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ARTICLES

STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY:

I. THE WORLD AND CHINA: CULTURAL IMPACT AND RESPONSE IN THE 20TH CENTURY*

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

The problem of impact-response in modern Chinese intellectual history is discussed here within the scope of a systemo-structural approach to reality. Three important branches of intellectual history are analysed more carefully: literature, philosophy (and kindred disciplines) and scientism. The first part is meant to be a short introduction with relevant bibliographical data, the second deals with the application of a systemo-structural analysis to the most important fields of modern Chinese intellectual history.

1

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the problem of cultural impact of the non-Chinese world on China in the present century, chiefly after the May Fourth Movement 1919. The world, or the non-Chinese world is taken here in a somewhat narrower meaning as a European cultural realm (i.e. Europe, America and Japan).

By impact is here understood the fruitful clash or meeting of the cultural spheres of the West and East, the activity and efficacy of the Western structures and systems (even if they are found in the East) in cultural field in the milieu of the traditional Chinese structures and systems, and of course, the results which are sometimes, not always, the products of this activity. In our case it is European (including American or Japanese) culture which is giving, the Chinese culture is receiving. Therefore, we can speak about Chinese response. Here we do not mind the impact-response in a opposite direction.

The word "impact" seems to be an English neologism and is derived from the Latin *impingo*, -*pegi*, -*pactum*, meaning to strike on or against. According to the *Random House Dictionary of English Usage* it means influence, effect, the force exerted by a new idea, concept or ideology.¹ Impact represents a form of pressure which always requires, or rather elicits some sort of response from the object which is the target of this impact.

* Paper read at the East Asian Institute, Oslo, October 1 and 2, 1973.

¹ *Random House Dictionary of the English Usage*. New York 1967, p. 713.

Before dealing, however, with this principle in more detail, it might prove useful to look more closely at the “physiognomy” of the modern culture in a narrower sense — as spiritual culture, that is as the aggregate of society’s achievements in the realm of art, science, literature, philosophy, education, etc. But before proceeding any further, several factors should be taken note of, factors that at the present stage of research are more or less self-evident, however, reference to them will bring out in a more detailed and definite manner, the content of the roles with which the present paper is to deal:

1. The culture of the countries (the structures and systems of this culture) that exerted an influence through its impact essentially differed from that of the country — that is China — which represented a response to that impact.

2. This impact was not always programmed, but was rather unrestrained and uncontrolled. The Western world acted on China in a programmed manner only in the field of religion and education.

3. Among the components of culture, those that stood outside the main line of interest of European enthusiasts developed relatively most, and today represent the attractive field for scholars, e.g. literature, philosophy, historiography, scientism, etc.

4. An agent of great significance in all these components was the element of chance, contingency, of an imperfect knowledge of the diverse elements of European culture, the feeble possibilities of choice and various difficulties of adaptation.

5. The individual forms of impact and response fulfil a similar function and possess approximately the same efficiency in the various cultural spheres. Hence, a more or less uniform methodology may be employed in their investigation.

Which are the elements of culture that constitute the physiognomy of the educated strata of nation the most obviously? In our view, the following components may be considered to be involved:

1. Philosophy and its history,
2. Science and its history,
3. Religious beliefs and theological doctrines,
4. Literature, comparative literature and their histories,
5. The arts and their histories,
6. Economic history and the history of economic theories,
7. Education, psychology and their histories,
8. Political and social history,
9. Sociology,
10. Law.

Until now, insofar as we are aware, the question of impact-response has remained outside the scope of any serious interest on the part of the scholars — save the social and political history in relation to the non-Chinese world and China. If some

exceptions may be singled out, it is a study of the impact of the Western world in the realm of religious and secular thought written by D. W. Treadgold and entitled *The West in Russia and China*, 2nd vol.,² then a book on Hungarian literature in China by E. Galla,³ some short studies of the impact of Russian on Chinese literature and a few works or parts of them mentioned below in the notes to this paper. This problem has been also partially processed bibliographically in the area of Sino-German cultural relations in the work *Preliminary Research-guide; German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*.⁴ A bibliography by James M. McCutcheon entitled *China and America*, has appeared; this work represents "a highly selective list of secondary materials available in English that deal with Chinese-American relations".⁵ The fact remains, however, that it takes note more of China's impact on America, particularly in the cultural domain, than the other way round. And it is precisely this contrary trend that the present paper is concerned with.

2

There is little room for doubt that towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present century the most powerful influence on China was exerted by English culture. Two among the most prominent of those who might be called "introducers" of new ideas and movements, were Yen Fu [1] (1853—1921) and Lin Shu [2] (1852—1924). The former translated and introduced mainly English authors, for instance, Th. Huxley, A. Smith, H. Spencer, J. S. Mill and E. Jenks.⁶ According to Ch'en Shou-yi, Lin Shu translated 99 belletristic works from English, 33 from French, 20 from American and 7 from Russian literature. In addition, he translated 2 titles from Swiss and 1 from each of Belgian, Spanish, Greek, Norwegian and Japanese.⁷ We should not forget the influence exerted by Bertrand Russell on

² *The West in Russia and China*. Vol. 2. *China 1582—1949*. London and Melbourne, Cambridge University Press 1973, 251 pp.

³ *A magyar irodalom Kínában (Hungarian Literature in China)*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1968, 158 pp.

⁴ München 1971, 120 pp.

⁵ McCutcheon, J. M. et al.: *China and America. A Bibliography of Interactions, Foreign and Domestic*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1972, 75 pp. *American-East Asian Relations: A Survey*, ed. by Ernest R. May and James C. Thomson, Jr., was meant to be a guide for the history of American-East Asian relations also in the cultural realm. But in this respect it is disappointing although an excellent reference work for political and diplomatic history.

⁶ Cf. Schwartz, B.: *In Search of Wealth and Power. Yen Fu and the West*. Harvard University Press 1964.

⁷ Ch'en, Shou-yi: *Chinese Literature: A Historical Introduction*. New York 1961, p. 608. The statistical data in Fairbank, J. K. — Liu, Kwang-ching: *Modern China: A Bibliographical Guide to Chinese Works 1898—1937*, Cambridge, Mass. 1950, pp. 445—446, are slightly different.

modern Chinese philosophy⁸ and wide reception of G. B. Shaw in Chinese literature of the thirties and even before.⁹

The American impact began to exert a very strong influence only after the May Fourth Movement. This was in part due to Hu Shih [5] (1891—1962) who introduced into China the most successful American philosopher of the first half of our century, John Dewey and his instrumentalism, and in general American pragmatism.¹⁰ Hu Shih influenced the intellectuals of China of his time mainly through his scientific methodology. He also made an impression on Chinese intellectual physiognomy by his philosophy of individualism which had its root outside American soil. It grew out of a study of Ibsen's work. Addressing himself to readers of his selected works, Hu Shih quoted Ibsen: "All that I expect from you is a kind of true, pure individualism. I want you to feel that in all the world only matters concerning yourself are the most important. Compared to them, other things mean little."¹¹ These were Ibsen's very strong words. Through Hu Shih as the intermediary, Ibsen's influence helped promote a healthy individualism, so very much needed in China at the time of the May Fourth Movement.

Other, less significant albeit relatively successful carriers of the American impact in China were I. Babbitt's Chinese pupils and adherents of his New Humanism, in particular Liang Shih-ch'iu [7] (born 1902).¹² Nor should Wen I-to [8] (1899—1946)

⁸ After Russell's coming to China a Society for the Study of Russell was organized and Lo-su yüeh-k'an [3] Russell Monthly was established at the beginning of 1921. According to Chow Tse-tsung "Russell's philosophy and personality impressed the Chinese intellectuals, especially active youths, in the latter stage of the May Fourth period more deeply than those of any other contemporary Western thinker". See *The May Fourth Movement*, Stanford University Press 1967, p. 192.

⁹ Shaw was one of the most translated authors in China. At the beginning of 1933 he visited Shanghai. At that time a booklet entitled *Hsiao Po-na tsai Shang-hai* [4] *G. B. Shaw in Shanghai* was published with the comments, essays and reviews which appeared in the press during his stay. Up to 1935 at least 12 of his works were translated into Chinese. The most popular in China, *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, has been translated twice. The same applies to *Man and Superman* and *Widower's Houses*. *Arms and the Man* has been translated three times.

¹⁰ Cf. Grieder, J. B.: *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance. Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, 1917—1937*, Harvard University Press 1970 and Keenan, B. C.: *John Dewey in China: His Visit and the Reception of His Ideas, 1917—1927*, Clermont Graduate School and University Center 1969, 435 pp. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation). Of related interest are Dewey's *Lectures in China, 1919—1920*, translated and edited by Robert W. Clopton and Tsuin-chen Ou, Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1972. Chapter 5 of Grieder's book entitled *China and the West* where important material is carefully treated should be read with special care.

¹¹ *Hu Shih wen-ts'un* [6] *The Collected Essays of Hu Shih*. Vol. 4. Taipei 1968, p. 612. The English translation is taken over from Wang, Y. C.: *Chinese Intellectuals and the West*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press 1966, p. 400. These words were written originally by H. Ibsen in one of his letters to G. Brandes.

¹² This impact was shown at least for a part of Liang's critical work in Gálik, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: VII. Liang Shih-ch'iu and New Humanism*. Asian and African Studies, IX, 1973, pp. 29—51.

be omitted, who was one of the most prominent Chinese scholars and poets, a zealous advocate of the so-called new regular verse, who studied in America and strove after the poetry "dancing in chains" (Bliss Perry's term).¹³ The American impact on Chinese literary criticism was truly impressive. Its carriers, however, were usually minor, less known authors.¹⁴

The impact of American pragmatists on modern Chinese historiography will be mentioned later in this paper.

The American impact was probably strongest in the field of education and science. In one article written in December, 1924 we read: "The university teachers teach American politics, American economy, American commerce, American railways, American this, American that. They praise the United States in the same way old scholars praised the sages Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, and the like. The student, when he graduates, also goes to the United States and somehow manages to secure a master's or doctoral degree. After he returns to China, he steps into the shoes of his teachers and perpetuates the revolving educational system."¹⁵ According to Shu Hsin-ch'eng [12], a specialist in this field, this article clearly depicted educational conditions in China before 1924.¹⁶

The French and German impacts on Chinese culture were about of equal intensity, but the former came in for very little attention on the part of investigators. An exception was the research on Chinese symbolists and modernists.¹⁷ The impact of

¹³ Cf. McDougall, B. S.: *The Introduction of Western Literature into Modern China, 1919 to 1925*. Tokyo 1971, p. 63. More attention was devoted to him than to other modern Chinese poets. For books analysing his life and work see Shih Ching [9], *Wen I-to-ti tao-lu* [10] *The Way of Wen I-to*, Ta-lien 1947, 130 pp.; Liang Shih-ch'iu, *T'an Wen I-to* [11] *About Wen I-to*, Taipei 1967, 121 pp.; Sukhorukov, V. T., *Ven I-do* [*Wen I-to*], Moscow 1968, 145 pp.; Kai-yu Hsu, *The Intellectual Bibliography of a Modern Chinese Poet: Wen I-to (1899—1946)*. Stanford 1959, 208 pp. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation). The problem of impact of Anglo-American poetry on Wen I-to is discussed briefly in Sukhorukov, V. T., *Natsionalnye traditsii i zapadnye vliyaniya v tvorchestve Ven I-do* (*National Traditions and Western Influences in the Creative Works of Wen I-to*). In: *Literatura i folklor narodov Vostoka* (*Literature and Folklore of Eastern Nations*). Moscow 1967, pp. 217—233.

¹⁴ McDougall, B. S.: op. cit., pp. 56—64. Cf. also Gálik, M.: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*. Wiesbaden 1969, p. 75, 80, 82, 158.

¹⁵ The translation is taken from Wang, Y. C.: op. cit., p. 371.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 372. Chapter 11 of this book *Some Features of Chinese Education* could serve as a short introduction to the problem of American impact on modern Chinese education. For further books and articles devoted to the study of American impact on Chinese education, see in McCutcheon, James M., op. cit., pp. 50—54.

¹⁷ Loi, M.: *Roseaux sur le mur. Les Poètes occidentalistes chinois 1919—1949*. Paris, Gallimard 1961, pp. 142—161. See also Gálik, M.: *The Red Gauze Lantern of Feng Nai-ch'ao*. Asian and African Studies, X, 1974, pp. 69—95.

J. J. Rousseau¹⁸ or that of H. Bergson has not been given much attention.¹⁹ Likewise the impact of Ch. Baudelaire has not been studied by anyone as yet.²⁰ J. P. Sartre and his existentialism do not enjoy any popularity in the People's Republic of China, though he has been studied by scholars on Taiwan.²¹

A formidable impact on Chinese culture was that exercised by Russian and Soviet literature. Pushkin's story *Kapitanskaya dochka* (*Captain's Daughter*) was the first work of Russian literature translated into Chinese.²² Even though adequate bibliographic data are lacking, it appears that the most translated authors from Russian literature into Chinese were L. Tolstoy and A. Chekhov, and from Soviet literature it was decisively M. Gorky. In contrast to sinologists of the majority of other countries, the Soviet colleagues strive to study the impact of Russian and Soviet literature on Chinese culture and also carefully note the works of Chinese scholars insofar as they were devoted to this issue. Tolstoy's impact has thus far been best studied by Shifman in his book *Lev Tolstoi i Vostok* (*Leo Tolstoy and Orient*),²³ while M. E. Shneider wrote about Gorky's impact in an article *Gorkii i kitaiskaya literatura* (*Gorky and Chinese Literature*).²⁴ Shneider is also the author

¹⁸ According to M. Bastid, Rousseau's *L'Emile* was translated into Chinese through Japanese in 1901. Chiao-yü ts'ung-shu [13] Educational Collection, Vol. 1, contains a short biography of Rousseau. *Contrat Social* has been explained in Ch'ing-i-pao [14] and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao [15] at the end of 1901 and at the beginning of 1902. See *Aspects de la réforme de l'enseignement en Chine au début du 20^e siècle*. Paris—La Haye, Mouton 1971, pp. 207—208. Yü Ta-fu [16] (1896—1945) was the author of two articles on Rousseau: *Lu-sao chuan* [17] *The Biography of J. J. Rousseau* and *Lu-sao-ti ssu-hsiang ho t'a-ti ch'uang-tso* [18] *The Thought and Work of J. J. Rousseau*. In: *Ta-fu ch'üan-chi* [19] *The Complete Works of Yü Ta-fu*. Vol. 5. Shanghai 1928, pp. 1—62. Yen Fu has discussed Rousseau and written the article entitled *Min-yüeh p'ing-i* [20] *A Critique of the Social Contract*, see the analysis by Schwartz, B.: *In Search of Wealth and Power*, pp. 220—222. Rousseau had a positive influence on the formulation of the concept of freedom stressed by modern Chinese intellectuals of the May Fourth Movement. Often he was accepted negatively, e.g. by Sun Yat-sen, or Liang Shih-ch'iu. Rousseau's *Contrat Social* was translated into Chinese by Ma Chün-wu [21] and partly by Chang Wei-tz'u [22]. Chang Hsi-jo [23] wrote a booklet *She-yüeh lun-k'ao* [24] *On Contrat Social*. Ch'ü Shih-ying [25] wrote a booklet published by Wen-hua she [26] entitled *Lu-suo chiao-yü ssu-hsiang-chih yen-chiu* [27] *A Study in the Educational Thought of J. J. Rousseau*. *Les Confessions*, a much read book in China of the twenties, was translated by Chang Ching-sheng [28]. The first half of it was translated by Chang Tu [29] and Rousseau's work *Nouvelle Héloïse* appeared in Chinese in Wu Li-fu's [30] translation.

¹⁹ Chang Tung-sun [31] translated Bergson's *Creative Evolution* (*L'Évolution créatrice*) under the title *Ch'uang-hua lun* [32]. *Matter and Memory* (*Matière et mémoire*) was translated by him under the title *Wu-chih yü chi-yi* [33]. *Mind-Energy* (*L'Énergie spirituelle*) was translated by Hu Yü [34], *Time and Free Will* (*Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*) by P'an Tzu-nien [35], and *Laughter* (*Le Rire*) by Chang Wen-t'ien [36], and *An Introduction to Metaphysics* (*Introduction à la métaphysique*) by Yang Cheng-yü [37]. T'ang Ch'eng-ch'e [38] translated J. Solomon's *Bergson* under the title *Po-ke-sen* [39] and H. W. Carr's *Bergsonian Philosophy of Evolution* under the title *Po-ke-sen-chih i-pien che-hsüeh* [40]. The whole issue of the journal *Min-to* [41] People's Bell, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1922, was devoted to Bergson's life and work. Among

the contributors were well-known Chinese philosophers of the twenties: Feng Yu-lan [42], Chang Tung-sun, Carsun Chang [43] and Li Shih-ch'en [44], editor-in-chief of this journal. K'ang Yu-wei [45] (1858—1927) in his *Chu-tien chiang* [46] *Lectures on the Heavens* mentioned Bergson and used his words as arguments of God's existence. Bergson influenced the prominent Chinese Marxist and founder of the Chinese Communist Party Li Ta-chao [47] (1888—1927) in his youth. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao visited Bergson on his trip through Europe in 1919. Liang and his associates planned to invite him to read lectures in China, but the plan did not materialize owing to financial difficulties. Bergson influenced the philosophical development of Carsun Chang, Chang, Tung-sun, Liang Sou-ning [48] and Hsiung Shih-li [49].

²⁰ There are two translations of Baudelaire's *Petits poèmes en prose* into Chinese: one by Shih Min [50], and one by Hsing P'eng-chü [51]. Cf. *Ch'üan-kuo tsung-shu-mu* [52] *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*. Shanghai 1935, p. 391. He was mentioned as first practitioner of poems in prose in T'eng Ku [53], a member of the Creation Society (Ch'uang-tsao-she) [54], in the article *Lun san-wen-shih* [55] *On Poems in Prose*, see *Ching-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* [56] *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*. Vol. 2. Shanghai 1935, pp. 305—306. T'eng also translated one or two of Baudelaire's poems in prose in *Hsüeh-teng* [57] *Lantern of Study*. Some could be found in *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao* [58] *The Short Story Magazine*. In a special number of this magazine devoted to French literature and published in 1924, Chang Wen-t'ien's article *P'o-te-lai-erh yen-chiu* [59] *A Study of Baudelaire* should be considered as the best from earlier Chinese treatments of Baudelaire, pp. 5—20. In 1921 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Baudelaire's birth Chou Tso-jen [60] (1885—1966) wrote about him in *San ko wen-hsüeh-chia-ti chi-nien* [61] *A Remembrance on Three Men of Letters*. In: *T'an lung chi* [62] *On Dragon*. Shanghai 1927, pp. 17—26. Many Chinese poets, mainly symbolists, were enthralled by Baudelaire, e.g. Wang Tu-ch'ing [63] (1898—1940), see his *T'an shih* [64] *On Poetry*. In: *Wang Tu-ch'ing hsüan-chi* [65] *Selected Works of Wang Tu-ch'ing*, Shanghai 1936, p. 231, or Mu Mu-t'ien [66] (born 1900) and Feng Nai-ch'ao [67] (born about 1900), see Gálik, M.: *The Red Gauze Lantern of Feng Nai-ch'ao*, pp. 71—74. He was read by Wen I-to, see Sukhorukov, V. T.: op. cit., p. 14. The poet Liu Sui-yüan [68] (alias Hsiao Mo) [69] ranks him among his literary loves, see Cheng Chen-to [70] and Fu Tung-hua [71], ed., *Wo yü wen-hsüeh* [72] *Literature and Me*. Shanghai 1934, p. 5. The same applies to two critics: Ch'ien Ko-ch'uan [73] and Lin K'eng [74], ibid., pp. 29 and 166—167. The poet Hsü Chih-mo [75] (1896—1931) devoted one of his articles to Baudelaire's poems in prose, see *P'o-te-lai-ti san-wen-shih* [76] *Baudelaire's Poems in Prose*. In: Chiang Fu-tsung [77] and Liang Shih-ch'iu, ed., *Hsü Chih-mo ch'üan-chi* [78] *Complete Works of Hsü Chih-mo*. Vol. 6. Taipei 1969, pp. 403 to 407.

²¹ Interested readers are requested to consult bibliographies published in Taiwan, e.g. *Chung-wen ch'i-k'an lun-wen fen-lei so-yin* [79] *A Classified Index to the Articles in Chinese Periodicals*.

²² Semanov, V. I.: *Literaturnye svyazi v razvitiu kitaiskoi prozy 19—20 vv.* (*Literary Relations in the Development of Chinese Fiction of the 19th and 20th Century*). In: *Vzaimosvyazi i vzaimodeistvie natsionalnykh literatur. Materialy diskussii* (*Mutual Relations and Actions of National Literatures*). Moscow 1962, p. 282. *Captain's Daughter* has been published in Chinese version in 1903 on the basis of the Japanese edition. Cf. Ts'ao Ching-hua, *Russkaya i sovetskaya literatura v Kitae* (*Russian and Soviet Literature in China*). In: *Voprosy kulturnoi revolyutsii v Kitaiskoi narodnoi respublike* (*Questions of Cultural Revolution in People's Republic of China*). Moscow 1960, p. 200.

²³ Shifman, A. I.: *Tolstoy i Kitai* (*L. Tolstoy and China*), In: *Lev Tolstoi i Vostok* (*Leo Tolstoy and the Orient*). Moscow 1971, pp. 38—112.

²⁴ In: *M. Gorkii i literatury zarubezhnogo Vostoka* (*M. Gorky and Foreign Eastern Literatures*). Moscow 1968, pp. 62—100. In this book the bibliography of Russian articles on Gorky in China comprises 52 items.



of several other articles devoted to F. Dostoyevsky,²⁵ N. Ostrovsky²⁶ and of the book on Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai [80] (1899—1935) in which he analysed in great detail the impact of Russian and Soviet literature.²⁷ An article that has contributed greatly to a knowledge of Soviet impact on Chinese literature was that by V. V. Petrov entitled *Rannie kitaiskie perevody rabot V. I. Lenina po voprosam literatury i iskusstva* (*Early Chinese Translations of V. I. Lenin's Works on Art and Literature*).²⁸ A priority of just mentioned works is that within the scope of given possibilities, they contain abundant material, in some case are even exhaustive in this respect; their drawback is that the investigation of the impact remains for the most on a quantitative or reception level, and the passages in which the authors endeavour to point out the qualitative side, the true literary influence, are generally few.

A relatively strong influence was also exercised by Russian, and particularly Soviet literary thought during the period after the May 30th Movement of 1925. Soviet literary thought reached China directly, e.g. through Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (RAPP-ist ideas),²⁹ or Chiang Kuang-tz'u [81] (1901—1931) (so-called Onguardist kind of criticism),³⁰ or else through English and other translations, but also via Japan, for example, the literary views of Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un [82] (born 1905)³¹ had been considerably influenced by Kurahara Korehito [83] (born 1902),³² who in turn, took them over more or less directly from contemporary Soviet critics. Lu Hsün began with translations from the works by Marxist critics like G. V. Plekhanov and A. V. Lunacharsky and put thus foundations for the rise and development of Chinese Marxist-oriented proletarian criticism.³³

A great influence was also exercised by Leninism and Russian anarchist writings.

²⁵ "Realist v vysshem smysle": *F. M. Dostoevskii v otsenke kitaiskikh literatorov* ("A Realist in a Higher Sense": *F. M. Dostoyevsky in the Evaluation of Chinese Men of Letters*). Narody Azii i Afriki (Peoples of Asia and Africa), 6, 1971, pp. 57—65.

²⁶ *Piesy A. N. Ostrovskogo v Kitae. K voprosu o natsionalnoi adaptatsii* (*The Plays of A. N. Ostrovsky in China. On the Question of National Adaptation*). In: *Literatura i kultura Kitaya* (*Chinese Literature and Culture*). Moscow 1972, pp. 324—330.

²⁷ *Tvorcheskii put Tsyu Tsyu-bo* (*Creative Road of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai*). Moscow 1964, 226 pp.

²⁸ In: *Lenin i problemy stran Azii* (*Kitai, Indiya*). Leningrad 1970, pp. 102—124.

²⁹ *Creative Road of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai*, p. 97.

³⁰ For further details see Gálik, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: VI. Chiang Kuang-tz'u's Concept of Revolutionary Literature*. Asian and African Studies, VIII, 1972, pp. 64—67.

³¹ Gálik, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: III. Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un and the Theory of Proletarian Realism*. Asian and African Studies, VI, 1969, pp. 49—70.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 50—59.

³³ For more detail about these translations see in Shneider, M. E.: *Perevody trudov po marksistskoi estetike v Kitae v 20—30-e gody* (*Translations of Works in Marxist Aesthetics in China of the Twenties and Thirties*). Narody Azii i Afriki, 5, 1961, pp. 190—191.

Among the former it was especially Lenin,³⁴ among the latter P. Kropotkin³⁵ and his book *Mutual Assistance*.

Japanese mediation in transmitting the Western cultural impact was enormous and would deserve great attention.³⁶ This mediation was especially pregnant during the twenties when eminent men of letters educated in Japan, e.g. Lu Hsün [97] (1881—1936), Chou Tso-jen, Kuo Mo-jo [98] (born 1892), Yü Ta-fu and others, returned to China or became involved in Chinese literary life.

Thus, Wang Kuo-wei [99] (1877—1927), making use of Japanese translations, became acquainted with German aesthetics.³⁷ Li Shih-ch'en found Watsuji Tetsurō's [100] work on Nietzsche of great help when trying to bring this philosopher's teaching to Chinese readers.³⁸ The formation of Mao Tun's [101] (born 1896) concept of naturalism (realism) was greatly aided by one of Shimamura Hogetsu's [102] articles on naturalism.³⁹ The major part of proletarian literary criticism reached China from the U.S.S.R. through Japanese mediation. A great deal was accomplished in this field by Lu Hsün's translations of articles by Katakami Noburu [103] or Aono Suekichi [104].⁴⁰ Hu Hsing-chih [106] translated from Homma Hisao

³⁴ Chang Ching-lu [84]: *Lieh-ning chu-tso chung i-wen nien-piao* [85] *Chronological List of Translations of Lenin's Works in Chinese*. Hsin chien-she [86] New Construction, 1, 1954, pp. 51—55. Also Chang Yün-hou [87], under the same title, Li-shih yen-chiu [88] Historical Studies 4, 1960, pp. 47—91.

³⁵ Kropotkin's *Mutual Assistance* was published in Chinese translation in Hsin shih-chi [89] New Century Weekly (Paris), Nos 31, 32, 34—38, 44—52, 1908. (Cf. Gasster, M.: *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911. The Birth of Modern Chinese Radicalism*. Seattle and London, University of Washington Press 1969, p. 164.) In this weekly appeared also the translations of other Kropotkin's works. Later, his *Mutual Assistance* appeared in a book form in Commercial Press, Shanghai, translated into Chinese by Chou Fo-hai [90]. Another of Kropotkin's books, *Russian Literature: Ideals and Realities* was translated into Chinese twice: by Han Shih-heng [91] and Kuo An-jen [92]. *Mutual Assistance* used to be a bible of Chinese anarchists, and *Russian Literature: Ideals and Realities* was a source of knowledge for young Chinese men of letters, like Shen Tse-min [93], or Yü Ta-fu. Relatively much information about Kropotkin in China could be found in Lang, O.: *Pa Chin and His Writings. Chinese Youth Between Two Revolutions*. Harvard University Press 1967.

³⁶ The scope of this mediation, for instance, in the literary field, could be judged from Tseng Lu-pai [14] and Hsü P'u-shao [95], *Han-i tung-hsi-yang wen-hsüeh tso-p'in pien-mu* [96] *A Catalogue of Translations of Foreign Literary Works into Chinese*. Shanghai 1929, 167 pp. See also Nos 37—43 below.

³⁷ Golygina, K. I.: *Teoriya izyashchnoi slovesnosti v Kitae* (*The Theory of Literature in China*). Moscow 1971, p. 217.

³⁸ Gálik, M.: *Nietzsche in China (1918—1925)*. Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 110, 1971, pp. 25—28.

³⁹ Gálik, M.: *Naturalism: A Changing Concept*. East and West, 16, 1966, Nos 3—4, pp. 314—318.

⁴⁰ Lu Hsün i-wen-chi [105] *The Translations of Lu Hsün*. Vol. 5. Peking 1958, pp. 290—340, 361—402.

[107] and Kurahara Korehito⁴¹ and other Chinese translators followed them.⁴²

The Chinese came to learn of European socialist and anarchist ideas, and later about Marxism, too, through Japanese works or their translations.⁴³

Japan used to be for some decades of years *insulae refugii* for Chinese revolutionaries or reformists, like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao [112] (1873—1929), Sun Yat-sen, Chang Ping-lin [113] (1868—1922) and others who then influenced the history of modern Chinese revolution.⁴⁴

A firm place in the impact of the non-Chinese world on China was held by literature of the so-called “oppressed nations” (*pei sun-hai min-tsü*) [114]. Under this designation, the Chinese understood literatures of the Northern, Eastern and Southern European nations, but likewise Indian, Yiddish, Irish, Spanish and other literatures. Relatively much attention was devoted to a study of impact of these literatures in China by Endre Galla who has written a book on Hungarian literature in China as mentioned above, and an article on the reception of other literatures of “oppressed nations” in China. In his words, it is possible to say that “their impact on the development of Chinese literature was not as great as that of major literatures”, yet in the democratic revolution “they represented important intellectual-ideological factors affecting the Chinese mentality and consequently the formation of the positive intellectual aspect of modern Chinese literature worthy of systematic investigation”.⁴⁵

One article of this kind was written on Czech and Slovak literature in China.⁴⁶

⁴¹ *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*, p. 351.

⁴² E.g. Fang Kuang-tao [108] who translated from Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke [109], or Feng Hsien-chang [110] from Kurahara Korehito, Ch'en Wang-tao or Wang Chi-ts'ung [111] who translated from Aono Suekichi. *Ibid.*, pp. 349—351.

⁴³ Bernal, M.: *Chinese Socialism Before 1913*. In: J. Gray, ed., *Modern China's Search for a Political Form*. Oxford University Press 1969, pp. 72—73. For the same cf. Li Yu-ning, *The Introduction of Socialism into China*. New York — London, Columbia University Press 1971, pp. 12—15. Not only European socialist and anarchist ideas were introduced into China via Japan, but also, for instance, economic theories, see Li Yu-ning, pp. 28—29, 39, 45—46, 63—64.

⁴⁴ Jensen, M. B.: *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*. Harvard University Press 1954. Cf. also passages in Gasster, M.: op. cit., concerned with Liang, Chang and others.

⁴⁵ Galla, E.: *On the Reception of the Literatures of the So-called “Oppressed Nations” in Modern Chinese Literature (1918—1937)*. Asian and African Studies, VI, 1970, p. 185. Mr. Galla has published also the following essays on Hungarian-Chinese literary relations: *Pai Mang und Petöfi (Aus der Geschichte der Aufnahme der ungarischen Literatur in China)*, Acta Orientalia Hungarica, 15, Nos 1—3, 1962, pp. 119—124 and *Petöfi in China*, Annales universitatis scientiarum Budapestiensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio philologica, 7, 1967, pp. 25—38.

⁴⁶ Gálik, M.: *Die tschechische und slowakische Literatur in China (1919—1959)*. Asian and African Studies, VI, 1970, pp. 161—176. Eber I. published *Yiddish Literature and the Literary Revolution in Modern China*, Judaism, 16, 1967, pp. 42—59 and *Translation Literature in Modern China: The Yiddish Author and His Tale*, Asian and African Studies (Jerusalem), Vol. 8, No. 3, 1972, pp. 291—314.

Alongside Hungarian literature, that of Poland and Norway, may have had an influence on modern Chinese literature. In the case of the latter, Ibsen's impact — and not only in the literary realm — must be taken into account, though attention will have to be paid also to others, for instance, to B. Björnson, K. Hamsun and J. Bojer.

Sometimes even an apparent trifle may reveal much about kinship of minds in men of letters of different nationalities, and even continents. Thus, for example, Mao Tun's short reminiscence to an unnamed Bojer's short story. In reality there was question of the story entitled *Ild blomsten* (*The Flower of Fire*) dealing with two pilgrims to the Holy Land, who meet a beautiful woman.⁴⁷ One of the pilgrims cuts twigs from a rose bush, and plucking off the roses, makes a crown of thorns and puts it on his head. His companion does something similar, except that he removes the thorns and puts a crown of roses on his head. At this he kneels down and thanks God that there are not only thorns in the world.

Mao Tun has written the following about the meaning of this story:

"There are lights and shades in human life just as there are thorns on wild roses — but also beautiful flowers. Some people see but thorns and not the flowers. That, however, is their misfortune. The roses need not feel ashamed on that account. The way of human life is wide and clear. Some people are of impression that it is narrow and dark. What they see in life, is not life's true face. They cannot see the true face of life because they do not make the effort to realize 'life demands'. Love is that effort to fulfil 'life demands' which Bojer tries to illustrate on concrete acts of characters in his book."⁴⁸

Mao Tun wrote this probably at the beginning of 1922.⁴⁹ The expression "life demands" was very much in vogue at that time. The black-and-white canvas, or rather the black-and-white prospects of life belong to a vital conviction of modern Chinese intelligentsia since the time of the May Fourth Movement at least. Mao Tun, then as a young critic, took for his own the perspective of *kuang-ming* [119] radiant future, one of the aspects of China's *Hoffnung auf Glück*.

In 1929 he again recalled this story of Norwegian famous writer during his "exile" in Japanese Kyoto and in the foreword to the collection called *Yeh ch'iang-wei* [120] *Wild Roses*, he wrote following:

"Life is truly like wild roses and to assert that they have no thorns is a deep

⁴⁷ Mrs. Elisabeth Eide of Oslo University identified the Norwegian title of the story.

⁴⁸ Quoted from *Nao-wei hsien-tai tso-chia Pao-i-erh* [115] *Contemporary Norwegian Writer Johan Bojer*. In: Mao Tun: *Liu kō Ou-chou wen-hsüeh-chia* [116] *Six European Writers*. Shanghai 1929, p. 28.

⁴⁹ The above-mentioned quotation appeared originally in *Shen Yen-ping* [117] (Mao Tun's name), *Pao-i-erh jen-sheng-kuan* [118] *The Life's View of Johan Bojer*. The Short Story Magazine, 13, 1922, No. 4, pp. 8—10.

self-deception, while to hate them, leads to nothing. One should concentrate on those thorns and pluck them out.”⁵⁰

As a writer, Mao Tun continued to adhere to the perspective of *kuang-ming*, yet simultaneously he was well aware that *hei-an* [122], that is dark part of the canvas has also its place in life. He portrayed duly this dark side of life in his works and met with misunderstanding on the part of his contemporaries.

Mao Tun sided with the more reasonable of the pilgrims and thought in far more sober terms than many of his comrades-in-arms insofar as China was concerned, during the revolutionary period of the second half of the twenties.

One another example of this kind was given by Soviet sinologist L. E. Cherkassky. According to him Hu Shih’s poem *Lao ya* [208] *An Old Raven* was influenced by the character of Stockmann from Ibsen’s play *An Enemy of People*.⁵¹

3

Speaking in relative terms, we may state that the impact of German culture can be judged best. In future we shall certainly learn more about the Anglo-Saxon, or Russian and Soviet impact, but up to now the German impact has been processed in greatest detail from the bibliographic aspect, and this material concentration (even though we know better the surface than the substance) enables us to judge more adequately about this than about the impact of other countries.

Let us start with philosophy, eventually its components. Probably the first scholar to undertake a more detailed study of German philosophy with the purpose of making it accessible to Chinese readers, was the well-known literary historian and the student of aesthetics Wang Kuo-wei. He began with a study of Kant’s philosophy. As Kant proved to be too difficult for understanding, he took up the study of Schopenhauer’s *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* and on the basis of Schopenhauer’s ideas formulated his own literary and critical theory. In it Wang Kuo-wei assigns to poetry the first place in the hierarchy of literary genres; in the sphere of poetry he puts tragedy on the highest place (precisely as did Schopenhauer) and in tragedy rates highest that kind which derives from interindividual relations among the various heroes (that too, is Schopenhauer’s idea). Nevertheless, Schopenhauerian impact appears to have been short-lived. It failed to survive even the time necessary to write out one single study — an important one, it is true: *Hung-lou-meng p’ing-lun* [123] *Contribution to a Discussion on a Dream of the Red Chamber*. In the first three quarters of the article, the author believed in Schopenhauer, in the fourth,

⁵⁰ Mao Tun: *Hsieh tsai Yeh ch’iang-wei-ti ch’ien-mien* [121] *A Preface to Wild Roses*. 7th ed. Shanghai 1933, p. VII.

⁵¹ Cherkassky, L. E.: *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya. 20—30-e gody* (*New Chinese Poetry of the 1920’s and 1930’s*). Moscow 1972, pp. 53—54.

he began to doubt his teaching.⁵² The impact of Kantian aesthetics proved more powerful in Wang Kuo-wei's work and of longer duration in Chinese literary criticism and aesthetics.⁵³ From Kant, Wang Kuo-wei took over into his system the idea of "purposiveness without purpose" (*Zweckmässigkeit ohne Zweck*), and "disinterestedness" (*uninteressiertes Wohlgefallen*).⁵⁴ The idea of Beauty (*yu mei*) [127], i.e. *das Schöne*, and Sublime (*chuang-mei*) [128], i.e. *das Erhabene*, was likewise taken over from Kant, even though probably via Schopenhauer. In the article just referred to, it was given a non-Kantian Buddhist purpose: the aim of these two components was "to make consumers of art and literature capable of discharging vital desires".⁵⁵ Wang Kuo-wei introduced into modern Chinese aesthetics also some of Fr. Schiller's ideas, e.g. that of "play" and a classification of poets into subjective and objective.⁵⁶ Under the influence of these three Germans, Wang Kuo-wei began also with considerations on genius; by the way, these were fairly frequent in the twenties, though not adequately elaborated in some of the Chinese poets and critics of the period. For example, with Kuo Mo-jo the concept of genius constituted the foundation of his entire critical system.⁵⁷

The various systems of Chinese culture were most open at the time of the May Fourth Movement. Many theories, concepts, ideas were introduced into China for the first time in those years. From the Westerners, John Dewey, Bertrand Russell and the German philosopher Hans Driesch lectured in China in the years 1919—1922. It was very fashionable to read and discuss Western matters. On one occasion H. Driesch lectured in Hangchou. He, and his wife, were surprised to see children among the audience. Naturally these were incapable of understanding, but the Chinese wanted also in that way to show their enthusiasm for the new culture.⁵⁸

This enthusiasm went a long way in helping in the development of modern Chinese philosophy, literature and arts. Friedrich Nietzsche stood at the cradle of modern Chinese literature. Its first product — Lu Hsün's short story in vernacular *K'uang-jen*

⁵² Gálik, M.: *On the Influence of Foreign Ideas on Chinese Literary Criticism (1898—1904)*. Asian and African Studies, II, 1966, p. 46.

⁵³ This problem would deserve special attention. For instance, Ch'eng Fang-wu [124] (born in 1897) was interested in Kant in the twenties. Kant has a firm place in Chu Kuang-ch'ien's [125] (born in 1898) aesthetics of the thirties.

⁵⁴ The same is valid about the judgments of taste of Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei [126] (1876—1940) and young Lu Hsün, cf. Golygina, K. I.: op. cit., p. 214.

⁵⁵ Gálik, M.: *On the Influence of Foreign Ideas on Chinese Literary Criticism (1898—1904)*, p. 43.

⁵⁶ Golygina, K. I.: op. cit., p. 225 and 229.

⁵⁷ This can be seen in Kuo Mo-jo's early criticism. Cf. Gálik, M.: *The Aestheticco-Impressionistic Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo*. Oriens Extremus, 21, 1, 1974, pp. 53—66.

⁵⁸ Driesch, Hans und Margaretha: *Fern Ost. Als Gäste Jungchinas*. Leipzig 1925, p. 57.

jih-chi [129] *The Diary of Madman* — was written under Nietzsche's influence.⁵⁹ According to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K. Marx and Fr. Nietzsche represented the two principal currents in the German philosophy of the last century.⁶⁰ History has shown how very much the Chinese have adhered to Marx and how little they were interested in Nietzsche.⁶¹ They understood both these personalities pragmatically. Marx's teaching suited their own vision of evolutionary process. And to the understanding of revolution there was only a short step.

Great interest was also shown in China of the twenties in the teaching of E. Haeckel.⁶² Haeckel was an introducer and propagator of Darwin's teaching in Germany. He played there a similar role, as Yen Fu in China.

Before the more extensive knowledge of Marx came into China, R. Eucken had been in vogue there.⁶³ This was possibly due to a certain extent, to the fact that he had received the Nobel Prize for literature, but also that he met Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his friends during their trip across Europe after World War I, and because his "philosophy of life" had been admired by them. Late in 1921 Rudolf Eucken was invited to read lectures at Chinese universities. He declined for reasons of health and recommended Driesch to deliver lectures in his place. The vitalism of Driesch — together with the philosophy of Eucken and Bergson — later influenced the Kuomintang ideologists, in particular Ch'en Li-fu [132] and his book *Wei-sheng-lun* [133] *Vitalism*.⁶⁴

I. Kant was supposed by Fu Ssu-nien [134] (1896—1950) to be the most famous and probably also the best German philosopher.⁶⁵ There is a great deal of material translated from him or written about him, especially in the twenties and thirties in China, and in Taiwan. Only G. W. F. Hegel was able to compete with him in popularity among the scholars.

After 1949 the most translated German philosophers have been Marx, Engels and Feuerbach in People's Republic of China, Kant and Hegel in Taiwan. In the last twenty years or so, Taiwanese scholars have become interested also in existentialist thinkers, e.g. K. Jaspers, or M. Heidegger. More attention has been devoted

⁵⁹ Chinnery, J. D.: *Influence of Western Literature on Lu Xun's 'Diary of Madman'*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XXII, 1959, pp. 309—322 and Gálik, M.: *Nietzsche in China (1918—1925)*, pp. 41—44.

