz, sind dem Krakauer Handel während der Türkenkriege und den türkischen Einflüssen auf die Bürgerkultur in Krakau im 17. Jahrhundert gewidmet.

Die Wirkung der Türkenkriege auf Frankfurt am Main wird von F. Lerner erforscht.

Viel wertvolles Material über die Folgen der Türkenkriege in Slowenien brachte S. Vilfan (Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege aus Sicht der Rationierung, der Steuer und der Preisbewegung, S. 177—200). Vilfan legte hier das Phänomen „der Krieg als Beschäftigung und der Mensch als Ware“ vor, dass auch die türkisch-slowakische Grenze wenig durchforscht ist und würde sich auch vom Gesichtspunkt der slowakischen Geschichte aus, ein selbständiges Studium verdienen.

Von den vier ungarischen Beiträgen von A. Kubinyi (Die Auswirkungen der

Türkenkriege auf die zentralen Städte Ungarns bis 1541, S. 201—220), L. Rúzsás (Die Entwicklung der Marktflecken Transdanubiens unter der Türkenherrschaft im 17. Jahrhundert, S. 221—234), F. Szakály (Zur Kontinuitätsfrage der Wirtschaftsstruktur in den ungarischen Marktflecken unter der Türkenherrschaft S. 235—272) und I. N. Kiss (Gesellschaft und Heer in Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege [Das Soldatenbauerntum], S. 273—296), verfolgen die ersten drei vor allem die wirtschaftlichen Probleme der Zentralgebiete Ungarns und nur der Beitrag von I. N. Kiss hat eine breitere methodologische Gültigkeit auch für unser Gebiet.

Mit dem Problem des Bodenbesitzes und der Militärbevölkerung auf der kroatischen und slawonischen Grenze befasste sich F. Močanin (Das Problem des Grundbesitzes der Militärbevölkerung an der kroatischen und slawonischen Grenze, S. 297—307) und dem Einfluss der Türkenkriege auf die Wirtschaft des osmanischen Grenzgebietes in Serbien und in Bosnien widmete M. Vasić seine Aufmerksamkeit (Der Einfluss der Türkenkriege auf die Wirtschaft des osmanischen Grenzgebietes in Serbien und Bosnien [1480—1536], S. 308—318).

Am Ende des Sammelbuches sind Beiträge eingereiht, die dem Einfluss der Türkenkriege auf die Eisenproduktion im 16. Jahrhundert und auf das Münzwesen, wo die Computertechnik zur Auswertung von 60 000 Prägungen aus Österreich benutzt wurde, gewidmet.

Der Index der Namen und der geographischen Benennungen ermöglicht eine leichtere Orientierung im Buch. Es kommen hier aber einige Fehler in den Ortsnamen auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei vor: Tyrnau ist Trnava und nicht Trnovo Prešov ist als Prešov, jedoch auch als Eperjes angeführt, bei Neuhäusel und Turdossin stehen nicht die slowakischen Namen Nové Zámky und Tvrdošín, usw.

Das Sammelbuch ist ein kostbarer Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der wirtschaftlichen Folgen der Türkenkriege und hoffentlich nicht das letzte musterhafte Beispiel der internationalen Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Wirtschaftsgeschichte.

Vojtech Kopčan

Sebeok, Thomas A. (Editor), *Current Trends in Linguistics*. Vol. 6. *Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa* (Associate Editors: C. A. Ferguson, C. T. Hodge, H. H. Paper). The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1970. XXII + 802 pp.

The present volume of *Current Trends in Linguistics* consists of four parts as follows: Part One: Indo-European Languages of the Area (pp. 1—176), Part Two: Altaic Languages (pp. 177—234), Part Three: Afroasiatic Languages (pp. 235—662), and Part Four: Regional Language Issues and Studies (pp. 663—758).

Each part is introduced by an overview surveying the most outstanding problems and the last scientific achievements in the respective linguistic areas. Further, each

part contains several specialized studies in which a detailed information of the linguistic investigation in the respective areas is given.

Part One includes an overview by H. H. Paper, four studies in Iranian languages (Old Iranian, by E. Benveniste; Middle Iranian, by M. J. Dresden; Persian and Tajik, by G. Lazard, and Other Iranian Languages, by G. Redard) and two in Armenian (Diachronic Armenian, by R. Godel, and Synchronic Armenian, by M. J. Connolly).

Part Two includes an overview by J. R. Krueger and two specialized studies (Turkish, by G. Hazai, and Irano-Altistica: Turkish and Mongolian Languages of Persia and Afghanistan, by G. Doerfer).

Part Three, which covers an immense geographic area and involves an extraordinarily large body of linguistic data, both synchronic and diachronic, constitutes the lion's share of Volume 6. This part is the first really important work to adopt Greenberg's term 'Afroasiatic' in denoting linguistic relationship of the earlier 'Hamito-Semitic'.

An expertly written overview, followed by an exhaustive bibliography, is due to C. T. Hodge. The Afroasiatic group of languages is subsequently treated under several headings: A: Semitic (The Semitic Languages, by G. M. Schramm; Comparative Semitics, by E. Ullendorf; Akkadian, by E. Reiner; Hebrew, by C. Rabin; Aramaic, by E. J. Kutscher; Classical Arabic, by C. G. Killean; Spoken Arabic, by P. F. Abboud, and Ethiopic and South Arabian, by W. Leslau) and B: Other Languages (Egyptian, by J. Vergote; Coptic, by H. J. Polotsky; Cushitic, by F. R. Palmer, and Berber Languages, by J. R. Applegate).

When viewed from an Arabist's angle, the bipartite subdivision of Arabic studies in Classical and Spoken, with only a part of a small paragraph (Spoken Arabic, § 4.2.1) devoted to Middle Arabic, does not seem to harmonize with the importance of Middle Arabic for the constitution of modern dialects and with its cultural significance. A more substantial discussion of Blau's contribution to the study of Middle Arabic would have been desirable. Ferguson's koine theory (1959) as well as the reaction of Cohen (1962) and Blau (1963b) should have been more advantageously presented in an autonomous section centered on Middle Arabic.

Part Four deals with a number of specific problems of language development in several countries of South West Asia and North Africa. Twentieth century language studies in Iran and Afghanistan are surveyed in Ehsan Yar-Shater's study *Iran and Afghanistan*. The contribution of S. J. Altoma, *Language Education in Arab Countries and the Role of Arab Academies*, analyses the impact of diglossia (standard vs. colloquial) and bilingualism (national vs. foreign) on the language education in Arab countries and the attitudes of Arab Academies. The remaining two studies are focussing on Israel (J. M. Landau, *Language Study in Israel*) and Turkey (G. Hazai, *Linguistics and Language Issues in Turkey*).

It would be largely superfluous to speak about the importance of the giant editorial

project which brought into being *Current Trends in Linguistics*, some volumes of which are still in preparation. It is to be hoped that on its completion, the whole series will be recycled (13 volumes when completed). For the time being, there is hardly any better survey of the scientific progress in linguistic research in South West Asia and North Africa than Volume 6 of *Current Trends in Linguistics*.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Brinner, W. M.—Khouri, M. A., *Readings in Modern Arabic Literature*. Part One: *The Short Story and the Novel*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1971. XII + 456 pp.