⁶⁰ Cf. Meisner, M.: *Li Ta-chao and the Origin of Chinese Marxism*. Harvard University Press 1967, p. 274.

⁶¹ Gálik, M.: *Nietzsche in China (1918—1925)*, pp. 9—47.

⁶² At least the following works by Haeckel were translated into Chinese: *Die Lebenswunder*, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* and *Die Welträtsel*. Chang Tzu-p'ing [130] wrote a biography of E. Haeckel entitled *Ho-k'o-erh* [131]. Shanghai 1934, 93 pp.

⁶³ Bibliographical evidence to Sino-German cultural relations can be found in Gálik, M.: *Preliminary Research-guide: German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*.

⁶⁴ Brière, O.: *Fifty Years of Chinese Philosophy, 1898—1948*. New York 1965, pp. 36—37.

⁶⁵ Fu Ssu-nien hsüan-chi [135] *Selected Works of Fu Ssu-nien*. Vol. 8. Taipei 1967, p. 1278.

to E. Husserl, probably because of the study connected with existentialism. The same is valid about Fr. Nietzsche.

Insofar as sciences are concerned, the only personality to whom the Chinese paid a major attention from Germans was A. Einstein. Einstein's contributions and especially his theory of relativity have been often discussed in China during the period after 1919 down to our days. As early as 1922 the whole December issue of Tung-fang tsa-chih [136] The Eastern Miscellany, was devoted to A. Einstein. In a *Bibliography on Sino-German Studies*, compiled by Cheng Shou-lin [137] we find 12 books of this kind.⁶⁶ A. Einstein was one of the greatest figures in the modern world of science, but this is not probably enough to explain his success and admiration in China. The explanation by J. Needham would be probably more suitable. In his book *The Grand Titration*, Professor Needham remarked that the ancient Chinese Taoist thinkers "with their appreciation of the relativism and subtlety and immensity of the universe, were groping after an Einsteinian world-picture without having laid the foundations for a Newtonian one".⁶⁷ This implies that the Chinese had arrived something like Einstein before they came to Newton. Therefore the modern science could not develop in China. Einstein found mathematical proofs for their visions of the universe.

The second one to whom attention, though in a far smaller measure was paid, was Max Planck.

The period of the history of religious beliefs and theological doctrines in relation to the German impact, covers a period of more than 350 years. Initially it was connected with sciences. At the beginning of this period (in the seventeenth century) German Jesuits, too, came to China and taught mathematics and astronomy of the West, together with the Catholic faith. Johannes Terenz was there in 1621, then came Johann Adam Schall von Bell — both men "of towering stature".⁶⁸ But we do not find any outstanding men among the Christian pietists who were missionaries and professors of theology in the last century. The same could be said also about Christian modernists of this century. Relatively much was translated or written about Martin Luther. Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* was translated into Chinese at least five times. The impact of Christian religion in general was not great in China.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Chinese Culture, V, No. 2, October 1963, p. 131.

⁶⁷ Needham, J.: *The Grand Titration*. London 1969, p. 311.

⁶⁸ Treadgold, D. W.: *The West in Russia and China*. Vol. 2, p. 17.

⁶⁹ There are many books and articles devoted to the subject of the impact of Christianity in China, but it is probable that the effectivity of this impact was not impressive. It does not mean, of course, that some aspects of this problem are not worthy of study. We have to agree with Professor J. K. Fairbank who wrote that "almost nothing has been done to analyze Christian writings in China and see how their foreign ideas were presented to Chinese readers and often unavoidably modified in the process". Fairbank, J. K.: *America and China: The Mid-nineteenth Century*. In Ernest R. May — James C. Thomson, Jr., eds, *American-East Asian Relations. A Survey*, p. 28. This part of Christian impact should be carefully studied.

The literary history is far more significant. This branch of spiritual culture has not been adequately studied from the point of view we are suggesting now. By this we have in mind a study of modern Chinese literature by the comparative method. Thus far, modern Chinese literature has been studied for the most part only as a history of national literature without any serious ambitions (certain exceptions only go to prove the rule) to point out its affinities with literatures of the rest of the world. By pointing to the impact-response problem in the literary domain, we wish to draw attention to the great significance of a study of modern Chinese literature, its system and structure, in connection with supranational or even the world literature and its systems and structures.

What to say about the impact of German literature on its Chinese counterpart?

Besides Nietzsche, S. Freud also "attempted" to stand at the cradle of modern Chinese literature. Similarly as in the case of Nietzsche, it was again Lu Hsün who endeavoured "to get even" with his views, applicable to literature, in the short story *Pu-chou-shan* [138] *The Imperfect Hill*.⁷⁰ However, a perusal of Lu Hsün's short story reveals that Freud's impact in this work involves only a minor episode, otherwise his discoveries from the realm of unconscious did not represent any stimulus to Lu Hsün's work. As far as we know, among Chinese writers there are only two who endeavoured to apply Freudian principles in their literary activities: Shih Chih-ts'un [139] (born in 1903) and Eileen Chang [140]. According to C. T. Hsia, Shih Chih-ts'un "probes the unconscious and obtains some interesting results in a few of his historical tales".⁷¹ Shih Chih-ts'un himself owns to this impact in his article *Wo-ti ch'uang-tso sheng-huo-chih li-ch'eng* [141] *A Story of My Creative Life*, where he mentions that this aspect of his work had been highly commented on by Lou Shih-i [142], a prominent representative of Chinese communist intelligentsia after 1949, most probably without in any way underlining the Freudian aspects of the story.⁷² The promising beginnings as regards this impact made by Mao Tun, may be said to have been nipped in the bud through the criticism of Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un.⁷³ Kuo Mo-jo, too, made attempts at Freudian criticism, e.g. in his article *P'i-p'ing yü meng* [145] *Criticism and Dream*, but he soon gave up his adventures in this realm.⁷⁴ Kuo found W. Wundt, the founder of experimental psychology, to be more in his line than S. Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Krebsová, B.: *Lu Hsün and His Collection "Old Tales Retold"*. Archiv orientální, 28, 1960, pp. 234—237.

⁷¹ Hsia, C. T.: *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. New Haven 1961, p. 503.

⁷² Ssu-ma Wen-sen [143] (?), ed., *Ch'uang-tso-ti ching-yen* [144] *Creative Experience*. Shanghai 1935, p. 82.

⁷³ Gálík, M.: *Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un and the Theory of Proletarian Realism*, p. 82.

⁷⁴ Kuo Mo-jo: *Wen-i lun-chi* [146] *Studies in Literature and Art*. 4th ed. Shanghai 1929, pp. 227—242.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 234—235 and 105—106.

K. Marx and Fr. Engels were more successful than S. Freud. Some time between the two World Wars — we could not trace any more exact date, Chao Chi-fang [147] translated a book or booklet under the title *En-ko-ssu teng lun wen-hsüeh* [148] *Engels and Others on Literature*, and Ch'en Pei-ou [149] translated *Tso-chia lun* [150] *On Writers*, the author of which was to have been Engels. Again, the date of publication of the book is not known. In 1943, Kuo Mo-jo published a book in Ch'ung-ch'ing entitled *I-shu-ti chen-shih* [151] *The Truth of Art*, purporting to be a selection from Marx's writings on art. In 1953 the works by Marx and Engels on literature and art were published under the title *Wen-hsüeh yii i-shu* [152] *Literature and Art*.

In 1933 a prominent Chinese communist Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai wrote *Ma-k'o-ssu wen-i lun-ti tuan-p'ien hou-chi* [153] *Notes on Marx's Views on Art and Literature*.⁷⁶ In this work Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai made use principally of Marx's and Engels' correspondence with F. Lassalle over the latter's historical tragedy *Franz von Sickingen*. Ch'ü considers this correspondence to be a "concrete critique of 'revolutionary literature'" and devotes attention to the letters because "it is possible to see in them Marx's and Engels' views on the relation between political platform and literary production, and on literary and critical devices".⁷⁷ It might be of interest to note that in this article Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai propagates proletarian and class attitudes towards art and at least partially criticizes Ibsen and Tolstoy for the inadequate scope of their creative horizon: the former for "the narrow and small world of middle bourgeoisie",⁷⁸ the latter for "the conservative world yearning for a renaissance of peasant life". Their works are "harmless, but they do not necessarily bring profit".⁷⁹ In certain situations they may act progressively, but the working class must take up its attitude towards them and only then accept their cultural legacy. In this article, Ch'ü explicitly condemns individualism, so zealously propagated in China in Ibsen's name by Hu Shih in 1918, and a writer's freedom which at the beginning of the thirties was a bone of contention in China, being either propagated or proscribed.

A considerable attention was paid by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai to questions of realism in connection with Marx and Engels in his collection *Hsien-shih* [155] *Reality* with the subheading *Ma-k'o-ssu-chu-i wen-i lun-wen-chi* [156] *Marxist Literary and Critical Essays*, published in 1936.⁸⁰ This collection comprised, for instance, a translation of famous Engels' letter to Margaret Harkness about her work *City Girl*, and about Balzac, and also a translation of Engels' letter to Paul Ernst regarding Ibsen and Norwegian literature.

⁷⁶ Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai *wen-chi* [154] *The Collected Works of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai*. Vol. 2. Peking 1954, pp. 1002—1012.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 1002.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 1009.

⁷⁹ Loc. cit.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 1015—1216.

But let us go back for a while to the “giants” in the German literature. Kuo Mo-jo was under the impact of Goethe and of German expressionists and their theoreticians at the beginning of the twenties.⁸¹ Goethe’s impact should be given careful study. From around 1920 to 1925 there existed in Peking a literary association called Ch’en-chung-she [157] Sunken Bell Society. Its name had been taken from the drama by G. Hauptmann, *Die versunkene Glocke*. Adherents of this society studied and translated German literature. The poet and literary historian Feng Chih [158] (born in 1905) translated from H. Heine and R. M. Rilke. He may have been influenced to some extent by latter’s work in writing his sonnets.

An insight into the foreign impact and indigenous response may be considerably helped by a study of translated literature (*fan-i wen-hsüeh*) [159]. Translation has its place in the process of interliterary relations and affinities in the entire cultural sphere, particularly in philosophy, literature, historiography, but also in other branches of study. As regards literature with which we are concerned now, this important aspect of comparative literature, was greatly neglected in sinology. An exception was the interest in Lin Shu.⁸² The only major work is the booklet by Wolfgang Bauer, *Western Literature and Translation Work in Communist China*, which in fact encompasses a far wider span than it indicates, but because of its limited range, is necessarily concise and cannot pretend to be exhaustive.⁸³

Contemporary sinologists, in their work on “translated literature”, as the impact-response problem is concerned, ought to devote more effort at explaining phenomena that have so far been registered statistically only. Why is it, for example, that the not very significant work by Th. Storm *Immensee* was translated into Chinese 8 times in extenso and in abridged form between 1927 and 1943, but not once after the year 1949; or why Goethe’s *Faust* has been translated 5 times. *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* was translated altogether 7 times — twice after 1949. Or why E. M. Remarque’s novel *Der Weg zurück* was translated in full or in abridged form also 5 times during the single year of 1931!

According to D. Ďurišin, translation is “one of the significant expressions of interliterary coexistence and belongs to the sphere of genetic relations. This is determined by its primary function to provide the closest bonds between national literature and the process of supranational literary development and to assure an

⁸¹ Gálik, M.: *The Expressionistic Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo*. Bulletin of the Tokyo Sinological Society (Tokyo Shinakaku-ho), 13, 1967, pp. 231—243.

⁸² Cheng Chen-to: *Lin Ch’ing-nan hsien-sheng* [160] Mr. Lin Shu. In: *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu* [161] *Studies in Chinese Literature*. Vol. 3. Peking 1957, pp. 1214—1229. Lee, Leo Ou-fan. *Lin Shu and His Translations: Western Fiction in Chinese Perspective*. In: *Papers on China*, 19, 1965, pp. 159—193. Compton, R. W.: *A Study of the Translations of Lin Shu, 1852—1924*. Stanford 1971, 581 pp. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation).

⁸³ Bauer’s booklet was published in Alfred Metzner Verlag, Frankfurt/Main—Berlin 1964, 88 pp.

inner confrontation of two or more developmental tendencies of national literatures".⁸⁴

We shall now carry on our considerations on further components of intellectual history. About arts — insofar as our studies are concerned — we know very little indeed. Relatively much attention was paid to L. van Beethoven and to K. Kollwitz. The latter exerted a great influence on the development of Chinese woodcuts as has been shown by G. Wittrin,⁸⁵ the impact of the first has not been studied as yet.

The literature concerned with economics and sociology or social history (in relation to German impact) was relatively rich in China. The best represented was that of Marxist economics and sociology. The year 1929 was the turning point. Many people then began to believe in the study of sociology and economics. It was regarded as the means of salvation. Only a study of these subjects could save China! For some years they became fetishes. Literary critics also supposed that the literary standard of the works could be raised if the writers would be ready to read one or two books of this kind.⁸⁶

If we take into consideration the whole period from the May Fourth Movement to our present days, we see that among Marxists of German and Austrian origin, K. Marx and F. Engels were translated most. I may be wrong, but the data collected from the twenties and thirties show K. Kautsky to have been translated at least as much during that period, if not more. His work *Karl Marx's oekonomische Lehren gemeinverständlich dargestellt und erläutert* has been translated into Chinese at least 8 times.⁸⁷ In addition to this these three representatives of this type of sociology and economic theory, we can find Chinese translations of works by F. List, K. Korsch, P. Einzig, J. Borchardt, M. Beer, W. Sombardt and others.⁸⁸

The German impact on China was probably great also in the field of education and psychology. Were we lucky enough and have the opportunity to read Chiao-yü tsa-chih [164] Chinese Educational Journal, we could see how much attention was

⁸⁴ Ďurišin, D.: *Preklad v systéme porovnávacieho skúmania literatúry* (Translation in the System of Comparative Literature). In: *Z dejín a teórie literárnej komparatistiky* (From the History and Theory of Comparative Literature). Bratislava 1971, pp. 255—256.

⁸⁵ Wittrin, G.: *Die Einflüsse von Käthe Kollwitz auf die chinesische Graphik zwischen 1931 und 1949*. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Ges.-Sprachw. R. XVII, 5, 1968, pp. 741—747.

⁸⁶ Kuo Mo-jo: *Yin-hsiung shu* [162] *The Heroic Tree*. In: *Mo-jo wen-chi* [163] *The Collected Works of Kuo Mo-jo*. Vol. 10. Peking 1959, pp. 328—329.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Preliminary Research-guide*, pp. 71—72.

⁸⁸ Only Max Weber's impact on China has been studied as yet. Sprenkel van der, O. B.: *Max Weber on China*, History and Theory, 3, 1964, pp. 348—370, then Otsuka Hisao: *The Role of Max Weber's Sociology of Religion in Cultural Exchanges Between East and West — Dealing Especially With Max Weber's "Confucianism and Puritanism"*, Asian Cultural Studies, Oct. 1966, pp. 19—46 (International Christian University Publications, II-A); Zingerle, A.: *Max Weber und Chinas Herrschafts- und Religionssoziologische Grundlagen zum Wandel der chinesischen Gesellschaft*, Duncker und Humblot, Berlin 1972.

paid to the German educational theory and practice in China. Many popular works on this questions were written and published in China in the twenties and thirties, and also before that. The German system of education was known at that time in the whole world, and China was no exception. Adam Smith admired the German system of school education and paid tribute to it in his book *The Wealth of Nations*. Yen Fu took up this admiration from Smith and in turn fired the enthusiasm of many other young Chinese intellectuals.⁸⁹

Sigmund Freud and his works were certainly known in China.⁹⁰ The question, however, is whether there is a reason to speak about a deeper influence of Freudian teaching. On the basis of our observations we dare to assert that at least at the level of the "physiognomy" of the impact, from among the German psychological theories the so-called *Gestalt-Psychologie* of W. Köhler and K. Koffka was best accepted by the Chinese.⁹¹

4

At the beginning of this paper, we determined the objective to be followed, namely, an investigation of the impact-response in relation to the non-Chinese (principally Euro-American) world and China in cultural matters. We pointed out the various components of this culture — those that exert the greatest impact on the creation of the intellectual strata of a nation and simultaneously are capable of being themselves influenced from outside, by the foreign world, through systemo-structural entities that often differ greatly from those being influenced.

Now we shall be concerned with the methodology deemed suitable for an investigation of what is termed — for lack of a better expression — intellectual history or *Geistesgeschichte*.

⁸⁹ Young Mao Tun was one of them, cf. Yen-ping [165], *Hsüeh-sheng yü she-hui* [166] *Students and Society*, Hsüeh-sheng tsa-chih [167] *The Students Magazine*, 4, 12, 1917, p. 129 and Schwartz, B.: *In Search of Wealth and Power*, p. 127.

⁹⁰ Up to 1935 the following works by Freud were translated into Chinese: *Ching-shen fen-hsi yin-lun* [168] *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, *Ch'ün-chung hsin-li chi tzu-wo fen-hsi* [169] *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, and his *Selbstdarstellung*. Later Freud's *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* and *Tagebuch eines halbwüchsigen Mädchens* were published. Nobody has studied the impact of Freud on China as yet. A certain "renaissance" of Chinese interest in Freud may be witnessed in the past few years in Taiwan, where the old translations have been reprinted and new ones appeared, e.g. *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* and *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*.

⁹¹ Before 1935 some works by K. Koffka and W. Köhler had appeared in Chinese translation, for example, *Prinzipien der Gestalt-Psychologie*, *Grundlagen der psychischen Entwicklung* and *Drei Aufsätze zur Gestalttheorie*, but we do not find the revival of previous interest in the last years.

What sort of methodology is it to be? As the branches that go in to make up intellectual history are many and diverse in nature, it appears at first sight impossible to set up a uniform methodology — one that might not be given the label of what is called “methodological imperialism”.⁹² We know, for instance, that “literary study and sociology are two distinct disciplines with strikingly different premises and methods”.⁹³ The same might be said of psychology, philosophy, historiography.

In attempting to set up a methodology applicable for our purposes, we may, and even must take into consideration the methodologies employed in all the disciplines involved: i.e. literary, psychological, sociological, etc. The plural is used here because methods applied in the various branches under study need not be identical: the methods used by experimental psychologists differ from those applied by psychoanalysts, adherents of literary structuralism employ procedures that differ to some extent from those used by Marxists.

But before going in *medias res* in this point, we should realize that we are in the Chinese world, very different from ours: our subject — modern Chinese intellectual history is (and was) also different from Euro-American counterparts.

The well-known Chinese mathematician and one of Hu Shih's friends, Jen Hung-chün [170] (alias H. C. Zen) judged as a true Chinese, when he wrote:

“The past approach to learning was literary, today's approach is factual. Twentieth-century civilization is nothing but the result of victory of factual learning over literary matters.”⁹⁴ We do not need emphasize that he had in mind the Chinese learning.

According to him (and this too, is something we consider as typically Chinese) there are three systems of thought in life: literary, philosophical and scientific.⁹⁵

Our explanation of the issues relating to the impact-response in the sphere of Chinese intellectual history may (and shall) lead to a similar conclusion. In fact, in China these three disciplines, that is literature, philosophy and science stand out very prominently from the entire complex of intellectual history. Philosophy, even though not the most prominent in China, is nevertheless bridging and “perfuming” the mentioned two realms and exerts a considerable measure of influence also on other disciplines, e.g. historiography, literary criticism, psychology, sociology, etc.

⁹² Tillich, P.: *The Problem of Theological Method*. Journal of Religion, XVII, 1947, No. 1, p. 16. Quoted according to P. Henle, et al., eds: *Structure, Method and Meaning. Essays in Honor of Henry M. Sheffer*. New York 1951, p. 156.

⁹³ Bradbury, M. — Wilson, B.: *Introduction*, p. 5. In: Escarpit, R.: *Sociology of Literature*. 2nd ed. London 1971.

⁹⁴ The quotation is taken from Kwok, D. W. Y.: *Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900—1950*. New Haven — London, Yale University Press 1965, p. 123.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 124.

Literary scholars and theoreticians investigate literature with methods used for literary studies. The methodology of literary study deals with the methods of analysis of a work of art, with methods of literary history and methods of literary criticism.

Literary history investigates the development of various national literatures or supranational entities or that of world literature. If it follows the development of supranational entities or of world literature, it is called comparative literature.

Literary criticism (in the sense in which it has been defined in the West by R. Wellek and A. Warren in *Theory of Literature*), generally judges works of literature from the aspect of modern times and endeavours to do this on the basis of certain objective criteria.

The methods of analysis of a work of art might prove of considerable interest in the study of impact-response problem. For instance, those which are in connection with the study of the so-called poetics investigating the systemo-structural entity (external systemo-structural entity) of literary works, that is metrics, prosody, stylistics, composition and genology. Very useful for our purposes could be the methods which take into account the question of literary process, that is, how a certain literary work originates and how it exerts an influence, i.e. to study literature in its development and change.

These two problems connected either with "systemo-structural entity" (afterwards only SSE) or with "literary process" will be in the focus of our attention. Great effort will be devoted to an investigation of SSE of works of art, to the process of origin, changes and overall development of these SSE in connection with the overall social trends of the period. Nor should the SSE of the personalities that had conditioned this origin and development, be omitted, for "personality forms a point of intersection in which all the external current liable to affect literature, meet, but simultaneously it is also a focus whence they penetrate the literary development. Everything that has reference to literature passes through the medium of personality. Personality is one of the external developmental factors that comes into direct contact with literature; the other come into this contact only indirectly, through its mediation. All the remaining factors may be assigned into the area of personality (of course, their problems may not be reduced to that of personality)".⁹⁶

The concept of SSE consists of two: that of "structure" and "system". The concept of "structure" is reminiscent of that of "nature" in the history of European philosophy by the various meanings which are ascribed to it and also by its applicability to numerous areas of human activity. Their most salient difference, on the other hand,

⁹⁶ Mukařovský, J.: *Individuum a literární vývoj* (*The Individual and Literary Development*). In: *Studie z estetiky* (*Studies in Aesthetics*). Prague 1966, p. 229.

lies in their respective history. In the history of European thought, "nature" enjoys a tradition of more than two thousand years, while that of "structure" counts some centuries at most. R. Bastide of Paris in the book *Sense et usages du terme structure* reports the use of this word by Fontenelle (1657—1757).⁹⁷ According to L. Bernot the term "structure" was originally used to designate a) a set, b) elements of this set, c) mutual relations of these elements among themselves.⁹⁸

If we take as the object of our attention K. Marx and Fr. Engels — whose contribution to this term was considered so important that an essay written by Lefèvre was devoted to it in Bastide's book — we see the picture to have altered somewhat. In his *Dialectics of Nature*, Fr. Engels designates "nature" as a system, and this he understands as a continuum of bodies that are mutually related, that mutually interact, as a complex of affinities and processes.⁹⁹ According to K. Marx: "In the social production which men carry on, they enter into the definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society — the real foundation, on which raises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness."¹⁰⁰

From this it ensues that Marx and Engels divide the original sense of structure into two parts: system and structure. System consists of a set of elements and their interrelations. The set of relations within the system constitutes structure.

The views of Marx and Engels on the issues of system and structure have been expounded by several Marxist scholars. Relatively the most exact characteristics of the concept of "system" has come from V. S. Tyukhtin, according to whom system (we call it SSE) is a set of interrelated elements, noted for their organization with respect to certain properties and relations, and for certain unity. A system reveals an inner wholeness, manifesting itself in a relatively independent behaviour, or the presence of this set in the environment.¹⁰¹ Tyukhtin also writes about "systemo-structural approach" to the study of reality, and lays stress on the universal nature

⁹⁷ Bastide, R., ed.: *Sense et usages du terme structure dans les sciences humaines et sociales*. Mouton 1962, p. 10. I wish to thank my colleague Dr. V. Krupa for his advice concerning the intricate questions of system and structure.

⁹⁸ Loc. cit.

⁹⁹ Engels, Fr.: *Dialectics of Nature*. 4th printing. Moscow 1966, p. 70 and 198.

¹⁰⁰ Marx, K.: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Selected Works*. Vol. 1, p. 356. Quoted from Hardison, O. B., Jr., ed.: *Modern Continental Literary Criticism*. London 1962, pp. 112—113.

¹⁰¹ Tyukhtin, V. S.: *Sistemno-strukturnyi podkhod i spetsifika filosofskogo znaniya (Systemo-structural Approach and Specificity of Philosophical Knowledge)*. Voprosy filosofii (Questions of Philosophy), 1968, No. 11, pp. 47—58, esp. 48.

of this approach. The basic role of scientific work is the discovery of an object as a system distinguished by its structure.

Tyukhtin's above conviction is developed further in his article. There he points out variabilities of elements and thereby the possibilities of systemo-structural changes, alterations, which can lead to a cancelling, preserving and setting up (Hegel's idea) of new SSE. Systems and related structures are frequently subject to change, or rather in a state of continuous change.

The term "structure" — meaning thereby a set of elements and their interrelations, as well as set of relations within the system — was often used recently. We shall apply to it the term "systemo-structural entity" as more modern and suitable having in mind its dynamic and variable character.

The Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget takes a similar view of the SSE (he calls it structure) as Heraclitus did of that of ambient world when he pronounced his well-known *panta rei*. According to the great Greek philosopher, living in the shade of the temple porticoes at Ephesus "all things forever flow and change" and "even in the stillest matter there is unseen flux and movement".¹⁰² — Piaget, well-known founder of "genetic epistemology", one of the most eminent, successful and acknowledged scholars of our times, also sees structure, or structures in their dynamic evolution: "... the being of structures consists in their coming to be, that is, their being 'under construction'."¹⁰³ Or: "There is no structure apart from construction, either abstract or genetic."¹⁰⁴

According to T. Turner, an anthropologist, who followed attentively Piaget's works, construction "or the process through which structures are formed" is "the most important concept in Piaget's theory of structure".¹⁰⁵ Construction according to the same reviewer "consists of an adaptive interaction between a system or entity already organized at some level, which plays the functional role of 'subject', and its objective environment".¹⁰⁶

Structure is then a category made up of two components: subject and object (Piaget does not mention the latter). The first is a set of certain elements behaving in a peculiar manner towards the object. The second is outside the subject and is likewise a set of certain elements, often, however, inexhaustible and undefinable, for it is some sort of superstructure (we would say supersystemo-structural entity) or infrastructure (we would say infrasystemo-structural entity) with regard to the subject.

These two sets reciprocally affect each other. Between them there exist certain

¹⁰² Durant, W.: *The Story of Philosophy*. New York 1943, p. 52.

¹⁰³ Piaget, J.: *Structuralism*. New York, Harper Torchbooks 1970, p. 140.

¹⁰⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Turner, T.: *Piaget's Structuralism*. American Anthropologist, 75, 2, April 1973, p. 355.

¹⁰⁶ Loc. cit.

“interactions” and precisely these are the causes why the “being” of structures consists in their “coming to be”.

These interactions are what Turner terms generative rules¹⁰⁷ and Piaget transformations. By transformations he understands an effort expanded by the subject of the structure to equilibrate, that is, to integrate into itself the various elements of the superstructure or infrastructure of the object.¹⁰⁸

To Piaget, however, the structure is not solely a sum of transformations. Piaget is capable of seeing the entire process in its rest, in a certain time lapse, a point, and not only in its incessant flux. Otherwise, it would hardly be possible to investigate and determine its further characteristics that are proper to structure: namely wholeness and self-regulation. Wholeness is the capacity of a structure to exist as a phenomenon different from individual structural elements.¹⁰⁹ Self-regulation conditions the preservation of structures and their definite “wholeness” together with their relative stability.¹¹⁰

Piaget was not the first to come up with the dynamic model of the development of structures.

Already towards the end of the twenties Czech aesthetician and literary critic Jan Mukařovský made use of a similar dynamic model for the literary research: “In Mukařovský, structure signifies a certain type of a system, a certain arrangement of the whole based on a dialectical tension, on contradictions, antagonisms and mutual functional relations among the components, the shifting and hierarchization of which is a source of developmental dynamism of the structure. This dialectical model of a structure is a basis for a comprehension not only of a given work of art, but also of the system of relations between art and the societal whole.”¹¹¹

Here are pointed out two vertices of SSE “triangle” in which we see quite a satisfactory model for a study of impact-response issue: literary work (for instance) and society. If to this we add what we have referred to earlier, namely that “personality too is a structure” (i.e. SSE in our terminology), that is in fact a “mutual tension among various components and influences and has the uniqueness of structure”¹¹² plus the substance characterized by individual components as the inventory of this substance, we obtain the third vertex of the triangle.

To take matters quite clear: we have no intention of propagating any type of structuralism. All we are concerned with a utilization of the rational nucleus embodied in Piaget’s and Mukařovský’s concept of structure (particularly in the latter’s)

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 358.

¹⁰⁸ Piaget, J.: op. cit., pp. 10–13.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 6–10.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 13–16.

¹¹¹ *Estetika a poetika Jana Mukařovského (Jan Mukařovský's Aesthetics and Poetics)*. Romboid, 6, 1971, p. 5.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 11.

and its application (i.e. application of that rational nucleus) to a literary work, its author, and a society for which this work is destined. This rational nucleus in Mukářovský is in clearly dialectical character of his concept of structure, in his theoretical apprehension and creative application following the study of Hegel's dialectics and Lenin's explanation of dialectical principles.

Our aim is to look upon the concept of SSE dialectically. Dialectic character of SSE causes SSE to be in an incessant motion and change, its inner equilibrium, peculiar for its relative wholeness, is constantly being disrupted and reestablished. We should point out that the set of elements of SSE (its substance, in philosophical terms, the system's inventory) is usually relatively stable, only their mutual relations (structure of the SSE-whole) are changeable.

What we may consider as SSE in the study of literature? SSE ("inner" not "external" as defined in poetics) may be, for example, the literary work itself, as a separate, independent unit — a poem, a short story, a novel, a drama, a piece of criticism. The same is valid about a concept (taste, *Geschmack*) or an idea (human nature). It is SSE through the relation between various components, inner arrangement, the composition, the inherited values of different kinds, etc., but also as a part of the entire literary, artistic, philosophical and other important contexts at the "Gaussian plane" of national and foreign affinities and relations.

Of course, this SSE may comprise also an entire series of works by a single author, a school, a literary generation, a literary movement. These works enter similarly complex, dialectically sharpened and efficient situations, and are in pregnant relationships that always become carried out in some way; it is up to the researcher to specify them.

The "Gaussian plane" just referred to then becomes a field of contest between these SSE. They are organized, reorganized, structuralized and restructuralized. With regard to our subject-matter, the horizontal axis of this plane is determined principally by the "diffusion of new elements (foreign elements coming from the different cultural environments, M. G.) in the civilization under impact".¹¹³ The vertical axis is "influenced by traditional systems and structures".¹¹⁴ This idea, expressed by L. Hájek, a specialist in the history of Oriental art, appears very suitable for the methodology of a study of impact-response. We shall endeavour to make use of it further.

At this Gaussian plane we must look at every literary work or works or parts of them both along the horizontal and vertical axes: along the horizontal axis, as being under the impact, along the vertical one, we have to judge them as responding

¹¹³ Hájek, L.: *The Impact of Western Art on the East and the Mechanism of Its Absorption*. In: *The East Under Western Impact*. Prague 1969, p. 26.

¹¹⁴ Loc. cit.

to this impact. And not only to this. Along the vertical axis, a powerful claim to our attention will be made by literary tradition (native literary tradition) and society. There is hardly any need to mention here all that indigenous Chinese literary tradition embodies. It will suffice briefly to point out that it comprises the old Chinese literary production, criticism, genology, literary aesthetics. As regards the relation between literature and society, literature must be looked upon as a social phenomenon. Literature cannot be entirely independent of the milieu in which it originated, and its structure is in dialectical relationship with the general social structure, whether economic, political, societal, etc. Even while recognizing the specificity of literature which decisively exists in its relation to society (besides other reasons, also because it is axiologically different phenomenon), the dependence of literature on society cannot be overlooked, especially in modern China (and generally in the whole of modern Asia), where literature had always for task to fulfil more or less efficiently also other social functions, to substitute for philosophy, political propaganda, educate people towards nationalism, internationalism, anticolonialism, class attitude and so on.¹¹⁵

About "personalities" that form the last vertex of our triangle, we shall say only that they will be looked upon as certain constants (but "structuralized" not stable) which, similarly as their ideas or works, will intervene into development both along the horizontal and the vertical axis.

Impact never takes place as a wholesale replacement of recipient SSE by some foreign SSE, if it is to be effective, but by "import" and adoption of certain foreign elements that reach the new SSE. These new elements may or may not be incorporated into the recipient SSE, may or may not modify it. Elements of this impact (what is literature concerned) are very disparate and are carried out in the form of various published works, beginning with simple news reports and ending with studies, translations of every kind (these are so-called mediated contacts); then reading of original works and studies of every kind (direct contacts); further reminiscences, mottoes, coincidences, filiations, borrowings, imitations, adaptations, similarities, paraphrases, allusions (integrating forms of impact); and lastly parodies, travesties (differentiating forms of impact).¹¹⁶

Here we shall not dwell on a characterization of the various elements of this impact, but shall confine ourselves to a few universally valid rules. A study of this "foreign trade" in literature is not enough. We must endeavour to uncover their

¹¹⁵ *Contributions to the Study of the Rise and Development of Modern Literatures in Asia*. Vol. 1. Prague 1965, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ For more details about the different forms of impact, see Weisstein, U.: *Einführung in die vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer Verlag 1968, or Ďurišin, D.: *Vergleichende Literaturforschung*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1972.

true involvement in the SSE of indigenous literature, the changes in the new SSE, the new motion, development. If we have succeeded in this, then we may speak of influence, exerted by foreign impact on the recipient SSE. Otherwise, there is question solely of various forms of reception.

Professor A. Balakian has made a very clever observation when she stated that one “is sometimes led to wonder whether any study of influence is truly justified, unless it succeeds in elucidating particular qualities of the borrower, in revealing along with the influence, and almost in spite of it, what is infinitely more important: the turning point at which a writer frees himself of the influence and finds his originality”.¹¹⁷

“Influence” is then nothing else but a certain type of a successful stimulus. If it is unsuccessful, usually it is estimated as reception or ranked among external contacts.¹¹⁸

The Russian formalist Tynyanov discussed in his work the determining role of the recipient structure in the reception process of foreign values.¹¹⁹ Mukařovský, on the other hand, says that influences (he uses the plural) are not “expressions of an essential superiority or inferiority of individual national cultures; their fundamental form is mutuality springing from a reciprocal equality of nations and equivalence of their cultures, ...”¹²⁰ To this he adds a sentence that will help us to illustrate what is to follow: “From the aspect of every national culture (and hence also every national art) relations towards cultures (and hence also towards arts) of other nations constitute a structure bound by inner dialectical relations that are incessantly regrouped under the effect of stimuli deriving from social development.”¹²¹

After this rather lengthy digression into the world of theoretical explanations, it might now be fitting at least briefly to illustrate, on one or two examples, our idea of a research into the impact-response issue.

Lu Hsün ranks among the most prominent figures of modern Chinese literature and intellectual history. We consider him to be that constant in the imagined “Gaussian plane” and follow his development along the vertical and horizontal axes. This we cannot do during one longer time span, for this lecture does not allow sufficient space for it. Let us evoke the beginning of 1918 and look at Heraclitean *panta rei* in one point, in a relative stillness. At that time Lu Hsün was busy working on the story *The Diary of Madman*, published in the May issue of the magazine *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [171] La Jeunesse of that same year. It was the first, modern Chinese

¹¹⁷ Balakian, A.: *Influence nad Literary Fortune. The Equivocal Junction of Two Methods*. In: Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, 11, 1962, p. 29.

¹¹⁸ The problem of influence and reception have been discussed in many articles and books, see bibliographical data in Weisstein, U.: op. cit., pp. 243–244.

¹¹⁹ Ďurišin, D.: *From the History and Theory of Comparative Literature*, p. 58.

¹²⁰ Mukařovský, J.: *O strukturalismu (On Structuralism)*. In: *Studies in Aesthetics*, p. 115.

¹²¹ Loc. cit.

short story of great value written in *pai-hua*. Until now it has remained wrapped up in a certain myth, which is generally known. That myth was provoked fairly artificially, in particular through the concealment of certain facts connected precisely with the question of impact, and also through an inadequate knowledge, or the distortion of the intellectual history of those times. Not everybody who wrote about this story made attention of Lu Hsün's debt to Nietzsche, and even those who did, often failed to do it in an objective manner, in accordance with the historical truth which Lu Hsün himself implied at least partially. Elsewhere, we pointed out to the measure of Lu Hsün's story being influenced by Nietzsche's madmen and the originality of Lu Hsün.¹²² Nietzsche's *Prologue* from *Also sprach Zarathustra* served Lu Hsün as a successful stimulus. Nietzsche's work served as an impulse, it was not a model which Lu Hsün strove to imitate. Lu Hsün's madman was different, more concentrated, more concrete, more definite, though not so imaginatively rich, manysided and international as Zarathustra. Nietzsche's impact found an echo in a new literary and socio-intellectual SSE of new China. The old literary tradition does not appear in Lu Hsün's story through traits typical for Chinese *hsiao-shuo* [172]. *The Diary of Madman* draws more on old Chinese essays than on *hsiao-shuo*; the philosophical undertone, too, is very strong. In the author's personal development, it is a bridge across which he comes closer to modern literary structure. His later works were for the most part more belletristic and less essayistic, and with the exception of the story *A Q cheng-chuan* [173] *The True Story of A Q*, also less philosophical.

What is the socio-intellectual atmosphere of those times concerned, the young Chinese men of letters, young philosophers or historians detected in this work an *opus magnum* which had taken their breath. An unknown writer, coming out for the first time under this pseudonym, endeavoured on a few pages of text to cut the ground from the feet of the greatest obstacle of contemporary China on the road to progress — Confucian morality — and strove to reassess Chinese history and the entire social order.

Without the impact of Nietzsche's work, the madman of Lu Hsün could not have been created. The image of unnamed Lu Hsün's hero would not have been possible without Nietzschean slogan of revaluation of all values, without the iconoclastic tendencies, without an admiration for those Nietzschean *Einzelnen* which are the hope of mankind.

Mao Tun, insofar as his place in Chinese literature is concerned, may be ranked immediately next to Lu Hsün. During his stay in Japan he pursued also a study of Scandinavian mythology and *Ragnarok* (*Twilight of the Gods*) forms the topic of his

¹²² Gálik, M.: *Nietzsche in China (1918–1925)*, pp. 41–44.

short story called *Shen-ti miēh-wang* [174].¹²³ Through this story Mao Tun wanted to speak to the souls of modern Chinese. That, in fact, was the usual motif in historical story writing in the twenties and thirties. In evoking the *Ragnarok*, Mao Tun wished to point out the inevitability of an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Since he endeavoured rather faithfully to follow the mythological data, material he presented in the story was only partially processed and structurally remained foreign to the Chinese milieu and to literary traditions and conventions. The story could not serve as a good example of *littérature engagée* simply because a fatalist ending guaranteed nothing of the sort (both the oppressors and oppressed died); nor could it become a valuable work of art, because its principal idea is presented in an extra-plot manner. At the end of the story Mao Tun added a few sentences: "There are still gods of other epochs... In the history of mankind there existed emperors and there still are capitalist hegemons. The fight of mankind goes on."¹²⁴

Mao Tun's story gives the impression of a parable with a political memento! It is very poor work of art. Mao Tun did not succeed in incorporating elements of foreign structure into new Chinese milieu so as to create a new unit. Where Lu Hsün had acquitted himself of his task in a masterly manner, Mao Tun provided a schoolboy example of the wrong attitude to take towards the foreign impact.

In Lu Hsün's case, the dynamics of impact-response gave rise to a first-rate work in modern Chinese literature. In Mao Tun's case there was question of an impact that failed effectively to be carried out in the new SSE, not because it was not possible, but because the personality that was to have helped towards this aim failed for reasons that may only be guessed at.

¹²³ *Mao Tun tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo chi* [175] *The Short Stories of Mao Tun*. Vol. 1. Shanghai 1934, p. 342—354. At the beginning of the story we meet the principal God Odin at the moment when two ravens — his police — bring him news that down there a rebellion was brewing. His twelve sons are with Freya — the goddess of love and beauty. He had never been against it: after all, he himself liked from time to time to revel and carouse with her. But now, at such a moment of destiny! When Odin reproached Freya for it and informed her of the latest events, she laughed in his face. Oh, bother the ravens! They spread gossip. There is only one road leading from Earth to Heaven — the Rainbow bridge — guarded by the ever-watchful Heimdall. His silver horn would give notice if anything suspicious were afoot. The gods used to carouse with great gusto. They were convinced that their domination over nine worlds was as secure and firm as Mount T'ai (Mao Tun's term) and nothing could shake it. And precisely when they least thought of any possible attack, Heimdall's horn sounded. All the enemies of the gods from the nine worlds attacked the astonished heavenly powers. A great battle ensued in which fell the ranks of defenders, the gods and Odin himself. But neither did the enemies of the gods survive. They all died as a result of Odin's curse which he pronounced before dying. Alone the Flame Giants were left alive and they set heaven and the nine worlds on fire.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

Lu Hsün's personality truly proved to be an excellent point of intersection through which foreign impact reached a new literary SSE and intervened pregnantly in it. Lu Hsün succeeded in an admirable manner in joining a social necessity of criticizing Confucian ethics and Chinese historiography with Nietzsche's demand of *Umwertung aller Werte*. Lu Hsün was very well prepared for the new mission: to be an apostle of New Culture Movement. The first two decades of this century were full of pains-taking work, study and research in the field of intellectual history.