The instructional material edited under the present title is a considerably revised and enlarged version of the earlier *Advanced Arabic Readers*, Vol. I, *Selections from the Modern Novel and Short Story*, by the same authors, the type-script edition of which first appeared in 1961, University of California, Berkeley. It is designed for students who have completed the equivalent of two years of modern standard Arabic. It is intended to serve two purposes: to improve the reading competence of the students in modern standard Arabic as used in formal Arabic prose and to introduce them to modern Arabic fiction as well as to acquaint them with some of the more important writers in the literary genres represented. Although it was not the editors' intention to select authors uniquely by their literary merits, as results from the duplicity of purposes outlined above, the materials included may be recognized as representative of modern Arabic fiction when angled from a literary point of view, too. The authors selected are the following: Sa'īd Taqīy al-Dīn (*Al-Burhān al-Qāṭi'*), Lebanon; Taufīq Yūsuf 'Awwād (*Al Ṣabīy al-A'raj*), Lebanon; Najīb Maḥfūz (*Dunyā Allāh*), Egypt; Yūsuf Idrīs (*Mazlūm*), Egypt; Dū al-Nūn Ayyūb (*Da'āma fī Burj Bābil*), Iraq; Iḥsān 'Abd al-Quddūs (*Ṣaī' fī Ṣadrī*), Egypt; Yūsuf al-Sibā'ī (*Maimūn al-Jabal*), Egypt; Aḥmad Amīn (*Sayyidunā*), Egypt; Suhail Idrīs (*Al-Hayy al-Lāṭinī*), Lebanon; Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā (*Al-Kutub wa-Hafnatān min Turāb*), Palestine/Lebanon; Lailā Ba'albakī (*Al-Āliha al-Mamsūkha*), Lebanon; Taufīq al-Ḥakīm (*Adūw Iblīs*), Egypt; Tāhā Ḥusain (*Al-Mu'tazila*), Egypt, and Maḥmūd Taimūr (*Iḥsān Lillāh*), Egypt.

The textual part (1—162) is followed by Vocabulary and Notes (163—456). The system adopted for the vocabulary is that of Wehr's *Dictionary*. In the grammatical notes the student is referred to W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, vols. I—II, Cambridge U. P., 3rd ed., 1951.

We can say at the very beginning that the authors have largely succeeded in compiling and predigesting for the student an excellent textual corpus, the want of which was badly felt in the instruction of Arabic. The few remarks which follow will mostly concern the glossary and grammatical notes.

In the glossary a certain inconsistency may be noted in quoting some types of lexical items. With a number of transitive verbs connecting with the object through a preposition, for instance, the latter is frequently missing, as in *'ašarra* "to insist" (p. 180) or *istawlā* "to seize, confiscate; to capture" (p. 303) instead of the expected *'ašarra 'alā, istawlā 'alā, etc.* Normally, however, the preposition is given, e.g., *naqqaba 'an* "to dig, pierce, search, look for" (p. 170), etc. Similar inconsistencies can be met with in the nominal sphere, too. A good number of nouns are quoted in the singular only despite the fact that the corresponding plural form is unpredictable, as in *bisāt* "carpet; shroud (here: covering)" (p. 191) or *sajīn* "prisoner" (p. 293). On the other hand, a number of predictable plural forms are indicated with the corresponding singulars, as e.g., *maw'id* pl. *marwā'id* "appointed time; time" (p. 210), etc. Moreover, in some cases only the plural form is given in accordance with its occurrence in the text, as in *hiraq* "rags", *'izām* "bones" (p. 190), etc. As evident, in all these cases a uniform quotation of the singular-plural inflections would have been preferable, at the very least in cases displaying an unpredictable rendering of the singular-plural relationship.

The classification of *as-sunna* "Sunnites (orthodox Muslim community)", *aš-šī'a* "Shiites (Muslim sect)" (p. 283), etc. as proper names might appear largely misleading.

The notation of *tanwīn* is unsatisfactory, too. There is hardly any reason to write *tanwīn* in e.g. *šārib(un)* "moustache" (p. 204) or in *'ālat(un) kātiba* "typewriter" (p. 223) when the pausal representation has generally been adopted. *Tanwīn* in *šārib(un)* (p. 204) could perhaps be excused by the authors' effort to remind the students of the difference between a triptotic singular (i.e., *šārib(un)*) and a dip-totic plural (viz., *šawārib(u)*) were it used consistently. In a number of similar cases, however, the pausal writing is readopted, e.g., *maw'id* pl. *marwā'id* (p. 210), etc.

The first meaning listed for each word in the glossary represents, as a rule, the specific contextual usage while other meanings, if quoted at all, are given afterwards. This arrangement is very helpful and time-saving in reading unadapted literary selections which are by no means easy. In a number of cases, however, the meaning quoted is not contextualized. The elative form *'uzmā*, for instance, presented as a comparative, viz., "greater; more significant; more important" (p. 172), is slightly out of tune with the contextual noncomparative "very important" in *mu'assasa taqāfiyya 'uzmā* "a very important cultural institution" (p. 4).

Of course, all these details are of secondary importance. What really matters, is the general design of the book which is in perfect harmony with the purpose to which the book is intended to serve. The reader will be, no doubt, of invaluable help to students and instructors of Arabic.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

*Journal of Arabic Literature*. Volume I and Volume II. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1970 and 1971. 164 pp. and 197 pp.

The conception of the new literary journal presenting itself as “a forum for the discussion of Arabic literature, both classical and modern” is manifested by the idea “to attempt the development of a coherent critical approach that may strike a balance between Arab and non-Arab views of this literature”. The editors do not eliminate purely scientific papers, but their “main policy will be to publish essays in literary appreciation, assessments of trends and movements of individual authors or of single works”.

A common feature of the essays and papers can be found in their well-informed background and originality. The authors of the articles (ten in Volume I, eleven in Volume II), mostly well-known specialists, pay their attention to different aspects of the classical as well as modern Arabic literature, literary criticism, and discuss the problems of formation of literary trends and schools, as well as the influence of European thinking and literatures on the Arabic literature. Both volumes are enriched by modern Arab poems. The annual is edited by M. M. Badawi of the University of Oxford, P. Cachia of the University of Edinburgh, M. C. Lyons of the University of Cambridge and J. N. Mattock of the University of Glasgow.

The *Journal of Arabic Literature* is the only non-Arabic journal of its kind and represents an indisputable gain to everyone interested in the Arabic literature.

*Julius Gella*

Khoury, Raif Georges, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Codices arabici antiqui, Band I). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1972. Teil 1: *Der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23. Leben und Werk des Dichters*. IX + 338 Seiten, broschiert DM 80. Teil 2: *Faksimiletafeln*. 5 Seiten und 50 Tafeln, Leinen DM 28.

Es gibt unter den Fachleuten-Arabisten immer zu wenig solcher, die sich mit der Herausgabe alter arabischer Papyri befassen. Deshalb bedeutet ein jeder neuer Schritt in dieser Richtung ein Ereignis und er ist für die Anfänge der arabischen Literaturgeschichte von einem Entdeckungswert. In diesem Sinne muss auch die vorliegende Edition von R. G. Khoury gewertet werden.