In all probability, Mao Tun wrote his version of the *Ragnarok* a few days¹²⁵ after he had completed his best (even though in fact unfinished) novel *Tzu-yeh* [177] *The Midnight*, a new *Ju-lin wai-shih* [178] from the year 1930, as he himself characterized it.¹²⁶ At that time, that is towards the end of 1932 he was so ill and exhausted that as he said, he was hardly able "to move his tongue" (*jao she*) [179].¹²⁷ No wonder then, he could not devote adequate attention to the story under analysis. And this despite the fact that he was conscious of the significance of its topic. Evidently, not even social and political need could release from him sufficient strength, for this completely left him.

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A similar approach as in the case of literary studies might be employed in all the arts other than literature. Each of them involves an artistic approach to reality: an expression of reality through images.¹²⁸

6

Next to literature, let us note philosophy, which in our view, what is its importance in modern Chinese intellectual history concerned, comes directly after literature. Philosophy is by its SSE far more suitable for the action of foreign impact. As a rule, it is less creative than literature (and this is especially so in modern China), therefore it is more selective, and its cognitive depth causes it to affect a smaller circle of

¹²⁵ Mao Tun's *Twilight of the Gods* was originally published in The Eastern Miscellany, 31, No. 4 (14th February, 1933), pp. 1—7 and written on 8th January, 1933. Mao Tun's *Hou-chi* [176] *Epilogue to The Midnight* was written in December 1932. See *Tzu-yeh*. Peking 1953, pp. 551—552.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 552.

¹²⁸ When writing this paper I was not able to consult Kao, M. M.: *China's Response to the West in Art, 1898—1937*, Stanford 1972, 390 pp. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation) where relevant material could probably be found.

consumers than literature. The action of literature is more powerful also thanks to its emotional and aesthetic qualities.

When dealing with philosophy from the aspect of an impact-response, we must elucidate its "external" SSE, its disciplines. Philosophy certainly comprises ontology, epistemology, logic of science (hence that part which deals with the methodology of science), axiology and the history of philosophy. Generally, ethics, too, is included here, and at one time it embodied also psychology, sociology, logic and aesthetics. For some reasons we shall include them into philosophy, too.

As the world philosophy reached China for the most part in the form of the history of philosophy, we must be ready for all eventualities. It should be born in mind that in China, during very short period of time (practically from the end of the last century until about mid-thirties) they had to become acquainted with the whole development of European philosophy from the high antiquity down to the present times. The cognitive process that went on in Europe (at least in intellectually advanced countries) organically and naturally from the era of the Renaissance, was condensed in China into a few decades and was not organic and natural. This was necessarily attended by an inadequate insight, and if to this we add the enormous power of Chinese tradition, we can realize the possible measure of transformations that ensued in the process of impact-response.

In a study of impact-response in the area of philosophy we may adopt a similar approach as in the case of literature. The "inner" SSE of philosophy is likewise constituted by the individual philosophical work, essay, and even idea or concept. All these elements are SSE by their own composition, inner arrangement, inter-relations of the various components, and also as a part of the entire complex at the "Gaussian plane" of native and foreign affinities. The same applies also to the whole series of works of one author, or of school. This approach might be suitable for a study, for instance, of Kant's impact, eventually that of Neo-Kantianism in China, or Hegel's impact. The method of SSE triangle could also be applied in a study of a philosophical work, where the respective vertices would be given by the philosophical work being investigated, the social context and the author's personality.

Of course, an investigation of the impact-response in philosophy gives rise to specific issues. For one thing, the writer is generally far more individualistic, far more engaged. The philosopher who has much common with scholarship, is usually more dependent on his predecessors. We just cannot imagine Marx without Hegel, the first Utopian socialists and the English classical economists, Kant without J. Locke, G. Berkeley and D. Hume, and of course not without J. J. Rousseau; and in China, Hu Shih without Dewey's instrumentalism and Ibsen's individualism, and we might go on further. Chu Kuang-ch'ien, probably the most outstanding modern Chinese aesthetician, cannot be thought of without E. Bullough's theory of psychical distance, without the theory of empathy (e.g. that of Lipps), Fechner's psychophysics, Croce's aesthetics, and certain viewpoints taken from other writers.

Simultaneously, he could not be thought of without a certain mycelium — a hot-bed prepared by indigenous Taoist tradition.¹²⁹

The external marks of the impact are far more evident in the field of philosophy, aesthetics and related disciplines than in that of literature. The same may be said of influence. An investigation of influence in comparative literature represents one of the most difficult and the most serious of problems. In philosophy and kindred disciplines, the situation appears to be similar with the difference that this important issue usually presents smaller difficulties here, for the components leading to the influence, are, as a rule, more evident, as their authors or sources are often explicitly stated. An important methodological point, however, is not to allow oneself to be swept away by a mere superficial, that is, physiognomic aspect of the problem. Since we have already referred to Chu Kuang-ch'ien, let us quote two fairly diverging views on him. O. Brière has this to say about Chu:

"But above all he (Chu Kuang-ch'ien, M. G.) is the great specialist on Benedetto Croce, whose *Principles of Aesthetics* he translated as (*Mei-hsüeh yian-li*) and about whom he wrote a *Critique of the Philosophy of Croce* (*K'e-lo-ch'i che-hsüeh shu-p'ing*) (1948). Although, by and large he follows the ideas of the Italian philosopher, he diverges from him on many points."¹³⁰

Mario Sabattini, who had made a detailed study of Chu Kuang-ch'ien's most influential work *Wen-i hsin-li-hsüeh* [180] *Psychology of Art and Literature*, holds a different view on the question of Chu's relation to Croce:

"Needless to say, not very much of Croce survives in Chu Kuang-ch'ien's aesthetic theory", although Chu "goes on maintaining that he is merely correcting, with no intention of demolishing the foundations of Croce's thought".¹³¹

Sabattini appears to be more correct in his view. Even though unconsciously, yet he seems to have endeavoured to follow up structural, depth relations. He was not satisfied with a semblance, nor Chu's "corrective" endeavours. Objectively correct results can be achieved only through a deep, physiological study.

As regards literature, a similarity with the philosophical sphere may exist in the theory of literature, the history of literary theories and in the literary criticism. These constitute some sort of a "philosophy of literature". There, the postulate of "purposiveness without purpose" leads us fairly unambiguously to Kant, while the words *Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae* can only lead us, even in the Chinese context, to Horace. Naturally, here, too, a complex situation may arise,

¹²⁹ The great force of this tradition is excellently exemplified in M. Sabattini's *The Concept of "Aesthetic Experience" in the Theory of Chu Kuang-ch'ien*. In: *Papers Presented to the XXI. International Congress of Chinese Studies*. Roma — Napoli 1971, pp. 204—211.

¹³⁰ Brière, O.: op. cit., p. 97.

¹³¹ Sabattini, M.: "Crocianism" in Chu Kuang-ch'ien's *Wen-i hsin-li-hsüeh*. *East and West*, New Series, 20, 1, 2, 1970, p. 13.

as for instance, when the concept of “genius” occurs in modern Chinese literary criticism. The sources are to be looked for in a wider circle of thinkers, e.g. in Kant, Schopenhauer, Croce, J. M. Guyau and perhaps, or rather probably, in others. And of course, also in the Chinese tradition, e.g. in Chuang-tzu or Mencius.¹³²

Otherwise, still keeping in mind the similarity aspect between literature and philosophy, a greater autonomy in creative literature is the rule. For example, it would not have been easy to point out a kinship between Lu Hsün’s “madman” and Nietzsche’s “madmen” without Lu Hsün’s admission. A specificity of artistic expression is like an armour-plate protecting the writer from the inquisitive eye of the researcher. Who had exerted an influence on Mao Tun’s novel *The Midnight*? Was it Zola by his *L’Argent*, as claimed by Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai,¹³³ or Th. Dreiser’s *The Financier* as claimed by the present writer,¹³⁴ was it Gorky by his *Foma Gordeev*, as reportedly admitted by Mao Tun himself in a conversation with N. T. Fedorenko,¹³⁵ or Tolstoy, as asserted by the literary critic and historian Chang Pi-lai [182] in a letter to the State Museum of L. N. Tolstoy, dated June 23, 1958. In that letter, which is not generally known by the wider sinological public, we may read the following:

“The first scene in Mao Tun’s novel *The Midnight* has always evoked in me associations with the first scene in *War and Peace*. The principal characters of the novel met at Wu Sun-fu’s [183] house. Here, Mao Tun strives to resolve two tasks: to give a general view of the political situation in the country, i.e. of the period in which the plot of the novel takes place, and at the same time to acquaint the readers with the characters. Thanks to this device, the subsequent course is more intelligible. We witness something similar in the first scene of *War and Peace* in the guest room of Anna Pavlovna Sherer. Tolstoy introduces us to the tense political situation in Europe and simultaneously ushers in the principal heroes.”¹³⁶

Mao Tun knew about this device and described it in his article on Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* in *Shih-chieh wen-hsiieh ming-chu chiang-hua* [184] *Talks on Great Works of World Literature*. This goes to show that Mao Tun was conscious of it in relation to Tolstoy’s novel.¹³⁷ This, however, does not as yet mean that he was influenced by Tolstoy. The influence and its measure remain to be proved: it is necessary to adduce satisfactory evidence that the hypothetically influenced author

¹³² Cf. Kuo Mo-jo: *Sheng-huo-ti i-shu-hua* [181] *Practical Aestheticism*, in: *Wen-i lun-chi*, pp. 146—147 and Gálik, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: V. The Socio-Aesthetic Criticism of Ch’eng Fang-wu*, Asian and African Studies, VII, 1971, pp. 53—54.

¹³³ *The Collected Works of Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai*. Vol. 1, p. 438.

¹³⁴ Gálik, M.: *A Comment on Two Studies Written on the Works of Mao Tun*. Asian and African Studies, I, 1965, p. 96.

¹³⁵ Fedorenko, N. T.: *Kitaiskie zapisi (The Chinese Sketches)*. Moscow 1955, p. 407.

¹³⁶ Quoted according to Shifman, A. I.: *Leo Tolstoy and the Orient*. Moscow 1971, pp. 104 to 105.

¹³⁷ Peking 1951, pp. 231, 236—239.

could have been influenced by the influencing author. Hypotheses are not enough.¹³⁸

The philosophical sphere has much in common with historiography which is some sort of a philosophy of history. For the student of modern Chinese intellectual history, modern Chinese historiography provides an interesting field of research. From the aspect of the impact-response issue, this field has been but very inadequately covered. As in philosophy, so here also we find very evident American (pragmatist) and European (Marxist) impact. The action of the former has been at least partially, though brilliantly, investigated by L. Schneider in his book *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History*. He pointed out the impact of John Dewey and American Pragmatic Philosophy and Progressive History (i.e. of J. H. Robinson, F. J. Woodbridge and others) on modern Chinese historiography, particularly on Hu Shih and Ku Chieh-kang.¹³⁹ The case of Ku Chieh-kang is of some interest as being typical for intellectual history. Professor Schneider poses a very serious question in his work, such one that every scholar should pose to himself (of course, due regard being taken of the situation in various cultural areas under the impact):

"This American influence raises a problem for the intellectual historian in general, and special problems for a study of someone like Ku Chieh-kang. The general issue is the nature of the *influence*; Were Chinese intellectual actually moved onto new paths by American Pragmatism? Did American ideas have a momentum of their own which enabled them to force their way into the thoughts of the New Culturalists and impart new directions? Or is it more accurate and useful to say that some Chinese intellectuals, responding to the realities of their environment as they perceived them, used the American ideas as intellectual vehicles, modes of expressions and reinforcements for their feelings, not yet fully formulated in a coherent intellectual pattern? Very few of the New Culturalists were steeped in the American environment as Hu Shih, who no doubt was directly shaped and given definite direction by it. But what of Ku Chieh-kang, who had never left China, who read English quite poorly, and who (to my knowledge) never attributed his ideas to anyone other than Chinese scholars? Ku seems to have adopted some of the ideas and attitudes of Pragmatism and the American 'New History', not because of Hu Shih's insistence or example, but because the ideas seemed to him so suitable

¹³⁸ A very good example of how the problem of influence is to be treated may be found in Z. Slupski's *The Evolution of a Modern Chinese Writer*. Prague 1966, pp. 22–23. Here all the most important questions connected with impact-response are taken into account: foreign impact (Ch. Dickens), the personality of the author and his work (Lao She's *The Philosophy of Lao Chang*) and domestic tradition (old Chinese novels). Slupski also stresses that "turning point" when asserting that the "significant thing" in the analysed work of Lao She "is not what was taken over from 'Nicolas Nickleby', but what distinguishes Lao She's book from Dickens's" (p. 24).

¹³⁹ Schneider, L.: *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1971, p. 54.

to his real needs. Ku certainly did not acknowledge Hu Shih as a major influence on his thought, but so did he acknowledge Chang T'ai-yen [185] and K'ang Yu-wei, with whose legacies he fused the teachings of the Chinese Pragmatist.¹⁴⁰

The typicalness of the case of Ku Chieh-kang has nothing to do with quantity or exclusiveness. This was a case that was often repeated without excluding others, likewise typical. That which is most characteristic, is concealed in Schneider's words: "ideas seemed to him suitable to his needs". As a rule, everyone reaching that "Gaussian plane" reacts as did Voltaire who is reported to have said: "Je prends mon bien ou je le trouve." Thus we see, that even not perfect knowledge of English was not an obstacle. The channels for a diffusion of ideas are many and varied.

Schneider's approach reveals signs of a certain methodological uncertainty. He seems not to have been conscious of the polygenetic character of the double-concept under study. A translation, or a native example usually makes a deeper impression in intellectual history than a knowledge of foreign language. When Ku acknowledged Hu as a major influence on his thought, he unconsciously acknowledged also the influence of American pragmatism. That uncertainty, in our view, is also valid when there is question of the concept of influence. This concept has been defined fairly clearly in the theory of comparative literature. The "nature" of influence in comparative literature and in the historiography is just the same. In historiography too, it may only be a successful stimulus, a way to new originality.

The impact on modern Chinese history from the Marxist view is far more powerful than that of American pragmatists, and the response is adequate to the force of this impact. Even those endeavoured to apply Marxist approach to history who politically stood on the right, for instance, Hu Han-min [186] (1879—1936).¹⁴¹ Thus far, however, this impact, with some exceptions (like Meisner's study on Li Ta-chao), has remained outside the concentrated attention of scholars.¹⁴² It will certainly be necessary to

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁴¹ According to Tan, Ch. C.: *Chinese Political Thought in the 20th Century*, Newton Abbot, David and Charles 1972, Hu was one of the few among the Kuomintang leaders "who had made a serious study of Marxism" (p. 191). Together with Tai Chi-t'ao [187] (1891—1949), also one of the veteran Kuomintang members, he was one of the translators of K. Kautsky's *Karl Marx's oekonomische Lehren gemeinverständlich dargestellt und erläutert*, which appeared under the title *Tzu-pen-lun chieh-shuo* [188], Shanghai 1927. See Franke, W. — Dsang Schau-dien: *Titelverzeichnis chinesischer Übersetzungen deutscher Werke*. Peking 1942, p. 16.

¹⁴² Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism. Harvard University Press 1967, 325 pp. The discussions of the thirties in China were briefly studied by Schwartz, B.: *A Marxist Controversy on China*. Far Eastern Quarterly, 13, 1954, pp. 143—153. Also Schneider, L.: op. cit., pp. 253—254 and 304—305. About the discussions in the Soviet Union concerned with the "Asiatic mode of production" see Nikiforov, V. N.: *Sovetskie istoriki o problemakh Kitaya* (*Soviet Historians on the Problems of China*). Moscow 1970, pp. 219—240. This book contains much material concerned with authors who had been translated in China and influenced the Chinese discussions, e.g. L. I. Madyar, K. Radek and S. M. Dubrovsky.

take note of the points of divergence and contact between Marxist historiography represented by Kuo Mo-jo, Fan Wen-lan [189], Chien Po-tsang [190] and the old Chinese historiography, and that pursued by Ku Chieh-kang and adherents of the so-called National Studies Movement. The Marxist impact was not quite clear-cut at the time of the extensive diffusion of foreign elements towards the end of the twenties and the thirties. It manifested itself differently, for instance, with Kuo Mo-jo, who, in the reconstruction and periodization of Chinese history adhered to the subsequent orthodox interpretation of a historical evolution, and with Li Chi [191] who tried to compress history into Marx's conception, hence, instead of the period of slavery, he incorporated the "Asiatic mode of production" into the evolutional scheme. Here note should be taken not only of the impact of classics of Marxism-Leninism, but also that of Soviet experts of the thirties, who made an impression on Chinese historiography.

The history of modern Chinese historiography is associated also with the most significant turn in modern Chinese intellectual history. In 1938, Mao Tse-tung pronounced the notoriously well-known words:

"Foreign stereotypes (*yang pa-ku*) [192] must be abolished, there must be less singing of empty, abstract tunes, and dogmatism must be laid to rest; they must be replaced by fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love."¹⁴³

This declaration by Mao Tse-tung had been prompted by all that happened in the cultural sphere in China during the twenties and thirties, including Hu Shih's short-dated call for a wholesome Westernization or a whole-hearted modernization. Hu Shih was not alone in these efforts. Articles and essays by even more enthusiastic Westernizers were collected and published in three volumes between 1934 and 1936 under the title *Ch'üan p'an hsi-hua yen-lun-chi* [193] *Collections of Speeches and Essays on the Questions of Total Westernization*.¹⁴⁴

Of course, to strive after a total Westernization was absurd. This implied rather a substitution of a different reality for a definite systemo-structural one, and this was impossible in a country like China where tradition always held a powerful sway. The force of tradition acts — besides other means — by suggestiveness evoked in the thoughts and hearts of those affected by tradition and its phenomena. In China this was given by the consciousness of an unbroken millennial culture, that even at the time of the greatest "openness" of its SSE had enough strength to defend its "culturalism", to declare its *ching-shen wen-ming* [194] spiritual civilization, to be the best in the world, whether it was done by the mouth of the philosopher Liang

¹⁴³ *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 2. Peking 1965, pp. 209—210.

¹⁴⁴ Lingnan University Press, Canton.

Sou-ming,¹⁴⁵ or shown in the acts of the madman A Q from Lu Hsün's longest story. Even though many among the intellectuals laughed at this spiritual civilization, or at least entertained a greater confidence in Western civilization, their relationship towards the ancient Chinese things continued to be cordial — even though critical (Lu Hsün, Hu Shih).

“Total Westernization” was a much mistaken slogan, and reactions to it came immediately. Ten university professors — including T'ao Hsi-sheng [196] (born in 1899), an expert on Chinese history, an alleged ghostwriter of Chiang Kai-shek's *China's Destiny*, Sa Meng-wu [197], a sociologist, Ho Ping-sung [198], an introducer of Western non-Marxist historiography into China — attacked this concept in *Chung-kuo pen-wei-ti wen-hua chien-she hsüan-yen* [199] *A Manifesto of a China-Centered Cultural Reconstruction*.¹⁴⁶ This manifesto which reflected the cultural policy of Kuomintang, did not leave any salient trace in modern Chinese intellectual history. On the other hand, Mao Tse-tung's words, which found commentators and expounders both in the Liberated areas under CCP and also in areas controlled by KMT, became milestone in the history of impact-response and a new character of the intellectual history in subsequent years. Obstacles began to be placed in the path of the diffusion of new elements into Chinese culture. These obstacles were smaller or greater according to their character and the period of the diffusion. By the words, “lovely Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love” Mao Tse-tung gave the green light to the Chinese tradition in its most diverse forms, even though this tradition could not and should not have been applied everywhere and always. It was mainly because the main structural foundation (i.e. Marxism-Leninism) was itself not traditional, although the soil was slowly prepared for its receiving in the new social and political surroundings.

During the forties and later, Chinese historiography, at least partially, returned back to tradition. Gradually, American pragmatism fell into oblivion or was criticized and condemned, and Soviet theoreticians and researchers in the field of Chinese history, who in the thirties had participated at Chinese historiographic discussions, were also forgotten. Tradition was, of course, not a goal. The changes in historiography were, to the great part, the concomitant symptoms of personality cult.

E. Balazs recalls at one place that often “Chinese history was written by officials for officials”.¹⁴⁷ These were to have been some sort of textbooks of administrative

¹⁴⁵ Liang in his book *Tung-hsi wen-hua chi ch'i che-hsüeh* [195] *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, Shanghai 1922, came with the idea that “world civilization of future will be rejuvenated Chinese civilization”. Quoted according to Kwok, D. W. Y.: op. cit., p. 140.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Hu Shih's comment entitled *Shih p'ing so-wei “Chung-kuo pen-wei-ti wen-hua chien-she”* [200] *On the So-called “China Centered Cultural Reconstruction”*. In: *The Collected Essays of Hu Shih*. Vol. 4, pp. 535—540.

¹⁴⁷ Balazs, E.: *History as a Guide to Bureaucratic Practice*. In: *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy*. New Haven, Yale University Press 1964, p. 135.

practice. R. V. Vyatkin is of the opinion that this is very pointed, pertinent statement,¹⁴⁸ while we think that this is a little bit exaggerated assertion. In official histories could be found much more than that. In China history was *magistra vitae*, although frequently a very tendentious, hypocrite and downright deceiving one. It is no surprise that Confucian historiography very often involved the principle of *pao pien* [201] praise and blame,¹⁴⁹ and historical works ought have been, as demanded by the commentator K'ung Ying-ta [202] (574—648), a “clear mirror for statesmen and rulers”.¹⁵⁰ The mirror was to have here a moralist function, hence, it was full of black and white portraits, worthy of imitation or disdain. That was probably the most important for the Chinese readers of yesterday. For historians of today is much more painful that the principle of historicism was often disregarded in the old Chinese history and failed also to be historiographically justified. Something similar was being done in previous years, e.g. in the campaign against Professor Chien Po-ts'an.¹⁵¹ It is not possible to exaggerate the class attitude and deny the principle of historicism.¹⁵² Even more than in the area of literature and art, Mao Tse-tung's often oversimplifying and incidental statements on the history of China, have become the guide-lines also for Chinese historiographic theory and practice.¹⁵³ One could say that in the contemporary China history is written by Mao Tse-tung's followers for Mao Tse-tung's followers.

*

We could make good use of the systemo-structural approach also in the study of the impact-response problem in the field of psychology which, *mutatis mutandis*, does represent some sort of a “philosophy of mind”, and in the study of sociology

¹⁴⁸ Vyatkin, R. V.: *O traditsiyakh v kitaiskoi istoriografii* (*About the Traditions in Chinese Historiography*). In: *Rol traditsii v istorii i kulture Kitaya* (*The Role of Traditions in the Chinese History and Culture*). Moscow 1972, p. 187.

¹⁴⁹ Balazs, E.: op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted according to Vyatkin, R. V.: op. cit., p. 186.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Svistunova, N. P.: *Ob istoricheskikh vzglyadakh Tsien Bo-tsanya i ikh kritike v KNR* (*On Historical Views of Chien Po-ts'an and Their Critique in the People's Republic of China*). In: *Istoricheskaya nauka v KNR* (*Historical Scholarship in P. R. C.*). Moscow 1971, pp. 217—231.

¹⁵² For more details about the class attitude vs. historicism, see Borokh, L. N.: *Kitaiskie istoriki o printsipakh istoricheskogo issledovaniya* (*Chinese Historians on the Principles of Historical Research*). Ibid., pp. 180—192.

¹⁵³ Well-known is the following assertion: “It was through the Russians that the Chinese found Marxism. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only ignorant of Lenin and Stalin, they did not even know of Marx and Engels.” For a refutation of this statement see Li Yu-ning: op. cit., p. 1, and elsewhere.

which, with a little good will may be characterized as “social philosophy”. This is not imply that philosophy is still the queen of sciences, but there exist here a certain similarity between philosophy and the disciplines mentioned. Even though the latter make use of diverse methodologies, yet their individual elements (just as those of other disciplines from the sphere of intellectual history, e.g. literature or religion) incorporate in that network of relations, which we have called the “Gaussian plane”, where they produce similar reactions though different changes, and these are structurally (hence on the basis of their mutual relations) cognizable and justified.

We did not mention the law as yet. We could make good use of the systemo-structural approach in the study of this area of intellectual history, too. Michael Gasster provides us with a few examples of this kind, e.g. Wang Ching-wei's [203] (1883—1944) attempt to defend republican principles in China using the arguments of P. Laband and G. Jellinek, both German jurists, who were devout monarchists.¹⁵⁴

7

In China science, as interesting subject for intellectual historian, was understood not so much “scientifically” as rather “scientistically”. There was no “wholesale application of science” in China in the first half of our century and to some extent also later (for relatively noteworthy results have been achieved in only a few fields), nonetheless, the Chinese strove after an “intellectual appreciation” of science. D. W. Y. Kwok called the book on problems of science in modern Chinese intellectual history as *Scientism in Chinese Thought 1900—1950*. According to this book, scientism “assumes that all aspects of the universe are knowable through the method of science. Proponents of the scientific outlook in China were not always scientists or even philosophers of science. They were intellectuals interested in using science, and the values and the assumptions to which it had given rise, to discredit and eventually to replace the traditional body of values. Scientism can thus be considered as the tendency to use the respectability of science in areas having little bearing on science itself. In China, the desire for national growth was accentuated by the weakness in technology, and it is thus not surprising to find among her Western-educated intellectuals great enthusiasm for science”.¹⁵⁵

Approach to science in the great majority of Chinese intellectuals was a scientificistic one. This approach was possible not as a result of the Western impact only, but also

¹⁵⁴ Gasster, M.: op. cit., pp. 121—124. The problem of the impact of Western law on Japanese and Chinese is discussed in the book by Reute, H. H.: *Der Einfluss des abendländischen Rechtes auf die Rechtsgestaltung in Japan und China*. Bonn 1940, 122 pp.

¹⁵⁵ Kwok, D. W. Y.: op. cit., p. 3.

of domestic response: the diffusion of Euro-American stimuli reached the Chinese SSE and restructuralized it.

One of the most outstanding Chinese scientists was Hu Shih. His case illustrates very pointedly the impact-response issue in this area. Science to Hu Shih was "mainly method".¹⁵⁶ Also the headings of his scientifically-oriented articles betray how much he was taken up by the so-called "method of science": *Ch'ing-tai che-hsüeh-ti chih-hsüeh fang-fa* [204] *The Research Method of the Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty*,¹⁵⁷ *Chih-hsüeh-ti fang-fa yü ts'ai-liao* [205] *Method and Material of Study*,¹⁵⁸ or *Development of Scientific Method in Chinese Intellectual History*.¹⁵⁹ Hu Shih was of the opinion that the scientific method — in his words "boldness in setting up hypotheses and cautiousness in seeking the proofs" — existed in China and in the West in parallel.¹⁶⁰ In China, however, this method was applied solely to the sphere of literature, linguistics and archaeology. Even though this method was scientific, its results was not true science.

J. Needham came closer to the truth when he wrote:

"When we say that modern science developed in Western Europe at the time of Galileo in the late Renaissance, we mean surely that there and then alone there developed the fundamental basis of the structure of natural sciences as we have them today, namely the application of mathematical hypotheses to Nature, the full understanding and use of the experimental method, the distinction between primary and secondary qualities, the geometrization of space, and the acceptance of the mechanical model of reality."¹⁶¹

It is certainly noteworthy that Hu Shih gave most pertinent definition of the "scientific method" in his article *The Research Method of the Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty* having in mind the procedures of the old Chinese scholars. In this article he makes it clear that scientific method was autochthonous in China.

He characterized the scientific method a second time in his article *Chieh-shao wo tzu-chi-ti ssu-hsiang* [206] *Introducing My Own Thought*:

"The two persons who have influenced my thought most are Huxley and Mr. Dewey. Huxley taught me how to doubt; he taught me how not to put faith in anything that cannot be proved. Mr. Dewey taught me how to think; he taught me to think with strict regard to the antecedents and consequences of thought, to consider all schools of thought and concepts as mere hypotheses waiting for proof.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 95.

¹⁵⁷ *The Collected Essays of Hu Shih*. Vol. 1, pp. 383—412.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 109—122.

¹⁵⁹ Kwok, D. W. Y.: op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁶⁰ *The Collected Essays of Hu Shih*. Vol. 1, pp. 383—384 and 409.

¹⁶¹ Needham, J.: op. cit., pp. 14—15.

These two men enabled me to understand the nature and function of scientific method.”¹⁶²

From this it ensues that Hu Shih’s understanding of the scientific method was not affected by anything Chinese. This article, however, was written by Hu Shih at the time of his propagation of wholesome Westernization referred to above. It was in the year 1929.¹⁶³ In 1920, at the time of his zealous participation in the National Studies Movement — namely in *The Research Method of the Scholars of the Ch’ing Dynasty* — he expressed himself differently. The fact is, that there were certain interactions of cross-cultural character which resulted in the values created by Hu Shih and other scientists of the period. Without a favourable soil prepared by the indigenous SSE, intellectual preparation and emotional involvement would certainly have been lacking here.

Using the systemo-structural approach we could study many phenomena and personalities in modern Chinese scientism. Hu Shih’s “method of science” was only one example.

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The first part of our paper (1 — 3) formed some sort of an introduction into the problems of the impact-response studies as far as modern Chinese intellectual history was concerned. What we did was to point out how little has been done in this field. There are still many “blank spots” in the realms of modern Chinese intellectual history. The concrete and valuable results are as yet few.

The second part of the paper (4 — 7) dealt with the manner of applying the so-called systemo-structural analysis to the “Gaussian plane” and two triangles. The first of them — SSE triangle — was made up of the work (or some other unit) under investigation, then the society in and for which it was produced, and the author’s personality. The second triangle was set up by the entire intellectual history. Its vertices were given by literary (and artistic disciplines), philosophy (and kindred disciplines) and science (or rather “scientism”).

We have adopted this triangulation for pedagogical reasons. The systemo-structural reality in the sphere of intellectual history is probably far more complex. For instance, the diffusion of new (foreign) elements has to pass through the author’s personality, and has to contend on its way not only with political situation and tradition, but also with new conventions established in the investigated reality before the impact just under study. It is one thing to study the impact-response in Chinese literature, say in 1917, and another to do so in 1927. At the end of the twenties, there were

¹⁶² The translation is taken from Kwok: op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁶³ Cf. ibid., p. 189.

new conventions in Chinese literature, as a result of the preceding impact-response process. And the relationships inside our "Gaussian plane" probably are not triagonal only, but rather polygonal. For example, the concept of society is fairly amorphous one, even though its action on the author and the work may be fairly unescapable. The measure of the impact will be evident only when its efficacy will be shown on the consumers, the reading public, which may then form a new angle.

This paper, and especially its second part, is not meant to represent *t'ien ching ti i* [207] unalterable principles, to use the words of those who laid the foundations of modern Chinese intellectual history; it aspires only to be a working hypothesis which it is possible always to supplement and change.

1. 儀復 2. 林紳 3. 羣衆月刊 4. 蕭伯納在上
海 5. 胡適 6. 胡適文存 7. 漢宣紀 8. 關一多
9. 史靖 10. 關一多的追憶 11. 論關一多 12. 鈎
新城 13. 教育叢書 14. 清議報 15. 新民
叢報 16. 郁達夫 17. 蘆馬燈傳 18. 蘆馬燈思想
和他的創作 19. 達夫全集 20. 民約平議
21. 馬君武 22. 張慰慈 23. 張奚若 24. 社約
論考 25. 聶世英 26. 文化社 27. 蘆木燈教育
思想之研究 28. 張競生 29. 章獨 30. 伍蠡甫
31. 張東蓀 32. 創化論 33. 物質與記憶
34. 胡金玉 35. 尚梓年 36. 張開天 37. 楊正宇
38. 喬澄 39. 柏格森 40. 柏格森之易變
哲學 41. 民鑽 42. 馮友蘭 43. 張嘉森 44. 李
石岑 45. 康有爲 46. 諸天譜 47. 李大釗 48. 深
澈深 49. 能力 50. 石民 51. 那鵬舉 52. 全國
總寫目 53. 謝固 54. 創造社 55. 言論散文詩
56. 中國新文學大系 57. 學文 58. 小說月報
59. 波特來身研究 60. 周作人 61. 三個文學家的
紀念 62. 論龍集 63. 王獨清 64. 論詩 65. 王
獨清選集 66. 稲木天 67. 馮乃超 68. 金元
69. 小默 70. 鄭振金鑽 71. 傅東華 72. 我與文學
73. 錢歌川 74. 林庚 75. 徐志摩 76. 波特
萊的散文詩 77. 論復國 78. 徐志摩全集
79. 中文期刊論文分類索引 80. 聶敘白 81. 論
光慈 82. 鐘杏村 83. 藏原惟人 84. 張靜
庵 85. 列寧著作中譯文年表 86. 新建設
87. 張允侯 88. 歷史研究 89. 新世紀 90. 周

- 佛海 91. 韓侍桁 92. 鄭安仁 93. 沈澤民 94. 曾
 盧白 95. 徐蒲梢 96. 漢譯東西文學
 作品編目 97. 魯迅 98. 鄭沫若 99. 王國維
 100. 和廷芳郎 101. 茅盾 102. 島村抱月 103.
 片上伸 104. 青野秀吉 105. 魯迅文集 106.
 胡行之 107. 本間久松 108. 方光壽 109. 平林
 初文輔 110. 馮憲章 111. 王集叢 112. 深啟超
 113. 章炳麟 114. 被擅害民族 115. 關成現代
 作家包廸爾 116. 六個歐洲文學家 117. 雷冰
 118. 包廸爾的人生觀 119. 光明 120. 野薦散
 121. 寫在野薦散多前面 122. 黑暗 123. 紅樓
 夢評論 124. 成仿吾 125. 朱光潛 126. 蔡元培
 127. 何美 128. 姚美 129. 狂人日記 130. 張愛平
 131. 赫克爾 132. 陳立夫 133. 唯生論 134. 傅斯年
 135. 傅斯年選集 136. 東方雜誌 137. 魯壽鹿
 138. 不周山 139. 施蟻軒 140. 張愛玲 141. 我的
 創作生活之歷程 142. 樓適東 143. 司馬文森
 144. 創作的經驗 145. 批評與夢 146. 文藝
 論集 147. 趙夢芳 148. 恩格斯等論文學
 149. 陳北鷗 150. 作家論 151. 藝術的實驗
 152. 文學與藝術 153. 馬克思文藝論底
 篇後記 154. 蘿叔白文集 155. 現實 156. 馬克思
 主義文藝論文集 157. 沈鐘社 158. 鴻至 159.
 翻譯文學 160. 林琴南先生 161. 中國文學
 研究 162. 英雄樹 163. 沫若文集 164. 教育
 學雜志 165. 雷冰 166. 學生與社會 167. 學
 生雜志 168. 精神分析引論 169. 羣衆心理

- 及自我分析 170. 住鴉舊 171. 新青年 172. 小說
173. 阿Q正傳 174. 神的滅亡 175. 第四短篇小說
集 176. 後記 177. 子夜 178. 傻林外史 179. 飽舌
180. 文藝心理學 181. 生活的藝術化 182. 張華
來 183. 吳蘿甫 184. 世界文學名著講述 185. 章太
炎 186. 胡少農 187. 戴參陶 188. 資本論解說
189. 范文瀾 190. 蔣伯贊 191. 季羣 192. 洋八股
193. 全盤西化論集 194. 精神文明 195. 東西
文化及其哲學 196. 陶荔星 197. 薩孟武 198.
何炳松 199. 中國本位的文化建設宣言 200. 試評
所謂中國本位的文化建設 201. 檀殿 202. 孔穎
達 203. 汪精衛 204. 清代學者的政治方法
205. 政治的方法與材料 206. 介紹我自己的
思想 207. 天經地義 208. 老鴉

**DER ROMAN TZU-YEH
VON MAO TUN — EIN BEDEUTENDES REALISTISCHES
WERK DER NEUEN CHINESISCHEN LITERATUR**

FRITZ GRUNER, Berlin

Mao Tun (geb. 1896) gehört zu den hervorragenden realistischen Schriftstellern der neuen chinesischen Literatur. Zu seinen besten erzählerischen Werken gehört der Roman *Tzu-yeh*, ein grossartig angelegtes zeitgenössisches literarisches Gemälde Schanghais und seiner verschiedenen Gesellschaftskreise. Dieser Roman, der einen Meilenstein in der Entwicklung des Realismus in der chinesischen Literatur darstellt, ist ein Meisterwerk, das in seiner Art bis heute einzig in der neuen chinesischen Literatur dasteht.

Mao Tun [1] (1896 geboren) gehört zur ersten Generation von hervorragenden Vertretern der neuen chinesischen Literatur, die nach dem ersten Weltkrieg entstand. In den dreissiger Jahren zählte er zu den führenden Mitgliedern der Liga linksgerichteter Schriftsteller Chinas, Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng [2], die im März 1930 auf Initiative der Kommunistischen Partei Chinas und unter hervorragendem Anteil Lu Hsüns [3] gegründet worden war. Während für T. A. Hsia die erste Hälfte der dreissiger Jahre eine Zeit ist, in der die fortschrittliche chinesische Literatur von unkünstlerischen Typen beherrscht wurde,¹ sprechen die Anhänger Mao Tse-tungs [4] in den letzten Jahren von einer „schwarzen Linie“ bei der Charakterisierung der Kunst und Literatur der dreissiger Jahre in den Kuomintang-Gebieten Chinas.² Diese feindselige Einstellung der Maoisten zu den grossen Leistungen der revolutionären Literatur in den dreissiger Jahren ist in höchstem Masse verwerflich, nicht aber verwunderlich; denn im Gegensatz zur heutigen maoistischen Politik auf dem Gebiet der Kunst und Literatur hielt die Liga linksgerichteter Schriftsteller ihre Mitglieder und Anhänger zum Studium des Marxismus-Leninismus, zur Weltoffenheit und zur Achtung gegenüber den grossen fortschrittlichen Leistungen der eigenen nationalen wie auch der Weltkultur an. Ein Ausdruck und ein Zeugnis dieser Bemühungen fortschrittlicher Schriftsteller ist zweifellos der Roman *Tzu-yeh*

¹ Vgl. Hsia, T. A.: *Heroes and Hero-Worship in Chinese Communist Fiction*. In: *Chinese Communist Literature*. New York—London 1963, S. 113.

² Vgl. Leitartikel der Chieh-fang-chün bao [5] vom 18. April 1966. In: *Chinese Literature* (Peking) 1966, Nr. 7, S. 6.

[6], *Schanghai im Zwielicht*.³ Dieser Roman ist ein grossartig angelegtes literarisches Gemälde Schanghais und seiner verschiedenenartigen Gesellschaftskreise am Beginn der dreissiger Jahre. Wie Ch'ü Ch'iu-po [9] in einer zeitgenössischen Besprechung des Romans feststellte, ist *Schanghai im Zwielicht* der erste grosse und erfolgreiche realistische Roman der neuen chinesischen Literatur.⁴

Mao Tun begann 1927 Erzählungen und Romane zu schreiben, nachdem er schon Jahre zuvor den Grundstein für seinen Ruf als ein ausgezeichneter Literaturtheoretiker und -kritiker gelegt hatte.⁵ Mao Tun greift mit der Thematik seiner erzählerischen Werke und mit den darin gestalteten Menschen unmittelbar in die grossen gesellschaftlichen Auseinandersetzungen und revolutionären Kämpfe seiner Zeit ein. Vielfältige Probleme und Fragen, die die Menschen vor allem Ende der zwanziger und Anfang der dreissiger Jahre in China bewegten, werden in seinen Werken nicht als historische, sondern als höchst aktuelle Erscheinungen künstlerisch gestaltet. Darin besteht einer der wesentlichsten Züge seines Romans *Schanghai im Zwielicht* wie des künstlerisch-literarischen Schaffens von Mao Tun überhaupt.

Man kann bei der Charakterisierung und Einordnung dieses Romans nicht fortfahren, ohne einen Blick auf vorangegangene Erzählungen Mao Tuns, besonders aber auf die Trilogie *Shih [11] Verfall*, zu werfen.⁶ Die Trilogie ist das erste grössere Werk der erzählenden Prosa, das aus der „4. Mai-Bewegung“ von 1919 entstanden war und in dem ein ganzer historischer Abschnitt zusammenhängend dargestellt wird. Bis zum Erscheinen dieser Trilogie waren auf dem Gebiet der erzählenden Prosa vorwiegend *tuan-pien hsiao-shuo* [15], eine sehr allgemeine Bezeichnung für die kleine Form der Erzählung, der Skizze usw. entstanden, wie z. B. von Lu Hsün, Ping Hsin [16], Yeh Sheng-t'ao [17], Yü Ta-fu [18] u. a. Mao Tun geht mit seiner Schilderung in der Trilogie über den Einzelfall hinaus. Er strebt die epische Fülle an und führt damit den modernen Roman in die neue chinesische Literatur ein. Indem er ganze gesellschaftliche Schichten zusammenhängend in einem bestimmten historischen Abschnitt realistisch und in epischer Breite darstellt, erreichte er nicht nur eine neue Qualität der erzählenden Prosa in der neuen chinesischen Literatur, sondern er ging überhaupt auf dem Gebiet des chinesischen Romans einen Schritt,

³ Mao Tun schrieb am *Schanghai im Zwielicht* vom Oktober 1931 bis zum Januar 1932 und stellte den Roman nach einer Unterbrechung der Arbeit für acht Monate in der Zeit von Oktober bis zum Dezember 1932 fertig. 1933 erschien er im Kai-ming-Verlag [7] Schanghai [8]. Tzu-yeh bedeutet wörtlich: die Zeit von 11 bis 1 Uhr nachts, also Mitternacht. Mao Tun will aber damit andeuten, dass auf die finstere Nacht der helle Morgen folgen wird. Daher lautet der Titel der deutschen Neuübersetzung von 1966 *Schanghai im Zwielicht*. Eine erste Übersetzung ins Deutsche war 1937 von Franz Kuhn besorgt worden.

⁴ Ch'ü Ch'iu-po wen-chi [10] Gesammelte Werke. Peking 1953, Bd. 1, S. 438.

⁵ Vgl. Gálik, M.: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*. Wiesbaden 1969.