Im rezensierten Buch macht R. G. Khoury der arabistischen Welt einen zweiteiligen Papyrus aus der Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Heid Arab 23, Papyri Schott—Reinhardt) zugänglich, der aus der Geschichte Davids (GD) und aus der Prophetenbiographie (PB) besteht. Der Papyrus ist (laut GD 1) aus 229 A. H./844 A. D. datiert und enthält insgesamt 26 Blätter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zur vom Autor angegebenen Neummerierung des Papyrus siehe Teil 1, S. 5—8.

Wie bekannt, wusste man bisher von diesen unikaten literarischen Stücken aus der PSR Sammlung sehr wenig. Ursprünglich gedachte bereits C. H. Becker sie zu bearbeiten,<sup>2</sup> er kam dann jedoch nicht dazu. Um die Edition der ersten zwei Folien des Textes Prophetenbiographie bemühte sich dann auch Gertrud Mélamède, der Versuch blieb jedoch mehr oder weniger ohne Erfolg.<sup>3</sup>

Khourys Edition mit der Parallelübersetzung ins Deutsche ist also die erste Ausgabe des ältesten bekannten arabischen literarischen Textes. Für dessen Autor hält der Editor Wahb ibn Munabbih (gestorben in 110 A. H./728 A. D. oder 114 A. H./732 A. D.), einen vielseitigen Gelehrten, der aus dem Jemen stammte. Da die Tätigkeit und die literarische Hinterlassenschaft Wahb ibn Munabbih bisher noch nicht gründlich durchforscht worden ist,<sup>4</sup> schloss R. G. Khoury, aus seinen Textuntersuchungen ausgehend, dem herausgegebenen Text auch eine detaillierte Monographie über Wahb ibn Munabbih an. Sein Buch besteht also aus zwei Hauptteilen: Textedition und Übersetzung (S. 15—188); Monographie über Wahb ibn Munabbih (S. 189—316). Diesem geht eine *Einleitung* (S. 1—13) voran. Am Ende des Buches befinden sich dann die Namen- und Sachindexe (S. 329—338).

In einem separaten Band gab Khoury die *Faksimiletafeln* heraus, welche von dem veröffentlichten Papyrus angefertigt wurden.

Der Edition des Heidelberger Papyrus ging eine längere gewissenhafte Vorbereitung voran. Der Editor scheint beinahe alle zugänglichen Quellen studiert zu haben (die Sirawerke, Magāzibücher, Prophetenlegenden, Korankommentare usw.), in denen Spuren von Wahbs literarischer Tätigkeit auffindbar sind. Da besonders der erste Teil des Papyrus (GD) in einem sehr schlechten Zustand erhalten blieb, versuchte der Editor die häufig vorkommenden und grossen Lücken auszufüllen, und das auf Grund des Textes vom Werke Fārisīs *Bad' al-halq wa qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā*.<sup>5</sup> Sein Vorgehen begründet er folgendermassen: *Die Ähnlichkeit, die zwischen einigen Stellen der Geschichte Davids dieser Handschrift und der unseres Papyrus besteht, ist auffallend... Fārisīs Text wiederholt manchmal dieselben sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten und Schreibweisen wie die unseres Papyrus, was die Richtigkeit der vorgenommenen Ergänzungen bekräftigt, insbesondere dann, wenn die erhaltenen Wörter bzw. Buchstaben in unserer GD parallel zu denen der vatikanischen Handschrift laufen* (S. 180). Der zweite Teil des Heidelberger Papyrus (PB) ist relativ gut erhalten, obwohl der Editor auch bei der Ausgabe dieses Teiles auf häufige Hindernisse graphischen

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<sup>2</sup> Becker, C. H., *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*. I. Heidelberg 1906, S. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Mélamède, G., *The Meetings at al-'Aḳaba*. In: *Le Monde Oriental*, 28, 1934, S. 17—58.

<sup>4</sup> Früher hat sich vor allem Horowitz durch seinen Artikel über Wahb (EI, IV, S. 1084—1085) verdient gemacht.

<sup>5</sup> Fārisī, Abū Rifā'a 'Umāra ibn Waṭīma (gest. 289 A. H./902 A. D.). Die Handschrift dieses Werkes befindet sich in der Biblioteca Vaticana (Vat. V. Borg. 165) und ist 512 A. H./1118 A. D. datiert.

Charakters und Lücken im Text stiess. Seine Aufgabe bewältigte er jedoch erfolgreich. Die eigentliche Edition des Papyrus wird durch Anmerkungen technischer Art (*Äussere Beschreibung des Papyrus*, S. 15—20), sowie Analysen grammatischer und graphischer Eigenartigkeiten der Textes (*Sprache*, S. 21—31) eingeleitet.

Den Textteil des Buches (S. 183—188) schliesst der Editor mit dem Hinweis auf ein sehr schwerwiegendes Problem des Heidelberger Papyrus: die Autorschaft. Zu diesem Problem kehrt Khoury wieder auf mehreren Stellen in der Monographie über Wahb zurück. Khoury ist der Meinung, dass über die Autorschaft Wahbs in der Prophetenbiographie (zweiter Teil des Papyrus) im allgemeinen keine Zweifel bestehen. Er begründet das vor allem damit, dass Wahb ibn Munabbih im Text als letzter in der Überliefererkette (S. 183) angeführt wird. Ein weiterer Beweis dafür ist, dass Ḥaġġī Ḥalifa die Autorschaft zweier Schriften *Futūh Wahb ibn Munabbih* (IV, 387, Nr. 8932) und *Maġāzī Rasūl Allāh* (V, 646, Nr. 12464) Wahb zuschreibt.<sup>6</sup>

Weit schwieriger scheint es R. G. Khoury Wahb die Autorschaft der GD zu beweisen: *Hier liegt das Problem ganz anders, denn neben Wahb tauchen (im Text) viele andere Namen auf, hinter denen er sogar in den Schatten tritt* (S. 185). Andererseits jedoch, meint Khoury, darf nicht vergessen werden, dass die arabische Literaturgeschichte Wahb die Autorschaft des ältesten, leider nicht erhaltenen Werkes *Kitāb al-mubtada' wa qisaṣ al-anbiyā'*<sup>7</sup> zuschreibt. Wahbs Anteil am Überliefern prophetologischer Stoffe beweist das häufige Zitieren bei späteren Autoren, was Khoury gesammelt hat und im monographischen Teil seines Werkes (S. 227—246) anführt. Auf Grund dieser Gegebenheiten konstatiert Khoury schliesslich: *Fasst man zusammen, so kommt man zu dem Ergebnis, dass Wahb hinter der Legende Davids steht oder mindestens an erster Stelle stehen müsste...* (S. 188.)

Der zweite Teil von Khourys Werk — die Monographie über Wahb ibn Munabbih — enthält genaue Angaben von Wahbs Leben (S. 189—202) und seinem Werk (S. 202 bis 302). Wahbs Schriften (nicht erhalten oder teilweise in den späteren Werken wiedergeben) teilte Khoury in drei Gruppen ein:

- I. *Schriften, die aus christlich-jüdischer Überlieferung herrühren* (S. 210—273),
- II. *Schriften über den Islam* (S. 274—285),
- III. *Eine einzige Schrift über die südarabische Sage von Ḥimyar: Kitāb al-Mulūk al-mutarwaġa...* (S. 286—302.)

Die relativ meisten Schriften werden Wahb aus dem Gebiet der christlich-jüdischen Überlieferung zugeschrieben. Das bedeutendste von ihnen ist laut Khoury das Werk *Qisaṣ al-anbiyā'*, dessen Problematik der Autor die grösste Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet hat. Ähnlich wie auch andere Arabisten vor Khoury<sup>8</sup> versucht auch er

<sup>6</sup> Siehe mehr darüber in der Monographie. S. 204, 274—285.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Ḥaġġī Ḥalifa IV, 518, Nr. 9437; IV, 518, Nr. 9436; bzw. V, 40, Nr. 9826.

<sup>8</sup> Vor allem Chauvin, V., *La récénsion égyptienne des Mille et une nuits*. Bruxelles 1899, S. 55 sqq.

dieses Werk von Wahb zu rekonstruieren. Er geht dabei jedoch viel vorsichtiger vor, nimmt eine kritische Haltung zu den Quellen ein, an die er sich stützt, und bei der Reproduzierung von Wahbs Werk trachtet er sich von deren Glaubwürdigkeit und Verlässlichkeit auch zu vergewissern. Die eigentliche Rekonstruktion Wahbs besteht aus der Anführung aller Quellen (chronologisch und der Wichtigkeit nach geordnet), in denen sich Wahb zugeschriebene Überlieferungen befinden (S. 227—246.) Auf eine ähnliche Weise will Khoury auch weitere Schriften Wahbs rekonstruieren.

In seiner Monographie trachtete Khoury auf Wahbs vielseitige literarischen Interessen aufmerksam zu machen. Hierbei gelang er zur Ansicht, dass wenn Wahb auch ein frommer und gebildeter Moslem war, war er kein *muhaddit*, sondern ein Erzähler, ein *qāṣṣ* (S. 279 sqq. und auch an anderen Stellen. Siehe dazu den Index: *qusṣāṣ*). Diese Tatsache beeinflusste in einem gewissen Sinne auch das Wesen von Wahbs Werk, und sie erlaubt es uns auch die negative Haltung der späteren Literaten zu Wahb selbst zu erklären (S. 311).

Im Abschlusskapitel seiner Monographie: *Grösse und Unzulänglichkeit des Wahb ibn Munabbih* (S. 303—316) wiederholte Khoury in übersichtlicher Form alle wichtigen Schlussfolgerungen, zu denen er im Laufe seiner Arbeit gelangt war. Es ist möglich, dass die Zukunft einige seiner Ansichten teilweise ergänzen und teilweise korrigieren wird. Es ist möglich, dass manche Arabisten z.B. mit dem Umfang von Wahbs Werk, wie ihn Khoury annimmt, auch jetzt nicht ganz einverstanden sein werden. Andere dürften einigen Argumentationen Khourys (z. B. die Beweisführung von Wahbs Autorschaft in der GD) nicht zustimmen, da diese ihnen als ungenügend unterlegt zu sein erscheinen könnten. Die Anfänge der arabischen Literaturgeschichte sind leider von einem Gewebe diskutabler Fragen umwoben. Das rezensierte Buch hat seinen grossen Vorteil darin, dass es diese Fragen offen aufwirft, ja einige von ihnen sogar mutig zu lösen versucht. Daher dürfte es sich unbedingt des Interesses eines jeden gewiss sein, der von den Anfängen der arabischen Literaturgeschichte und ihrer Problematik um einiges mehr erfahren möchte.

*Ján Pauliny*

Willms, A., *Einführung in das Vulgärarabische von Nordwestafrika* (An Introduction to the Colloquial Arabic of North West Africa). (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, IV. Edited by G. F. Pijper). Leiden, E. J. Brill 1972. XVI + 100 pp.

Despite a relative affluence of specialized works dealing with various colloquial variants of Arabic in North West Africa there was no satisfactory reference book which might serve as a guide to the ethnographers, Africanists and other specialists

who did not and do not study Arabic systematically. Willms' *Einführung* is a successful attempt to fill this gap. The linguistic data are drawn from a number of regional varieties of Arabic as spoken in Mauretania, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. The presentation of materials is as nontechnical as possible in order to make them readily accessible to the non-linguists and non-Arabists. It is one of the chief virtues of the present book that even under these restrictions imposed both on the extent and formal presentation it has succeeded in classifying the relevant data with a sufficient clarity and dependability. One of the truly innovating features of the *Einführung* is its system of indexes which facilitates the use of the book to such an extent that it might serve as a model for the way of indexing in works of similar design: I. Grammatical index (Grammatisches Register), II. Arabic sentences (Register der arabischen Sätze), III. German translations of the Arabic sentences (Register der Übersetzungen der arabischen Sätze), IV. Arabic words and morphemic constituents (Register der arabischen Wörter und Bildungselemente), and V. German-Arabic cross-references (Deutsch-arabischer Index zu Register IV).

The book consists of the following parts: Phonology (Die Laute, §§ 1—6, pp. 1—5); The Verb (Das Verb, §§ 7—36, pp. 6—26); The Noun and Pronouns (Das Nomen und die Pronomina, §§ 37—64, pp. 27—52); The Adjective, Numerals and Prepositions (Das Adjektiv, die Zahlwörter und die Präpositionen, §§ 65—72, pp. 53—67); The Sentence (Der Satz, §§ 73—83, pp. 68—77), and, finally, the indexes I—V as quoted above (pp. 78—100).

The phonological part of the book provides very concise but exact information about the phonological system of the colloquial variants of Arabic under consideration. The description of the verbal system, as given in the following chapter, contains a very good classification of the derived verbal forms which is based partly on functional, partly on formal criteria.

An extremely condensed exposition, such as that of the present book, has of course disadvantages of its own which cannot always be cured by a skillful selection of the materials to be included. This feature, even if in a sense characteristic of the book as a whole, can be felt as a disturbing factor especially in Willms' treatment of nominal morphology. The description of gender phenomena, to quote only one example, is clearly oversimplified. In describing the gender class membership of certain nouns a comparison is made between Classical and Mauretania Arabic as follows: "Eine Anzahl von Substantiva, die maskulin in der Form, aber im Hoch-arabischen weiblichen Geschlechts sind, werden im Mauretanischen als Masculina behandelt. Pierret führt an: *sma* 'Himmel', *bīt* 'Zimmer', *kās* 'Glas', *xmər* 'Wein', *blad* 'Gebiet', *nu* 'Wolke'" (p. 31). The statement, even if true of Mauretania Arabic, does not hold for some other colloquial variants of the dialect area under examination. In Moroccan Arabic, for instance, some of the nouns quoted by Willms for Mauretania Arabic as belonging to the masculine gender class are of feminine gender, e.g., *blad* 'town, country' or of a variable gender class membership, as e.g., *bīt* 'room', *sma* 'sky',

etc.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, some Moroccan Arabic nouns of the same category (viz., formally masculine) are feminine in gender as against their Classical Arabic counterparts which are masculine, e.g., *zīt* 'oil'.<sup>2</sup> Discrepancies of this sort might be stated, in all probability, for other colloquial variants of the dialect area examined, too.