⁶ Die einzelnen Teile der Trilogie heißen *Huan-mieh* [12] Enttäuschung, *Tung-yao* [13] Schwan-ken, sowie *Chui-ch'iu* [14] Suchen, und erschienen 1927/28.

den die Vertreter des sozialkritischen Romans in China am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts noch nicht vollzogen hatten, weil sie sich nicht über die unumschränkt herrschenden künstlerischen Klischees und Regeln hinwegzusetzen vermochten. Sie vermitteln im wesentlichen ein riesiges Kaleidoskop ihrer Epoche, sie illustrieren diese, ohne aber die sie beherrschenden gesellschaftlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten aufzuspüren und aufzudecken.⁷ Mao Tun hingegen illustriert nicht schlechthin das gesellschaftliche Panorama, sondern er enthüllt mit seiner Darstellung das Wirken der gesellschaftlichen Kräfte, wobei er eine moderne Erzähltechnik und eine Vielfalt stilistischer Mittel benutzt.

Die Absicht, die Mao Tun mit dem Roman *Schangai im Zwielicht* verband, bestand zunächst darin, ein umfassendes Bild der chinesischen Gesellschaft zu zeichnen, wie es sich zu Beginn der dreissiger Jahre in der Grossstadt Schanghai und auf dem Lande darbot. In einem Nachwort zur ersten Ausgabe schreibt er dazu folgendes:

„Mein ursprünglicher Plan ging weit über das hinaus, was ich bis jetzt fertig geschrieben habe. Eigentlich wollte ich z. B. die wirtschaftliche Lage auf dem Lande, die äusseren Erscheinungsformen des Bewusstseins bei den Bewohnern der ländlichen Städte... und eine ‚Neue inoffizielle Geschichte der konfuzianischen Gelehrten‘ von 1930 in die jetzige Konstruktion des Buches mit einbeziehen.“⁸

Mao Tun griff jedoch die im vierten Kapitel des Romans geschilderten Ereignisse in den ländlichen Gebieten nicht wieder auf und beschränkte sich auf die Darstellung des Lebens in Schanghai. Nach seinen Äusserungen, die er 1939 vor Studenten machte, wollte er drei Aspekte besonders hervorheben:

- „1. Unter dem Druck der ökonomischen Aggression der Imperialisten, unter dem Einfluss der Weltwirtschaftskrise und unter den Bedingungen des ruinierten Dorfes gebrauchten die chinesischen Industriellen, um sich selbst zu erhalten, noch grausamere Methoden zur Verstärkung der Ausbeutung der Arbeiterklasse.
2. Dadurch wurde der ökonomische und politische Kampf der Arbeiterklasse entfacht.
3. Der damalige Bürgerkrieg zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden, der ökonomische Ruin des Dorfes und die Baueraufstände verschärften die Krise der chinesischen Industrie.“⁹

⁷ Das Unvermögen dieser Schriftsteller, durch den Mechanismus des gesellschaftlichen Zusammenspiels hindurchzusehen und das Typische zu erkennen, zeigt sich u. a. an der Tatsache, dass in Li Po-yüans [19] Roman *Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi* [20] *Die Beamten*, nicht weniger als 817 Personen agieren. Vgl. Bettin, W.: Die Darstellung der Gentry in Li Boyuans Roman „Die Beamten“. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Gesellschaftswiss.-sprachwiss. Reihe, XI, 1962.

⁸ *Mao Tun wen-chi* [21] *Gesammelte Werke Mao Tuns*. Peking 1958, Bd. III, S. 571.

⁹ Mao Tun: „*Tzu-yeh“ shih tsen-yang hsieh-ch'eng-ti*“ [22], Wie „*Schangai im Zwielicht*“ geschrieben wurde, zit. bei Shao Po-chou [23], *Mao Tun ti wen-hsüeh tao-lu* [24] *Der literarische Weg Mao Tuns*, Wuhan [25] 1959, S. 26; vgl. auch Wang Hsi-yen [26], *Lun „Tzu-yeh“* [27] Über „*Schangai im Zwielicht*“. Schanghai 1958, S. 4. Dgl. Mao Tun: *Midnight*. Peking 1957, S. 6 (About „Midnight“).

Mao Tuns Romane und Erzählungen hatten sich bis dahin fast ausschliesslich auf die Darstellung der kleinbürgerlichen Intellektuellen beschränkt. Nur im zweiten Teil seiner Trilogie *Verfall* geht sie wesentlich darüber hinaus, weil es Mao Tun dort darauf ankommt, den revolutionären Kampf auf seinem Höhepunkt nach allen Seiten hin zu zeigen. Alle übrige Darstellung ist durch eine gewisse Enge gekennzeichnet, weil sich die Umwelt nur in den Gesprächen und Reflexionen der Intellektuellen dartut und somit auf ihren Gesichtskreis beschränkt bleibt. In dem Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* entfällt diese Beschränkung. Hier treten nicht nur eine kleine Schicht von Intellektuellen, sondern alle Klassen und Schichten der Grossstadt auf, besonders die Bourgeoisie und die Arbeiterklasse. Während also Mao Tun vorher in seinen Werken nur einige der sozialen Kräfte und Mächte Chinas sichtbar macht, zeigt er in diesem Roman zusammen mit seinen Erzählungen aus dieser Zeit die nahezu vollständige Skala der Klassenkräfte in der chinesischen Gesellschaft.

Dieses Vorhaben wie auch sein Gelingen sind um so höher zu bewerten, weil sich das im Roman geschilderte Jahr 1930 in China durch eine ausserordentlich komplizierte Klassenlage auszeichnete. Chiang Kai-shek [28] hatte die Revolution verraten und in Nanking [29] ein reaktionäres Regime der Kuomintang errichtet. Bevor sich die sogenannte Zentralregierung in Nanking mit finanzieller Unterstützung der anglo-amerikanischen Imperialisten festigen und ihre Macht über den grössten Teil des Landes ausdehnen konnte, musste sie sich mit verschiedenen rivalisierenden Bürgerkriegsgeneralen militärisch auseinandersetzen. Die Ereignisse, die sich im Mai 1930 und in den folgenden Monaten abspielten und die der Handlung des Romans *Schanghai im Zwielicht* zugrundeliegen, haben einen solchen Bürgerkrieg zum Hintergrund.

Fast unmittelbar aus dem Gegenwartsgeschehen heraus hat Mao Tun einen gedrängten und entscheidenden Abschnitt dieser Vorgänge realistisch gestaltet. Am Schicksal des chinesischen Kapitalisten Wu Sun-fu [30] zeigt er, dass die Imperialisten nicht gewillt waren, in dem von ihnen abhängigen China die Entwicklung einer nationalen Industrie zuzulassen. Deshalb war der Versuch der nationalen Bourgeoisie, sich durch den Übergang in das Lager der Konterrevolution und durch eine verschärzte Ausbeutung der Arbeiter die Unabhängigkeit zu sichern und vor dem Ruin zu retten, von vornherein zum Scheitern verurteilt. Der Kompromiss mit den feudalen und imperialistischen Kräften führte nicht zur Entwicklung, sondern zum Niedergang der nationalen Industrie. Diese komplizierten, sich oft widersprechenden gesellschaftlichen Erscheinungen und Vorgänge fasst Mao Tun in einem realistisch begründeten System von künstlerischen Bildern zusammen, das in seinen Einzelheiten wie als Ganzes Einsichten in eine Zeit der Umwälzungen der chinesischen Gesellschaft erlaubt, wie sie in den einschlägigen Geschichtswerken nur selten in dieser Konkretheit geboten werden.

Obwohl die Handlung des Romans nur eine Zeit von etwa zwei Monaten — von

Mai bis Juli 1930 — umfasst, ist die Gesellschaft in einer Breite und Tiefe dargestellt, wie sie bis dahin in der neuen chinesischen Literatur noch nicht erreicht worden war. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass die literarische Gestalt eines Grosskapitalisten für die neue chinesische Literatur überhaupt ein Novum darstellte. Besonders in diesem Roman offenbart sich das Bestreben Mao Tuns, gesellschaftliche Situationen in ihrer ganzen Breite darzustellen. Er erreicht das, indem er solche Gestalten zeichnet, die bestimmte Typen und soziale Gruppen verkörpern oder die, wie die Hauptgestalt Wu Sun-fu, durch ihre vielfältigen und vielseitigen sozialen und ökonomischen Beziehungen an einem Brennpunkt der gesellschaftlichen Auseinandersetzungen die ganze Gesellschaft zu fassen vermögen. Deshalb konzentriert Mao Tun in seiner Darstellung die wichtigsten Widersprüche und Zusammenstösse auf die Gestalt des nationalen Kapitalisten Wu Sun-fu in Schanghai, dem Zentrum der chinesischen Industrie und der ausländischen Imperialisten in China. Er ist dabei bestrebt, die Realität in ihrer Vollständigkeit adäquat wiederzugeben und gleichzeitig das Gleichgewicht zwischen Allgemeinem und Individuellem, zwischen Wesentlichem und Einzelerscheinung zu wahren. Wu Sun-fu ist eine lebensechte Einzelpersönlichkeit; er trägt ausgeprägte Züge des Individuellen. Doch in diesem individuell Besonderen, im konkreten Einzelnen zeigt Mao Tun gleichzeitig das Allgemeine, das Wesentliche, das sich in dieser Einzelerscheinung einer solchen Gestalt offenbart.

Im Gegensatz zu seinen früheren Werken wie auch vieler der zeitgenössischen chinesischen Schriftsteller zielt Mao Tun mit seiner Darstellung weniger auf den inneren Zustand seiner Gestalten ab, sondern mehr auf die Verkettung der gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen. Nicht die Gedanken und Überlegungen, sondern die gesellschaftlichen Intrigen und geschäftlichen Manipulationen der einzelnen Romanfiguren stehen im Vordergrund. Die Fabrik Wu Sun-fus und die Börse sind die wichtigsten Schauplätze des Romans. Die Beziehungen zwischen Wu Sun-fu und den Arbeitern auf der einen und zu dem Gewährsmann des amerikanischen Finanzkapitals Chao Po-t'ao [31] auf der anderen Seite bilden das zentrale Thema. Erst diese allseitige Charakterisierung des Haupthelden Wu Sun-fu in seinem Zweifrontenkampf, ergänzt durch die Schilderung seiner Familienbeziehungen, vermag dem vorgeführten riesigen Panorama von Gestalten und sozialen Gruppen den inneren künstlerischen Halt zu geben. Mao Tun lässt in den Auseinandersetzungen Wu Sun-fus mit dem Kompradoren Chao Po-t'ao die nationale Seite und bei der Unterdrückung der Arbeiter die soziale (kapitalistische) Seite Wu Sun-fus in den Vordergrund treten. Erst wenn man die Gestalt Wu Sun-fus als Vertreter der nationalen Bourgeoisie in ihrem Mehrfrontenkampf als im Mittelpunkt des gesamten Gesellschaftsbildes stehend betrachtet, lassen sich die anderen dargestellten Klassen und Schichten in ihrer künstlerischen Funktion erkennen. Aus dieser Sicht müssen dann auch gewisse tatsächliche oder angenommene Mängel bei der Darstellung des Volkskampfes, der Streikbewegung oder der Arbeiter überhaupt anders eingeschätzt werden, als wenn man sie für sich betrachtet und bewertet.

Sorokin weist darauf hin, dass die gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen und die Herausbildung der Charaktere im Prozess der Erwerbstätigkeit gezeigt werden.¹⁰ Dieser damals für die gesamte neue chinesische Literatur neue Zug trug wesentlich zur Entwicklung der realistischen Erzählkunst bei. Die Handlungen der Gestalten werden nicht mehr überwiegend aus bestimmten weltanschaulichen und politischen Ansichten indirekt abgeleitet, sondern oftmals direkt aus den Gegebenheiten des Konkurrenz- und Klassenkampfes. Bei Mao Tun lässt sich allerdings nicht übersehen, dass die Entwicklung der Charaktere eine völlig untergeordnete Bedeutung besitzt. Mao Tuns Gestalten steigen „fertig“ in den Roman. Die Schilderung des Prozesses der Erwerbstätigkeit dient vor allem dazu, allseitig und fundiert bestimmte gesellschaftliche Vorgänge wie auch bestimmte soziale und charakterliche Wesenszüge der Gestalt zu enthüllen oder zu begründen. Auch Wu Sun-fu hat seine festen Überzeugungen und gewisse politische Ansichten oder Sympathien, doch sein Handeln wird von der tagtäglichen Auseinandersetzung mit den Arbeitern und an der Börse bestimmt. Der tiefe Realismus dieser Gestalt besteht gerade darin, dass die „innere Logik“ des Schicksals von Wu Sun-fu blossgelegt wird. Obgleich Wu Sun-fu keineswegs ein unfähiger Geschäftsmann ist, ergibt sich seine Niederlage mit unausweichlicher Folgerichtigkeit. Eiserner Wille, Entschlusskraft, Weitblick und nüchterner Verstand nützen ihm letzten Endes nichts. Im Grunde genommen entwickelt oder verändert sich Wu Sun-fu gar nicht, aber mit jeder Szene wird ein neuer Wesenzug dieser Gestalt deutlich. Alle seine Handlungen werden durch die Zwangslage, in der er sich befindet, bestimmt. Eigentlich befinden sich alle handelnden Gestalten in gewissen Zwangslagen; sie müssen so und so und können nicht anders handeln, scheitern aber schliesslich doch.

Einen nicht geringen Raum nimmt in dem Roman *Schangai im Zwielicht* die Darstellung der Streikbewegung wie der Arbeiter überhaupt ein. Das Wesentliche dieser Darstellung besteht darin, dass Mao Tun solche Arbeiter zu schildern versucht, die ihre Lohnknechtschaft nicht dulden hinnehmen, sondern die gegen ihre Ausbeuter und Unterdrücker kämpfen. Die Arbeiterinnen lassen sich weder einschüchtern noch kaufen, sondern sie organisieren den Streik. Ihre Kraft schöpfen die Arbeiterinnen aus dem Bewusstsein, in ihrem gerechten Kampf nicht allein zu stehen, wenn auch der Grad ihrer Bewusstheit und ihre Fähigkeit, die Manöver des Unternehmers zu durchschauen und politisch einzuschätzen zu können, insgesamt gesehen noch recht unentwickelt sind. Doch in gewissem Masse verkörpern sie gemeinsam den Typ des klassenbewussten, zum Kampf für ein besseres Leben entschlossenen chinesischen Arbeiters der dreissiger Jahre.

Aber es fällt auf, dass gerade die Arbeiter als literarische Gestalten ausserordentlich blass geblieben sind. Sie sind in ihrer funktionellen Anlage, d. h. in bezug auf Vielfalt

¹⁰ Sorokin, W. F.: *Tvorčeskij put' Mao Dunja* (Der Schaffensweg Mao Tuns). Moskau 1962, S. 115.

der klassenmässig und charakterlich bedingten Entscheidungsmöglichkeiten stark beengt. Der ganze Gefühlsreichtum und die Ausdrucksstärke, mit denen Mao Tun die Vertreter der Bourgeoisie ausgestattet hat, fehlen in weitgehendem Masse bei den Arbeitergestalten. Mao Tun hat sich später einmal selbst dazu geäussert und die Schwächen bei der Schilderung der Arbeiter mit seiner Unkenntnis vom wirklichen Leben begründet. Er hatte, als dieser Roman entstand, viel Gelegenheit, mit Kapitalisten, Intellektuellen u. ä. zusammenzukommen, doch bei der Darstellung der Arbeiter musste er sich auf Material „aus zweiter Hand“ beschränken. Er schreibt dazu 1952 in einem Nachwort:

„Die Arbeit an ‚Schanghai im Zwielicht‘ vermittelte mir eine tiefgehende Lehre: Wir können, gestützt auf unsere Beobachtungen, die Menschen der alten Gesellschaft schildern, weil wir in dieser aufgewachsen sind. Wenn wir aber die im Kampf stehenden Arbeitermassen schildern wollen, muss man zuerst unter ihnen gelebt haben, sonst kann man sie nicht als Menschen aus Fleisch und Blut schildern, ganz gleich wie gut und umfangreich das Material ‚aus zweiter Hand‘ auch sein mag.“¹¹

Mag diese These auch nicht in jeder Hinsicht stichhaltig sein, so kann doch der Tatbestand, den Mao Tun damit kennzeichnet, nicht unterschätzt werden. Sicherlich haben auch die damaligen Zensurbedingungen bei der Schilderung der Arbeiter und insbesondere der Revolutionäre auferlegt. Trotzdem lassen sich aus der Gestaltung der Revolutionäre, der Führer der Arbeiterbewegung, Rückschlüsse auf die Denk- und Schaffensweise Mao Tuns ziehen, zumal ja diese Revolutionäre ihrer Herkunft nach Intellektuelle sind, deren Mentalität und Lebensgewohnheiten Mao Tun recht gut vertraut waren. In dem Unvermögen Mao Tuns, die Arbeiter und ihre Führer überzeugend und wahrhaft menschlich darzustellen, offenbart sich eine gewisse Kluft zwischen der theoretischen Einsicht Mao Tuns, die er bei seinen Bemühungen um eine marxistische Analyse der gesellschaftlichen Lage gewonnen hat, und seiner literarischen Schaffenspraxis. Diese Kluft hatte er ebenso wie seinen Pessimismus, der besonders für die Trilogie *Verfall* charakteristisch ist, noch nicht völlig überwunden.

Mao Tun hat die Arbeiterklasse in diesem Roman in einer Weise dargestellt, die damals zweifellos neuartig für die chinesische Literatur war. Bis dahin waren in der neuen chinesischen Literatur die Arbeitergestalten, wenn überhaupt welche auftraten, gequälte und Mitleid erheischende „leidende Brüder“, die flehend und demütig auf hilfreiche Hände warteten. Damit hat Mao Tun Schluss gemacht. Er beschreibt — vor allem in den Streikkämpfen — das kämpfende Proletariat, das schon seine Kraft zu zeigen beginnt. In dieser Hinsicht ist es durchaus gerechtfertigt, nicht nur — wie bisher in den meisten Fällen — vorwiegend auf die Mängel,

¹¹ *Gesammelte Werke Mao Tuns*. Peking 1968, Bd. II, S. 499.

sondern auch auf die positiven Seiten in der Gestaltung der Proletarier hinzuweisen.¹²

Man sollte aber in Betracht ziehen, dass Mao Tun die Arbeiterklasse nicht in den Mittelpunkt der Darstellung rücken wollte. Der ganze Roman ist so angelegt, dass mit der Gestalt des Wu Sun-fu im Zentrum die nationale Bourgeoisie steht, und Mao Tun zeigt nur, wie sich als Folge der verschärften Ausbeutung der ökonomische und der politische Kampf der Arbeiter entfacht und gewisse Rückwirkungen zeitigt. Die Arbeiter stellen nur eine der Fronten dar, gegen die Wu Sun-fu ankämpft. Sie sind nur ein Vektor im gesellschaftlichen Kräfteparallelogramm und noch keineswegs der entscheidende.

Ebenfalls nicht so vielseitig und widersprüchlich wie Wu Sun-fu wird sein grosser Gegenspieler an der Börse Chao Po-t'ao dargestellt. Auch er bleibt letzten Endes nur eine Nebenfigur. Die wesentlichste Seite seines Kompradorenseins, die Servilität und Abhängigkeit seinen amerikanischen Herren gegenüber, wird überhaupt nicht geschildert, sondern nur angedeutet. Im Grunde verhält es sich mit der Darstellung Chao Po-t'aos ähnlich wie mit der des Proletariats: Mao Tun zeigt nur das, was zur Vervollständigung des Bildes von Wu Sun-fu notwendig ist. Das trifft auch — und zwar in noch grösserem Masse — auf die Darstellung der „dritten Front“ zu, an der Wu Sun-fu kämpfen muss, nämlich gegen die aufständischen Bauern zur Erhaltung seiner Kapitalanlagen in seiner Heimatstadt. Mao Tun schildert den Kampf der aufständischen Bauern in ähnlicher Weise wie die Streikkämpfe der Arbeiter. Der Unterschied besteht lediglich darin, dass die Bauern in der Hauptsache durch die gegnerischen Augen gesehen werden und insgesamt noch „gesichtsloser“, d. h. noch weniger individualisiert als die Arbeiter dargestellt werden.

Mit den Kompradoren sowie mit den Arbeitern und Bauern sind die Hauptkräfte gekennzeichnet, gegen die Wu Sun-fu bei seinen Unternehmungen vorgehen muss. Obwohl diese Kräfte in ihrer Wechselwirkung, Verflechtung und Kompliziertheit in künstlerisch-gestalterischer Hinsicht für den Haupthelden ein weites Betätigungs-feld bieten, hat Mao Tun darüber hinaus dieses Gesellschaftsbild mit einer Palette von Farbtupfen versehen, die einerseits bestimmte, anscheinend am Rande liegende gesellschaftliche Vorgänge (bei den kleinen Spekulanten an der Börse, im Kreise der Familie, unter den jungen Intellektuellen usw.) verdeutlichen, die andererseits aber auch zur Charakterisierung der gesellschaftlichen Situation beitragen.

Die vielen Nebenfiguren dieses Romans hat Mao Tun nicht alle gleichmässig durchgestaltet. Ihre Aussagekraft und ihre Fähigkeit, den Leser zu fesseln oder zu erschüttern, ist von unterschiedlicher Intensität. Das ist nicht allein darauf zurückzuführen, dass der Autor in Anbetracht ihrer grossen Anzahl sie nicht bis ins einzelne auszumalen vermochte, sondern das ist auch aus ihrer ganzen Anlage heraus bedingt. Sie sollen nur ganz bestimmte Seiten des gesellschaftlichen Lebens sichtbar machen.

¹² Vgl. Wang Hsi-yen: a. a. O., S. 25; Sorokin, W. F.: a. a. O., S. 120 ff.

Deshalb benutzt Mao Tun zur Charakterisierung der Nebenfiguren stärker als sonst leitmotivische Mittel (bestimmte Ausdrucksweisen, Gesten usw.), aber auch die Ironie und die Satire (besonders bei der Darstellung der kleinen Kapitalisten und der Intellektuellen) finden sich in diesem Zusammenhang häufiger.

Mao Tun schafft in seinem Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* somit ein kompliziertes System von Szenen und Bildern, die zum grossen Teil eng miteinander verknüpft sind, die manchmal aber auch losgelöst voneinander dazustehen scheinen. Wollte man dieses Episodenhafte als kompositorische Schwäche oder einzelne Episoden als dem Ganzen wenig dienliche Einschübe betrachten, so hiesse das die Eigenart der Schaffensweise Mao Tuns erkennen. Die Darstellung eines breiten und möglichst umfassenden Bildes von der gesellschaftlichen Situation, eines Querschnitts durch die zeitgenössische Gesellschaft, erfordert geradezu dieses mosaikhafte Gestaltungsprinzip. Die Fülle der Schauplätze und Figuren wird von innen her verlangt. Man kann die von Mao Tun auf diese Weise geschaffene epische Fülle als eine horizontale bezeichnen. Gezeigt werden die vielfältigen und komplizierten „Querverbindungen“, während die „Längsschnitte“ im Schicksal oder in der Verkettung der Gestalten, d. h. vor allem ihr lebensgeschichtlicher oder sozialer Werdegang wie das Einzelschicksal in Vergangenheit und Zukunft überhaupt für die künstlerische Gestaltung Mao Tuns keine Rolle spielt und unberücksichtigt bleibt. Folglich stehen auch nicht die Entwicklung der Romangestalten, sondern die Bewegung und Entfaltung der gesellschaftlichen Kräfte im Vordergrund.

Es ist verständlich, dass bei einer solchen Darstellungsweise die einzelnen Gestalten oft etwas blass bleiben müssen. Mao Tun will die sozialen Probleme Chinas zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt erfassen und festhalten, deshalb interessiert ihn das Einzelschicksal seiner Gestalten (einschliesslich einer solchen Zentralgestalt wie Wu Sun-fu) nur insoweit, wie es dazu dient, das fragliche Problem deutlich zu machen. Die einzelnen Gestalten tauchen auf und verschwinden wieder aus dem Blickfeld des Lesers, sobald ihre Funktion erfüllt und ihr Schicksal für die Charakterisierung der gesellschaftlichen Situation nicht mehr von Bedeutung ist. Die Schwächen dieser Porträtgestaltung zeigen sich sehr deutlich bei der Gestalt des T'u Wei-yüeh [32].¹³ Während in der Regel Mao Tun einen bestimmten sozialen Typ durch mehrere Gestalten charakterisiert, die sich gegenseitig ergänzen, steht T'u Wei-yüeh allein, und er weist nur diejenigen Charakterzüge auf, die für die Bekämpfung der Arbeiterinnen notwendig und typisch sind. Er wird nur als Teil und als Exponent bestimmter gesellschaftlicher Kräfte in einer gegebenen Situation geschildert, während sein

¹³ Die Art und Weise, wie Mao Tun diese Gestalt beschreibt, rief die Kritik einiger Literaturwissenschaftler hervor. Yeh Tzu-ming (a. a. O., S. 128) und Wang Hsi-yen (a. a. O., S. 27 f.) meinen, dass die Selbstsicherheit dieses T'u Wei-yüeh übertrieben dargestellt worden sei, während Sorokin (a. a. O., S. 123) zugesteht, dass eine solche Gestalt durchaus den Tatsachen des damaligen Lebens entspreche, nur sei die Beschreibung zu einförmig.

„eigentliches Leben“ nicht dargestellt wird. Deshalb fehlen dieser Gestalt des jungen, ehrgeizigen Angestellten, der als Helfer des Unternehmers bei der Niederhaltung der kampfbereiten Arbeiterinnen fungiert, die wirklichen Motive ihrer Handlungen.

Abgesehen von solchen Einzelbeispielen ist die Darstellungsweise Mao Tuns sehr lebendig und bildhaft. Das kommt sehr deutlich in den Massenszenen zum Ausdruck, an denen es in diesem Roman nicht mangelt. In diesen Massenszenen wird mit ausserordentlicher Schärfe die Polarisation der gesellschaftlichen Kräfte deutlich. Trotz dieser deutlichen Gegenüberstellung gegensätzlicher gesellschaftlicher Kräfte vermeidet es Mao Tun, diese Kräfte zu schematisieren oder zu simplifizieren. So steht z. B. den Arbeiterinnen die vereinte Macht der Unternehmer, ihrer Schlägertrupps und der Polizei gegenüber. Auch die Arbeiter sind eine vereinte Macht, aber innerhalb ihrer Reihen gibt es Streikbrecher und Kleinmütige. Die Bestrebungen der einzelnen Komponenten innerhalb dieser polarisierten Mächte können sehr rasch wieder auseinanderführen, doch im gegebenen Moment, mit der Zuspitzung des Kampfes vereinen sie sich und stoßen mit unausweichlicher Konsequenz auf die Gegenkraft. Es gibt kein Ausweichen. Dieser Zusammenstoss vollzieht sich mit elementarer Gewalt, und er fordert seine Opfer, ganz gleich auf welcher Seite sie stehen. Die einzelne Gestalt tritt dabei zurück. Sie ist den gesellschaftlichen Gewalten unterworfen und wird zermalmt, wenn sie sich ihnen entgegenstellt. Diese Eigenart der Schaffensweise Mao Tuns zeigt sich in diesen Massenszenen besonders einprägsam.

In dem Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* offenbart sich auch eine andere Eigenart der Erzählerweise Mao Tuns, nämlich seine Episodentechnik, die von der des alt-chinesischen Romans völlig abweicht. Diese Art der Episodentechnik, die Bildhaftigkeit der Gestaltung und das kompositorische Geschick Mao Tuns kommen anschaulich darin zum Ausdruck, wie er die in Wu Sun-fus Villa versammelte Gesellschaft schildert, die sich zur Einsargungszeremonie für den am Vortag verstorbenen alten Herrn Wu eingefunden hat. Mao Tun stellt diesen Empfang in einem grossen Bild dar, das sich über zwei umfangreiche Kapitel erstreckt. Das Erzählzentrum springt dabei wie das Objektiv einer Bildreporterkamera von Gruppe zur Gruppe der verschiedenen Besucher, für die der Kondolenzbesuch ein Anlass wie jeder andere ist, um sich zu vergnügen und über die Geschäftslage zu informieren. Diese Besucher- oder Figurengruppen verändern sich ständig in ihrer Zusammensetzung. Ihr Verhalten auf einem Kondolenzempfang und die Themen ihrer Gespräche eröffnen dem Leser — scheinbar ohne jegliches Zutun des Erzählers — einen umfassenden Einblick in die Ansichten und Absichten der Schanghaier Bourgeoisie im Monat Mai des Jahres 1930.

Ein solches weitgespanntes Bild wird von Mao Tun nicht in einer einzigen Gesamtanschau dargeboten, sondern es setzt sich aus vielen Einzelbildern und Einzelszenen zusammen, die von Fall zu Fall „unter die Lupe“ genommen werden, so als kämen

sie in den Schwenkbereich einer Kamera. Jedes dieser Einzelbilder erfüllt einen ganz bestimmten Zweck und hat einen besonderen Bedeutungsgehalt; es passt sich ein in das grosse Gemälde und vervollständigt es auf seine Weise. Dabei verläuft die Abfolge dieser Einzelbilder nicht wie auf der alten chinesischen Bilderrolle oder wie im traditionellen chinesischen Episodenroman hintereinander, sondern es ist ein Rundblick, eine Art Rundumschau, bei der das abschliessende Bild wieder auf das eröffnende trifft.

Man könnte zu der Schlussfolgerung gelangen, Mao Tun sei hierbei vor allem von der Panoramatechnik Dos Passos' (geb. 1896) beeinflusst worden. Doch eine genauere Analyse zeigt, dass Mao Tun vor allem bei Leo Tolstoi in die Schule gegangen ist. Auf ihn hat er sich schon im Zusammenhang mit der Trilogie *Verfall* ausdrücklich berufen.¹⁴ Darauf hin deutet auch ein kurzer Vergleich der ersten Kapitel des Romans *Schanghai im Zwielicht* mit den ersten Abschnitten des Romans *Krieg und Frieden* von Tolstoi. Dieser entwirft dort in epischer Breite ein Bild des damaligen russischen Adels, und auf ähnliche Weise kennzeichnet Mao Tun die Lage der Schanghaier Bourgeoisie. Tolstoi beschreibt bereits in der ersten Szene — den Abend im Salon der Hofdame Scherer — jene oberen Gesellschaftsschichten, „die sich als Richter und wahrhafte Vollstrecker des Schicksals des Landes fühlen“,¹⁵ die sich aber durch nichts anderes hervortun als durch ihre Verehrung für Napoleon, durch Intrigen und durch Karrierismus. Die chinesische Bourgeoisie, die Mao Tun darstellt, möchte nicht weniger gern Lenker der Geschicke des Landes sein. Sie richtet ihre Geschäfte darauf ein, zeichnet sich aber im übrigen durch eine ähnliche Dekadenz aus. Der Vergleich zeigt auch, dass Mao Tun ebenso wie Tolstoi in dieser Einführung vollkommen auf eine Beschreibung der „Dinglichkeit“, auf eine genaue Schilderung der Einrichtungsgegenstände, der Kleidung, wie des Milieus überhaupt, ganz im Gegenteil zu solchen Schriftstellern wie Balzac oder Zola, verzichtet. Mao Tuns Darstellung entspringt einer bewussten Einstellung, nach der die menschliche Verhaltensweise als ein Produkt der historischen Entwicklung und des gesellschaftlichen Milieus betrachtet wird. Er nimmt sich dabei die grossen realistischen Erzähler des 19. Jahrhunderts in Europa zum Vorbild, doch er weicht von ihnen ab durch sein Streben nach Aktualität und nach Objektivierung des vorgeführten Geschehens.

So zeigt der Vergleich auch, dass Mao Tun keineswegs danach strebt, Tolstoi zu kopieren. Während Tolstoi z. B. im Verlaufe der Schilderung des Abends bei der Hofdame Scherer dazu übergeht, bestimmte Gestalten wie Pierre Besuchow u. a.

¹⁴ Mao Tun: *Ts'ung Ku-ling tao Tung-ching* [33] Von Kuling nach Tokio. In.: *Tang-tai chung-kuo wen-i lun-chi* [34]. Schanghai 1933, S. 145.

„Ich liebe Zola und auch Tolstoi. Ich habe begeistert — wenn auch ohne Erfolg und zudem auf Missverständnisse und Widerstand stossend — für den Naturalismus Zolas Stimmung gemacht. Doch als ich selbst Romane zu schreiben versuchte, habe ich mich viel mehr an Tolstoi gehalten.“

¹⁵ Vgl. Chrapčenko, M. B.: *Lev Tolstoj kak chudožnik*. Moskau 1963, S. 101.

hervorzuheben, längere Beschreibungen ihrer Charaktereigenschaften einzuschieben und ihr Verhalten in einen historischen Bezug zu setzen, tritt Mao Tuns Streben nach Aktualität und Objektivierung des Dargestellten immer stärker hervor. Mao Tun schaltet sich als Erzähler weitgehend aus und lässt seine Gestalten fast ausschliesslich sich selbst und sich gegenseitig charakterisieren. Er bringt auch nicht eine Gestalt nach der anderen ins Spiel, sondern er versetzt den Leser direkt in das voll entfaltete Geschehen.

In dem Roman *Schangai im Zwielicht* offenbart sich auch deutlich das Bestreben Mao Tuns, nicht wie im bürgerlichen europäischen Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts das Einzelschicksal und die psychische Entwicklung von Einzelgestalten festzuhalten, sondern wie im alten chinesischen Roman eine möglichst breit angelegte Darstellung der Ereignisse und der Situation zu geben. Die einzelnen Kapitel sind in diesem Roman mehr als in früheren Werken als selbständige Episoden aufzufassen, und manche Kapitel könnten wie im altchinesischen Roman mit einer Überschrift versehen und vereinzelt werden. (So z. B. die Ereignisse in Zweibrücken im vierten Kapitel, die Darstellung der Jugend im sechsten Kapitel und in den ersten beiden Abschnitten des 9. Kapitels, die Episode mit dem Spekulanten Feng Yün-ch'ing [35] usw.) Doch es besteht ein grundsätzlicher Unterschied zum alten Roman. Dort sind die Episoden im wesentlichen eine Illustration der Wirklichkeit. Mao Tun hingegen verknüpft die Episoden zu einem System, das in seiner Gesamtheit einen tiefen Einblick in den Wirkungsmechanismus der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit ermöglicht. Mao Tun hat nicht wie die sozialkritischen Schriftsteller Chinas am Ende des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts die Wirklichkeit den alten Romanformen anzupassen versucht, sondern er hat umgekehrt die alte Form oder einige ihrer Elemente so weit modifiziert, dass sie auch zur Darstellung einer neuen Wirklichkeit geeignet sind. Während der alte Roman nur eine ungezwungene Anordnung der Gestalten erlaubt, setzt Mao Tun seine Gestalten in eine genau festgelegte, gesellschaftlich bedingte Beziehung zueinander und deckt die Ursachen und Triebkräfte ihrer Handlung auf. Das soll nicht heißen, dass der Roman *Schangai im Zwielicht* eine einfache Weiterentwicklung des alten chinesischen Volksromans ist. Er stellt eine völlige Neuschöpfung dar, und eine seiner Besonderheiten besteht gerade darin, dass er als moderner Roman gewisse Eigenheiten des alten chinesischen Romans in sich aufgenommen hat.

Weit stärker ist allerdings der Einfluss des europäischen Romanschaffens auf Mao Tun. Nicht ohne Grund wird bei dem Roman *Schangai im Zwielicht* auf den Einfluss Zolas verwiesen und dessen Roman *L'Argent* zum Vergleich herangezogen. Ch'ü Ch'iu-po spricht in seinem Aufsatz „Tzu-yeh' ho kuo-ho nien“ [36], „Schangai im Zwielicht“ und das Jahr der einheimischen Produkte“, von einem spürbaren Einfluss Zolas, schränkt aber ein, dass Mao Tun nicht die „verschrobene Sprache des Proudhonismus“ spreche.¹⁶ Yeh Tzu-ning hingegen hebt das unterschiedliche Milieu der beiden Romane, die kapitalistische Welt des Zweiten Kaiserreichs in

Frankreich und das Leben der städtischen Bourgeoisie im halbfeudalen und halbkolonialen China hervor und unterstreicht die Tatsache, dass Zola kein Marxist war.¹⁷ Gewisse, wenn auch nicht vollständige Analogien, stellt auch Sorokin fest.¹⁸

Der wesentliche Unterschied von Mao Tuns Roman zu dem von Zola besteht jedoch in der durch die weltanschaulich bedingten, von Mao Tun angewandten realistischen Schaffensmethode. Zola schildert in eindringlichen Bildern den gesellschaftlichen Verfall im kapitalistischen Klassenstaat, und neben den Romanen *Germinal* und *Nana* gehört *L'Argent* mit zu den bekanntesten seiner Werke. Zola sucht durch eine möglichst naturgetreute Darstellung der Wirklichkeit der Wahrheit gerecht zu werden. Doch durch den starken Einfluss der naturalistischen Theorie gelingt ihm nicht immer ein solcher Durchbruch zum Realismus wie z. B. in dem Roman *Germinal*,¹⁹ so dass trotz grossartiger Detailmalerei und festgefügter Komposition oft nur Oberflächenerscheinungen der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit, nicht aber die wahren Triebkräfte der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung gezeigt werden. Mao Tun dagegen führt die Triebkräfte, die im Leben seiner Gestalten und in den Ereignissen wirksam werden, nicht auf die menschlichen Leidenschaften oder ererbte Charaktereigenschaften, sondern vorwiegend auf die ökonomischen Grundlagen, auf den Klassenkampf, auf das Streben der Kapitalisten nach höchstem Profit zurück, wie das vornehmlich in der Gestalt des Wu Sun-fu zum Ausdruck kommt. Mao Tun stellt das Geld nicht als eine dämonische Macht, sondern als eine soziale Erscheinung, als Ausdruck realer gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse dar. Darin erweist er sich als Realist weit konsequenter als Zola; denn er lässt zwar auch wie dieser vor dem faszinierten Auge des Lesers in einem riesigen Panorama das Leben einer verfallenden Gesellschaft vorüberziehen, doch ohne den philosophischen Aspekten des Naturalismus irgendwelche Zugeständnisse zu machen.

Trotz diesem grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen Mao Tuns *Schanghai im Zwielicht* und Zolas *L'Argent* lassen sich auch einige Ähnlichkeiten nicht übersehen. So scheint die Baronin Sandorff in mancher Beziehung das Vorbild für die Figur der Witwe Liu Yü-ying [39] zu sein. Chao Po-t'ao bleibt — ebenso wie Gundermann — der im Hintergrund wirkende Geldkönig, der sich nie selbst an der Börse sehen lässt. Auch die grosse Schar der Glücksritter und kalt rechnenden Börsenmakler, in einer hektischen Atmosphäre vom Börsenfieber befallen, finden sich in beiden Romanen. Der hauptsächliche Einfluss Zolas zeigt sich jedoch darin, dass Mao Tun

¹⁶ Vgl. Ammerkung Nr. 4.

¹⁷ Vgl. Yeh Tzu-ming [45]: *Mao Tun tsai tso-lien shih-ch'i-ti-wen-hsiueh huo-tung* [37] *Die literarische Tätigkeit Mao Tuns in der Periode der linken Liga*, im Sammelband *Tso-lien shih-ch'i wu-ch'an-chieh-chi ko-ming wen-hsiueh* [38] *Die proletarisch-revolutionäre Literatur in der Periode der linken Liga*. Nanking 1960, S. 109 ff.

¹⁸ Vgl. Sorokin, W. F.: a. a. O., S. 109.

¹⁹ Vgl. Schober, R.: *Die Wirklichkeitssicht des „Germinal“*. In: *Skizzen zur Literaturtheorie*. Berlin 1966, S. 70 ff.

wie Zola grösste Bildhaftigkeit anstrebt und eine Vielfalt stilistischer Mittel zur Verfügung hat, die von den verschiedenen Formen der Beschreibung bis zu den kunstvoll verquickten und ausgefeilten Dialogen reichen.

Von den meisten chinesischen Literaturwissenschaftlern wird der Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* als Wegbereiter für den sozialistischen Realismus in der neuen chinesischen Literatur bezeichnet.²⁰ Sorokin ist der Meinung, dass eine solche Formulierung nicht ausreiche, dass man das viel bestimmter fassen könne:

„Der Roman Mao Tuns entspricht tatsächlich den hauptsächlichen Kriterien der Methode des sozialistischen Realismus. Er stellt nicht nur tiefgehend und richtig die zeitgenössische historische Wirklichkeit dar, sondern zeigt auch die Tendenzen ihrer revolutionären Entwicklung. Im gesamten emotionalen Aufbau des Werkes ist der Glaube an den Sieg der sich erhebenden Volksmassen zu spüren. Es ist auch bekannt, dass seit Beginn der dreissiger Jahre der Schriftsteller nicht nur die Position der marxistischen Ethik einnahm, sondern auch einer der Führer der revolutionären Front in der Literatur war. Deshalb kann man behaupten, dass Mao Tun mit seinem Roman ‚Schanghai im Zwielicht‘ als Künstler des sozialistischen Realismus auftritt.“²¹

Bei der Darstellung der Arbeiter geht Mao Tun tatsächlich davon aus, dass sie nicht bloss leidende Individuen, sondern vor allem ein kämpfendes Kollektiv sind. Diese Art der Darstellung trägt wesentlich bei zu den hohen realistischen Qualitäten dieses Romans. Man kann aber nicht übersehen, dass auch die Arbeitergestalten keinerlei Entwicklung aufzuweisen haben. Im Grunde lässt Mao Tun alle positiven Arbeitergestalten scheitern. Aber was vielleicht noch wichtiger ist: Die Perspektive des weiteren Kampfes der Arbeiter bleibt mit einem Anflug von Pessimismus offen, und unausgesprochen erhebt sich die Frage des Autors, welchen Zweck das wohl alles gehabt haben mag. Im Mittelpunkt der Darstellung steht die einheimische Bourgeoisie als Klasse, während die anderen Gesellschaftsschichten und Klassen in einem gewissen Sinne nur Randerscheinungen bleiben, die nur insoweit von Bedeutung sind, als sie zur Erhellung der gesellschaftlichen Situation beitragen. Das trifft auch in vieler Hinsicht auf die Darstellung des Proletariats zu. Es erscheint im Roman weniger als Träger der Zukunft, denn als eine von der Bourgeoisie ausgebute Kasse, die ihre ersten Schritte zu einem bewussten Kampf gegen ihre Ausbeuter unternimmt. Mehr wird nicht ausgesagt, mehr ist wahrscheinlich vom Autor auch gar nicht beabsichtigt gewesen.

Die gesamte Schaffensmethode Mao Tuns, in der sich ein ungewöhnlich starkes

²⁰ Vgl. Wang Hsi-yen: a. a. O., S. 40; Yeh Tzu-ming: *Lun Mao Tun szu-shih-nien-ti wen-hsüeh tao-lu* [40] *Vierzig Jahre literarischer Weg Mao Tuns*. Schanghai 1959, S. 131; Liu Shou-sung [41]: *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh shih ch'u kao* [42] *Erster Entwurf einer Geschichte der neuen chinesischen Literatur*. Peking 1957, Bd. I, S. 355; Ting I [43], *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih-lüeh* [44] *Kurze Geschichte der modernen chinesischen Literatur*. Peking 1955, S. 302.

²¹ Sorokin, W. F.: a. a. O., S. 125.

Streben nach Objektivität der Darstellung und der Drang zur Enthüllung unabhängig vom menschlichen Willen wirkender gesellschaftlicher Kräfte offenbart, bringt ungewollt eine gewisse „Entmenschlichung“ mit sich und verleiht diesen Kräften ein Übergewicht, das der Darstellung einer revolutionären Entwicklung entgegenwirkt. Gewiss stand Mao Tun in vorderster Front der linksgerichteten Schriftsteller und sicherlich war er bemüht, die Klassenlage in China der dreissiger Jahre von marxistischen Positionen aus einzuschätzen, doch in seiner künstlerischen Grundeinstellung schwingt immer ein pessimistischer Unterton mit, so dass Mao Tun mit seiner Schaffensmethode eher einer besonders progressiven Richtung des kritischen als dem sozialistischen Realismus zugerechnet werden sollte.

Das ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass der Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* einen besonderen Platz in der neuen chinesischen Literatur einnimmt. Der grosse Gesellschaftsroman, der in China immerhin auf eine Tradition seit dem 16. Jahrhundert zurückblicken kann, war bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts hinein ein künstlerisch-literarisches Gebilde, das in viele Einzelepisoden zerfiel und dessen Gesellschaftsbild meist aus transzendentalen Erscheinungen und religiösen Überzeugungen und Anschauungen, nicht aber aus den gesellschaftlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten abgeleitet wurde. In dieser Hinsicht erreicht Mao Tun eine neue Stufe in der Entwicklung des chinesischen Romans, aber auch im Vergleich zu seinen ersten Romanen wie z. B. der Trilogie *Verfall* zeigen sich neue Momente. In dem Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* wird bei der Darstellung der Gesellschaft erstmals analytisch vorgegangen. Nicht von dem Einzelfall, sondern von der Analyse ganzer Gesellschaftskomplexe, von einer Anatomie der Gesellschaft wird ausgegangen. Das Besondere und das Typische offenbart sich weniger im Einzelfall, sondern in einem ganzen Komplex von aussagekräftigen gesellschaftlichen Erscheinungen oder in einer ganzen Gruppe von Gestalten. Damit verbunden ist der Übergang von der Schilderung von Einzelgestalten zur Darstellung ganzer sozialer Gruppen. Bei dieser Darstellungsweise wird vor allem die klassenmässige Verflechtung der Gestalten und der innere Zusammenhang des komplizierten gesellschaftlichen Gefüges zutage gefördert und die gesellschaftliche Bedingtheit der Entscheidungen und Handlungen gezeigt.

So hat der Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* massgeblich zur Entwicklung des Realismus in der chinesischen Literatur beigetragen. Mao Tun knüpft an die grossen realistischen Traditionen der europäischen Literatur an, er verändert sie aber unter Berücksichtigung auch gewisser Traditionen der chinesischen Literatur und besonders der wesentlich anders gearteten gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen in China. Er schafft seinem künstlerischen Temperament entsprechende meisterhafte objektivierende Bilder der gesellschaftlichen Situation und des gesellschaftlichen Kräfteverhältnisses im zeitgenössischen China. Der Roman *Schanghai im Zwielicht* ist ein Meisterwerk, das bis heute in seiner Art einzig in der neuen chinesischen Literatur dasteht und das zu den vorzüglichen Traditionen der dreissiger Jahre gehört, denen mehr als bisher die Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet werden sollte.

1. 茅盾
2. 中国左翼作家联盟
3. 鲁迅
4. 毛泽东
5. 解放军报
6. 子夜
7. 闡明書店
8. 上海
9. 瞿秋白
10. 瞿秋白文集
11. 饕
12. 纲要
13. 动摇
14. 追求
15. 短篇小說
16. 洋公
17. 叶聖陶
18. 郁达夫
19. 李伯元
20. 官場現形記
21. 茅盾文集
22. 子夜是怎样寫成的
23. 邵伯同
24. 茅盾的文學道路
25. 武漢
26. 王西彥
27. 論子夜
28. 蔣介石
29. 南京
30. 吳慕南
31. 趙伯鈞
32. 屈維廉
33. 从船隻到東京
34. 當代中國文哲論集
35. 汤云卿
36. 子夜和國貨年
37. 茅盾在左聯時期的文學活動
38. 左聯時期元產階級革命文學
39. 劉玉英
40. 論茅盾四十年的文學道路
41. 劉經松
42. 中國新文學史初稿
43. 丁易
44. 中國現代文學史略
45. 叶子鎮

**DIE THEMATISCHEN UND KOMPOSITIONELLEN
MERKMALE DER LETZTEN ERZÄHLUNGEN
ORHAN KEMALS**

XÉNIA CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

Orhan Kemal (1914—1970) gehört zu den führenden Darstellern der türkischen Nachkriegsprosa. Das Genre der Erzählungen bildet einen bedeutenden Bestandteil seines Schaffens. Die Analyse der letzten Sammlung seiner Erzählungen lenkt ihre Aufmerksamkeit hauptsächlich auf die Art der Charakterisierung der Gestalten und auf die damit zusammenhängende Funktion des Erzählers in den einzelnen Erzählungen.

Seine erste Sammlung von Erzählungen gab Orhan Kemal unter dem Titel *Ekmek Kargası* (*Der Kampf ums Brot*, 1949) heraus. Dieser kennzeichnende Titel des Erstlingswerkes des 25jährigen Autors wurde sozusagen zur Idee und zur thematischen Richtlinie seines ganzen künftigen Schaffens. So erscheint als Gesetzmässigkeit auch die Tatsache, dass das Wort „Brot“ im Titel der letzten Erzählungssammlung des Autors *Önce Ekmek* (*Brot zuerst*, 1968) ebenfalls erscheint. Das Brot, die einfachen Leute in ihrer Jagd nach dem Brot, der Lebenskampf des kleinen Mannes, dieses Thema dominiert im Schaffen Orhan Kemals.¹

Das Buch *Brot zuerst* erschien zwei Jahre vor dem Tode seines Verfassers. Der Schriftsteller schloss damit sein erzählerisches Schaffen ab, das zu Beginn der 40-er Jahre erfolgreich begonnen hat und gegen die Mitte der 50-er Jahre gipfelte.

Die Tatsache, dass Orhan Kemal sich in der türkischen Literatur gerade durch Erzählungen einen Namen geschaffen hat, ist auf die grosse Beliebtheit dieses Genres in der Türkei der 40-er Jahre zurückzuführen. Das Schaffen Sait Faik Abasiyaniks (1906—1954), der als ein Meister der türkischen modernen Erzählung gilt, wurde mit einem ausserordentlichen Interesse der türkischen kulturellen Öffentlichkeit empfangen und übte einen grossen Einfluss auf die weitere Entwicklung des erzählerischen Schaffens aus. Zur Beliebtheit dieser Gattung bei den jungen Schriftstellern trug ohne Zweifel auch die Behendigkeit bei, mit der die Tagespresse sowie die Zeitschriften kurze prosaische Gebilde beginnender Autoren veröffentlichten.

Dank der Presse ist Orhan Kemal in das Bewusstsein der Leser bedeutend früher

¹ Tahir Alangu: *Cumhuriyetten sonra Hikâye ve Roman* (*Die Erzählung und der Roman nach der Gründung der Republik*). 2. Teil. Istanbul 1965, S. 379.

eingetreten, als seine Werke in Buchform zu erscheinen begannen. Ein Beweis dafür ist auch der erste Platz, den er in der Leserumfrage des Verlages Varlık im Jahre 1948 einnahm. Nach einigen Erzählungen die in der Zeitung İkdam und in den Zeitschriften Yürüyüş und Yurd ve Dünya veröffentlicht wurden, publiziert Orhan Kemal seit 1945 im Presseorgan des Verlags Varlık, im gleichnamigen Literaturblatt, das monatlich erschien.

Viele der elf Erzählungssammlungen Orhan Kemals erreichten eine mehrfache Herausgabe. Für die Erzählungen der Sammlung *Kardeş Payı* (*Brüderlicher Teil*, 1957) erhielt der Schriftsteller im Jahre 1958 den Sait-Faik-Preis — Sait Faik Hikâye Armağanı — und für die letzte Sammlung *Brot zuerst* im Jahre 1969 den Sait-Faik-Preis und den Preis der Türkischen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft — Türk Dil Kurumu Hikâye Ödüllü.²

Die Form von Orhan Kemals Erzählungen trug zu deren Erfolg wesentlich bei. Kurze, geschlossene Gebilde, lakonisch und sparsam in ihrer Aussage wobei der Autor im Hintergrund bleibt und nur seine Gestalten reden lässt, dies wurde charakteristisch für das Schaffen junger Autoren, die während des 2. Weltkrieges und in der Nachkriegszeit zu publizieren anfingen. Vor allem jedoch waren es die Themen, welche der Autor für seine Erzählungen wählte, die dem Leser so nah waren.

In der ersten Hälfte der 40-er Jahre als nach einem vorübergehenden Stillstand der Strom des kritischen Realismus in der türkischen Literatur wieder an Kraft gewinnt, wendet sich die junge, engagierte Schriftstellergeneration kritisch gegen die verschiedenen negativen Erscheinungen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens. Während die Mehrzahl der Schriftsteller ihre Aufmerksamkeit der Provinz widmet und in ihren Werken das unvorstellbar schwere Leben des türkischen Bauern darstellt, findet Orhan Kemal das Objekt seines Interesses in den Armenvierteln von Istanbul und Adana, in den Fabriken und Gefängnissen, in einem Milieu, wo er seine ersten Lebenserfahrungen sammelte und welches ihm intim vertraut war. Im Sinne des Hegelschen Prinzipes der Übereinstimmung der künstlerischen Darstellung mit der Wirklichkeit erfasst der Autor die wesentlichen Erscheinungen der objektiven Realität, die ihn umgibt. Die Einschätzung dieser, meist negativer Erscheinungen, so wie sie in des Autors Stellungnahme auftritt, ist geradlinig und kompromisslos. Das Urteil ist kurz, unvoreingenommen, aber umso erbarmungsloser.

„Die hauptsächliche Aufmerksamkeit lenkt der Schriftsteller auf das objektive, nach Aussen hin unvoreingenommene Erzählen, in dem des Schriftstellers Mitleid mit dem Schicksal der ‚kleinen Leute‘ zu ergreifen ist. Orhan Kemal weicht den Grauen des Lebens armer Leute nicht aus. In seinen Erzählungen werden oft erschütternde, wirklich tragische Geschehnisse geschildert. Die eigentliche Grundlage der Lebenserscheinungen enthüllt sich bei ihm nicht so sehr im Dramatischen dieser

² Die höchsten türkischen Preise für Literatur. Sie werden den Autoren der besten Erzählungen des Jahres erteilt.

oder jener Begebenheit, als vielmehr in den Umständen, als deren unvermeidliche Folge sie erscheint. Im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit des Autors steht nicht die Begebenheit selbst, sondern die Umstände, von denen sie hervorgerufen wurde.“³ Mit diesen Worten beurteilt A. Babajev das Frühwerk Orhan Kemals und hebt weiter hervor, dass gerade die Fähigkeit die Wirklichkeit in ihrem alltäglichen grausamen Fluss darzustellen, im Tragismus ihres grauen Alltags, dies unterscheidet Orhan Kemal von seinen Vorgängern.

Das Thema, das von dem beginnenden Autor mit einem solch empfindlichen Zutritt erfasst wurde, behielt seine vorherrschende Position auch im Schaffen des reifen, um viele Lebens- und literarischen Erfahrungen reicherem Schriftstellers. Die Erzählungen der letzten Sammlung Orhan Kemals *Brot zuerst* sind „den kleinen Leuten der grossen Stadt“,⁴ ihrem alltäglichen Leben gewidmet. Diese Leute — Kinder, kleine Beamte, Tagediebe, Bürger — sind die Träger des Hauptgewichtes der Erzählungen. Die Begebenheit, die Handlung sind hier zweitrangig, in den Vorderplan tritt die Gestalt. Die Handlung, falls überhaupt eine verläuft, dient lediglich zur Ergänzung ihrer Charaktere.

Den Plan der Gestalten verfolgend ist es sehr wichtig sich der Rolle des Erzählers in den einzelnen Erzählungen gewahr zu werden. Die Haltung, die der Erzähler im Werk einnimmt, bestimmt die Charakterisierungsart der Gestalten. In der Sammlung *Brot zuerst* wählt der Autor mehrere Arten von Autorenperspektive. Er identifiziert sich mit einer der handelnden Gestalten, als Erzähler in Ich-Form steht er im Mittelpunkt des Geschehens, was ihm die Möglichkeit gibt eigenen Gedanken und Gefühlen Ausdruck zu verleihen, während sich der Leser bei den übrigen Gestalten mit einer äusseren Charakterisierung und damit zufrieden geben muss, was die Gestalten in Dialogen oder Monologen selbst aus ihrem Inneren zum Ausdruck bringen. Ein anderes Mal stellt er sich über das Vorkommnis und dringt als allwissender Erzähler in die heimlichsten Winkel des Bewusstseins seiner Gestalten ein, wobei er es dem Leser ermöglicht all deren inneres sowie äusseres Geschehen zu verfolgen. Jener Typ der Erzählungen, in welchen der Autor die Gestalten von Aussen her betrachtet als unvoreingenommener Zeuge, der nur ihre äusseren Merkmale und Dialoge festhält und so deren Charakter enthüllt, dieser Typ — so häufig im Schaffen des Autors vertreten — fehlt in dieser Sammlung von Erzählungen. Andererseits wählt der Autor öfter eine solche Einstellung des Erzählers, durch die er sich mit der Hauptgestalt vereint. Die Wirklichkeit, das Geschehen um ihn nimmt er sozusagen mit deren Augen auf.

Als aktiver Bestandteil, als Bewegkraft der Handlung äussert sich der Erzähler in der ersten Person in der Erzählung *Sağ İç (Der rechte Läufer)*. In der Exposition

³ Babajev, A. A.: *Očerk sovremennoj tureckoj literatury* (*Die Übersicht der zeitgenössischen türkischen Literatur*). Moskau, Izd. vost. lit. 1959, S. 174.

⁴ Tahir Alangu: op. cit., S. 380.

der Erzählung stellt das Motiv des plötzlichen Entschlusses einen Jugendfreund aufzusuchen ein dynamisches Motiv dar — es ruft eine Kette von Erinnerungen hervor, in denen der Erzähler retrospektiv in seine Kinderjahre zurückkehrt und so seine Verschiebung der Zeitebenen von der unmittelbaren Vergangenheit, d. h. von einer Zeit in der der Erzähler auf den Gedanken verfiel, in der er ihn verwirklichte und ihn auch übermittelte, man kann also sagen vom Zeitpunkt des Erzählers, in die ferne Vergangenheit. Durch die Verwirklichung des Entschlusses des Erzählers, gewinnt das Dynamische des Motivs der Entschlussfassung an Intensität.

Der Schwerpunkt der Erzählung liegt in der Feststellung, zu der der Erzähler nach der Verwirklichung des Entschlusses gelangt. Der Generationszwist zwischen Eltern und Kindern, der seinem Freund Süreyya in der Kindheit so viel Leiden verursacht hat, dauert bei dem erwachsenen Süreyya und dessen Sohn mit unverminderter Heftigkeit an.

Der Unterschied in der Beziehung Süreyyas zum Erzähler im ersten und zweiten Teil der Erzählung äussert sich in der Art wie Süreyya charakterisiert wird. Mit dem Knaben Süreyya verbindet den Erzähler eine intime Freundschaft, Süreyya vertraut ihm seine heimlichsten Gedanken an. Der Erzähler weiss von ihm praktisch alles, er hat kein Bedürfnis die Charakteristik Süreyyas durch die Beschreibung seines Äusseren zu ergänzen. Im zweiten Teil der Erzählung vertritt das Hervorheben von äusseren Merkmalen den Unwillen der Gestalt sich im Gespräch zu äussern.

Trotz der Verlegung der Handlung nach Istanbul statt Adana, wo der Autor einen Teil seiner Kindheit verbracht hat, geben einige Motive die mit denen der Novelle *Babaevi* (*Das väterliche Haus*)⁵ identisch oder ähnlich sind, der Erzählung *Der rechte Läufer* einen autobiographischen Charakter. Es sind dies die Motive der Fussball-Wettkämpfe, der Träumereien von einer Fussballspielerlaufbahn. In beiden Fällen ist des Erzählers Vater ein Rechtsanwalt. Einer der Freunde des Erzählers in *Das väterliche Haus* heisst auch Süreyya. Eine Ähnlichkeit ist auch im Motiv der Rückkehr des Erzählers, nur ist die Zeitspanne zwischen dem Weggehen und der Rückkehr des Erzählers in der Novelle *Das väterliche Haus* wesentlich kürzer. In *Das väterliche Haus* findet der Erzähler nach der Rückkehr seine Freunde nicht auf, im *Rechten Läufer* findet das Wiedersehen mit Süreyya statt.

In der Erzählung *Elli Kuruş* (*Fünfzig Kurusch*) ist der Erzähler in erster Person lediglich ein Übermittler des Erzählers der Hauptgestalt, das er von Zeit zu Zeit mit Fragen unterbricht. Die Aktivierung des Erzählers beginnt in dem Moment, da er dem Helden der Handlung eine Anleihe anbietet. Die Anleihe, zuerst als

⁵ Kemal Orhan: *Babaevi* (*Das väterliche Haus*). Istanbul, Varlık Yayınları 1949, S. 124. Die erste Novelle des autobiographischen Zyklus *Küçük Adamin Notları* (*Notizen des kleinen Mannes*). Bei der Bezeichnung des Genres dieses, sowie auch einiger weiterer Werke Orhan Kemals ist die türkische Literaturwissenschaft nicht konsequent. Sie bedient sich der Bezeichnung „roman“ sowie „büyük hikâye“ (grosse Erzählung). Von unserem Standpunkt gesehen ist die zweite Bezeichnung angemessener.

Geschenk aufgefasst und als solches schroff abgelehnt, ermöglicht dem Autor auch andere Charakterzüge der Gestalt hervorzuheben als die, welche bereits aus dem Gespräch des Helden mit dem Erzähler hervorgehen und sie motiviert gleichzeitig auch die Gipfelung der Handlung. Trotz der Bemühung des Autors um eine knappe Ausdrucksweise hat die Erzählung einen etwas melodramatischen Ausklang. Der Held, ein kleiner Kolporteur begleicht seine Schulden mit Zeitungen, die er allmorgentlich dem Erzähler bringt. Es bleiben nur noch fünfzig Kurusch übrig, die er zurückzuzahlen hat, aber eines Morgens erscheint er nicht mehr. Nach einer gewissen Zeit, als ihn der Erzähler schon beinahe vergessen hatte, kommt sein Bruder um die Schulden zu begleichen:

„Mein Bruder bittet Sie um Verzeihung, Onkel!“

„Was denn?“

„Er ist Ihnen doch noch fünfzig Kurusch schuldig geblieben...“

„Und wo ist er denn?“

Er weinte nicht, noch schluchzte er.

„Er ist gestorben“, sagte er mit einer Stimme wie Stein. „Gestern haben wir ihn in Edirnekapi beerdigt...“

Er streckte seine Hand mit fünfzig Kurusch aus. Dann ging er: „Zeitungen, Sensationen!“⁶

Das Streben Bildung zu erreichen und seinen Mitbürgern zu helfen, das zu den charakteristischen Zügen des Helden der Erzählung *Fünfzig Kurusch* gehört, ist der Beweggrund der Erzählungen *Önce Ekmek (Brot zuerst)* und *İncir Çekirdeği (Das Feigenkörnchen)*. Während dem Kolporteur aus der Erzählung *Fünfzig Kurusch* der Tod die Erreichung seines Ziels verhindert, muss Ayten, die Heldin der Erzählung *Brot zuerst* ihre Pläne dem egoistischen Vater zuliebe aufgeben. Dem Sohn des Eisverkäufers aus *Das Feigenkörnchen* indessen gelingt es offensichtlich den Traum seiner Eltern zu erfüllen und er wird Arzt, wenn auch nicht jener wundertätige, alles heilende, als welchen sie ihn in ihren Vorstellungen gesehen hatten:

„Auch ihr Mann, auch sie priesen des Sohnes Doktoratum, so als sollte des Eisverkäufers Sohn, wenn er Arzt sein wird, ein Prophet werden, der den Blinden, Lahmen, Gelähmten, Schmerzleidenden dieses Viertels Gesundheit ausstreuen könnte. Des Eisverkäufers Sohn wird bald Arzt werden. Dies ist sein letztes Jahr. Er wird hierher kommen, eine Praxis eröffnen. Zuerst wird er Vaters Schmerzen lindern, dann auch Mutters Augen helfen, und später, dann mögen auch die blinden, kranken, schmerzleidenden Nachbarn kommen.“⁷

Ein weiterer charakteristischer Zug des Helden von *Fünfzig Kurusch* ist ein hoher Grad moralischen Stolzes, der ihn mit der Titelgestalt der Erzählung *Tarzan*

⁶ Orhan Kemal: *Önce Ekmek (Brot zuerst)*. Istanbul, Yeditepe Yayınları 1968, S. 83.

⁷ Ibid., S. 75.

verwandt macht. Beide lehnen die Hilfe, die für sie von existenzionell ungemeiner Notwendigkeit ist, ab, da der zu leistende Gegenwert ihren moralischen Grundsätzen widerspricht.

Klagt Enver Naci Gökşen im Jahre 1957 über einen Mangel an Werken mit Kinderthematik in der türkischen Literatur,⁸ so füllt Orhan Kemal diese Lücke wenigstens teilweise aus. Orhan Kemal war kein Verfasser von Literatur für Kinder, aber „wie in den wirkungsvollsten Passagen seiner Romane, so auch in seinen Erzählungen bot er die brennendsten Beispiele der Probleme von Kindern und Kinderhelden dar, er lernte es, diese mit ängstlicher Aufmerksamkeit wachsam zu verfolgen“, schreibt der bekannte türkische Literaturkritiker Rauf Mutluay.⁹ In dem Artikel, der den Kinderhelden in Orhan Kemals Erzählungen gewidmet ist, stellt er fest, dass der Verfasser ein Drittel seiner Sujets dem Leben der Kinder entlehnt.¹⁰

Die Gestalten der Kinder sind bei Orhan Kemal den erwachsenen Helden gleichgestellt, sie leben ihr eigenes Leben. Meist sind es Kinder der armen Vorstädte, die seit ihrer frühesten Kindheit gezwungen sind sich um ihr Dasein zu kümmern. Wenigstens in ihren Vorstellungen entfliehen sie der rauen Wirklichkeit in die Welt der Phantasie, sie identifizieren sich mit ihren beliebten Helden der Filmleinwand *Bir Çocuk* (*Ein Kind*) oder der *Comics* (*Tarzan*).

Von den Erzählungen der Sammlung *Brot zuerst*, in denen der Erzähler als Allwissender auftritt, verdient die Erzählung *Mavi Taşlı Küpe* (*Der Ohrring mit dem blauen Stein*) besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Die Gestalt der gleich im ersten Satz eingeführten Frau wird vom Erzähler anfangs unparteiisch beobachtet, ihre Bewegungen und Gesten festgehalten, wobei er deren männliche Rauheit hervorhebt. Anschliessend identifiziert er sich mit der Helden und die zweite Gestalt, Bilâl, nehmen wir sozusagen mit ihren Augen auf. Der Satz „Oft war er so in seine Gedanken vertieft, in diese schwarzen, unendlichen, tiefen“¹¹ ertönt wie ein innerer Seufzer der Frau.

Der Erzähler löst sich von den Gedanken der Gestalt, um wieder als unparteiischer Beobachter das Kaffeehaus betreten und an einer Szene teilnehmen zu können, die hier noch vor der Ankunft der Helden stattgefunden hatte. In dem Augenblick als die Frau—Fuhrmännin in das Kaffeehaus kommt, sehen wir ihr Äusseres so, wie es die Kaffeehausbesucher sehen, der Erzähler gibt deren Gedanken wieder:

„Für die Besucher des Handwerkerkaffeehauses war eine Frau Frau, ein Mann Mann. Eine Frau hat nicht Fuhrmann werden sollen. Eine Frau sollte nicht

⁸ Gökşen, E. N.: *Türk Romanında Çocuk* (*Das Kind im türkischen Roman*). Türk Dili (Die türkische Sprache), 1957, Nr. 69, S. 486–488.

⁹ Mutluay, R.: *Orhan Kemal'in Hikâyelerinde Çocuk* (*Das Kind in den Erzählungen von Orhan Kemal*). Yeni Edebiyat (Neue Literatur), 1970, Nr. 9, S. 11–14.

¹⁰ In neunundvierzig Erzählungen von einhundert neunundsechzig, die R. Mutluay betrachtet, sind die Hauptdarsteller Kinder.

¹¹ *Önce Ekmek*, S. 41.

arbeiten. Wozu steckt sie die Nase in Dinge, von denen sie nichts versteht? Wer hat das je gesehen, dass Frauen die Plätze von Männern einnahmen, die Familienväter ohne Arbeit liessen?“¹²

Das Gespräch der Fuhrmännin, deren männliche Züge dauernd unterstrichen werden, mit dem Kaffeehausinhaber, wird plötzlich von einer Erinnerung an ihren Mann unterbrochen, einer Erinnerung, die durch einen zufällig ausgesprochenen Satz hervorgerufen wurde. Retrospektiv verschiebt diese Erinnerung die Handlung, der Erzähler macht den Leser mit dem Schicksal der Helden von ihren Mädchenjahren bis zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt bekannt. Das Leben bei ihren Eltern, die Heirat, die unglückliche Ehe, die Liebe zum Lehrling ihres Mannes, der tragische Höhepunkt ihrer Ehe, die Jahre im Kerker verbracht und die Rückkehr ins Leben, ein Schicksal voll Dramatismus, das für einen grossen Roman hätte Stoff genug liefern können, fasst der Autor in ein sparsam dargebotenes Kurzgebilde zusammen. Um all das, was die Helden nach der Ermordung ihres Mannes erlebte, ihre Festnahme und den Aufenthalt im Gefängnis zu schildern benötigte Orhan Kemal lediglich 9 Wörter:

„Nachher folgten Staub, Rauch, Teilnahmslosigkeit im Halbdunkel der Gefängniszelle.“¹³

Auf diese Weise erreichte der Autor, dass die Begebenheiten an Dramatischem verlieren und lediglich zu einer Ergänzung der Charakteristik der Hauptgestalt der Erzählung werden. Nirgends spricht es der Erzähler aus, es ist jedoch zu schliessen, dass die so oft betonte Rauheit der Fuhrmännin gerade im Milieu des Gefängnisses ihren Ursprung nimmt.

Den Kern der Erzählung bildet die Beziehung der Helden zu ihrem Gehilfen Bilâl. Der Autor selbst kommentiert diese Beziehung nirgends, er hält lediglich ihr Benehmen Bilâl gegenüber fest und verfolgt dessen Gedankengang.

Aus Bilâls innerem Monolog erkennen wir in welch abhängiger Stellung er sich der Fuhrmännin gegenüber befindet, die Furcht, die er vor ihr verspürt.

Betrachten wir, wie der Autor in dieser Erzählung mit der Zeit disponiert. Von der Hauptzeitachse, auf der sich die Handlung zu entwickeln beginnt und auf der sie auch endet, gibt es einige Abweichungen:

1. Der Erzähler bringt die Handlung zu einem Zeitpunkt vor dem Eintreten der Frau ins Kaffeehaus zurück — hier geht es um eine geringe Zeitverschiebung;
2. Zu einer Zeitverschiebung um einige Jahre zurück kommt es in dem Augenblick, in dem sich die Frau ihres Mannes erinnert. Die Handlung geht voran, bis sie durch eine weitere Retrospektive zu dem Zeitpunkt zurückgerückt wird, in dem die Helden 13 Jahre alt war;
3. In Bilâls Gedanken schlingen sich Vergangenheit mit Gegenwart und Zukunft

¹² Ibid., S. 42.

¹³ Ibid., S. 46.

ineinander. In seinen Erinnerungen kehrt er zurück zu seinen Begegnungen mit Hayriye, dem Mädchen mit dem Ohrring mit dem blauen Stein, er denkt über seine abhängige Lage nach und stellt sich die Augenblicke vor, die er mit seiner Lieben verbringen wird, sollte es ihm einmal gelingen sich vom Joch der Fuhrmännin zu befreien.

Auf diese Erzählung, sowie auf das gesamte Schaffen Orhan Kemals überhaupt können Erich Auerbachs, die moderne Prosa betreffenden Worte angewandt werden: „...den grossen äusseren Wendepunkten und Schicksalsschlägen wird weniger Bedeutung zugemessen, es wird ihnen weniger Fähigkeit zugetraut, Entscheidendes über den Gegenstand herzugeben; hingegen besteht das Vertrauen, dass in dem beliebig Herausgegriffenen des Lebensverlaufs, jederzeit, der Gesamtbestand des Geschicks enthalten sei und darstellbar gemacht werden könne; man hat mehr Vertrauen zu Synthesen, die durch Ausschöpfung eines alltäglichen Vorgangs gewonnen werden, als zur chronologisch geordneten Gesamtbehandlung, die den Gegenstand von Anfang bis zu Ende verfolgt, nicht äusserlich Wesentliches auszulassen bestrebt ist und die grossen Schicksalswendungen gleich Gelenken des Geschehens scharf heraushebt.“¹⁴

In der Erzählung *Pazartesi (Montag)* tritt der Erzähler auch als Allwissender auf, den zwei Gestalten der Handlung wird jedoch die Möglichkeit belassen sich in Dialogen und inneren Monologen zu äussern, so dass der Erzähler, im Hintergrund stehend, mit seinem Kommentar ihre Erwiderungen lediglich ergänzt.¹⁵ Dieses Bestreben des Autors um ein selbständiges Ausdricken der Charaktere betonen A. Babajev und S. Uturgauri bereits in der Bewertung des früheren erzählerischen Schaffens Orhan Kemals.¹⁶

Die Erzählung ist auf dem gegenseitigen Widerspruch beider handelnden Gestalten aufgebaut. Ihre Widersprüchlichkeit ist einerseits von ihrer dienstlichen Beziehung — dem Arbeitsgeber steht hier sein Angestellter gegenüber — andererseits von ihrem mentalen und intellektuellen Niveau her bedingt.

Der Inhaber des Verlages gleicht seine schlechte Laune aus, indem er seinen Untergeordneten, einen demütigen, niemals widersprechenden Buchhalter erniedrigt,

¹⁴ Auerbach, E.: *Mimesis. Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur*. Bern, A. Francke AG Verlag 1946, S. 488.

¹⁵ Über diese Erzählungsweise siehe Findra, J.: *Rozprávač a sujet. Problémy sujetu (Der Erzähler und das Sujet. Die Probleme des Sujets)*. Litteraria XII, Bratislava, SAV 1969, S. 169 bis 204.

¹⁶ Babajev, A. A.: S. 175; Uturgauri, S.: *Pravda bez prikras (Die Wahrheit ohne Verschönerung)*. Nachwort zur Übersetzung der Auswahl aus den Erzählungen von Orhan Kemal: *Mstiteľnaja volšebnica (Die rachsüchtige Zaubererin)*. Moskau, Nauka 1967, S. 109.

S. Uturgauri ist die Verfasserin der Monographie *Tvorčestvo Orchana Kemalja—novelista (Das Schaffen des Novellisten Orhan Kemal)*. Moskau, Nauka 1963. Dieses Werk ist uns derzeit nicht zugänglich, wir können uns daher darauf nicht beziehen.

er freut sich dessen menschliche Würde in den Staub treten zu können, in seiner Beschränktheit berauscht ihn das Wissen um seine Macht über Menschen, die ihn durch ihre Bildung überragen.

„Jener Buchhalter schloss mindestens das Lyzeum ab. Er selbst? Die vierte Klasse Volksschule. Er verheimlichte es zwar, als schäme er sich dessen, aber wieder verspürte er diese Wunde in seinem Inneren. Ja, ja, komme von der vierten Klasse Volksschule, stelle vor dich solche hin, die das Lyzeum beendet hatten, zwinge sie das Weisse Schwarz zu nennen, das Schwarze Weiss und dann wieder das Weisse Schwarz. Willst du es, kannst du sie sogar zwingen das Schöne als hässlich zu bezeichnen, das Hässliche schön.“¹⁷

Die Titelgestalt der Erzählung *Coni (Dschony)* leidet ebenfalls unter der Rücksichtslosigkeit seines Arbeitsgebers, hier bleibt jedoch der Konflikt Arbeitsgeber — Angestellter im Hintergrund, während in den Vordergrund Dschonys Konflikt mit sich selbst tritt, ein Konflikt, der im Minderwertigkeitskomplex wurzelt.

„Wenn er sein Haar mit Brilantine einrieb und es vor dem Spiegel glattstrich, wurde sein Gesicht lang. Als würde er sich selbst die Frage stellen: ,Hat überhaupt jemand mit so einer riesigen, buckligen, formlosen Nase das Recht sich vor einen Spiegel zu stellen und sein Haar zu kämmen?‘ Gewiss nicht, so schien es ihm.“¹⁸ Ein Blick in den Spiegel ruft bei Dschony einen Strom von Überlegungen und Erinnerungen wach, in denen sich uns ein Mensch ohne jegliches Selbstbewusstsein, scheu, verschlossen, auftut. So wie der Held der vorherigen Erzählung *Montag*, ist auch er eines offenen Protestes nicht fähig.

In dieser Erzählung ist das Eingreifen des Erzählers in die Handlung ebenfalls nur geringfügig. In wenigen Worten führt er die Gestalt ein, um sich anschliessend diskret zu entfernen, wobei er es der Gestalt überlässt sich in direkten und indirekten Monologen selbst zu enthüllen.

In der Erzählung *Sezay Bey* steht der Erzähler wieder im Hintergrund, wortführend ist der Titelheld, mit seinen Augen verfolgen wir die Situation. Dies ermöglicht uns den Kontrast zwischen der kleinen, beschränkten Welt Sezay Beys und all dem Übrigen was ihn umgibt aufzudecken. Höchst selbstzufrieden, zufrieden mit der tüchtigen Art mit der er sich ein sorgloses Leben zu sichern vermochte, in seinem falschen Selbstbewusstsein unterstützt von seiner Frau, der er mit dem Dienstmädchen untreu ist, so blickt dieser typische Kleinbürger geringschätzig, gereizt, mit einem Gefühl von Überordnung auf all die Leute herab, die sich ihr Leben nicht so einrichten konnten wie er. Das Selbstbewusstsein dieses kleinen Haudespoten platzt sehr schnell, wenn er in einen Konflikt gerät mit jemandem, der sich von seiner Pose der unantastbaren Persönlichkeit nicht einschüchtern lässt.

¹⁷ *Önce Ekmek*, S. 61.

¹⁸ Ibid., S. 34.

Deshalb verlässt er so ungern seinen begrenzten, bequemen Lebensraum, damit seine Armseligkeit und Hilflosigkeit nicht zutage kommt.

Die innere Charakteristik der Gestalt wird in überzeugender Weise von den äusseren Charaktermerkmalen ergänzt: die Gesten, Bewegungen, manche Einzelheiten seines Äusseren. Charakteristisch ist sein stetes unbegründetes Husteln, als wollte er dadurch die Aufmerksamkeit der Umstehenden auf sich ziehen.

„Er hustete laut. — Er räusperte sich leicht, ohne dazu jedweden Grund zu haben. — Wieder hustete er ohne irgendwelchen Grund.“¹⁹

Die Erzählung *İki Buçuk* (*Zweieinhalf*) ist auf den Gefühlen einer Person aufgebaut. Das Erzählen in dritter Person ist im Grunde genommen von Anfang an bis zum Ende ein innerer Monolog eines Reisenden, der sich nicht traut den Taxifahrer um die Rückgabe des Kleingeldes zu ersuchen. Während der ganzen Fahrt wählt er im Geiste die geeigneten Worte, mit denen er den Lenker anreden sollte, doch sofort kommen in seiner Phantasie Bilder peinlicher Szenen auf, zu denen es kommen könnte, sollte es der Lenker leugnen ihm etwas schuldig zu sein. Schrittweise entpuppt sich hier ein gespaltener, unentschlossener Mensch, den Zweifel über sich und über andere aufzehren, der in jedem nur schlechte Züge findet und letzten Endes noch auch von einem Schamgefühl über sein unberechtigtes Misstrauen dem Menschen gegenüber verfolgt wird.

Im Schaffen Orhan Kemals stoßen wir oft auf eine Erzählung, die fast ausschliesslich auf Dialogen begründet ist. Erzählungen wie *Teber Çelik'in Karısı* (*Teber Çeliks Frau*), *Köpek Yavrusu* (*Der junge Hund*) aus der ersten Sammlung des Autors *Der Kampf ums Brot*, oder *Şahut'la Karısı* (*Şahut und seine Frau*), *Dilenci* (*Der Bettler*) aus der Sammlung *Çamaşircinin Kızı* (*Die Tochter der Wäscherin*, 1952), um nur zufällig einige Titel herauszugreifen, machen den Eindruck einer Szene, die der Autor als Zuschauer betrachtet. Der Erzähler hält lediglich fest, was er als objektiver Beobachter sieht und hört.

Die Tendenz Orhan Kemals, das Schwergewicht des Erzählens auf eine Gestalt zu übertragen, in deren Bewusstsein einzudringen und das Geschehen unher mit deren Augen zu sehen, trat in seiner letzten Sammlung auch in solchen Erzählungen auf, deren kompositionelle Grundlage ein Dialog bildet. Während sie ein Gespräch führen, enthüllen die Gestalten ihr Inneres, der Autor jedoch kann der Verlockung nicht widerstehen um in die Gedanken wenigstens einer der am Dialog beteiligten Gestalten einzudringen. Wir können dies in den Erzählungen *Uzman* (*Der Spezialist*), *Sevmiyordu* (*Er liebte nicht*), *Bir Çocuk* (*Ein Kind*) beobachten.

In der Exposition der Erzählung *Der Spezialist* wechselt die Anrede des Erzählers mit dem inneren Monolog der Hauptgestalt — des Reisenden. Der Autor ruft eine Atmosphäre der Langeweile hervor, die ein einsamer Reisender im Zug erlebt und

¹⁹ Ibid., S. 90.

der er sich zu entziehen bemüht ist, indem er ein Gespräch mit einem kleinen Jungen und dessen hübscher Mutter anknüpft. Trotzdem, dass wir durch den Erzähler in das Bewusstsein des Reisenden eindringen und ihn so auch von innen her betrachten können, erfahren wir über ihn wesentlich weniger, als über die Reisende, die sich lediglich im Dialog enthüllt. Manche Charakterzüge der Gestalt des Mannes können wir einzig dessen Benehmen entnehmen. Von einem gewissen Mass Grausamkeit dieser Gestalt zeugt die Art, wie er aus Langeweile Fliegen foltert, von seiner zügellosen Phantasie wieder zeugt die Schlagfertigkeit, mit der er sich vor der Mitreisenden als Spezialist ausgibt und seine Vorstellungen bis in die Einzelheiten ausführt. Die zweite Gestalt, die Mutter des Jungen, enthüllt im Gespräch ihre ganze Natur; allem Anschein nach ist die Frau dumm, beschränkt, verwöhnt, mit einer Neigung zufällige Bekanntschaften anzuknüpfen und diese auch fortzusetzen.

Die Erzählung *Das Feigenkörnchen* wurde auf dieser Stelle im Zusammenhang mit dem Motiv der Sehnsucht nach Bildung bereits erwähnt. Frei knüpft diese Erzählung an die Erzählung *Sahut und seine Frau* aus der Sammlung *Die Tochter der Wäscherin* an.²⁰ Durch einen Vergleich des kompositionellen Aufbaus dieser beiden Erzählungen können wir des Autors Zielrichtung zu einer tieferen Beschreibung der inneren Charakteristik der Gestalten am besten dokumentieren.

Die zwei einleitenden Sätze beider Erzählungen sind einander beinahe wortwörtlich gleich. Durch sie tritt eine der handelnden Personen — ein Eisverkäufer, der Vater eines hoffnungsvollen Sohnes — in die Handlung. In der Erzählung *Sahut und seine Frau* folgt das Gespräch des Eisverkäufers mit dessen Frau. Das Ehepaar stellt sich ihre Zukunft als Eltern eines Arztes vor. Dadurch ist die ganze Handlung erschöpft. Aus dem Dialog geht hervor, dass es sich um einfache Leute ohne höhere Lebensansprüche handelt. Ihr einziger Ehrgeiz ist es, ihrem Sohn die Bildung zu ermöglichen.