Further, the description of the dual is quite unsatisfactory. The author has failed to indicate a typical property of the dual inflections in most nouns denoting paired parts of the body to operate both as dual and plural markers. Accordingly, the Moroccan Arabic *yaddīn*, interpreted by Willms as 'both hands' (p. 36), may alternatively be classified as a plural displaying a numeric range of 'more than two'.<sup>3</sup> In order to illustrate the productiveness of this feature in some other colloquial varieties of the area, a number of Takrūna Arabic (a rural variety of Tunisian Arabic) dual-plural occurrences will be given in what follows:

*režlēn* (sing. *ržul* 'foot, leg'), co-occurring with a specific dual form *ržullēn* 'two feet, legs', may alternatively be classified as a dual or as a plural; for a possible plural interpretation of *režlēn* see, e.g., *arb'a-režlēn* 'four feet';<sup>4</sup>

*'idēn* (sing. *'id* 'hand'), classified as a dual form possibly used as a plural;<sup>5</sup>

*wudnēn* (sing. *'uden*/'*udun* 'ear'), classified as a dual form alternatively operating as a plural, in the latter case substitutable for a specific plural form *'udān* as far as the unique occurrence of any of these forms is not phraseologically controlled; for a possible plural interpretation of *wudnēn* see e.g., *nḥāsa barb'a-wudnēn* ('*udān*) 'a pot with four handles'<sup>6</sup> (metaphorical usage);

*'ēnēn* (sing. *'ēn* 'eye'), treated as a dual form possibly used as a plural, in the latter case alternating with the etymological plural *'yūn*, used mostly in poetry; for a plural interpretation of *'ēnēn* see, e.g., *ma-'andīš arb'a-'ēnēn* 'I haven't got four eyes';<sup>7</sup>

*ḥuddēn* (sing. *ḥadd* 'cheek'), classified as a dual form possibly used as a plural, in the latter case alternatively used with the etymological plural *ḥdūd*; as a dual, co-occurring with the etymological dual form *ḥdūd*; as a dual, co-occurring with the etymological dual form *ḥaddēn*,<sup>8</sup> etc.

The occurrence of this sort of shortcomings and omissions is quite natural and inevitable in extremely condensed descriptions like the present one. It is to be re-

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<sup>1</sup> Harrell, R. S., *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic*. Washington, D. C., 1962, pp. 98—99.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105: *yedd* 'hand', plur. *yeddin*; *ržel* 'foot, leg', plur. *režlin*; *wden* 'ear', plur. *wednin*; *'eyn* 'eye', plur. *'eynin*.

<sup>4</sup> Marçais W. — Guīga, A., *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, II. *Glossaire*, Vols I—VIII. Paris 1958—1961. See Vol. III, p. 1448.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 4411 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 68 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 2773 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 1034.

gretted, however, that some of the linguistic features omitted are of immediate importance for the understanding of the linguistic mechanism of Arabic in the dialect area under description.

At any rate, Willms' *Einführung* is a valuable reference work which will be appreciated by non-Arabists and Arabists alike.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Nekby, Bengt, *CADU — An Ethiopian Experiment in Developing Peasant Farming* (CADU — Ein äthiopisches Entwicklungsexperiment der Landwirtschaft). Stockholm, Prisma Publishers 1971. 124 S. + 80 Abb., Tab.

CADU (Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit) ist das umfassendste und zugleich eines der wichtigsten Projekte im Rahmen der Schwedischen Entwicklungshilfe. Der Autor, ein führender Mitarbeiter im SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority) und ehemaliger Leiter des CADU Projektes gibt einen ausführlichen Bericht über das Projekt, von seiner Ausarbeitung bis zum Ablauf der ersten Vertragsperiode (1967—1970) mit der äthiopischen Regierung.

Dieses Entwicklungsprojekt wurde nach der Methode des „Package Program“ erstellt und nach gründlicher Vorbereitung und Beurteilung durch eine Experten-Gruppe auch von der äthiopischen Regierung genehmigt und auf Grund eines Vertrages zwischen den beiden Regierungen vom 8. September 1967 in Angriff genommen. Das Projekt wurde von Anfang an der äthiopischen Verwaltung unterstellt, die Ziele, Methoden und Pflichten beider Seiten festgelegt. Schweden stellt kostenlos die Experten zur Verfügung und finanziert 2/3 der Kosten. Ein spezielles Konto, über welches nur die Direktion des Projektes verfügt, wird zweimal jährlich von den Regierungen dotiert, der schwedische Beitrag erst nach der Zahlung von Äthiopien. Die Hauptziele des Projektes wurden bei einer Gesamtdauer von 13 Jahren für die erste Periode wie folgt festgelegt: 1. eine ökonomische und soziale Entwicklung zustande zu bringen und fördern, 2. der Bevölkerung Kenntnisse und Verantwortungsgefühl zur Entwicklungsarbeit zu geben, 3. Methoden der landwirtschaftlichen Entwicklung zu prüfen und 4. Arbeitskräfte zu schulen.

Als Projekt-Gebiet wurde den schwedischen Wünschen und Voraussetzungen entsprechend der zentrale Teil des Chilalo Kreises im östlichen Teil des Äthiopischen Hochlandes festgelegt. Das Projekt-Gebiet umfasst ca. 2500 km<sup>2</sup> mit 120 000 Einwohnern und schliesst den Sitz der Bezirksverwaltung Asella mit 14 000 Einwohnern ein. Im nördlichen Teil des Gebietes überwiegt der Ackerbau, im südlichen die Viehzucht.

Die ermutigenden Ergebnisse der ersten Periode führten zum Abschluss eine

neuen Abkommens zwischen den Regierungen über die zweite Phase des Projektes bis 1975. Von den veranschlagten 30 Mil. Eth. \$ wird Schweden erneut 2/3 beisteuern.

Diese Publikation erfüllt nicht nur die Aufgabe eines Beitrages über das Werden, Wesen und die erzielten Ergebnisse eines Entwicklungsprojektes, sondern ermöglicht einen Einblick (ergänzt durch fast 70 CADU Publikationen — S. 122—124) in eine neue Methode zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft in Entwicklungsländern.

*František Brunner*

Piłaszewicz, Stanisław, *Wypisy z literatury Hausa* (Hausa Literary Anthologies). Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1972. 175 pp.

This is a further contribution to the study of African languages and literatures, offered by the Polish African Studies Centre at Warsaw University, headed by R. Ohly. It represents fairly well the young Polish Africanist generation. Although published in a roneo-typed version only (with a total of 250 copies altogether), this is certainly a publication which deserves attention for various reasons. Its own aims as such are modest: it is intended as a source of texts for university students of Hausa and African languages or literatures. But the importance of this publication is undoubtedly greater than would appear from such modestly stated aims: this is, in fact, one of the first anthologies of Hausa literary texts to approach the aim of teaching and learning Hausa from the point of view of a close interrelationship of the study of Hausa language and literature.

In such a context, the problem of a choice of texts is obviously vital. From this standpoint, the compiler has proved to be very skilled and well-oriented. His main merit appears to be the fact that he has succeeded in integrating into one anthology texts of differing sources and styles. This is, in fact, a necessity, if Hausa literature is to be analysed as a whole. Anthologies and collections of Hausa texts have not been lacking—thus far—but most of them have adopted the procedure of selecting texts from one main source only, reducing the other sources to marginal remarks, if not ignoring them altogether. Thus, either the literature of the classical, Islamic type, was presented (Robinson) or else, prominence was given to folkloric texts (Edgar), or to modern texts from the 1930's on (Kirk-Green and Aliyu). The literature, collected mostly by German scholars in the last decade of the 19th and first decades of this century in Togoland in the Hausa diaspora (Mischlich, Prietze, Krause and others) was generally ignored.

The compiler of this Polish anthology has succeeded in selecting texts from all the above-mentioned sources, including some hitherto neglected, collected by the early German authors. We fully agree with the selection of such texts as H. Ahmed's dramatic narrative, the story of a Hausa caravan travelling across the desert.

Although we do not share the compiler's views on some of the characteristics of his "drama" (see our remarks about this important early Hausa dramatical narrative, expressed in our section on Hausa language and literature, *Literatures of Black Africa*, Prague 1972, esp. on pp. 138—139), we must highly appreciate its re-discovery by the Polish compiler.

In the field of the modern literature, the emphasis placed on contemporary texts is very laudable; the selection of certain texts having an obviously literary value, which were originally published in the current issues of *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*, seems especially useful.

The only subject in which we disagree with the compiler, is his choice of the transcription of the texts. It seems to us that the method of transcribing texts of different historical and cultural origin, but all in a single language, using different orthographies, may hardly serve well the purposes of those learning Hausa as a foreign language. Moreover, even the rules formulated by the compiler are not strictly preserved and some differences between the orthography of the present anthology and those of the original texts occur.

Examples: Piłaszewicz, p. 11: *Zage-Zage ke tshin sarauta, suna kuwa...* Compare with Mischlich's original orthography: *su-ne kuwa* (p. 206). Similarly: Pił., p. 15: *ya aike garuruwan Hausa duka...* Compare with Mischlich's original edition: *garūrua-n Hausa* (p. 213). Similarly: Pił., *ya tshinye ta*, compare with Mischlich's: *ya tshanye ta* (p. 214), etc.

One might also discuss the value of maintaining the duration marks (at least for pedagogical purposes) and some other aspects related to these problems of transcription and orthography. These are, however, problems difficult to solve, whenever such a large-scale anthology of Hausa texts from different cultural and literary sources or even historical periods is prepared.

The present anthology is clearly a very welcome contribution to a new, and we believe, the only comprehensive approach to Hausa literature and language as an entity and as a cultural and linguistic value. Its importance exceeds the limits of a purely Polish educational source and one may hope that—perhaps through some sort of international cooperation—the present anthology may somehow be elaborated into a broader version, perhaps in English or French. It certainly deserves such a treatment.

*Petr Zima*

Zima, Petr, *Problems of Categories and Word Classes in Hausa*. Prague, Academia 1972. 112 pp.

The author has gathered data for his dissertation during his field work in Africa (1965—1967) and later during his participation in the UNESCO literacy campaign (1967—1969).

In the past, Hausa, like so many Asian or African languages, was described in terms of traditional Europocentric models. Especially at the beginning of the 20th century Hausa was subjected to typological examination but, according to Zima, it is “only some two decades ago that linguists started to describe Hausa exclusively in terms of its own structural features” (p. 11).

The present work is viewed modestly by the author himself as his contribution to the discussion on certain aspects of Hausa morphology. Facts observed within the sphere of nominals are compared with those within the sphere of verbals. Here, the traditional approach would be of no use since these areas offer few formal resemblances with categories and paradigms found in European languages.

Zima's book consists of four chapters, i.e. I. Basic Categories, Word Classes and Paradigms: Methods of Approach (pp. 9—21), II. Nominal Modifier in Hausa and Its Formal Exponents (pp. 22—53), III. Is There a Case Paradigm in Hausa? (pp. 59—71), IV. Case in the Context of Hausa Morphology and Problems of Word Classes (pp. 72—81).

In Conclusion (pp. 88—91), Zima sums up the main results of his analysis. He has found a set of morphological exponents in Hausa and defined them as a case paradigm. According to him, the Hausa case displays two specific features: (1) The incorporation of case exponents into the ending, or the entire structure of the immediately preceding head word, (2) The strict differentiation between a full nominal modifier and an enclitic pronominal modifier (p. 89). The publication is furnished with an extensive bibliography (pp. 102—111).

Viktor Krupa

Duignan, Peter—Gann, L. H. (Eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870—1960*. Vol. 3. *Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule*. Edited by Victor Turner. (Hoover Institution Publications.) Cambridge, University Press 1971. VIII + 455 pp.

The first two volumes in a five-volume collaborative study of the colonial era in Africa have been concerned with the history and politics of colonialism from 1870 till 1960. These volumes as a whole have been rather reticent on the “lower colonialism” (to use Professor Low's terminology), i.e. colonialism at the grass-roots as

it was experienced in Africa, and as it actually operated there. Neither do they represent a comprehensive survey or an attempt to carry the long-standing discussions of colonialism any further. As the two general editors themselves admit, despite the present day trend in African historiography, the majority of the contributors to the first two volumes "have dealt with the men who made the empires, with those who maintained them, and with those who sundered them" and "the great illiterate, anonymous majority has generally taken second place".<sup>1</sup>

The third volume of the series entitled *Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule* has been supposed to cover the social effects of colonialism and together with a projected volume on economics "fill the gaps which, by force of circumstances remain in the first two volumes, and (will) serve to place the preceding essays into a wider social context".<sup>2</sup> However, neither here are we presented with something that might be called comprehensive and definitive. As in the first two volumes, represented between its two covers are two categories of essays, even though they are not so categorized in the arrangement of the book itself. Out of twelve essays, those belonging to the first category contain general surveys of certain fields or aspects of social change in African societies during colonial rule. Thus, there is an essay by Professor Gluckman on Tribalism, ruralism and urbanism in South and Central Africa, one by Professor Mair on New élites in East and West Africa and one by Professor Colson on The impact of the colonial period on the definition of land rights. Professor Southall discussed The impact of imperialism upon urban development in Africa and Professor Banlon in his essay dealt with the problem of Urbanization and the colour line in Africa. Last but not least, there is an essay by Mr. Welbourn on Missionary stimulus and African responses.

The second category of essays contains a heterogeneous collection of ethnographic studies of particular ethnic groups and of some of the effects of colonial rule upon them. These sociological-historical accounts, six in number, should apparently be "the profiles of change" of the reviewed publication's title. Professor Middleton writes about the Lugbara of Uganda and the Congo, Professor Klein about Sine-Saloum of Senegal, Professor Cohen about Bornu, Professor Kuper about the Swazi, Professor Read about the Ngoni and Professor Rogby contributed to this volume with an account about the Gogo. But why exactly these six African peoples out of the many hundreds of other possibilities should stand as "the profiles of change", whether there was a deliberate policy behind the choice and these six peoples were taken as good examples typical in something or other of particular developments, we are nowhere told. There is just a 4 pp. long introduction to this volume which gives no clue to the rationale of the book, nor does it attempt to pull together this oddly mixed and particularly selected material and assist us in drawing comparisons

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<sup>1</sup> Epilogue, vol. II., p. 532.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

and conclusions from it. The latter is a difficult task since the essays, valuable and competent as they may be in themselves, do not cover the same sort of ground so as to make them readily comparable.