Die Erzählung *Das Feigenkörnchen* besteht aus 2 Teilen. Im ersten Teil werden wir nach den erwähnten einleitenden Sätzen in die Zeit zurückversetzt, da der Vater in den Randvierteln der Stadt noch Eis verkauft. Plastisch wird die Szene des von Kindern umgebenen Eisverkäufers wiedergegeben, wir hören seine Stimme, sowie die der eisgierigen Kinder, gemeinsam mit dem Eisverkäufer verfolgen wir ihre Gedanken. Nach den Worten „Diese Jahre sind nun längst vorbei“ durch die der Mann die Erinnerungen an die Vergangenheit sozusagen verscheucht, kehren wir zurück in die Zeit, in der er und seine Frau, durch die jahrelange anstrengende Arbeit gealtert und gekrümmmt, nur noch den Vorstellungen über die Zukunft ihres Sohnes leben. Der zweite Teil der Erzählung ist eine freie Abwandlung von *Sahut*

²⁰ Orhan Kemal: *Çamaşırının Kızı (Die Tochter der Wäscherin)*. Istanbul, Yeditepe Yayımları 1964, S. 26–28.

und seine Frau, hier jedoch wird der Dialog durch das Eindringen des Autors in die Gedanken der Frauengestalt unterbrochen.

Die Schlussfolgerung, die wir aus der Erzählung *Das Feigenkörnchen* über deren Gestalten ziehen können, ist im Grunde genommen dieselbe, wie im Falle der Erzählung *Sahut und seine Frau*. Was in der älteren Erzählung höchst sparsam ausgedrückt worden war, wird hier in einer komplizierten Form wiedergegeben. Durch die Spaltung der Handlung, durch ihre mehrfache Verschiebung auf der Zeitachse, zerstreut der Autor des Lesers Aufmerksamkeit, führt sie vom Verfolgen des Zentralproblems weg. Dies konnten wir bereits in der Erzählung *Der Ohrring mit dem blauen Stein* beobachten.

In beiden Erzählungen ist ausser dem Eisverkäufer und seiner Frau noch eine dritte Gestalt anwesend, die Gestalt deren Sohnes. Sie tritt in den Erzählungen nicht direkt auf, sie steht sozusagen hinter der Bühne, wobei wir die Informationen über sie aus den Dialogen oder Monologen der Eltern schöpfen.

In die Erzählungen seiner letzten Sammlung führt Orhan Kemal mit Vorliebe freie Motive ein, die eine Retardierung der Handlung bewirken. Sind diese Motive in einigen Fällen für die Struktur der Erzählung funktionell begründet (z. B. die Erinnerungen Sezay Beys an sein eigenes Verhalten als junger Mensch einem Älteren gegenüber, in dem Moment, wenn sich ein Jüngling auf der Trolleybus-Haltestelle zu ihm unhöflich benimmt), erscheinen sie in anderen Fällen als Selbstzweck und belasten die Komposition der Erzählung (z. B. wenn die Greisin Hediye aus der Erzählung *Brot zuerst* in den Gedanken in ihre Mädchenjahre zurückkehrt).

So wie in den vorangegangenen Erzählungssammlungen widmet der Autor auch hier keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit der Beschreibung des Milieus, in dem sich seine Gestalten bewegen. Solange das Milieu nicht der Ergänzung der Charakteristik einer Gestalt dient, wird die Szene, auf der sich die Handlung abspielt, nur angedeutet. Die Fuhrmännin aus der Erzählung *Der Ohrring mit dem blauen Stein* hält ihre Pferde vor „einem Gebäude, das soeben wiederhergestellt wurde“, sie betritt „das kleine Handwerkerkaffeehaus gegenüber“. Der Dialog der Jungen in der Erzählung *Cocuklar (Die Kinder)* spielt in irgendeiner, näher nicht bestimmten Strasse. Sezay Bey gerät in einen Streit mit dem jungen Mann auf einer Trolleybus-Haltestelle.

Wo jedoch das Milieu zur Ergänzung der Situation beitragen kann, widmet Orhan Kemal dessen Beschreibung mehr Raum. Einen Menschen, der der Gesellschaft aus dem Wege geht, erinnert das Treiben auf den Strassen von Istanbul an einen Bienenstock:

„Istanbul, wiederum so wie immer, ist wie ein grosser, sehr grosser, riesiger Bienenstock. Er summt und summt. Die Leute jagen und jagen über die Gehsteige hin und her...“²¹ (*Dschony*).

²¹ *Once Ekmek*, S. 37—38.

Der Weg, den Dschony durch Istanbul gehend zurücklegen muss, ist durch Namen von Strassen und Stadtvierteln gekennzeichnet, wodurch der ortskundige Leser eine Vorstellung von dessen Endlosigkeit gewinnt.

Istanbul bildet den äusseren Rahmen mehrerer Erzählungen der Sammlung *Brot zuerst*. Das Motiv der Wetterlage in Istanbul in der Erzählung *Bir Çocuk* (*Ein Kind*) und *Üçüncü* (*Der Dritte*) betont durch mehrfaches Wiederholen, ergänzt einerseits die Beschreibung des Ortes der Handlung und ruft andererseits auch Gefühle und die Gedanken der Gestalten hervor.

Der Ort der Handlung in der Erzählung *Der Spezialist* wirkt statisch, trotzdem es sich um einen fahrenden Zug handelt. Die Statik des Bildes wird nicht einmal vom Blick durchs Fenster unterbrochen, einem Motiv, der in der Erzählung im ganzen dreimal vorkommt, das wir im Grunde immer dieselbe unveränderte Landschaft vor den Augen haben. Nur einmal wandert unser Blick von entfernten Details zu näheren, ein anderesmal wieder umgekehrt. Die betonte Beweglosigkeit der Umgebung ruft eine Atmosphäre der Langeweile hervor.

„Er schaute in die Ferne. In der Ferne lag das Meer, blau, fast weiss, nebelig, drückend. Die Wolken am Himmel, taschentuchgross, schienen sich nicht von der Stelle zu bewegen.“²²

Auch die Art, wie der Autor in der Erzählung *Taş* (*Der Stein*) die Bilder an den Wänden einer Weinstube beschreibt, ist unserer Aufmerksamkeit wert. Auf den Bildern, die Szenen vom Leben Atatürks darstellen, sehen wir das, was ihnen der Besucher der Weinstube entnimmt.

„....Und noch weitere Bilder: der Schah Reza Pahlevi und Atatürk. Beide sitzen sich am Tisch gegenüber und trinken Kaffee. Beide sind zufrieden. Nur Reza Schah hielt sich mit seinem riesigen weissen Schnurrbart gewiss für den Klügeren. Als wäre er nicht beleidigt gewesen, noch wäre er Atatürk böse, dass dieser seinen Schnurrbart abrasiert hat, bloss, so schien es, sagte er: ‚Es wäre besser, Kemal, wenn du deinen Schnurrbart nicht abrasiert hättest‘.“²³

Eine ähnliche Art der Umschreibung benützte Orhan Kemal auch in der Erzählung *Tarzan*, wo wir die Bilder der Kinderzeitschrift mit den Augen des Jungen sehen.

Abgesehen von einigen Erzählungen, die der Autor nach 1968 in Zeitschriften veröffentlichte, schliesst die Sammlung *Brot zuerst* das erzählerische Schaffen Orhan Kemals ab. Auf Grund der durchgeföhrten Analyse können wir konstatieren, dass die Erzählungen dieser Sammlung thematisch und auch was die Komposition betrifft, an die vorangehenden Werke des Schriftstellers im Bereich dieser Gattung anknüpfen.

²² Ibid., S. 109.

²³ Ibid., S. 94.

In der thematischen Struktur der Sammlung beobachten wir jedoch im Vergleich mit dem früheren Schaffen des Autors eine bestimmte Abschwächung der Ideenrichtung der Erzählungen, die Kritik der herrschenden Verhältnisse in der gegenwärtigen Türkei klingt bei weitem nicht so angriffslustig, wie dies beim jungen Schriftsteller der Fall war. Die Galerie seiner Gestalten ist in den letzten Erzählungen um den Vertreter der Arbeiterklasse, dessen Prototyp Orhan Kemal als einer der ersten in die türkische Literatur einführte, ärmer.

Auch hier benützt der Autor zum Selbstausdruck der Charaktere in vollem Masse die Dialoge und Monologe, den inneren Monolog besonders betonend, so dass dieser zu einem der grundlegenden Ausdrucksmittel in den Erzählungen der Sammlung *Brot zuerst* wird.

Die objektive Wirklichkeit, um deren Darstellung es Orhan Kemal in seinem Werk immer ging, fassen wir hier eher durch das subjektive Beobachten der Gestalten auf, was verglichen mit der einfachen Komposition seiner früheren Werke im komplizierteren Aufbau dieser Erzählungen seinen Ausdruck findet.

Dies hängt zweifelsohne mit der Verschiebung der künstlerischen und ideologischen Kriterien in der Türkei der 2. Hälfte der 50-er Jahre, mit dem Entstehen der neuen literarischen Strömung, die unter der Bezeichnung *bunaltı* bekannt ist, wodurch die engagierten Schriftsteller in einen scharfen Widerspruch geraten, und mit der ganzen Weiterentwicklung der türkischen Literatur, zusammen. Nachdem die Eintönigkeit der Themen und Formen seitens der Repräsentanten des *bunaltı* einer scharfen, gewissermassen berechtigten Kritik unterworfen wurde, suchen die Autoren der Generation, zu der auch Orhan Kemal gehörte, nach neuen, wirksameren Ausdrucksweisen der realen Wirklichkeit. In ihrem Streben um jeden Preis modern zu sein, konnten sie einige schädlichen Einwirkungen westlicher, vornehmlich französischer, subjektiv gerichteter Literatur, die in der Türkei der Nachkriegszeit in grossen Auflagen herausgegeben wurde, nicht ausweichen.

Trotz einiger Mängel und schwächerer Stellen konnten die letzten Erzählungen Orhan Kemals der starken Konkurrenz, die das Schaffen älterer sowie ganz junger türkischer Schriftsteller umfasst, standhalten, und trugen ihrem Autor die Ehrung in Form von höchsten türkischen Literaturpreisen ein, des Sait-Faik-Preises und des Preises der Türkischen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft für das Jahr 1969.

**NGUYEN CONG HOAN ET SON ROMAN
«LE DERNIER PAS»**

JÁN MÚČKA, Bratislava

L'article n'a pas pour but de traiter des divers aspects du roman vietnamien moderne. Un bref aperçu sur son histoire en général et des notes sur l'époque principale aident à situer l'œuvre de Nguyen Cong Hoan. Des suggestions pratiques sont données pour l'analyse artistiques des œuvres de la littérature vietnamienne. Cette étude est l'une des premières en notre pays sur la littérature vietnamienne contemporaine et présente une analyse relativement complète du roman *Le dernier pas*.

Sous le terme «roman» on entend actuellement un genre littéraire qui dominait et atteignit son apogée au 19^e siècle dans la majorité des littératures européennes. Afin d'être à même de mieux comprendre le roman vietnamien qui correspond à ce genre approximativement dans la période de 1925—1945, il faut bien se reporter quelque peu à l'histoire: «Dans l'ancien Vietnam d'avant la colonisation française, le roman vietnamien est resté au stade des «romans courtois» en vers qui ont fleuri en France aux environs de 1130 à 1250. Aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles le «roman français» n'est pas encore une narration en prose, mais se présente comme une longue œuvre en vers octosyllabes. Il en est de même du roman vietnamien avant l'arrivée des Français. La plupart de ces romans sont écrits en vers hexa et octosyllabiques (6—8) ou en vers hexa et octosyllabiques encadrés dans deux vers heptasyllabiques (6—8—7—7).»¹ Le roman vietnamien accepta la conception européenne du roman contemporain seulement à la fin de la 1^{re} guerre mondiale quand commencèrent à paraître les fameuses collections *Dong duong tap chi* et *Nam phong*. Le premier roman moderne prit naissance au Vietnam du Sud vers 1912 et y est représenté par les écrits de Ho Bieu Chanh. Au Vietnam du Nord c'était quelque peu plus tard (1925) que sont apparues les œuvres de Nguyen Trong Thuat et de Hoang Ngoc Phach, qui atteignaient déjà un niveau d'importance nationale. Tous ces romans portaient encore des marques fort accusées d'une redevance tendancieuse d'une part au confucianisme littéraire mystique (Nguyen Trong Thuat), d'autre part

¹ Durand, M. M.—Nguyen Tran Huan: *Introduction à la Littérature Vietnamienne*. Paris 1969, p. 155.

au mélodramatisme du romantisme français. «Il est vrai qu'à cette époque, 1925 à 1930, le romantisme français était fortement à la mode au Vietnam, et le public vietnamien, avide de culture française, accueillait avec une ferveur de prosélyte tout ce qui venait de l'Occident, en bien comme en mal.»² Le roman vietnamien prit un essor prodigieux pendant la période de 1930—1935, enrégistrant un développement rapide en particulier avec l'arrivée en 1932 du groupe littéraire «Par nos propres forces» (*Tu luc van doan*), à l'époque du gouvernement du Front populaire en France (1936—37) et en relation avec le mouvement propagant l'alphabet latin (*chu quoc ngu*) mené par le socialiste vietnamien Phan Thanh. On peut donc constater en général que l'apogée dans le développement du roman vietnamien coïncide avec les années immédiatement précédant la deuxième guerre mondiale (1935—1940) et la période même de la guerre (1940—1945).

C'est à cette époque qu'appartient aussi le roman de Nguyen Cong Hoan *Le dernier pas* (*Buoc duong cung*) qui est paru pour la première fois à Hanoï en 1938. La critique littéraire vietnamienne classifie ce roman parmi les œuvres critiques réalistes, alors que Maurice M. Durand le range parmi les romans de mœurs. Nguyen Cong Hoan lui-même a admis à plusieurs reprises qu'à l'époque où il écrivait ce roman il n'en savait guère sur la théorie du réalisme critique et qu'il avait simplement l'impression d'écrire un roman sur la société de ces temps. Ce point de vue de l'auteur renferme en fait les deux approches précédentes de la classification et étant donné la complexité de la vie littéraire au Vietnam dans les années en question, on aurait certainement fort à faire pour tracer une ligne démarcative entre les tendances qui en constituaient le contenu et l'expression. Sans contredit, l'auteur a enrégistré beaucoup de détails sur les coutumes et les mœurs de la société féodale coloniale (par exemple, sa description de la colère et haine entre les villageois, l'image d'un régal prodigue dans la maison du mandarin, les ripailles des villageois, une femme en couches, la perception des impôts accompagnée de raclée et de tortures des contribuables, la confiscation injustifiée des buffles des paysans pauvres, les pratiques usurières de l'administration civile, etc.). Sous ce point de vue, le roman est bien une réelle source de renseignements par ses situations graves ou comiques, sur la société vietnamienne de jadis. D'autre part, même si l'auteur y a réussi moins quant à la qualité de la fable, néanmoins il présente dans son roman un sujet idéologique progressif d'une œuvre réaliste, surtout par l'intermédiaire d'une structure picturale des personnages.

En outre, il faut bien rappeler qu'au temps où Nguyen Cong Hoan écrivait *Le dernier pas*, il était un écrivain accompli, avec une production abondante de contes, nouvelles et romans (il débutait dans la littérature en 1920) et à ce point de vue était l'auteur le plus prolifique parmi ses contemporains. Il était nettement original, avec son propre style — épuré et simple quant à la forme et ironisant quant au contenu du langage. On peut dire qu'il s'agit chez lui d'une sorte d'ironie mélancolique —

² Ibid., p. 156.

et à cet égard il est vraiment unique dans la littérature vietnamienne moderne, mais lui-même, il n'a jamais recherché la gloire dans l'activité littéraire. Ce sont là deux de ses traits caractéristiques comme homme-écrivain. Toute sa production littéraire (et son roman *Le dernier pas* ne fait pas une exception) fait preuve manifeste de son dessein de se poser le problème de la dignité de l'homme et de le résoudre sans en exclure sa propre dignité, tout en conservant tous les traits négatifs.

La critique littéraire d'après-guerre souvent reproche à Nguyen Cong Hoan les traits comiques de certaines situations qui ne semblent pas convenir ni au plan ni aux personnages. A mon avis, ces situations avec un sous-texte comique cadrent bien avec la structure générale du roman et il ne peut y avoir des raisons pour les juger superflues. Tout au contraire, elles constituent un élément important dans la ligne développementale de la manière d'agir des personnages. Comme exemple typique, on peut citer la partie où l'auteur parle du personnage principal, Pha, attendant l'accouchement de sa femme:

«La sage-femme l'attira vers elle et se mit à lui chuchoter à l'oreille. Le chuchotement se perdait dans l'odeur forte du bétel, mais Pha comprit ce qu'elle voulait dire.

Immédiatement il sortit sur la pointe des pieds vers la cour, entra dans la petite porcherie où jadis ils élevaient un goret et se mit de toutes ses forces à ébranler les pieux auxquels était attachée la porte. Enfin, il les arrachait tous les quatre un à un.

La besogne faite, il rentra tout heureux à la maison. Il était convaincu que maintenant les accouchements de sa femme seront faciles, qu'elle accouchera de l'enfant immédiatement et il n'aura pas à se traîner dans l'étang ou grimper au toit. La sage-femme lui a dit il y a long temps que c'est toujours efficace.

...Chaque fois qu'il entendait comme sa femme faisait tous ses efforts, il soupirait ébahi. Il craignait qu'elle ne vienne à le gronder et continua à taper nonchalamment de son évantail, comme le garde de nuit de sa hallebarde.»³

Ailleurs il s'agit plutôt de ce que l'on peut ou ne peut pas considérer comme comique, car certaines situations ne se prêtent guère — du moins selon les critères de la littérature européenne — à être considérées comme telles. Ainsi, par exemple, le passage où le gardien de l'administration cantonale flirte avec la femme de Pha:

«Enfin, elle ôta son chapeau, osa s'approcher plus près de lui et lui demanda:

— Monsieur, pourriez-vous me dire si mon mari est ici?

Le gardien, entendant cette question timide, se donna des airs importants et une expression propre à inspirer la terreur. Puis, voyant les charmes attrayants de cette femme, d'ailleurs pas trop belle, il s'attendrit, montra vers une haute maison non loin de là et souriant dit:

— Il est là, là-bas, si vous voulez le trouver alors ils sont tous dans cet édifice.

Comme il lui parlait, inobservé il lui arracha le chapeau. Elle prit peur mais ne réussit pas à l'en empêcher.

³ Nguyen Cong Hoan: *Buoc Duong cung (Le dernier pas)*. Hanoï 1962, pp. 8—9.

— Je vous en prie, Monsieur, rendez-moi mon chapeau, je cherche ici mon mari.
Le gardien la toisa d'un regard lascif:

— Ah oui, alors, mais tout d'abord demande le comme il faut, alors je te le retourne.
Et pas nécessaire d'être si polie. Viens ici, plus près, je veux te dire quelque chose — et il récita:

«Pourquoi nous sommes-nous rencontrés ici,
L'amour ne nous est-il pas destiné?»

La femme Pha ne comprenait pas les vers, mais elle devina qu'on se moquait d'elle et toute bouleversée, elle s'inclina de nouveau et supplia:

— Je vous en prie, donnez-moi mon chapeau, j'ai déjà un mari et des enfants.

Le vieux bouc se mit debout, la prit par la main, mais elle s'arracha. La colère s'empara d'elle, mais il fallait endurer avec patience, de sorte qu'elle n'osa même pas lui dire carrément ce qu'elle en pensait.

... Tout d'un coup elle eut un sursaut. Les enfants de la rue qui se sont rassemblés ici ne faisaient et jusque-là que regarder bouche bée, soudainement éclatèrent de rire. Le gardien en profita pour s'approcher plus près encore et la prit par les seins. Elle pâlit de honte, tressaillit et elle avait déjà l'injure sur le bout de la langue, mais le gardien lui jeta le chapeau, inclina la tête et grommela entre les dents:

— Voilà, prends ça et va!»⁴

Etant question des relations entre homme et femme, il faut constater que Nguyen Cong Hoan prêtait très peu d'attention aux relations émotives entre Pha et sa femme. Une telle absence de la vie émotionnelle (au sens positif ou négatif du mot) dans les relations maritales paraît irréelle et en certains endroits le lecteur a l'impression que Pha vivait avec sa femme fortuitement, comme par hasard, sauf qu'ils étaient liés par quelque convention sociale peu claire. A ce point de vue Nguyen Cong Hoan paraît avoir été encore sous l'influence puissante du dogme confucianiste.

La trame du roman *Le dernier pas* consiste du sort d'un campagnard — un fermier, qui est opprimé dans la société féodale-coloniale et peu à peu tellement destitué qu'en fin de compte il ne lui reste qu'à se révolter contre les couches gouvernantes de la société. De même que dans ses contes, Nguyen Cong Hoan dans son roman *Le dernier pas* localise ses personnages en deux lignes clairement désignées. Maintes fois, cela donne une impression de schématisation. L'auteur a concentré son attention surtout sur deux personnages: sur le pauvre fermier Pha d'un côté, et sur le propriétaire foncier Lai, de l'autre, mais c'est Pha qui commande l'attention principale. Ici, une certaine différence est évidente par rapport à ses autres travaux dans lesquels d'ordinaire il mettait au point des personnages négatifs. Ce changement peut être expliquée, du moins partiellement, par le fait que Nguyen Cong Hoan lui-même n'est pas resté en dehors de l'influence étendue du mouvement populaire de résistance

⁴ Ibid., pp. 60—61.

au temps du Front Démocratique (1936—39). Le roman *Le dernier pas* révèle pour la première fois, que Nguyen Cong Hoan était déjà conscient des lois fondamentales de la lutte de classe. Sur les personnages dans son œuvre littéraire, l'auteur lui-même a écrit: «Mes personnages connus sont tous des personnages négatifs dans la société sous la hégémonie française. Ce sont des riches qui avaient le droit d'extorquer tout des gens pauvres. Parmi eux appartiennent les mandarins, les propriétaires fonciers, les membres de la grande et petite bourgeoisie. Pour les peindre, j'ai toujours cherché assez de traits dans la sphère matérielle et spirituelle. Quant aux personnages positifs, je les ai représentés d'ordinaire au moyen du langage et des actions, afin de mieux faire ressortir leur caractère humain.

J'ai décrit les gens mauvais et méchants avec plus d'effet que les bons... Etant pessimiste par nature et regardant toujours un personnage avec des yeux de sceptique, je vois tout d'abord les mauvais côtés. Je me rappelle plus facilement les choses mauvaises que les bonnes.»⁵

A mon avis, on ne doit pas reprocher ce fait à Nguyen Cong Hoan, car il y avait beaucoup plus de personnages, événements et circonstances foncièrement négatifs que de traits positifs, dans la société vietnamienne de cette époque. Et puis il est question ici de la manière originale, inimitable d'écrire. A ce temps là, Nguyen Cong Hoan était peut être le seul à ne pas avoir une manière fixe d'écrire. Son expression et son style sont vifs, rapides et précis. On pourrait dire de lui comme jadis Voltaire avait dit de soi, qu'il était «comme les cours d'eau qui sont transparents parce que peu profonds». C'est avec cela qu'il nous ravit et nous ouvre les sources d'une sensibilité confiante et intime. Nguyen Cong Hoan n'était nullement généreux envers son entourage et le milieu où il vivait — il avait un villain penchant à dévoiler les vices et faire preuve de cette illogique gêne de campagnard frisant le primitivisme même, mais qui à un moment donné, change en une manière d'agir insolente, par instinct. Néanmoins, Nguyen Cong Hoan commande une valeur plus haute sous ce point de vue que, par exemple, Vu Trong Phung — étant plus humain, plus abordable aux faiblesses humaines, il est plus homme. Il n'a pas cette dureté arrogante de la pensée à l'abord rebutant, ni l'absence d'une attitude de sentiments quand il écrit des côtés négatifs de la société. Au contraire, il fait preuve d'une grande mesure de délicatesse et de distinction intérieure qu'il parvient à utiliser à perfection. Selon l'expression de A. Sainte-Beuve, «chez lui la couleur ne saurait être séparée du dessin défini» — c'est en ce sens que son style se rattache à la production française.

Un des inconvénients du roman est que dans les dialogues, il met immédiatement dans la bouche des personnages un ton qui s'accorde trop avec le caractère qui leur

⁵ Nguyen Cong Hoan: *Doi viet van cua toi (Ma vie littéraire)* cité selon Nguyen Duc Dan: *May van de van hoc hien thuc phe phan Viet-nam (Certains problèmes de la littérature vietnamienne du réalisme critique)*. Hanoï 1968, p. 70.

est destiné. Les personnages d'un roman tournent des regards rétrospectifs sur eux-mêmes afin d'apparaître au lecteur dans des attitudes expressives et dans un profil le plus signifiant et le plus caractéristique. Dans certaine situations cela mène à l'affectation. En dehors de cela, ce qui est caractéristique pour Nguyen Cong Hoan c'est la sensibilité et une pénétration subtile dans le naturel des personnages en scène, de sorte que malgré un ton comique, ceux-ci ne deviennent pas des figures grotesques (à l'exception, peut-être, du propriétaire Lai) exposés au ridicule sans mesure et sans goût. Nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec la critique outrée affirmant qu'en ce qui concerne les personnages antagoniques, l'auteur n'a pas su conserver une juste mesure, et «critiquant un richard, il le fait d'une telle manière que cet homme ne ressemble plus à un homme».⁶ Il en est de même de la compassion de l'auteur pour les pauvres gens: quoiqu'elle se cache derrière un humour ironique et qu'il soit difficile à la découvrir, néanmoins elle existe. Cet humour a pour effet, dans une certaine mesure, que le lecteur perd les sensations torturantes et que son indignation disparaît. La valeur de ces personnages remplit un rôle important au niveau tragique-comique, où l'auteur est un spectateur attentif et le plus satisfait, soit que cela le concerne subjectivement ou non. Cependant, c'est une question de jugement à quel point d'humour il existe encore de la compassion humaine et de l'humanisme. Certes, il faut admettre que l'humour, même si l'auteur l'évoque parfois d'une manière un peu forcée, reste son côté fort, une certaine extravagance même. Ce qu'on peut dire avec justesse, sans crainte d'être démenti, c'est que le roman *Le dernier pas* n'apparaît nullement dans la fausse lumière romanesque qui est aussi inacceptable à l'art véritable qu'à la réalité.

Il est hors de propos de reprocher à Nguyen Cong Hoan dans ce roman un manque de concision et de vigueur de style, ni une recherche exagérée dans l'ébauche de ses pensées. Quant à l'élaboration générale de cette œuvre, on peut dire que l'auteur y renonce à la conversation triviale et à l'improvisation. S'il arrive qu'on y trouve des défauts stylistiques, il s'agit pour la plupart d'accidents rares. Dans cette œuvre, Nguyen Cong Hoan parvint à l'art d'une proportionalité remarquable. Son système subjectif de création est toujours orienté contre le système dans lequel ses œuvres vivent et agissent, mais son inclination subjective intérieure appartient précisément à ceux qui y vivent. Le personnage principal du roman Pha vivait et végétait jusqu'à la fin sous le poids et l'oppression de l'énorme problème existentiel qui s'était dressé devant lui déjà à la naissance de son fils et qui menace sans répit de l'écraser, de le broyer. Dès le début, et pour assez longtemps, voyant que sa vie ne porte aucune valeur positive en guise de compensation pour ses souffrances, il la supporte comme un fardeau inévitable. Contre le sentiment de futilité de la vie, il mets l'espoir de l'éducation qui, comme il soupçonne correctement, rends l'homme moins malheureux,

⁶ Vu Dinh Lien: *Luoc thao lich su van hoc Viet-nam (Esquisse de l'histoire de la littérature vietnamienne)*, III. Hanoï 1957, p. 351.

mais ne reste qu'une illusion nécessaire à la vie parce que pour lui elle était la seule. En même temps, au début, Pha s'abandonne d'une manière passive aux coutumes traditionnelles et s'efforce de n'être qu'une sorte de transformation sourde du milieu commun.

Chez Nguyen Cong Hoan, la pensée correspond toujours à son expression et ainsi ne résulte jamais en un récit interminable au mélange d'ennui. Nguyen Cong Hoan possède l'aptitude dont il domine et dirige son œuvre et qui donne l'impression que l'artiste est toujours maître de sa création. Il doute de tout avec une ironie fine car il se rend compte «qu'en doutant, on s'aliène le moins la vérité», comme l'a écrit jadis Monsieur de Sénancour. Même s'il hyperbolise parfois, ses personnages portent quelque chose en soi dans quoi ils persistent.

Nguyen Cong Hoan réussit moins avec la trame et sa construction, qu'avec la création des personnages. Son style est facile, coulant et agile, même si les détails ne sont pas souvent suffisamment élaborés. Cela se rapporte au défaut de motifs libres, qui est au détriment de la structure entière de l'œuvre. Déjà La Bruyère a noté que «chaque pensée peut être bien exprimée d'une seule manière et cela-là, il faut la trouver». Il semble que Nguyen Cong Hoan, quoique ne connaissant pas cet énoncé, savait le remplir par son style.

Nguyen Cong Hoan base la réalité de ses scènes sur une proportionnalité mutuelle des forces d'une certaine anxiété et de l'humour de l'auteur. Cette symbiose ne mène pas à l'identité chez lui, mais produit l'ironie dirigée contre l'action régressive des facteurs sociaux, mais elle certainement n'est pas un signe de l'apathie de l'auteur à l'égard de la vie. Cette authenticité psychologique, armée d'humour vers la réalité dépressive, est néanmoins très près d'une description artificielle, dans lequel les éléments de construction reposent sur une base de pensée rationnelle. De cette manière, Nguyen Cong Hoan réussit à produire un genre particulier d'humour, qui n'est ni joyeux, ni satirique, mais plutôt fortuit, ou bien objectif. Dans le caractère de son action, quelquefois assez surprenant, la fonction du hasard prend le dessus, mais celle-ci peut être interprétée objectivement et acceptée uniquement en une forme qui met en doute la causalité.

Un élément intéressant qui entre dans la structure ferme du roman *Le dernier pas* est celui de l'absurde. Les monologues intérieurs du personnage principal Pha, dans lesquels plusieurs plans logiques s'emboîtent, représentent une certaine situation absurde par rapport aux moyens traditionnels du roman, mais la volonté constructive de Nguyen Cong Hoan la subjugue, l'assujettit aux règles d'une stricte composition.

Comme nous avons déjà noté, dans le roman *Le dernier pas*, l'auteur relève le processus par lequel la famille du pauvre fermier Pha est graduellement réduite à la misère complète, d'une part, et de l'autre l'enrichissement du propriétaire foncier et député du peuple, Lai, un représentant «de la race vert-pâle des fumeurs d'opium».⁷

⁷ Nikulin, N. I.: *V'etnamskaya literatura (La littérature vietnamienne)*. Moscou 1971, p. 195.

La cause primaire de ces deux processus diamétralement opposés dans le roman est une querelle entre deux familles voisines, Pha et Thi dans le petit village d'An Dao, l'ignorance et une confiance naïve dans les intrigues du propriétaire qui, usurier qu'il est, tire profit de ces brouilles de village. Même qu'il n'aie pas d'éducation, même qu'il soit naïf et bonasse, Pha possède toutefois «une raison, une jugeotte opiniâtre du paysan», qui essaie de temps en temps à résister aux circonstances. A la suite du procès monté par le propriétaire Lai après que Pha ait emprunté de lui de l'argent pour la première fois, il se plaint à sa femme: «Pour ces trois piastres on aurait pu tous vivre tout un mois».⁸ Il reste à cette passive résistance alors que, trompé par le préfet de l'arrondissement et ses employés de bureau, il se trouve dans la prison:

«Dans la vie, chacun est bête à sa manière — il réfléchissait — mais le plus bête est celui qui, sans aucune raison, lui-même pousse le cou dans le nœud coulant. Tout ce qu'il espérait c'était que les cieux et Buddha faisaient savoir à Lai que l'on doit aller à lui et le prier de le laisser aller. Il croyait que seul le pouvoir du propriétaire pourrait le sauver.»⁹

La criante et l'ignorance des campagnards semblables à Pha, découlaient aussi de la vieille morale confucianiste, des traditions engrainées et de l'organisation hiérarchique de la société vietnamienne. Par conséquent, même quand Pha vient à apprendre sur les tromperies de ceux en autorité et que la haine commence à croître chez lui, quelques mois adroits de Monsieur Lai suffisent et il retombe de nouveau dans une obéissance et soumission presque d'esclave:

«Maintenant il avait encore plus de haine pour ce fourbe et trompeur. Il se décida à tout dire à ce vieux finaud.

Mais face à face au propriétaire, il ne fit rien de ce qu'il avait décidé.

...Stupéfait par le propriétaire, il gardait le silence, contenté il tombait d'accord avec lui et ne regrettait plus son argent autant que tout à l'heure. Et le propriétaire Lai de reprendre de beau:

— Ainsi, le devoir d'un simple homme est de respecter ses supérieurs. Il ne faut pas regretter même si ça coutre un peu d'argent. Voyons, est-ce qu'un fils peut porter plainte contre ses parents? Cinq piastres est une grande somme pour nous, mais pour d'autres — c'est quelque chose qui ne vaut pas la peine qu'on en parle. Et puis, si quelqu'un autre était le préfet du canton, n'en ferait-il de même, ne recevrait-il pas des cadeaux? Ne faites pas le sot, n'écoutez pas toute sorte de gens sans respect, entêtés, tous ces communistes, ceux qui écrivent des livres, impriment les journaux et attaquent le préfet, puis quelqu'un autre. Même si le préfet n'est pas le meilleur, il n'en reste pas moins vrai qu'il nous gouverne. Si les autres sont aussi bons, aussi intelligents, pourquoi ne deviennent-ils pas préfets? Tout autour, il y a partout

⁸ Nguyen Cong Hoan: op. cit., p. 42.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 56—57.

des mouchards, il faut bien réfléchir à ce que l'on fait. Le préfet a reçu sa dignité du roi même, alors, comment peux-tu te fâcher de lui et te mettre contre lui? Tout de même, tu n'es qu'un pauvre fermier de village.

Devant les yeux de Pha apparut de nouveau l'image de l'homme gras accoutré d'armes meurtrières et la peur qu'il avait ressentie auparavant lui est revenue. Il dit timidement:

— Mais, Monsieur, comment, oserais-je y penser?

... Quand il est parvenu à croire entièrement que le propriétaire sympathisait sincèrement avec lui et qu'il voulait l'aider, pensif il prit son panier de riz et rentra chez soi.¹⁰

Malgré tout cela Pha ne cessait de réfléchir sur son sort et ses causes. Il en arriva à croire que toute misère, toute humiliation et oppression est engendrée par un manque d'instruction et conséquemment il ne pouvait pas parvenir à comprendre tout cela. Dans un entretien avec lui, son parent Tan dit: «Les gens meurent de bien d'autres choses encore: parce qu'il vivent dans la saleté, l'ignorance, à cause des lourds impôts et des taxes, à cause des inondations et des sécheresses, parce qu'ils sont arriérés et, en fin de compte, la cause de toutes ces misères est le manque d'éducation.»¹¹ Ici nous touchons à un problème de grande envergure au Vietnam d'avant la révolution — celui de l'analphabétisme. Même si ce manque d'instruction n'était pas la cause directe de leur vie dure, elle y figurait pour beaucoup. Car si Pha avait été plus instruit et à vues plus larges, aurait-il signé (par empreinte du pouce) l'acte faussé de Lai, en vertue duquel celui-ci lui confisca ses biens? Certainement que non. Il y a lieu ici de donner raison à Nguyen Cong Hoan pour avoir relevé ce problème et pour lui avoir attribué une importance extraordinaire. Pha y arriva à comprendre cela plus tard et réfléchissait: «Plus je haïs le propriétaire Lai, plus je me fâche contre le préfet et d'autant plus je suis irrité par ma propre stupidité et ignorance. C'est pourquoi, je me suis décidé d'apprendre en tout cas à lire et à écrire.»¹² Cependant le chemin de l'autodidacte était très compliqué, car les enseignants dans cette société (et il faut apprécier que Nguyen Cong Hoan lui-même était un maître d'école) étaient également corrompus, ce qu'on peut voir dans la partie où l'auteur ironise le festin donné par oncle San en honneur de son fils qui avait passé l'examen de fin d'études primaires, ce que Pha commente en ces termes: «Et puis, leur fils passa l'examen uniquement parce qu'il avait corrompu le maître au moyen de dix piastres et oncle San se donne sérieusement des airs comme s'il était le père de quelque dignitaire important. Le soir il ne sort plus à la rencontre de sa femme au marché et s'il va quelquefois baigner le buffle, alors il met son manteau,

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 70—72.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 76.

¹² Ibid., p. 98.

son turban et ses sandales de bois. Tels que lui, même s'ils tombent dans la misère, il ne faut pas les plaindre.»¹³

Plus tard, on voit paraître la figure de Du, un petit fermier, mais sachant lire et écrire, dont l'opinion sur le problème de l'éducation diffère quelque peu. «Si les riches du village ne nous écorchaient pas, nous les pauvres, de sorte que bientôt on n'aura plus une chemise, notre village ne serait pas si pauvre et nous ne serions pas si arriérés!»¹⁴ Du comprend que la cause des difficultés et du manque d'éducation est la misère, mais la misère y sévit parce qu'il y a des riches. Cependant il prend une attitude critique aussi envers les coutumes et les cérémonies du village: «Dans notre village nous n'avons pas d'école, et c'est très mal. Je crois que pour l'argent que le village dépense pour les fêtes et pour les graissages de pattes des dignitaires du village, on pourrait bâtir plusieurs écoles et employer des instituteurs. Dans les villages où les affaires publiques sont dirigées par des gens honnêtes, trois ans après qu'ils abandonnent les coutumes de gaspiller l'argent pour les vieilles coutumes et festins, ils ont des rues pavées, des écoles pour les enfants et beaucoup d'autres choses nécessaires pour tous. Et ici, chez nous — personne ne s'instruit, les maisons sont petites et sales, les chemins rien que des effondrements, dans l'étang on se lave et on y fait la blanchissage, et on y puise aussi l'eau potable — partout rien que de la saleté.»¹⁵

Quand enfin la femme et le fils de Pha meurent et qu'il y a danger que le propriétaire Lai prenne non seulement ses terres, mais aussi la dernière récolte, il fait le dernier pas: «Il prit le fléau d'une balance, fit un bond vers le propriétaire et lui donna un bon coup à la tête:

— Battez le voleur!»¹⁶

Cet acte de la part de Pha, tout à fait spontanné, n'est pas un simple geste de désespoir, mais une recherche d'expédient de l'impasse de la vie, alors même que ce ne fut pas le moyen propre. Ici nous sommes de nouveau indirectement à la question: les fermiers réduits à la misère — Pha, Thi, Du et San auraient-ils du suivre le chemin de la violence, ou celui de l'éducation pour faire tête aux pièges du propriétaire? Quel était le résultat de la manière de lutte choisie par Pha? C'était le dernier pas. Sa capitulation de destin n'est qu'une capitulation symbolique de la couche au pouvoir, non pas réelle. Du et San, étant plus instruits, insistaient toujours à ce que chaque action fut *réfléchie* et qu'il y ait *unité* de front. Le manque d'éducation et conséquemment l'inaptitude de peser et d'évaluer la situation n'était-elle pas chez Pha la première prémissse de son acte isolé et sans succès? Une révolution bien préparée peut être réalisée en collaboration avec tous (alors, avec les gens sans

¹³ Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 166.

éducation aussi), mais elle peut être bien préparée uniquement par des gens intelligents, éduqués. C'est aussi à ce point de vue qu'il faut juger de la valeur du roman de Nguyen Cong Hoan.

Cependant en dépeignant la défaite de Pha, Nguyen Cong Hoan n'est pas aussi pessimiste comme par exemple Ngo Tat To, et la force de la réaction des gens du village dans le roman *Le dernier pas* est beaucoup plus forte que dans le roman *Quand la lampe s'éteint (Tat den)*.

Le motif «de l'acte violent» dans la prose vietnamienne entre 1930 et 1940 peut en quelque sens être considéré comme migratoire, passant d'une trame de construction à une autre (Nguyen Cong Hoan, Nam Cao, Nguyen Hong et autres).

Du côté formal, le roman *Le dernier pas* est un récit à la manière impersonnelle. Le personnage conduisant la conversation est le héros principal Pha, qui ainsi sous une forme voilée remplit le rôle du narrateur potentiel. Et de ce fait, il détermine en somme la trame constructive du roman. Cependant, Pha, comme héros principal du roman n'est pas un personnage inéquivocablement constant, car dans le même matériel de fable il pourrait bien être remplacé par un autre personnage si l'auteur décidait à le suivre (par exemple Thi ou San). Ces deux branches de fable (Pha et Thi) sont intéressantes dans le roman en ce qu'elles se croisent à sens contradictoire à deux reprises. La première fois c'est au début du roman où ils se croisent au sens négatif du mot (le choix du nom de l'enfant), leur antithèse va croissant (le glissement d'une bouteille de l'eau-de-vie faite en ménage et défendue, puis la mise en scène du procès par le propriétaire Lai) et elles se croisent une seconde fois, mais au sens positif du mot, au moment où Pha rencontre Thi afin de prendre des engagements mutuels et de s'opposer à l'unanimité au propriétaire Lai.

L'auteur indique le temps de la fable par références aux intervalles temporels au cours desquels les événements ont lieu. L'endroit du roman entier peut être caractérisé comme étant statique — presque tout prend place au village d'An Dao.