Thus, we are presented in the first category of essays with accounts of what happened to African societies in certain fields of social life and social change. Separate contributions, all written by seasoned Africanists, are valuable and useful references in their fields and give us some picture of what has happened to "African society" under colonial rule and influence. Because of some important regional omissions and regional limitations this picture is, however, incomplete, all the more so as many other equally important fields of social life and social change have been skipped. But what we really do miss, especially with regard to the second category of essays, is an editorial summing up, synthesizing and pulling together the results of separate contributions and of social anthropologists' research and understanding of this period of social change in African societies. Without it the new volume is a missed chance. Many may find in some contributions useful and valuable references in their fields, though some essays, especially in the second category, cover ground already fairly well described elsewhere and bring rather little that is new. But the whole volume fails to give us an overall view of social effects the colonial era wrought in African societies and thus place the first two volumes of the series in a wider social context. In fact, neither of the three published volumes of the series has attempted and succeeded in blazing a wholly new trail in the argument about the nature of European colonialism in Africa or in pushing the present understanding of the phenomenon much further. And this is a very great pity.

Viera E. Pawliková

*African Folktales*. Selected and Edited, with an Introduction, by Paul Radin. Bollingen Series, Princeton University Press, First Princeton/Bollingen Paperback printing 1970. 322 pp.

This is a companion volume of *African Sculpture*, also available in Princeton/Bollingen Paperbacks, and both are extracted from *African Folktales and Sculpture*, Bollingen Series, XXXII, published in 1952 and in a revised edition in 1964. Of the vast complex of cultures proper to Africa south of the Sahara, eighty-one folktales were selected and divided into four categories: I. The Universe and Its Beginnings, II. The Animal and Its World, III. The Realm of Man, IV. Man and His Fate. The material was selected according to these four categories throughout all sub-Saharan Africa.

Thus there are tales of the Krachi of Togoland, of the Efik-Ibibio, the Hausa, the Ashanti of western Africa, of the Zulu, the Xosa, the Bushman and the Hottentot of

the extreme southern portion of the continent, of the eastern Bantu, the Baganda of Uganda, the Akikuyu of Kenya, the Chagga living on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, of the Swahili, the Nilotic Nuer, Lango, and so on.

In the 19 page-long introduction the late Paul Radin attempts to give an explanation of what accounts for the peculiarities and special traits of African mythologies<sup>1</sup> and mainly for the absence or scarcity in African folk literature of true cosmological myths that so abound in the highly imaginative folk literatures of the American Indians and the Polynesians. While describing the nature of African folk-literature he stresses its typical traits, its stark realism, geocentrism, its insistent emphasis upon man in all his moods, its emphasis upon the contemporary scene and its high degree of sophistication. The intercommunicability of the different parts of Africa has resulted in similarities that do not extend merely to the types of plot-construction and to specific subject-matter, but to literary devices as well.<sup>2</sup> All this is, however, sufficiently illustrated by the folktales. The collection is completed with a glossary and an accounting of the sources of the tales.

Viera E. Paulíková

*African Sculpture*. Selected, with an Introduction by James Johnson Sweeney. Bollingen Series, Princeton University Press, First Princeton/Bollingen Paperback printing 1970. 196 pp.

This Princeton/Bollingen Paperback edition is not a new book. It derives from *African Folktales and Sculpture*, Bollingen Series XXXII, first published in 1952 and in a revised edition in 1964. It is a collection of 187 photographs, most of which were made by Eliot Elisofon and Walker Evans. The objects photographed by Walker Evans were, in nearly every case, exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1935. Those by Eliot Elisofon were made in 1951.

In the 18 page-long introduction<sup>1</sup> J. J. Sweeney, the former Director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, sketches the history of the discovery of African sculpture by a group of early twentieth century sophisticated painters living in Paris who were the first to recognize its aesthetical qualities and reveal African art to European taste. He talks about the difficulties facing every historian of African art and stresses the

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<sup>1</sup> "Why African folktales have acquired their particular and peculiar physiognomy, why certain themes and motifs are present and others absent, why certain stylistic treatments are accepted and others rejected", see Introduction, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., the role played by the songs in the prose text, the frequency of moralistic endings, and the marked prevalence of etiological explanations, see Introduction, p. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Included is a three-page long Postscript of 1963.

importance of enhancing our knowledge of the background of African art and "enriching, whenever possible, the communication of a piece of Negro sculpture through the marriage of ethnographic and aesthetic considerations".<sup>2</sup> He gives us some facts about Benin that have played an important role in the consideration of African art. But we can better appreciate the African sculptor's "respect for his materials" from looking at the excellent photographs of stylized burial fetishes of the Ogowe River district in Gabon (Plates 142—44), the famous royal statues of the Bakuba kings (Plates 81, 82), the terracotta (Plate 187) and bronze heads found at Ife (Plates 132—38) and Benin (Plates 124, 126, 127, 130, 131) produced by the *cire-perdue* method, the fine expressions of fertility idols in Plate 46 from the Sudan, Plate 60 from the northeast Yoruba, or Plate 84 from the Belgian Congo. Or we can mention fetishes for conjuration, such as Plates 96—97 and the well-known "Konde" nail-studded figures (Plate 79) used to drive away illness by the patient's hammering a nail into the figure at the moment of conjuration. There are representations of the spirit of the dead (Plate 142), figures to insure successful childbirth and the broadest variety of expression in the ritual masks ranging in form from the most realistic, employing monkey hair (Plates 34—35), or even human hair, to heighten the representation, to the most purely architectonic (Plate 6) and non-realistic (Plate 29). The masks can range also in size, from the huge and awesome "Kakunga" masks of the Bayaka (Plate 28) or the immense casques of the Baluba fetish-men (Plate 22), to the small dance masks worn by women and children. There are numerous varieties of masks and numerous purposes for which they are made,<sup>3</sup> "different variations of type in every tribe for every purpose—in wood, wicker, cloth, straw, parchment, ivory, and endless combination of materials".<sup>4</sup>

There are not, however, only ritual items that interest us and appeal to us, utilitarian objects, practically every item of daily use, household articles, spoons (Plates 54—55), bobbins (Plates 56—58), headrests (Plates 93—95), musical instruments (Plates 53, 63, 76, 78, 80) are fine illustrations of African craftsmanship and aesthetic conceptions. All these objects whether made of wood, bronze, ivory, gold, iron or soapstone (steatite) are excellent illustrations of the sculptural quality of African art—"its vitality of forms, its simplification without impoverishment, its consistent three-dimensional organization of structural planes in architectonic sequences, and above all its uncompromising truth to material"<sup>5</sup> that this publication has managed to convey to us.

*Viera E. Paulíková*

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<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. sanctuary masks, fetish-men's war masks, hunting masks, circumcision-ritual masks, masks worn at funeral and memorial ceremonies, etc. See Introduction, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Introduction, p. 15.

Kiwanuka, M. S. M., *The Empire of Bunyoro-Kitara Myth or Reality?* Longmans of Uganda, Makerere History Paper, No. 1, 1968, 30 pp.

Kavulu, David, *The Uganda Martyrs*. Makerere History Paper, No. 2, 1969, 38 pp.

Rowe, John A., *Lugard at Kampala*. Makerere History Paper, No. 3, 1969, 30 pp.

Uzoigwe, G. N. *Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara*. Two Studies, Makerere History Paper, No. 5, 1970, 66 pp.