L'introduction de l'idée d'éducation est motivée dans le roman par raisons de composition. Le dénouement exige une compréhension du problème de l'éducation qui est une préparation au dernier acte du héros principal. Mais précisément cette relation mène au dilemme: la compréhension du problème de l'éducation et conséquemment un accroissement de conscience sociale chez l'individu (Pha) mène à la perpétration d'un acte isolé qui est en contradiction essentiellement idéologique avec elles.

Nguyen Cong Hoan est maître d'une caractérisation indirecte des personnages, cette caractérisation étant toujours en un accord harmonique avec leur psychologie. En même temps, une rupture dans le caractère de Pha signalise un changement simultané dans la situation de la fable. La relation émotive envers Pha est construite à partir du principe de sympathie non-engagée et non à partir d'un principe éthique (on ne sympathise pas trop avec lui, mais on ne le condamne pas non plus). Cependant, évaluer Pha uniquement au point de vue de l'utilité sociale de son caractère

(mainte critique le fait encore) ne serait en fait qu'un cliché historique littéraire et cela mènerait à une dépréciation du système émotif au moyen de sentiments subjectifs ayant rapport à la vie et à la politique.

Quant au sens du comique, Nguyen Cong Hoan a beaucoup en commun avec Mérimée et Flaubert, son sous-texte ou sous-ton n'est jamais l'expression d'un participant engagé. Chez lui, le motif comique de la situation se rencontre avec le motif d'une interprétation de Pha originelle, qui, même qu'elle soit logique dans son essence, prend un air encore plus comique dans la situation donnée.

En général, le roman *Le dernier pas* peut être jugé comme une œuvre critique-réaliste (même si, dire simplement de Nguyen Cong Hoan qu'il était un réaliste, ne suffirait pas); sans aucun doute, la plus progressive de ses œuvres, elle marque un changement remarquable dans la conscience réformatrice de l'auteur en une conscience quasi révolutionnaire. Comme nous avons déjà observé, c'était d'une part la réalité de la vie même qui développait et influençait la conscience de l'écrivain, de l'autre, le développement logique des caractères des personnages dans le roman exerçait un effet régressif sur leur créateur et influençait d'une certaine manière son point de vue subjectif. Car, toute œuvre d'art, dès son origine, vit de sa vie propre et indépendante.

C'est un peu dommage, que Nguyen Cong Hoan n'a pas continué à élaborer le sujet de ce roman en une trilogie, selon son intention originelle.

SOME REMARKS ON THE CATEGORY OF RELATION IN SPEECH ACTIVITY

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

No adequate theory of language has been constructed so far. The sign theory became a forerunner of the systematic approach. One of the basic notions of the theory of systems is that of relation which is both an ontological and gnoseological category. Various types of relations are discussed by the author in his article, especially those operating at the level of performance.

Although the problems of language are of an immediate concern to philosophy, logic, anthropology, literary science, history, psychology as well as to quite a few other scientific disciplines, they have not been satisfactorily solved till this day. In the past, linguistics leaned alternately upon methodologically more advanced branches of science — logic, biology, psychology, sociology — and it was only the sign theory that amounted to a turning-point in the methodology of linguistics. The sign theory brought an end to the era of positivist approach that was notable for the Neogrammarians. At the same time it was a forerunner of the systematic approach which was typical for the methodological revolution in all branches of science. Thanks to the sign theory, the idea of system was finally adopted in linguistics. Here it must be stressed that the systematic approach is no original creation of the present-day representatives of the general systems theory. The foundations of the systematic approach were laid by K. Marx and F. Engels as early as the past century.¹

A system is such a set of elements that is kept together by a set of definite relations. Thus the dialectical category of relation ranks among the central notions of the theory of systems. This, however, does not amount to an absolutization of relations to the detriment of substance (i.e. elements). The scientific investigation ought to take into account both substance and relations since neither can exist without the other.

According to Uyomov,² relation is what creates a thing out of given elements. The category of relation is more complex and abstract than that of object or property. Relations exist both at ontological and gnoseological levels. This means that when describing an object, the relations characterizing it are discovered, not constructed.

¹ Cf. Bastide, R. (ed.): *Sens et usages du terme structure*. The Hague, Mouton 1962.

² Uyomov, A. S.: *Veshchi, svoistva i otnosheniya*. Moscow, Izdatelstvo AN SSSR 1963, p. 51.

Although relations cannot be perceived by senses, they are of vital importance for objects because these cannot exist without relations to other objects. Neither can they do without internal relations. Unfortunately, the theory of relations is in its beginnings and only the binary relations have been described and analysed in logic so far. This is regrettable because in language we often encounter polydimensional relations that cannot be reduced to the binary ones. In this respect it is interesting to quote V. Filkorn: "We are of the opinion that science so far investigates only such systems in which the set of relations is enumerable."³ This is an important remark that helps to explain the intuitively obvious difference in the degree of systematic organization between, e.g., phonology on the one hand and semantics on the other. Thus, it makes sense to classify systems as to their degree of internal organization. The phonological systems are notable for a relatively small and fixed number of elements that are interrelated by means of a set of very few relations. These are relatively stable and relatively closed systems which very well resist external influences. It is pretty much the same with grammatical systems although here the number of both elements and relations is somewhat higher. On the other hand, vocabulary (or word stock) can be referred to as system only in a trivial sense. Its degree of internal organization is rather low because very numerous elements are kept together in a very loose way by likewise numerous relations that can hardly be enumerated. That is why the vocabulary of any language is subject to extensive influences from outside.

In view of the extreme complexity of natural language we cannot possibly maintain that direct interrelations hold among all of its elements. This in no way excludes language from the class of systems. As V. Filkorn puts it: "For a set D to be system... it is not necessary that each element of the set D be in a definite relation with each other element of the set D. This condition does not hold when the elements of the set D are ordered by means of a great number of relations."⁴ System may be defined either in an abstract way (i.e. per its relations) or in a concrete way (i.e. per its elements). It seems to be the ambition of modern linguistics to prefer the abstract definition of language.

An analysis of relations in language may likewise be either concrete or abstract. The concrete analysis concentrates upon relations that are observed at the level of grammatical categories and vocabulary, etc. The abstract analysis pays attention to the properties of relations of a higher order, e.g., those holding between various subsystems of language in the speech act, etc. The relational analysis is not restricted to the description of static facts. Quite the contrary, it should be applied to the description of processes as well. In other words, system change, whether quantitative or qualitative, should also be taken into account. Language is in the state of mobile

³ Filkorn, V.: *Úvod do metodológie vied*. Bratislava, VSAV 1960, p. 49.

⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

equilibrium and it undergoes an incessant restructuration during the speech act, changing through repeated functioning. Thus, language is a dynamic system. If the theory of language is to be likewise characterized as dynamic, it has to meet one important requirement: It ought to be able to describe the way the language system passes from one state into another. Such a theory would consist of a set of theoremes enabling the linguist to predict the behaviour of the system. No available theory of language is strong enough to meet this requirement.

As far as language is concerned, the transition from one state into another may be understood in two ways; first, at the level of synchrony (actualization of the potential language system in the sequence of actual systems of speech) and, second, at the level of diachrony (transition from one language system into another along the time axis). In both instances we have to do with transformations, either synchronous or diachronous. The former are reversible while the latter may be said to be irreversible. Paradoxically enough, the irreversible transformations are cumulative products of the reversible transformations taking place during the speech act. In other words, linguistic change as a diachronous phenomenon is a product of functioning of the system as a synchronous phenomenon. This seeming paradox is due to a variety of reasons and only some of them will be mentioned here. A certain part is played by the fact that any language is spoken by many people who use their language in ways that may deviate considerably. Two people may use one and the same language in different ways despite the fact that they communicate about one and the same item. This diversity is a by-product of the dialectical tension between language and objective reality; language as a finite device reflects the objective reality that is infinite. Furthermore, the objective reality as such is a continuum, while language as a potential system is discrete. Reflecting the reality, language segments it into discrete elements that refer to various objects, processes, etc. which amounts to saying that they carry meaning. When communicating, it is the task of the speaker to combine the meaningful elements of language into sequences referring to events taking place outside language. Thus, the speaker produces an analogon of the continuous reality. This analogon is sentence and it carries sense. Sense is a communicative category and reflects the continuity of objective reality. This implies that meanings have to be both constant and flexible if language is to cope with its tasks. The dialectical tension between infinite and continuous reality on the one hand and finite and discrete language on the other, enables language to function, change and develop.

Despite the introduction of sign theory into linguistics, the attempts to construct a satisfactory theory of language by means of analytical procedures based upon induction have remained unsuccessful. Human language is too complicated, and neither inductive methods, nor their formalizations have proved sufficient. This is confirmed by the failure of machine translation. Too much has been expected from the application of formal logic as well. Early enough it has turned out that

there is no one-to-one equivalence between grammatical and logical devices. The formal language of logic is simpler in principle and one logical functor often correlates with several grammatical markers or vice versa. Typological diversity of natural languages proves once again the incomparability of logic with grammar. The complexity of language is rooted in its semantics. Each natural language, unlike formal languages, represents a polysemantic sign structure and polysemy is its deepest essence.⁵ Here it is suggested that polysemy is interrelated with two properties of the natural language, i.e., with its polyfunctionality and with its formal finiteness that contrasts with the infiniteness of objective reality. The polyfunctionality of language is obvious since the latter fulfils not only an informative function but also a cognitive, connative, phatic, emotive, and metalinguistic function.⁶ The polysemy, as hinted above, springs up from the internal organization of language, from the fact that limited formal devices take part in communicating on the virtually illimitable reality. The polysemy appeared as a corollary of the situational dependence of the speech act. It represented no obstacle to an efficient communication since it was disambiguated by the situation. Although gradually new means of disambiguation appeared, the polysemy never disappeared from language because it is a factor enhancing the efficiency of communication. And the efficiency, along with the contradictory tendency toward the understandability of communication, is an important factor that influences change and development in language through the speech activity.

The insufficiency of existing theories and descriptions of language may be largely ascribed to the neglect of language functioning in the speech situation. Language used to be described in separation from the speech activity, as an abstract phenomenon and there are linguists that have maintained that the speech ability is to be relegated to the domain of psychology.⁷ No wonder that language in such an interpretation was deprived of one whole dimension, namely that of change and development in time. At the same time, no sufficient attention was paid to the fact that functioning of language in synchrony is the basis of all of its changes. On the other hand, descriptive linguistics was virtually interested only in message and, finally, only in the formal aspect of the latter. Thus the thesis that meaning cannot be satisfactorily described (L. Bloomfield) led some linguists to believe that meaning is irrelevant for linguistics (Z. S. Harris). N. Chomsky has launched an attempt to remove the shortcomings of descriptive linguistics but the impact of the latter

⁵ Diankov, B.: *O polisemanticheskoi strukture estestvennykh yazykov*. Voprosy filosofii, 1973, No. 7, p. 138.

⁶ Zvegintsev, V. A.: *Yazyk i lingvisticheskaya teoriya*. Moscow, The University Press 1973, p. 122.

⁷ Safran Ganz, J.: *Rules. A Systematic Study*. The Hague, Mouton 1971, p. 118.

manifests itself in his definition of language as a sum of utterances. However, he was right when stressing the need to investigate language as an activity. His generative transformational model was devised as an attempt to penetrate into the creative aspect of language and to combine the investigation of language structure with that of thought structures. Unfortunately, there is a gap between Chomsky's declared programme and its realization. Having distinguished competence from performance, Chomsky rather unexpectedly confines his attention to the former although it is the performance where language functions as an incessant restructuration. Chomsky has thus avoided the most creative phase of language and reduced what intended to be a generative model to just another description. This shift is rather surprising since competence is secondary to performance and can arise only through repeated performance. These remarks, however, in no way diminish the merit of Chomsky who was able to formulate a clearly new approach to language. In the future, the efforts of linguists ought to concentrate upon the investigation of performance. This task is feasible only provided psychological, logical, and sociological data, along with linguistic ones, are taken into account.

Performance (or speech act) is that phase of linguistic activity where competence is linked through a set of dynamic relations with utterances. They are functional and projecting relations because they project what is stored in human mind into speech. These relations cannot be restricted to relations paradigmatics → syntagmatics because memory serves as a storage not only for paradigms, but also for schemes of syntagmatic units. What is important is that they are linearization relations. Linearization uses order in time as the basis for the expression of linkage between linguistic elements. However, what comes later in speech need not necessarily be a later event in reality. The temporal axis that is basically continuous is made discrete in speech. As a consequence of this, utterances are divided into sequences of sentences. Inside the latter, the contrast *before* versus *after* is utilized to express grammatical information. Various languages use this contrast in two different ways. First, *determinant* precedes *determiné*. This is the so-called left-hand linearization. Second, *determinant* follows *determiné*, which is right-hand linearization. Languages using only one of these two types of linearization to the complete exclusion of the other are rare. The left-hand linearization (which is more exacting for the human memory) is an almost absolute principle in Japanese, Korean and in other languages of the so-called agglutinative type. On the other hand, languages like Indonesian, Tongan, etc. seem to approach very closely the pure right-hand linearization type. In most languages, both types of linearization are present in varying proportions. Thus the right-hand linearization seems to prevail in French while the left-hand linearization is dominant in Slavic and Germanic languages. The type of linearization seems to have far-reaching implications for the entire grammatical structure of a language as the deep differences between e.g. Japanese and Polynesian indicate. This problem ought to be investigated at length in typology.

There are authors that regard linearity as the most important principle of linguistic structure. Thus, according to L. E. Pshenichnaya and T. N. Rylova,⁸ texts reflect more or less complex semantic situations... Such a complex semantic situation may be represented as an ordered n -dimensional graph. During the speech activity, this polydimensional semantic graph is transformed into the linear text. The entire mechanism of language depends upon linearity. The contradiction between polydimensionality of competence and linearity of speech calls forth, e.g., the existence of linking elements. The latter are a pragmatically defined class and represent no logically clear set of markers with non-overlapping distribution. The linguistic linking elements not only interrelate various actions in an objective way, but also indicate the speaker's attitude. Compare the following two Slovak sentences:

1. *Nebo sa zamračilo, aby sa vzápäťi spustil dážď*

The sky got clouded so that it started raining immediately

2. *Nebo sa zamračilo a vzápäťi sa spustil dážď*

The sky got clouded and it started raining immediately

Both sentences refer to one and the same natural phenomenon but sentence 1 describes it with a tinge of finality that is completely absent from sentence 2.

A question arises whether the projecting relations discussed above may be regarded as rules, which is often done. According to B. Mayo,⁹ rules are normative and are a uniformity of actions. J. Safran Ganz in her monograph¹⁰ denies the suitability of the term rule to "grammatical behaviour". She admits that the "grammatical behaviour" (i.e. performance) is rule-like and can be described as consisting of rules, but grammar is better described as a set of laws. Only normative grammars can be regarded as sets of rules because they tend to regulate the "grammatical behaviour", i.e. the performance of particular individuals. Thus rule is simply a specific instance of relation, it is such a relation that is prescriptive in its essence.

Aside from projecting (linearizing) relations, in performance we have to do with substitutional and distributional relations. The substitutional relations are those among elements of one and the same paradigmatic system. The distributional relations are a linear projection of compatibility or incompatibility among various paradigms. However, these will not be discussed in the present article.

In conclusion it may be stressed once again that language is the most perfect vehicle of human communication, thought, and cognition. That is why it deserves a more vivid interest on the part of all social sciences, including philosophy. Unfor-

⁸ Pschenichnaya, L. E.—Rylova, T. N.: *Nekotorye sposoby razresheniya yazykom protivorechiya mezhdu mnogomernostyu plana soderzhaniya i lineinoi organizatsiei tekstov*. In: *Matematicheskaya lingvistika*. 1. Kiev, The University Press 1973, p. 81.

⁹ Mayo, B.: "Rules" of Language. Philosophical Studies, 2, 1951, No. 1, p. 1.

¹⁰ Safran Ganz, J.: op. cit., pp. 112—113.

tunately, no adequate theory of language has been constructed so far. If this failure of linguistics is ever to be overcome, the linguists will have to concentrate upon the analysis of speech activity or performance, taking into account data from the domains of psychology, logic, philosophy, sociology, ethnology, and theory of communication as well.

DIE SPRACHLICHE STELLUNG DER BERTI- (SIGA) SPRACHE IN DÄR FÜR (SÜDÄN)

KAREL PETRÁČEK, Prag

Die Analyse der betreffenden Sprachpläne der Berti-Sprache im Sudan (Där Für) zeigt, dass diese Sprache zu den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen gehört. Die Stellung des Berti in der genannten Sprachgruppe selbst wird nicht näher erforscht, es zeigt sich jedoch klar, dass es sich um eine selbständige *Sprache* und nicht um ein Dialekt einer anderen Sprache (wie z. B. des Zaghawa) handelt.

1. Die bisherige Klassifikation der Berti-Sprache

Die bisherigen Klassifikationsversuche der afrikanischen Sprachen — abgesehen von den älteren¹ — klassifizierten die Berti- oder Siga-Sprache als eine zentralsaharanische (oder auch ostsaharanische) Sprache.² Dabei stützten sie sich meistens auf die einzigen bisher publizierten Materialien von MacMichael, die aus einigen Sätzen und aus einer kleinen Wörtersammlung bestehen.³ Die Meinung von MacMichael, dass das Berti dem Zaghawa am nächsten stehe,⁴ spiegelt sich auch im *Handbook of African Languages*⁵ wider, wo das Berti „vielleicht“ als ein Dialekt des Zaghawa beurteilt wird. Auch die letzten Arbeiten von J. H. Greenberg reihen das Berti den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen zu.⁶ Diese Sprachgruppe kennen wir ziemlich gut, dank den Arbeiten von J. Lukas, der einige ihrer gemein-

¹ Vgl. noch Schmidt, W.: *Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde*, 1926, S. 92—104; Delafosse, M.: In: *Les langues du monde* (A. Meillet—M. Cohen, ed.): *Les langues du Soudan et de la Guinée*, 1924, S. 463—560.

² Lukas, J.: *Umrisse einer ostsaharanischen Sprachgruppe*. Afrika und Übersee, 36, 1951 bis 1952, S. 3—7; Greenberg, J. H.: op. cit., in Ann. 6.

³ *Darfur Linguistics*. Sudan Notes and Records, 3, 1927, S. 197 ff.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tucker, A. N.—Bryan, M. A.: *The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*. 1956, S. 52.

⁶ *Étude sur la classification des langues africaines*. BIFAN, Ser. B, 16, 1954, S. 83—112; 17, 1955, S. 59—108; spätere Bearbeitung dieser Problematik in *The Languages of Africa*. The Hague 1966², 8, 131 ff. Hier spricht der Verfasser von einer Nilo-saharanischen Gruppe (Nile-Saharan), wo die saharanischen Sprachen die 2. Gruppe bilden.

samen Züge⁷ als auch verschiedene Einzelsprachen⁸ beschrieben hat. Andere spezielle Studien lieferten Ch. und M. Le Cœur⁹ und J. Tubiana,¹⁰ Welch letzter neue Materialien aus dem Zagħawa gesammelt und zur Publikation vorbereitet hat. Eine vergleichende Synthese dieser Sprachgruppe lieferten A. N. Tucker mit M. A. Bryan, analytische Studien und neue Materialien stammen aus der Feder von M. A. Bryan, N. Cyffer, J. Tubiana, K. Petráček u. a.¹¹ Lexikalische Vergleiche findet man bei J. H. Greenberg, op. cit.

1.1 Materialsammlungen des Berti

Die bisher publizierten Sammlungen aus dem Berti sind gering und stammen von MacMichael.¹² Die handschriftlichen Materialien A. J. Arkells und L. Holýs konnte ich, zusammen mit den Sammlungen von MacMichael, in einigen Studien bearbeiten und im Archiv orientální herausgeben. Dabei konnte ich noch nicht die später entdeckten Sammlungen von B. H. H. Spence (Sagatu Vocabulary, File Nr. 1294/4 8 LOPR, Khartoum University) aus dem Jahre 1918 benutzen.

Meine Analysen behandeln die Phonetik, Phonologie, Morphonologie, Morphologie und die wichtigsten syntaktischen Strukturen.¹³

Alle erwähnten Arbeiten gestatten uns heute die sprachlichen Zusammenhänge der Berti-Sprache mit der zentralsaharanischen Sprachgruppe zu untersuchen.

Dabei werden wir aus praktischen Gründen von der Synthese aus der Feder von A. N. Tucker und M. A. Bryan (im Folgenden T-B) ausgehen. Meine Bearbeitung des Berti wird immer als B zitiert werden.

⁷ Op. cit., in Anm. 2.

⁸ Die Bibliographie bei Tucker, A. N.—Bryan, M. A.: op. cit., S. 184—185.

⁹ Vgl. ibid., und Le Cœur, Ch. et M.: *Grammaire et textes teda-daza*, 1955.

¹⁰ Note sur la langue Zugħawa. Trudy XXV meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov. Tom V, 1963, Moskau, S. 614—619.

¹¹ Tucker, A. N.—Bryan, M. A.: *Linguistic Analysis. The Non-Bantu Languages in North-Eastern Africa*, 1966, S. 168—192; Bryan, M. A.: *The Verb Classes in the East Saharan Languages*. In: *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen — Ein Querschnitt*. Hamburg 1971, S. 224—234; Cyffer, N.: *Versuch einer Beschreibung der tonalen Verhältnisse im Kanuri von Maiduguri*. Ibid., S. 235 bis 245; Petráček, K.: *Die Zahlwörtersysteme der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen*. Ibid., S. 246—252; *Die Grenzen des Semitohamitischen: Die zentralsaharanischen und semitohamitischen Sprachen in phonologischer Hinsicht*. ArOr, 40, 1972, S. 6—50; Tubiana, J.: *Names of Animals and Plants in the Teda, Daza and bëRi Dialects*. Second Int. Conference “Language and Literature in the Sudan”. 7th—12th Dec. 1970; *Observations: A propos de sumór etc.* GLECS, 13, 1968—1969, S. 84—86; vgl. auch die reiche Tätigkeit von J. Tubiana in dem Dossier de la R. C. P., Nr. 45. Populations anciennes et actuelles des confins tchado-soudanais, z. B. Dossier 4, Field-Work in Dar Fur 1965—1967, Paris 1968, Field-Work in Darfur, 1—13.

¹² Op. cit., in Anm. 3 und *A History of the Arabs in Sudan*, I, 1922, S. 118.

¹³ Die Phonetik, Phonologie und Morphonologie der Berti- (Siga) Sprache in Där Fur (Südān). ArOr, 33, 1965, S. 341—365; Morphologie (Nomen, Pronomen) der Berti- (Siga) Sprache in Där Fur (Südān), ArOr, 34, 1966, S. 295—319; die Bearbeitung des Verbums und der syntaktischen Strukturen befindet sich in der Handschrift, die ich hier zitiere.

Die Frage der Stellung des Berti unter den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen selbst werden wir dagegen noch nicht lösen können. Hier sind wir genötigt, die Publikation der neuesten Sammlungen aus dem Zagħawa (J. Tubiana) abzuwarten. Es ist nämlich klar, dass das Berti dem Zagħawa sehr nahe steht. Aus demselben Grunde sehe ich zur Zeit von der Untersuchung des Lexikons ab und begrenze mich nur auf einige mehr oder weniger illustrierende Beispiele (hauptsächlich nach J. H. Greenberg).

2. Die Zusammenhänge des Berti mit den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen

werden in allen Sprachplänen bezeugt, und zwar in der Phonetik, Phonologie und Morphonologie, Morphologie, in der Syntax und im Lexikon. Ihre Menge und strukturelle Wichtigkeit zeigen, dass es sich um *genetische* Zusammenhänge handelt, was bedeutet, dass das Berti aus derselben historischen Base wie die anderen zentralsaharanischen Sprachen hervorgegangen sein muss. Dagegen ist die Erklärung dieser Zusammenhänge auf Grund der Beeinflussung von Seiten der anderen zentralsaharanischen Sprachen (d. h. im Rahmen eines gewissen Sprachbundes) abzulehnen. Auch die Sonden in die phonetische Entwicklung zeigen auf genetische Zusammenhänge.

Verschiedene Einflüsse aus anderen Sprachgruppen Sudans auf das Berti kann man natürlich auch belegen, und zwar in lexikalischer Hinsicht die Einflüsse des Arabischen;¹⁴ in der Morphologie sind zu diesen Einflüssen vielleicht einige Analogien des Berti und anderer sudanischen Sprachen zuzuordnen, wie z. B. das Suffix des Pl. *-tu/-ta* in der Maba Gruppe (T-B, 198), die Negation *-ba* im Fur (T-B, 227), Daju (T-B, 241), im Hausa und anderswo; das universale Suffix des Pl. im Midob *-ti* (T-B, 319) u. a. Hauptsächlich wären die Einflüsse aus dem benachbarten Midob (aus der nubischen Sprachgruppe) und aus dem Fur hervorzuheben. Einige Berti leben nach L. Holý unter den Fur. Die Frage, ob man diese und andere Analogien (vgl. J. H. Greengberg: *Languages of Africa*, S. 130—133) für weitere klassifikatorische Operationen — wie bei J. H. Greenberg — ausnützen kann, lasse ich beiseite.

Der Einfluss des Arabischen, das heute schon alle Berti als ihre einzige Sprache sprechen, lässt sich im morphologischen Plan nicht beobachten. Dagegen wirkt in diesem sudanischen Dialekt des Arabischen das Berti als ein aktives Substrat.

2.1 Der geographische Umfang der zentralsaharanischen Sprachgruppe

Das Berti dürfen wir für ein weiteres Glied der zentralsaharanischen Sprachgruppe halten, neben Tuda, Tubu, Kanuri und Zagħawa und neben anderen weniger bekannten Sprachen und Dialekten.¹⁵ Seine Bedeutung liegt darin, dass es weitere Vergleiche

¹⁴ ArOr, 33, 1965, S. 366 (Berti 3.6).

¹⁵ Übersichtlich die Arbeiten von A. N. Tucker, M. A. Bryan, J. Tubiana, J. Lukas.

che im Rahmen der zentralsaharanischen Sprachgruppe ermöglicht und die Grenze dieser Sprachgruppe nach Osten verschoben hat.

Die historische Interpretation dieser Situation möchte ich hier nicht berühren. Man kann jedoch annehmen, dass das Zentrum der zentralsaharanischen Gruppe im Norden oder Nord-Westen liegt, also im Gebiete der Tuda-Sprache.

Einige noch nicht gesicherte Zusammenhänge der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen weisen nach Osten; in phonologischer Hinsicht werden sie jedoch nicht gesichert.¹⁶ J. H. Greenbergs Klassifikation weist dagegen einige Zusammenhänge der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen aus, die nach Westen gehen.¹⁷ Diese Fragen möchte ich hier nicht lösen.

2.2 Die Struktur und ihre Elemente

Unsere Analyse zeigt ein bemerkenswürdiges Ergebnis: während die Struktur des Berti sich in verschiedenen Hinsichten zu der allgemeinen zentralsaharanischen Struktur als isomorph erweist, sind die Elemente, die diese Struktur bilden, einigartig und decken sich in formaler Hinsicht mit denselben strukturellen Elementen der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen nicht. Vor allem gilt das von der nominalen Zone des Berti.

Daraus folgt, dass wir uns sowohl um die strukturellen als auch um die formalen Zusammenhänge interessieren müssen. Verschiedene spezifische Züge des Berti-Systems können wir hier beiseite lassen.

3. Vergleichende Analysen

3.1.1 Phonologie

A. N. Tucker mit M. A. Bryan, op. cit., besprechen eher das phonetische System, wenn sie auch einige rein phonologische Bemerkungen beifügen. Der phonologischen Problematik habe ich zwei spezielle Studien gewidmet¹⁸ und gebe hier deshalb nur die wichtigsten Ergebnisse ganz kurz an.

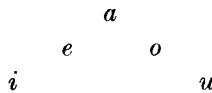
Vokalische Phoneme

Als das gemeinsame zentralsaharanische System haben wir das dreistufige Dreieckssystem

¹⁶ Cerulli, E.: In: *Linguistica semitica, presente e futuro*. Roma 1961, S. 148–151; verschiedene Anmerkungen bei Tucker, A. N.—Bryan, M. A.: *Linguistic Analysis*, passim; Bryan, M. A.: *The Verb Classes in the East Saharan Languages* — Vergleich mit den kuschitischen Sprachen; Lukas, J.: *Die Sprache der Tubu in der zentralen Sahara*. 1953, XVII. In negativer Weise Petráček, K.: *Die Grenzen des Semitohamitischen*. ArOr, 40, 1972, S. 6–50, für die Phonologie.

¹⁷ *Languages of Africa*. 1966², 133 ff.

¹⁸ Petráček, K.: *Phonologische Systeme der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen (konsonantische Phoneme)*. ArOr, 35, 1967, S. 26–51; *Phonologische Systeme der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen (vokalische Phoneme)*. *Mélanges M. Cohen*. The Hague, 1967, S. 31–38. Vgl. auch Anm. 13



anerkannt, das die Quantität phonologisch mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht ausnützte. Das Berti hat dasselbe System.

3.1.2 Konsonantische Phoneme

Das gemeinsame zentralsaharanische System haben wir im folgenden Modell dargestellt:

<i>F</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Č</i>	<i>K</i>	
				<i>H</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>Ǧ</i>	<i>G</i>	
		<i>S</i>		
		<i>Z</i>		
<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	/ᵬ/	<i>η</i>	
<i>W</i>			<i>Y</i>	
		<i>RL</i>		
		<i>X</i>		

Der Konsonant *ᵬ* als Phonem ist nicht gesichert, *X* bedeutet eine Retroflexive, die sich als *r/l* oder *d* realisiert. *Č* in unserer Umschrift gleicht einem *C* in der Transkription in anderen Systemen.

Das Berti bleibt im Rahmen dieses phonologischen Systems, unsicher bleibt jedoch die phonologische Relevanz des *η*, *՚*, der Retroflexive *՚* (im Berti aus der Variante *d/r* zu ersehen) und *Ǧ* mit *č*. Alle diese Laute sind aber belegt. Darüber vergleiche die angeführten Studien.

3.1.3 Prosodeme

Als Prosodem von grosser Wichtigkeit können wir in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen den Ton bezeichnen. Nach T-B spielt der Ton in diesen Sprachen eine wichtige, zum Teil phonologisch relevante Rolle. Diese Problematik habe ich bei den vokalischen Phonemen speziell studiert.¹⁹ Die zentralsaharanischen Sprachen hatten vielleicht ein solches System der Töne, dessen Überreste auch im Berti erhalten geblieben sind (B 2.7.2 ff.).

Über den Akzent wissen wir allerdings nur wenig.

Die Quantität halten wir für phonologisch irrelevant.

Auch hier nimmt das Berti an den allgemeinen zentralsaharanischen Zügen teil.

3.1.4 Zusammenfassend

kann man also sagen, dass das phonologische System des Berti einen Beweis für die Zugehörigkeit dieser Sprache zu der zentralsaharanischen Sprachgruppe darstellt.

¹⁹ Vgl. Anm. 18., N. Cyffer, zit. in Anm. 11.

3.2 Morphonologie

Die morphonologische Struktur der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen ist nur wenig erforscht; T-B, 3 führen nur die Struktur der einsilbigen nominalen und verbalen Stämme an, und zwar CV oder CVC; längere Formen sind speziell beim Nomen geläufig.

Das Berti kennt diese Strukture ebenfalls (B 2.5, 15.2).

3.3 Morphologie

3.3.1 *Nomen und Pronomen*

Nomen und Pronomen weisen in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen folgendes System auf:

3.3.1.1 Die Opposition Sg.: Pl.

wird durch Suffixe realisiert beim Nomen (T-B, 5a), Pronomen (T-B, 5c) und beim Verbum (T-B, 5d, Imperativ 9b II). Aus verschiedenen Elementen sind für unsere Zwecke nur die Suffixe mit *-t/-d* hervorzuheben, die in allen drei erwähnten Systembereichen vorkommen.

3.3.1.2 Die Opposition der Kasus

(d. h. Nom., Gen., Dat., Akk., Ablativ, Vokativ u. a.) wird durch Postpositionen oder Suffixe ausgedrückt (T-B, 7), einige davon weisen identische Formen auf.

3.3.1.3 Das System der personalen Pronomina

unterscheidet 3 Personen, ohne das Geschlecht auszunützen, im Sg. und Pl., und wird bei T-B (S. 15) als ein Blockschema (vom Sg. gebildet) oder als ein anderes („interlocking“) Schema (hauptsächlich in Kanuri, Zagħawa, Bideyat) dargestellt.

3.3.1.4 Zum pronominalen Subjekt beim Verbum vgl. hier 3.3.3.

3.3.1.5 Zum pronominalen Objekt beim Verbum vgl. hier die Objektkonjugation 3.3.3.4.

3.3.1.6 Possessives Pronomen

bildet man durch Suffixe (beide Schemata wie 3.3.1.3), die dem Pronomen beim Verbum (Tuda, Daza II. Klasse) nahe stehen (T-B, 8a IV). Für Tuda-Tubu wird das selbständige Pronomen (nachgestellt) erwähnt (ibid.).

3.3.1.7 Interrogative und demonstrative Pronomina

Interrogative Pronomina unterscheiden u. a. Person und Sachen und haben verschiedene Formen, die meistens das Element *n* aufweisen; demonstrative Pronomina haben verschiedene Formen.

3.3.2 *Das Berti*

hat dasselbe System (i. e. 3.3.1—7, 3.3.1.3 mit beiden angeführten Schematen); nur das possessive Pronomen zeigt sich strukturell verschieden.

Auch einige mehr oder weniger gesicherte formale Analogien lassen sich feststellen:

3.3.2.1 Suffix des Pl. *-to/-tu/-do/-du*

(B 5.2), vgl. dazu nur Pl. *-da* bei den Stammesnamen im Tubu (T-B, 4b) und die Elemente *t/d* beim Pronomen possessivum (Tuda, Daza, Kaširda, T-B, 8a IV) und

beim Verbum (I. Klasse in Daza und Kaširda, II. Kl. in Tuda, Tubu, Daza, III. Kl. in Tuda, Tubu, Kaširda) und im Imperativ (Tuda, Daza, Kaširda) *-tu/-to* (I., II. und III. Klasse).

3.3.2.2 Die Opposition des Geschlechtes

wird im ganzen System des Berti nicht realisiert (B 4.0 Nomen, 9.0 Pronomen, auch beim Verbum).

3.3.2.3 Aus formalen Analogien des Kasussystems,

auch hier durch Postpositionen oder Suffixe gebildet, lassen sich nur folgende Beispiele anführen:

a) Das Suffix des direkten und indirekten Objekts *-dar* (B 6.3 beim Nomen und Pronomen), vgl. dazu verschiedene Suffixe mit *d* oder *r* für den Dativ in Tuda, Tubu, Kanuri (T-B, 7), als auch unsere Hypothese (B 11.2) über das Element *r* in dem Fragepronomen *no-r*, wo wir eine dative Funktion vorausgesetzt haben.

b) Die instrumentalen und lokalen Verhältnisse im Berti durch die Postposition *biŋ* (B 6.5) ausgedrückt, könnten eine Analogie im Lokativ mit *-mbeŋ* in Kanuri (T-B, 7) haben.

c) Für einen Objektkasus haben wir (B 6.3.6, 13.0) das Suffix *-o* potenziell gehalten, wozu vgl. das Genitivsuffix *-o* (Tuda), *-u/-ū* (Tubu) (T-B, 7), wobei die Übergänge vom Genitiv und Akkusativ im Tubu und Tuda zu unterstreichen sind. Im Berti ist auch eine Genitivbedeutung des Suffixes *-o* in einigen Beispielen nicht ausgeschlossen (*gu sanan-o nanan* — eig. Baum — viel — sein (Gen.) — ich sehe).

3.3.2.4 Das System des selbständigen Pronomens

im Berti weist keine andere Analogien als die der allgemeinen Struktur auf. Das zentralsaharanische System (T-B, 8a) erscheint (mit einigen Ausnahmen für Kanuri und überhaupt für Zaghawa und Bideyat) ziemlich einheitlich. Im Berti (B 9.0) finde ich das Blockschema (Pl. mit *-ta* u. Var. oder *-aŋ* u. Var.) wieder.

3.3.2.5 Das possessive Pronomen

wird im Berti durch das Sufix *-si/-su* beim selbständigen Pronomen gebildet (B 10.0), was eine strukturelle Charakteristik darstellt, die man in anderen zentralsaharanischen Sprachen nicht findet. Dieses zusammengesetzte possessive Pronomen (Pron. indep. — *-si/su*) steht immer (mit einer einzigen Ausnahme, B 10.2.1) nach dem Substantivum, ähnlich wie die possessiven Pronomina in anderen zentralsaharanischen Sprachen.

Die Benützung eines selbständigen Pronomens in einer Genitivkonstruktion mit dem geeigneten Gegenstand ist im Berti geläufig (B 10.3), die Folge der Komponente ist aber eine andere als in dem analogen Fall im Tuda und Tubu (Tuda *hada nra* — Gewohnheit unsere, Berti *su bei* — ich (Gen.) — Haus, d. h. mein Haus).

3.3.2.6 Interrogatives Pronomen

im Berti *nenni/nanni* — wer (B 11.1) könnte eine Analogie in den zentralsaharanischen Formen mit *n* finden: Tuda *wonne/wonna*, Tubu *njaŋ/njai*, Pl. *njanna* (dial. *nya, nyai, na*), Kanuri *ndú* u. a., und *inni, indi* für was? im Tubu.

3.3.2.7 Die Zahlwörtersysteme

in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen weisen verschiedene strukturelle Analogien auf, in der Stellung des Zahlwortes *nach* dem gezählten Gegenstand (Tuda-Daza, Tubu, Kanuri, Berti), der sich im Plural (Tuda-Daza, Tubu) als auch im Pl. oder Sg. (Kanuri, Berti) befindet.

Auch die Zahlwörter 11—19 werden in analoger Weise gebildet (10 + 1 usw.), die Zehner haben verschiedene selbständige Formen, die ich nicht anführen möchte, weil sie uns im Berti fehlen.

Das Berti weist also die allgemeine zentralsaharanische Struktur auf. Nur in wenigen Fällen können wir jedoch eine identische Form beweisen. Für zwei hat Berti die Formen *səŋ* u. a. (B 8.1), vgl. dazu Tuda-Daza *cu*, Tubu *cū*, Zaghawa *swe* (*šwe*); sechs im Berti *duti*, vgl. Tuda-Daza *dissi*, Tubu *dessū*, Zaghawa *dešte*. Offensichtlich sind diese Analogien sehr gering. Die zentralsaharanischen Systeme sind übrigens sehr verschieden, was die Formen der Zahlwörter anbelangt (die Systeme Tuda, Daza und Tubu sind identisch).

3.3.3 Das Verbum

3.3.3.1 Die morphologischen Verbalklassen,

die eine der charakteristischen Eigenschaften der zentralsaharanischen Sprachen bilden (T-B, 4a I, 9b; J. Lukas in AuÜ 36, 1951, 3), können im Berti mit einer grösseren oder minderen Sicherheit bezeugt werden. Manchmal tauchen sie nur als Überreste auf, überdeckt von anderen strukturellen Zügen.

Die I. Klasse

hat in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen folgende Suffixe oder Präfixe: 1. und 2. Person Präfixe *t-*, *n-* im Tuda, Daza, für Zaghawa vgl. im Pl. *t-*, *l-* (das letzte gleicht sicher einem *n* in anderen Sprachen); für die 3. Person Zero-Präfix; Plural bildet man meistens im Rahmen eines Blockschemas durch die Elemente *-d-*, *-o* oder *-lu* im Zaghawa.

Diese Klasse dürfen wir beim Verbum *r* — kommen (zentralsaharanischer Stamm, der immer in der I. Klasse erscheint) voraussetzen, und zwar nach folgender Rekonstruktion:

Berti	vgl. z. B. Kaširda (gehen)
Sg. 1.	<i>te-ri</i>
2. (<i>kai</i>)- <i>ne-ri</i>	<i>ne-ri</i>
3. (<i>kai</i>)- <i>ri</i>	<i>ri</i>
Pl. 1. (<i>kai</i>)- <i>te- r</i>	<i>te-r -du</i>
2. (<i>kai</i>)- <i>ne-r -nu-n</i>	<i>ne-r -du</i>
3. (<i>ki</i>) <i>-r-ei-n(z)</i> u. a. Var.	<i>ri-du</i>

Einige freie (nicht paradigmatische) Formen bestätigen dies (*ni-ši* — du gehst); einige Berti-Formen zu den zentralsaharanischen Verben der I. Klasse (B *nus* — sterben, *waŋ* — fallen, *zu* — treten) sind für diese Problematik nicht pertinent und zeugen manchmal von anderen Bildungsprozessen.

Die II. Klasse

ist selbständige und in einem Kompositumkomplex gesichert und zeigt im Berti zentralsaharanische strukturelle Züge auf, nämlich Suffixe für die 1. und 2. Pers. und das Präfix für die 3. Person (vgl. T-B, 4a I, 8a II, J. Lukas, op. cit.); das Präfix lautet im Berti *ki-* wie im Zagħawa:

Berti haben (sein)	vgl. Zagħawa (nach J. Lukas)
Sg. 1. <i>ti-gi-(s)</i>	<i>ja-gi</i>
2. <i>ti-gi -n</i> oder <i>ti-η</i>	<i>ja-li/ri</i>
3. <i>ki-ti -s</i>	<i>ki- ja-ri</i>
Pl. 1. <i>ti-di -s</i>	<i>ja-di</i>
2. <i>ti-zi</i>	<i>ja-bi</i>
<i>-ni -n</i> <i>-gi -n</i>	Varianten
3. <i>ki-ti -n</i>	<i>ki-ja-ru</i>

Bezüglich einer näheren Analyse für B vgl. 18. 1 und 16. 2 (Handschrift).