The series of Makerere History Papers was started by the Department of History at Makerere University College in 1968. The first paper to appear was Dr. Kiwanuka's critical appraisal of the Lwoo or Nilotic theory which during the last years replaced the discredited Hamitic theory. Both theories have attempted to explain the origins, formation and development of kingdoms in the Interlacustrine region of East Africa and both did it in terms of external influence, in terms of conquest and reaction. The author being a Muganda had an advantage of being able to study in detail oral traditions of a number of states, especially Buganda, Bunyoro, Kooki, Toro, Bwera and Buddu. Critical examination of the tribal histories of these peoples made him believe that the huge Empire of Bunyoro-Kitara and the spread of Lwoo-Bito dynasties is a myth which has been perpetuated because of the great reliance upon the traditional sources of one country—Bunyoro. The Kinyoro traditions have been accepted, he argues, at their face value and have not been satisfactorily questioned and crosschecked with the historical traditions of the neighbouring peoples. The whole problem of state formation and the rise of the so-called complex political organizations in this area is a perplexing one, far from being satisfactorily explained, and Dr. Kiwanuka's thesis still needs to be buttressed by further evidence. But his is a stimulating paper. It has raised questions and stimulated interest that may lead to further intensive research in this field.

No. 2 of Makerere History Papers devoted to *The Uganda Martyrs* has been occasioned by the visit of Pope Paul VI to Uganda in July 1969. Mr. Kavulu's kindly, unpretentious presentation of basic, well-known facts, based on a number of solid second-hand Kiganda and English sources hardly beats a new trail in the study of this aspect of Ugandan history.

Dr. Rowe's richly documented competent reinterpretation of the role of Captain (later Lord) Lugard in precipitating the crisis of 1892, using all kinds of available factual material, and abundance of Kiganda material, is worth reading for any student of Ugandan history. It can only be regretted that the author was deprived of the valuable material deposited at the White Fathers archives in Rome.

Makerere History Paper No. 5 consists of two studies, both by the Ibo historian Godfrey Uzoigwe, on Kabalega's Abarusura: The Military Factor in Bunyoro-Kitara and on The Kyanyangire, 1907: Passive Revolt against British Overrule. Based on the original researches carried out in the field and in the archives they attempt to

update the history of Bunyoro, to de-Europeanize and de-colonize it by viewing and interpreting these topics in the context of the Bunyoro history.

In fact, a sympathetic trait of all the four papers is their way of handling the topics, using a great deal of local source materials, both written and oral, and interpreting them in terms of the main stream of Ugandan history.

*Viera E. Pavlíková*

Tarikh, 1970, Vol. 3, No. 2. *The Peoples of Uganda in the 19th Century*. Ed. by Segun Osoba and Obaro Ikime. Guest Editor G. N. Uzoigwe. Published twice a year for the Historical Society of Nigeria by Longman and in the United States by Humanities Press. 77 pp.

The six articles collected in this issue of *Tarikh*<sup>1</sup> devoted to Uganda were selected from a number of papers read at the History Department staff seminars of Makerere University College on the theme "Peoples of Uganda in the nineteenth century". G. N. Uzoigwe writes about Kabalega and the Making of a new Kitara, Samwiri Karugire discusses Relations Between the Bairu and Bahima in Nineteenth-Century Nkore, J. A. Rowe deals with The Baganda Revolutionaries, J. B. Webster with Pioneers of Teso, John Tosh with The Langi of Northern Uganda and the last article in this issue is again by Dr. Uzoigwe on Inter-Ethnic Co-Operation in Northern Uganda. With the exception of John Tosh of Pontion Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa, all the other authors were at the moment of writing among the staff members of the History Department of Makerere University College. As all the contributors were currently engaged on research among the people about whom they wrote, their contributions are largely based on original research, with reliance on written European accounts reduced to a minimum. They were free to choose their topics provided they concentrated on the nineteenth century.

In the introductory article, entitled Towards Updating the History of Uganda, the Guest Editor Dr. Uzoigwe explains why nineteenth century Uganda, the century which historical research has covered in great detail, has been chosen to be the subject of this publication. The nineteenth century in Uganda, as elsewhere in Africa, was a revolutionary era in terms of the formation of new states, the ethnic fusions which were taking place and the local political upheavals which often led to the shift in the local balance of power. This was also the time when the impact of European presence and interference started to create problems. The authors, sharing a common as-

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<sup>1</sup> *Tarikh* is a journal of African history for schools, colleges and undergraduates, produced twice each year in May and November.

sumption that many of the published works on Ugandan history had been hastily and inadequately researched and rejecting many of the prevailing interpretations and theories, attempt to re-examine them and up-date the history of Uganda with the help of original research and in the light of new evidence.

Even though some of their views are still tentative and may be modified, or even reversed in the light of further evidence and some interpretations<sup>2</sup> should be re-examined and buttressed by results of original researches, we should be grateful that the authors present the results of their recent researches to the wider public in this readable and easily understood form.

*Viera E. Pawliková*

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kiwanuka has recently questioned the existence of the huge empire of Bunyoro-Kitara. See *The Empire of Bunyoro-Kitara, Myth or Reality?*, Makerere History Paper, No. 1, Longmans of Uganda 1968. Dr. Uzoigwe, arguing that the balance of the learned opinion is to the contrary, refutes this view.

- Afghanistan. Natur, Geschichte und Kultur, Staat, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft.* Herausgegeben von Willy Kraus. Tübingen — Basel, Horst Erdmann Verlag 1972. 428 pp.
- Alessandro Bausani, *Le letterature del sud-est asiatico.* Firenze — Milano, Sansoni/Accademia 1970. 442 pp.
- Emma Bernabe—Virginia Lapid—Bonifacio Sibayan, *Ilokano Lessons.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. XXIII + 447 pp.
- W. M. Brinner—M. A. Khouri, *Readings in Modern Arabic Literature.* Part One: *The Short Story and the Novel.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1971. XII + 456 pp.
- Maria Victoria R. Bunye—Elsa Paula Yap, *Cebuano for Beginners.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. XLI + 797 pp.
- Maria Victoria R. Bunye—Elsa Paula Yap, *Cebuano Grammar Notes.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 109 pp.
- James M. McCutcheon, *China and America. A Bibliography of Interactions, Foreign and Domestic.* Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1972. X + 75 pp.
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- Michael L. Forman, *Kapampangan Grammar Notes.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. IX + 136 pp.
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- C. I. Immanuel Hsü, *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period.* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1970. XXII + 147 pp. + LII.
- Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum I.* Ed. by L. Ligeti. Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1970. 169 pp.
- Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum II.* Ed. by L. Ligeti. Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1972. 382 pp.
- Journal of Arabic Literature.* Volume I and Volume II. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1970 and 1971. 164 pp. and 197 pp.
- Raif Georges Houry, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Codices arabici antiqui, Band I). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1972. Teil 1: Der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23. Leben und Werk des Dichters. IX + 338 pp. Teil 2: Faksimiletafeln. 5 pp. + 50 Tables.
- Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, *Osmanische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa.* Handbuch der Orientalistik. Ergänzungsband VIII. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1973. XXIV + 1378 pp.
- Malcolm W. Mintz, *Bikol Grammar Notes.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 279 pp.

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- Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta II.* Ed. by L. Ligeti. Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1972. 296 pp.
- Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta III.* Ed. by L. Ligeti. Budapest, Academy Publishing House 1972. 170 pp.
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