Strukturell rein erscheint die II. Klasse (*ti-gi-s* u. a.) in einem Kompositionskomplex (Handschrift 16.2.2), der als Ganzes noch das Präfix *ka-* in der 3. Person bekommt:

Berti

Sg. 1. <i>sa -ti-gi-s</i>	Pl. <i>se -ti-di -s</i>
2. <i>se -di-gi-n</i>	<i>se -ti-zi (?)</i>
3. <i>ka-se-ge-di -s</i>	<i>ka-se-gi-di -n</i>

Der Stamm *ti* geht unter dem Einfluss der stimmhaften Konsonanten /g/ in *di* über (Sg. 2., 3., Pl. 3.).

Die III. Klasse

bildet man in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen durch Suffixe, die eigentlich ein Verbum der II. Klasse (und zwar *n* — denken, sagen) darstellen; sie kommen in der 1. und 2. Personen vor. Eine Ausnahme bildet Zagħawa, dessen III. Klasse überhaupt ohne *n* vorkommt (T-B, 9b I), oder ein anderes Verbum (II. Klasse) benutzt, wie aus der folgenden Analyse hervorgeht:

Zagħawa (nach J. Lukas)

Sg. 1. <i>lo -e-gi</i>	Pl. <i>lo -e-di</i>
2. <i>lo -e-li</i>	<i>lo -e-bi</i>
3. <i>lo-gi-θ-l -i</i>	<i>lo-gi-θ-l -u</i>

Ein solches vorausgesetztes Verbum (für Zagħawa *e*, vgl. auch Berti und Zagħawa *a* — Mund), lässt sich für Berti theoretisch voraussetzen (B 10.1 — Handschrift). Seine weitere Entwicklung konnte zu folgenden Suffixen geführt haben:

Berti

Sg. 1. <i>-gi-s</i>	Pl. <i>di-s</i>
2. <i>-gi-n</i>	<i>ni-n</i> oder <i>gi-n</i> od. <i>-zi</i>
3. <i>-gi-s</i>	<i>gi-n</i>

Die inneren Probleme dieses Modells möchte ich hier nicht besprechen (vgl. die Probleme bei 2. Pl.), seine Analogie mit Zaghawa ist aber offensichtlich (wobei im Zaghawa *l* einem *n* im Berti gleicht).

Wenn auch die Elemente der morphologischen Verbalklassen im Berti nur in Trümmern auftauchen, beweisen sie doch den zentralsaharanischen Charakter dieser Sprache, wo unter vielen Innovationen (z. B. die periphrastische Konjugation) noch durchschimmert.

3.3.3.2 Die verbale Derivation,

die in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen üblich ist (Passiv-Reflexiv, Applikativ, Kausativ, Denominativ, T-B 4a III), ist für Berti nur ganz unsicher bestätigt (B 17.0 — Handschrift).

Ziemlich wahrscheinlich ist das Passiv-Reflexiv, dessen zentralsaharanisches Morphem *t/d* wir einmal belegen können (B 17: *ti-gisin* — wurde genommen).

Den Applikativ mit dem Element *g/k* an verschiedenen Plätzen und *yir-*, *yirga-* in Kanuri (T-B, 4a III) können wir zwar in einigen Beispielen suchen (B 17.2 — Handschrift), seine Existenz ist jedoch keinesfalls gesichert.

Für einen Intensiv oder Frequentativ (mit der Verdoppelung der ersten Silbe) können wir im Berti nur ein Beispiel finden: *su sugugis* — ich weine, das wir als *su su-gu-gi-s* von dem Stamm *gu* analysieren könnten. Auch hier herrscht Unsicherheit, ob es sich nicht um das Suffix *-gi-* handelt.

Den zentralsaharanischen Kausativ mit *su-* oder *tu-* u. a. (T-B, 4a III) kann ich im Berti nicht belegen.

3.3.3.3 Zeit, Aspekt, Modi

werden in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen durch verschiedene Suffixe ausgedrückt (T-B, 9c). Die zeichenlose Form des Aorists (im Tuda genannt Perfekt, im Zaghawa Präterit; im Kanuri ist die zeichenlose Form der Konjunktiv) bildet die Base des zentralsaharanischen Systems, aus der man andere Verbalformen ableiten kann, und zwar in allen Sprachen den Progressiv (im Kanuri Continuous, im Tuda Continu 1 genannt), während das Futurum nur im Tubu und Kanembu vom Aorist (im Kanembu auch Konjunktiv genannt) gebildet wird. Im Zaghawa ist (nach J. Lukas, op. cit.; T-B 9c) Futurum und Präteritum (d. i. Aorist) sicher belegt.

Der Imperativ bildet eine selbständige Kategorie mit Unterscheidung des Sg. und Pl. (T-B, 9b II). Verschiedene Sprachen weisen auch verschiedene neue Formen auf.

Aorist

Unsere Beispiele im Berti, die die analogischen Strukturen und manchmal auch Elemente im Berti und Zaghawa bewiesen haben (3.3.3.1), enthalten im Zaghawa Präteritum (d. i. unser Aorist) und beweisen dadurch auch seine Existenz im Berti für die I., II. und III. Klasse. Die zeichenlose Form des Aorists entwickelte sich aber im Berti zu einer mit Suffixen versehenen Form (B 18. 1 — Handschrift).

Progressiv,

in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen durch Suffixe *-i/e*, *-gi/ge* gebildet, kann ich für Berti nicht belegen, ähnlich wie das Perfektum (mit Suffixen *-de*, *-na* u. a.).

Futurum

bildet man im Tubu durch Präfixe (oder Infix) *-s-* je nach der betreffenden Klasse (dasselbe Element ist auch im Zaghawa geläufig, nach J. Lukas, op. cit.). Im Berti sind einige Fälle belegt, die das Morphem *-s-* enthalten und als ein Futurum interpretiert werden können. Die Existenz eines Futurums mit dem Morphem *s* ist hier wahrscheinlich (B 18.3 — Handschrift).

3.3.3.4 Die Objektkonjugation

entsteht in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen durch Anhängung von objektiven pronominalen Affixen (T-B, 8a III). Die erste Person hat im Tubu, Tuda das Element *t*, die zweite Person *n*, die dritte Person ein Zero-Morphem, während im Kanuri für diese Elemente *s*, *nz* oder Zero stehen. Im Berti (B 18.8 — Handschrift) realisiert sich diese Objektkonjugation beim Verbum „geben“, das durch einen zentralsaharanischen Stamm gebildet wird (und zwar Tubu *yen*, Tuda *yer*, Daza *yen-er*, Kanuri *yi-skin/cin*, Zaghawa und Berti *in/i*), mit Hilfe der Präfixe *s/š* für die 1. Person Sg. und Pl., *k-* für die 2. Person Sg. und Pl.:

s-in — gib mir, gib uns

k-in/ŋ — ich gebe dir, ich gebe euch.

3.3.3.5 Subjektive pronominale Elemente beim Verbum

Präfixe und Suffixe als pronominale Elemente beim Verbum (T-B, 8a II), je nach der Klasse, haben wir schon (3.3.3.1) für Berti und Zaghawa angeführt, für andere Sprachen nur die I. Klasse.

Die Elemente der I. Klasse (Tuda, Tubu 1. P. *t-*, 2. P. *n-*, 3. P. Zero-Serie A, T-B, 8a II — teilweise auch im Zaghawa *t-*, *l-* d. i. *n-* und Zero) haben wir auch im Berti festgestellt.

Die Serie B (für die II. und III. Klasse: *-r*, *-m*, *y-*, *c-* im Tuda, Tubu, mit Analogie im Kanuri *-sk*, *-m*, *s/z-*; *-ye*, *-u*, *s/z-*) befindet sich im Berti nicht, ausgenommen die Möglichkeit, das *-n* in der 2. Person im Berti als eine Analogie zu *-m* zu betrachten (B 18.1 für II. Kl. — Handschrift).

Dagegen sind die Analogien mit Zaghawa gesichert, und zwar *-gi* für die 1. P. Sg. und Pl., *-di* für die 1. P. Pl., Präfix *ki-* für die 3. P. Sg. und Pl., das mit den Präfixen *y-*, *c-*, *s-*, *z-* in anderen Sprachen korreliert; endlich auch die Äquivalenz Zaghawa *l* = Berti *n* (= in anderen Sprachen *m??*, vgl. B 18.1 für II. und III. Klasse).

3.3.3.6 Die Negation

wird in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen durch Suffixe oder Postpositionen gebildet, und zwar im Kanuri beim Verbum (Progressiv, Perfekt) durch *-ba*, das auch in der nichtverbalen Negation vorkommt (T-B, 11). Diese Negation ist auch für Berti (Verbum, nominaler Satz) belegt.

3.4.1 Die syntaktische Struktur

Als die geläufigste Struktur des zentralsaharanischen Satzes (T-B, 12) wird die Struktur S (Subjekt) — O (Objekt) — VPr (Verbalprädikat) angegeben, manchmal auch O-S-VPr, wobei die Stellung des Verbalprädikates VPr immer am Ende des Satzes ist. Nähere vergleichende Studien fehlen bisher.

Aus dem Material im Berti, das ich selbständig analysiert habe, lassen sich verschiedene Strukturen ableiten, wobei die Stellung des Verbalprädikates VPr *immer am Ende* des Satzes ist (S-O-VPr u. ä.).

3.4.2 Zero-Kopula

ist für Tuda und Kanuri bewiesen (T-B, 10a), neben anderen Mitteln der nichtverbalen Prädikation. Im Berti ist zwar die Kopula -s bestätigt (B 22.2.2 — Handschrift), ein Zero-Morphem kommt hier jedoch auch vor.

3.4.3 Die Genitivverbindung

hat in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen die Stellung „possessor — possessed“ und „possessed — possessor“, was auch für das Berti gilt (B 6.4). Vgl. dabei auch die Stellung des Pronomens in einer Genitivkonstruktion (vor dem Objekt, B 10.3) und mit dem Element -si (nach dem Objekt, B 10.2.1).

3.4.4 Attributives Adjektivum

steht in den zentralsaharanischen Sprachen immer *nach* dem Substantivum (Subjekt) (T-B 14), was auch ausnahmlos im Berti vorkommt (B 7.0, 22.5 — Handschrift). Beide können das Morphem des Pl. enthalten (B 5.5).

3.5 Das Lexikon

Die Zusammenhänge des lexikalischen Vorrates des Berti mit anderen zentralsaharanischen Sprachen möchte ich hier — aus besprochenen Gründen — nicht untersuchen. Einige Beispiele haben wir schon beim Verbum konstatiert, sonst findet man verschiedene Beispiele (9) bei J. H. Greenberg, op. cit. und in meiner Studie, *Berti and the Central Saharan Group* (4.4).²⁰

²⁰ Petráček, K.: *Berti and the Central Saharan Group*. In: *Language in Sudan*. Ed. by R. Thelwall — im Druck. London, C. Hurst.

INFLECTIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE ARABIC NISBA DERIVATION

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The Arabic *nisba* derivation involves a number of inflectional problems most of which are quite unique in the Arabic word-formation. Some of them are discussed in the present paper. The most immediate attention is paid to the identification of the derivational basis of *nisba* adjectives when the latter coincides with inflected nominal forms and, quite particularly, to the singular — plural variation frequently taking place in the *nisba* derivation.

1. The relative adjective (*nisba*, literally “relation”, in the terminology of Arab grammarians) presents several points of interest in the Arabic word-formation. Typically, the *nisba* suffix *-i* (non-pausally *-iyy-*), in Classical Arabic¹ or what may equal it in particular colloquial varieties of Arabic, is used to form denominative adjectives denoting pertinence, descent, origin and possibly still other types of relation with regard to the substantive they are derived from, e.g., *makka* “Mecca” — *makkī* “of or pertaining to Mecca, Meccan”, *kalb* “dog” — *kalbī* “canine”,² etc. The *nisba* suffix as an *adjectivizer* has a quite exceptional status in the Arabic word-formation in being the unique derivational marker to produce exclusively adjectives (which, of course, may secondarily be substantivized). In this respect it differs from the rest of *adjectivizers* which may quite indiscriminately co-function as substantivizers.³ When substantivized, the *nisba* adjectives frequently denote members of various professions and trades, as in *ṣaydalī*, plur. *ṣayādila* “pharmacist, druggist, apothecary”, derived from *ṣaydala* “apothecary’s trade; pharmacy, pharmacology” (W, 532)⁴ or *falakī*, plur. *falakiyyūn*, *falakiyya*, “astronomer, astrologer”, from

¹ Classical Arabic is here identified with the total of synthetic variants of Arabic, inclusively of Modern Written Arabic (MWA). When, for some special purposes, a more refined distinction is needed, it will be explicitly stated.

² Unless otherwise indicated, the examples quoted should be related to Classical Arabic, mostly in their MWA semantic featuring.

³ Cf. Fleisch, H.: *Traité de philologie arabe* (= *Traité*). Vol. I. Beyrouth 1961, p. 435.

⁴ Wehr, H.: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Wiesbaden 1971 (3rd printing). The English equivalents are quoted either in a full or in a somewhat reduced extent. The transcription is slightly adapted to the system of writing adopted in the present paper.

falak, plur. *'aflāk*, “celestial sphere; celestial body, star; circuit, orbit” (W, 727). The latter usage is quite particularly frequent in modern colloquial variants, as will amply be demonstrated in what follows.

Apart from nisba formations derivationally related to singular nouns, as is the case in any example quoted so far, the derivational basis may equally well involve nouns displaying other numeric inflections, especially plural forms, as in *'umamī* “international”, derived from *'umam*, plur. of *'umma* “nation, people; generation” (W, 25). The singular — plural variation in the derivational basis, resulting from a highly differentiated relationship between both the participating elements, as well as a number of related problems, will constitute the main topic of the present paper.

2. The relation of the nisba suffix to the inflectional markers of a noun operating as a derivational basis for nisba formations is considerably variable. By inflectional markers such morphemic units are here intended which display either purely inflectional values, such as gender (*malik* “king” vs. *malika* “queen”) or number (*malika* “queen” vs. *malikāt* “queens”), or which, in this application, coincide with and virtually co-function as derivational markers, as in *maktab*, masculine substantive, “office, school, desk” vs. *maktaba*, feminine substantive, “library, bookshop”. In contact with the inflectional markers of the affix type, the nisba suffix is either added to the inflectional markers or substituted for it. In the former case we shall speak about an additive, in the latter case, about a replacive affixation of the nisba suffix. In all other cases, where the inflectional value is marked by other than affix morphemes (intra-root pattern changes: *kitāb* “book” vs. *kutub* “books”), we shall speak simply of affixation. The same attitude will be adopted towards zero-affixes in contact with the nisba suffix.

2.1 Replacive affixation of the nisba suffix takes place with a number of extra-root inflectional markers formally coinciding with the following affixes:

For the sake of economy only the Classical Arabic material is quoted with the understanding that the statement of 2.1 substantially holds for the colloquial variants of Arabic as well. In the latter case, however, there are no convincing reasons to suppose that the affix-based numeric inflections (viz., dual and a part of plural forms) operate as derivational basis for nisba adjectives.

(1) -*a*, feminine /singular/⁵, e.g., *dā'ira* “circle” — *dā'irī* “circular”; *madrasa* “madrasah, school” — *madrasī* “scholastic, school (adj.)”, etc.;

(2) -*ūn*, -*īn*, /masculine/ plural, e.g., *muslimūn* “Muslims” (sing. *muslim*) — *muslimī* “Muslim, Mohammedan (adj.), related to the Muslim community”,⁶ etc.;

⁵ The inflectional values enclosed in slant lines differ from the unenclosed ones by being interpretable either in terms of unmarked, or zero-marked, or finally, at least some of them, in terms of elements of portmanteau categories, in accordance with the general approach adopted.

⁶ Barth, J.: *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (=Barth). Leipzig 1889, p. 359, § 222; *Traité*, p. 436, etc.

(3) -ān, -ayn, /masculine/ dual, e.g., *'itnān* “two” — *'itnī* “pertaining to two, dual (adj.)”,⁷ etc.

2.11 It should be noted, however, that the replaceive affixation of the nisba suffix to the respective derivational basis may create a number of ambiguities which cannot always be settled in formal terms. They affect the relation between the nisba adjectives and their respective derivational bases owing to the formal coincidence of nouns involving zero-affixes with those involving non-zero-affixes for which the nisba suffix has been substituted in the process of derivation.

(1) The most important case of this type of derivational ambiguity relates to the gender inflection, no matter whether signalling a sex-gender relationship (*wālid* “father” vs. *wālida* “mother”) or paralleling a derivationally pertinent distinction (*maktab*, masc. subst., “office, school, etc.” vs. *maktaba*, fem. subst., “library, bookshop, etc.”).

(1.1) Unless resorting to semantic criteria, the substitution of the nisba suffix -ī for the feminine marker -a on the same ground as for the zero-marker of the masculine nouns, makes it impossible to identify the derivational basis of the nisba adjectives with nouns occurring in -zero/-a pairs, as in

wālid “procreator, progenitor; father, parent”,
wālida “mother; parturient woman, woman in childbed”,
wālidī “paternal” (W, 1098).

As obvious, the relative adjective *wālidī*, although theoretically relatable to *wālida* equally well as to *wālid*, is, in this particular case, exclusively related to the latter. If agreeing to symbolize the actually existing derivational relation between a nisba adjective and its derivational basis by a full line as against the theoretical, lexicographically unconfirmed relation, represented by a dotted line, we can picture the above relationship as follows:

wālid —> *wālidī*.
wālida ... *wālidī*.

Nevertheless, the inclusion of the female counterpart of *wālid* to the set of derivational relations displayed by the relative adjective *wālidī* would substantially be possible even in this case through an exclusive generic interpretation of *wālid*, viz. “procreator, progenitor (of whatever sex)”. In the latter case, *wālidī* would equal “parental: paternal, fatherly; maternal, motherly”. The latter interpretation, although perfectly possible in a number of similar cases (see below), cannot convincingly be confirmed by the extant lexicographical data.

⁷ Barth, p. 359, § 221. See also cases like *dārī* “a seller of perfumes: so-called in relation to *Dāreen*, a port of El-Bahreyn whereto musk used to be brought from India”. In: Lane, E. W.: *Maddu-l-Kamoos, an Arabic-English Lexicon* (=Lane), Parts 1—5. London 1863—1874; Parts 6—8 ed. by S. L. Poole. London 1877—1893. See Part 3, p. 931 (quoted after Beirut photomechanical edition).

(1.2) On the other hand, a generic term or, more explicitly, a generically interpreted noun can operate as a derivational basis for nisba adjectives in a number of other examples, as in non-generic interpretation:

'*insān* "man: human male being" or *kalb* "dog"

'*insāna* "woman" *kalba* "bitch"

generic interpretation:

'*insān* man: human being, male *kalb* "dog (of whatever sex and number)"
or female, one or more"

nisba adjective:

'*insānī* "human; humane" *kalbī* "canine (adj.)"

(1.3) When the nouns occurring in derivationally relevant zero/-a pairs are, at the same time, synonymously related to each other, it is not possible to identify the relation between a given nisba adjective and its respective derivational basis in semantic terms, either. E.g.,

kawkab, masc. subst., "star (and a number of other meanings differing from those of *kawkaba*)",

kawkaba, fem. subst., "star (and a number of other meanings different from those of *kawkab*)",

kawkabī "star-shaped, stelliform, starlike, stellar, stellate, stellar; starry, starred; astral" (W, 846).

In this case, the unique possible settlement of the problem resides in assuming a fully equivalent derivational relationship between both substantives exhibiting the present type of formal coincidence in the process of derivation, on the one hand, and the resulting nisba adjective, on the other. That is:

kawkab > *kawkabī*.
kawkaba >

Similarly:

maṭba', masc. subst., "print shop, printing office, printing house, press",

maṭba'a, fem. subst., "idem",

maṭba'i "printing, printer's, typographical" (W, 552), or

hamās, masc. subst., "enthusiasm, fire, ardor, fervor, zeal, fanaticism",

hamāsa, fem. subst., "idem",

hamāsī "enthusiastic, ardent, fiery, zealous, fanatic, etc." (W, 205), etc.

(1.4) Semantic criteria in identifying the relation between a given nisba adjective and its respective derivational basis may further be used in cases where the nisba adjective potentially relates to several nouns displaying a derivationally relevant zero/-a opposition which is, in contrast to that of (1.3), paralleled by a clear-cut

semantic distinction. The present type of derivational relationship may be subdivided into two subclasses as follows:

(1.41) the nisba adjective is derivationally related to one of both nouns occurring in zero/-*a* pairs, as in

'umm, fem. subst.⁸ "mother, etc."

'umma, fem. subst., "nation, people; generation",

'ummī "maternal, motherly, etc".⁹ That is: (W, 25).

'umm
'umma

Similarly:

hilāf, masc. subst., "difference; contradiction, conflict; disagreement; dispute, controversy",

hilāfa, fem. subst., "caliphate, office or rule of a caliph",

hilāfi "controversial, disputed" (W, 257—258; English equivalents are selectively quoted), etc.

So far, the actual derivational link was established between the nisba adjective and the zero-constituent of the zero/-*a* pair of nouns. An opposite case, even if less ordinarily, may take place as well, e.g.,

dirās, masc. subst., "threshing (of grain)",

dirāsa, fem. subst., "studies; study",

dirāsi "of or pertaining to study or studies; scholastic, school (adj.); instructional, educational, teaching, tuitional" (W, 278).

That is:

dirās
dirāsa

(1.42) The nisba adjective is simultaneously related to both nouns occurring in zero/-*a* pairs, as in

kitāb, masc. subst., "record; letter; document; contract; book",

al-kitāb "the Koran; the Bible",

kitāba, fem. subst., "(act or practice of) writing; art of writing; system of writing, script; record; etc.",

⁸ The gender value, in this case, is conveyed in suppletive terms, viz., 'umm "mother" — 'ab "father". It should be noted, however, that the theoretical (viz., dotted-lined) relation between 'umma and 'ummī does not exclude an actual (viz., plain-lined) derivational relation between the plural of 'umma (viz., 'umam) and the nisba adjective 'umamī "international".

⁹ For other meanings of 'ummī, resulting from its relation to another derivational basis, see (1.5) in what follows. See also the following footnote.

kitābī “written, in writing; clerical; literary; scriptural, relating to the Koran, Bible, etc.” (W, 812—813; selective quotation).

That is:

kitāb > *kitābī*.
kitāba

Similarly:

bašar, masc. subst., “man, human being; men, mankind”,
bašara, fem. subst., “outer skin, epidermis, cuticle; skin, complexion”,
bašarī “human; human being; epidermal, skin (adj.)” (W, 60),
daraq, masc. subst., “thyroid gland”,
daraqa, fem. subst., “(leather) shield”,
daraqī “shield-shaped; thyroid” (W, 279).

(1.5) Substantially the same type of derivational ambiguity as that related to nouns occurring in zero/-*a* pairs may be stated even in other derivational domains involving the feminine marker. The most conspicuous case of such derivational ambiguity, which cannot be settled in formal terms, results from the possible co-occurrence of both progressive and regressive types of derivation with the same derivational item. The progressive derivation, representing the typical case, may involve a great variety of nominal patterns in the derivational basis as shown by the nisba derivatives hitherto quoted. The back-formation, on the other hand, involves only one type of nouns in the derivational basis for nisba adjectives, namely the abstract nouns in -*iyya*, as in *jumhūriyya* “republic” — *jumhūrī* “republican (adj. and n.)” (W, 138).

'umm “mother, etc.”,
'ummiyya “ignorance; illiteracy”,
'ummī “maternal, motherly; illiterate, uneducated” (W, 25).

That is:

'umm > 'ummī,
'ummiyya

'askar, masc. subst., plur. 'asākir, “army, host, troops”,
'askariyya, fem. subst., “military service; militarism; soldiership, soldiery, soldierliness”,
'askarī “military, army-” (W, 613), “militaristic”,¹⁰ or:

¹⁰ Krahl, G.: *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch* (= Krahl). Leipzig 1964, p. 267 (“militaristisch”). As for our short-cut system of diagramming derivational and meaning relations, it is to a considerable extent arbitrary. A linguistically more consistent, even if less economical presentation of these relations could be given in terms of homonymous pairs as follows:

('umm, 'askar, etc.) — 'ummī, 'askarī, etc. (i)
('ummiyya, 'askariyya, etc.) — 'ummī, 'askarī, etc. (ii)

mādda, fem. subst., plur. *mawādd*, “stuff, matter, etc.”,
māddīyya, fem. subst., “materialism”,
māddī “material; corporeal, physical; materialistic; materialist (when substantivized)” (W, 897—898), etc.

The derivational ambiguity under consideration may occur even in cases which are not liable to undergo a two-way derivational procedure. In this case, the derivational ambiguity may result from the theoretical possibility of the latter, as in

jumhūr, masc. subst., plur. *jamāhīr*, “multitude; crowd, throng; general public, public”; *al-jamāhīr* “the masses, the people”,

jumhūriyya, fem. subst., “republic”,

jumhūrī “republican (adj. and n.)” (W, 138).

That is:

jumhūr *jumhūrī*.¹¹
jumhūriyya

In some cases the range of the derivational ambiguity may be even greater. Besides one actual derivational relation, it may involve several theoretical ones, as is the case in the following Iraqi Arabic example:

bunduq, masc., collective noun, “hazelnut(s), filbert(s); hazel, hazel tree(s)”,

bunduqa, fem. subst., unit noun of *bunduq*, plur. -āt, *banādiq*,

bunduqiyya, fem. subst., plur. *banādiq*, “rifle, gun; shotgun”,

bunduqi, substantivized, “(military) gunsmith, armorer”,¹² etc.

That is:

bunduq
bunduqa *bunduqi*.
bunduqiyya /

(2) The masculine plural marker *-ūn-īn* or its caseless variants in analytic Arabic (see 2.1 above) may present similar problems in contact with the nisba suffix. The replacive treatment of the plural marker may lead to a formal coincidence with morphemic slots filled by other inflectional markers, possibly including zero-markers, as in

muslim, sing., masc., “Muslim”; possibly interpreted as a singular based generic term, “Muslim, Muslims”,

¹¹ It should be noted once again that the dotted-lined relation between *jumhūr* and *jumhūrī* does not exclude a plain-lined derivational link between the plural form of *jumhūr* and a nisba adjective, notably: *jamāhīr* — *jamāhīrī* “mass (adj.)”.

¹² Woodhead, D. R. — Beene, W. (Editors): *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic — English* (= *Dict. Ir. Ar.*). Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 45.

muslima, plural-based collective noun, “Muslims, Muslim community, Muslim-dom”,¹³

muslimūn, plural of *muslim*,

muslimī “Muslim (adj.)”.

Despite the fact that the nisba adjective *muslimī* tends to be presented as derivationally related only to the plural *muslimūn*,¹⁴ a tripartite derivational linkage may equally well be assumed with the understanding that the whole set of particular derivational relations involved therein should be looked on as fully equivalent.

It is only when the suffix *-ūn* is lexically relevant and, accordingly, does not operate as an inflectional marker any longer, that it is additively treated in the nisba derivation, as in

sittūn “sixty” — *sittūnī* “sexagenarian”,

sab'ūn “seventy” — *sab'ūnī* “septuagenarian”, etc.

(3) The derivational relation between the dual nouns and nisba adjectives is rather marginal and, with some rare exceptions (cf., *'itnān* — *'itnī* in 2.1(3)), it is practically limited to the type of dual called by the Arab grammarians *al-mutannā 'alā t-tagħlib*, that is a dual consisting of heterogeneous constituents, as in *al-haramān* “(lit.) the two holy places, i.e. Mecca and Medina” — *haramī* “related to any of these localities”,¹⁵ etc. Despite a number of similar examples, frequently quoted in Arabic grammars, the status of dual as a derivational basis for nisba formations remains to a considerable extent questionable, for in a number of similar cases the latter derivational relation cannot be conclusively established, e.g.,

(*al-*)*wālidān*, dual of *wālid*, “the parents, father and mother”,

wālid, see 2.11 (1.1),

wālida, see ibid.,

wālidī “paternal” (W, 1098).

Similarly:

(*al-*)*'abawān*, dual of *'ab*, “the parents, father and mother”,

'ab “father; ancestor, forefather”,

(*'umm* “mother; etc.”),

'abawī “paternal, fatherly” (W, 2).

But even in the case that this semantic proof would seemingly speak in favour of the possible relatedness of nisba adjectives to the dual, viz., the meaning “parental”

¹³ Cf. Fischer, W.: *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (=Fischer). Wiesbaden 1972, p. 52, § 89: “plural-collectives” (Pl.-Kollektive) like *muslima*, *hammāla*, etc., as distinct from “individual plurals” (Indiv.-Pl.), such as *muslimūn*, *hammālūn*, etc. In a less sophisticated interpretation of the Classical Arabic morphological data, as mostly adopted in the lexicographical classification, forms like *muslima*, *hammāla*, etc. are usually treated as regular plurals.

¹⁴ Barth, p. 359, § 222; *Traité*, p. 436.

¹⁵ Barth, p. 359, § 221; *Traité*, ibid.

would be attested for the nisba *wālidī*, the derivational relation under question would not be thereby convincingly proved. Since the same meaning could have been arrived at on the ground of a generic reinterpretation of *wālid*, as shown in a somewhat different context in 2.11 (1.1).

2.2 Some inflectional markers participating in the nisba derivation cannot rigorously be classified along the replacive-additive dichotomy, neither can it be done in a pan-Arabic frame, as was substantially possible hitherto. The feminine plural marker *-āt*, for example, while occurring at all in the derivational basis for the nisba adjectives in Classical Arabic, seems to be treated replacively, as in ‘*arafāt* “Arafat, name of a locality east of Mecca” — ‘*arafī* “related to Arafat”,¹⁶ etc. It should be noted, however, that this and other similar examples, which have to attest to the replacive status of the suffix *-āt*, are rather inconclusive since *-āt* in ‘*arafāt* (and likewise *-ān* in *al-haramān* of the preceding paragraph) cannot be treated as inflectional markers, but in a strictly etymological sense.

In post-Classical linguistic stages of Arabic, however, especially in modern colloquial variants of Arabic, the suffix *-āt* is additively treated in nisba derivation. The resulting plural-based nisba adjectives may further be substantivized and, in this application, they mostly operate as agential nouns denoting members of various professions and trades, as in the Egyptian Arabic

sā'a, plur. *sa'āt* “hour; clock, watch”,

sa'āti “watch-maker”,¹⁷ etc.

Or they may equally well retain their adjectival status, as in the Egyptian Arabic *sitt*, plur. *sittāt* “lady; mistress; grandmother” (Spiro, 215); “woman” (Mitchell 214),¹⁸

sittāti “pertaining to ladies” (Spiro, ibid.), etc.

Analogically, in nisba derivation, the suffix *-āt* may frequently be found in nouns which cannot normally be pluralized in this way, as in the following Egyptian Arabic examples:

‘*wradātī* (derived from *'ird*, plur. *'urūd* “monkey”) “monkey-keeper” (Spiro, 350),

‘*udabātī* (*'adīb*, plur. *'udaba*) “improvisator of street rhymes” (Spiro, 11); or even in a number of substantivized participles, like

musallikātī “pipe-cleaner” (ibid., 431),

muṣawwirātī, alternating with *muṣawwir*, “painter, photographer, artist” (ibid., 436),

mudāḥhakātī “buffoon” (ibid.), etc.

¹⁶ Barth, p. 360, § 222; *Traité*, ibid.

¹⁷ Spiro Bey, S.: *English-Arabic and Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt* (=Spiro; our page indications refer to the Arabic-English part). Cairo 1923, p. 212.

¹⁸ Mitchell, T. F.: *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* (=Mitchell). Oxford U. P. 1960.

From a synchronic point of view, it would be perhaps more advantageous to consider the suffix *-āt* as merely a constituent of a further unanalysable derivational marker *-āti*, classifiable as a variant of the nisba suffix. Frequent cases of alternation with a number of similar suffixes seem to confirm this interpretation, e.g.,

halawāti “confectioner, candy dealer”,¹⁹

halawāni “idem. (viz., pastry-cook, confectioner)” (Spiro, 144), etc.

The additive treatment of the plural marker *-āt* may further be stated even in some regionally differentiated strata of the Standard Arabic lexicon under the influence of the colloquial usage in the Middle and Modern Arabic linguistic periods, as in

ṣifa, plur. *ṣifāt* “quality, property; attribute; etc.” (W, 1072); “descripta qualitas, forma, attributum” (Freytag IV, 472),²⁰

ṣifātī (a Plur. *ṣifāt Attributa*) *Sectae eorum adscriptus, qui in Deo attributa esse contendunt*, etc. (De Sacy, *Gr. Ar.*, I, p. 245 edit. prior) (Freytag IV, 472); viz., “adherent of a theological doctrine”,

nazzāra, plur. *nazzārāt*, “field glass, binocular; telescope, spyglass; (pair of) eye-glasses, spectacles; etc.”,

nazzārātī “optometrist; optician” (W, 976),

sā'ātī “watchmaker” (W, 442), etc.

In some cases a lexically relevant singular—plural alternation, substantially identifiable with that displayed by the intra-root plural patterns (see § 3), may be observed in nisba derivation, as in (an Egyptianized presentation of the Standard Arabic lexicon, as given in E. Boctor’s *Dictionnaire*):

su'āl, plur. *'as'ila, su'alāt*, “question, inquiry; request” (Spiro, 230),

su'ālī (when consistently Egyptianized *su'āli*) “problematic, questionable”,

su'ālātī (in a strict Egyptian Arabic presentation *su'ālāti*) “inquirer, investigator” (Dozy I, 621: Bc).

3. Despite a number of cases exhibiting a singular—plural variation in the derivational basis of nisba formations which may be observed in nouns pluralized in terms of external (viz., extra-root, affix-based) plural markers, the most important morphological domain to display the latter type of variation has to be identified with what is traditionally referred to as broken (viz., intra-root, pattern-marked) plurals.

¹⁹ Dozy, R.: *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (= Dozy). I—II. 2nd ed. Leide—Paris 1927. See Vol. I, p. 319: *halawāti* “confiseur”, quoted from Boctor, E.: *Dictionnaire français-arabe*. 3rd ed., revised by C. de Perceval, Paris 1864 (= Bc, in Dozy’s abbreviations), reflecting a strongly Egyptianized variant of Standard Arabic lexicon. All Dozy’s quotations are given in traditional, viz., classicizing orthography which is, in general, preserved in the present paper. Nevertheless, in quoting Egyptian Arabic lexical items, Dozy’s presentation in terms of traditional orthography is paralleled by a more consistent rephonemization.

²⁰ Freytag, G. W.: *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. Vols I—IV. Halle 1830—1837.

When comparing both types of plurals from the point of view of their behaviour in nisba derivation, a substantial difference may be found between them. The plurals of the former type, like *muslimūn* “Muslims” or *sā’āt* “watches, clocks”, may either lose or retain their respective inflectional markers in accordance with the affix involved, viz., *muslimī* “Muslim (adj.)”²¹ as contrasting with *sā’ātī*, substantivized, “watchmaker”. On the other hand, the plurals of the latter type show no similar duplicity, since the pattern morpheme may never be elided before the nisba suffix, no matter whether in plural or in singular, as may be seen from the following example:

kitāb, plur. *kutub* “book, etc.”,

kitābī, as a singular-based nisba, “written, etc.”,

kutubī, as a plural-based nisba, substantivized, “bookseller, etc.” (see later).

The steadiness of the Arabic pattern morpheme (*/-i-ā-/* for singular, */-u-u-/* for plural, in the example quoted) stems from the fact that all inflectionally relevant pattern morphemes invariably co-function as derivational markers as against the affix morphemes which may occur as either exclusively derivational, as e.g. *-a* in *naqqāda*, masc. subst., “captious critic, caviler, carper” vs. *naqqād*, masc. subst., “critic; reviewer” (W, 990), or as derivational-and-inflectional, as *-a* in *maktaba*, fem. subst., “library, bookshop” vs. *maktab*, masc. subst., “office, school, etc.”, or, finally, as exclusively inflectional markers, as *-a* in *mu’allima*, fem. subst., “woman teacher” vs. *mu’allim*, masc. subst., “teacher”.

Of course, various types of morphophonemic alternation, which are beyond the scope of the present paper, do occur, especially in colloquial varieties of Arabic, e.g., */-u-u-/* — */-u-Ø-/* in the following Egyptian Arabic example:

kitāb, plur. *kutub* “book”,

kutub+i = *kutbi* “bookseller” (Spiro, 370),²² etc.

Morphophonemically conditioned pattern alternants may occur even in Classical Arabic and in a way more specifically related to the nisba derivatives, as well, e.g. (dissimilation):

harīf “autumn, fall”,

harifī “autumnal” (W, 235),

harafi “idem” (*Traité 439: Muf.* 92), or

qurayṣ “Koreish”,

quraṣī “of, pertaining to, or belonging to the Koreish tribe; Koreishite” (W, 756; see also *Traité 439: Muf.* 92), etc.

²¹ See § 2.11 (2).

²² The pattern alternant involving zero-vowel is due to the elision of the unstressed */u/* in the final syllable of the plural *kutub* when followed by a vowel, as against e. g., *'irabi* “maker or seller of goat’s skin”, derived from *'irab*, plural of *'irba* “goat’s skin used as a vessel for holding water” (Spiro, 351; Spiro’s */q/* is presented as */ʃ/*).

With the exception of Classical Arabic, as distinct from Modern Written Arabic in this particular context, the plural-based nisba adjectives are commonly used in all varieties of Arabic. In Classical Arabic they are limited to proper names which invariably occur in plural, like *'anmārī*, *kilābī*, *hawāzinī* or even *'ansārī*.²³ The singular-shaped nisbas clearly prevail in all other cases since, to put it in the words of Ibn Ya‘īš (1158–1245), “it is easier to enunciate the singular noun, that is why the relative adjective is derived from it”.²⁴ In spite of this attitude of the Arab grammarians, a number of nisba adjectives derived from broken plurals may be recorded at a relatively early period.²⁵

3.1 Classifying nouns by the numeric inflection they tend to display in the derivational basis for nisba formations meets serious difficulties. In view of a latent possibility, inherent in the vast majority of the (Arabic) nouns to function as either generic, viz., normally unpluralizable, or non-generic terms, the inflectibility for the plural, while extra-linguistically controlled, turns to be a truly unpredictable phenomenon, as may be seen from the following randomly selected examples:

singular-shaped nisba:

kalb, as generic term, “dog (of whatever sex and number), the canine species”,
kalb, plur. *kilāb*, as opposed to *kalba*, “dog (male-masculine)”; outside this sex-gender opposition, as a sort of semi-generic term, possibly incorporating the female-feminine counterpart of this opposition,

kalba, plur. *kalbāt*, “bitch”,

kalbī, singular-shaped nisba resulting from the generic interpretation of *kalb*, “canine (adj.)”;

singular—plural variation:²⁶

tālib, as generic term, “student; scholar (one or more, male and/or female)”,

tālib, plur. *tullāb* or *talaba*, as opposed to *tāliba*, “student, etc. (male-masculine)”; possibly including the female-feminine counterpart of this opposition,

tāliba, plur. *tālibāt*, “student, etc. (female-feminine)”,

tālibī, singular-shaped nisba based on a generic interpretation of *tālib*, “student’s, student-, of or pertaining to studies or students” (W, 564),

²³ Barth, p. 360; see also Brockelmann, C.: *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (= GvG). I–II. Berlin 1908–1913. See Vol. I, p. 398.

²⁴ Ibn Ya‘īš, *Commentar zu Zamachšari’s Mufassal* (ed. by G. Jahn). Vols I–II. Leipzig 1882–1886, p. 768: *wa lafżu l-wāḥidi ’ahafu fa-nasabū ’ilayhi li-dalika* (requoted from *Traité*, p. 436).

²⁵ al-Jāhīz (776–868), *Hay*. VI, p. 147: *qarāfiṣī* “seller of paper” (derived from *qirtās*, plur. *qarāfiṣis* “paper; sheet of paper, etc.” (W, 757)), see *GvG* I, p. 398; *Traité*, p. 436, etc.

²⁶ Singular, in this context (viz., generic interpretation) should exclusively be related to the linguistic form. The term does not imply anything about the membership in the singular – plural relationship in the proper sense of the word which would be incompatible with the generic status of the noun operating as a derivational basis.

tullābī, plural-shaped nisba, “student’s, student-” (Krahl, 380: “studentisch”); plural-shaped nisba:

‘āmil, as generic term, “worker, workman, etc.”,

‘āmil, plur. ‘ummāl, “idem”; possibly including the female-feminine counterpart of the zero/-a opposition,

‘āmila, plur. ‘āmilāt, “female worker, working woman”,

‘ummālī, plural-shaped nisba with no singular-featured alternant, “labor (adj.), workers” (W, 646), etc.

This feature of unpredictability, which cuts across the major part of the Arabic lexicon, calls for an extremely cautious approach to the classification of phenomena underlying the present type of variation which is, to a considerable extent, a random process. An attempt will be made, at the very least, to draw a raw distinction between cases that are not liable to undergo a singular—plural variation in the derivational basis for nisba formations and those in which a similar variation may substantially be expected.

3.11 The main reason of an exclusive use of singular forms in nouns operating as a derivational basis for nisba formations seems to coincide with the impossibility of a numeric quantification, inherent in certain categories of nouns, which resist pluralization on other ground than that which underlies an incident generic reinterpretation of the latter. Some of the most conspicuous nominal classes which cannot normally be pluralized, are:

(1) verbal abstracts and abstract nouns in general, e.g.,

šū‘ūr “knowledge, cognizance; consciousness, awareness; perception, discernment; feeling; perceptiveness, sensitivity, sensibility; etc.”,

šu‘ūrī “conscious; emotional” (W, 474),

wuṣūl “arrival; attainment, obtainment, achievement; etc.”,

wuṣūlī, substantivized, “upstart, parvenu” (W, 1074),

hiyād “neutrality (pol.)”,

hiyādī “neutral (pol.)” (W, 221—222), etc.

(1.1) It should be noted, however, that the bulk of abstract nouns may simultaneously be interpreted in a concrete sense which does not resist pluralization any longer. The transition between both possible interpretations may be very gradual and promiscuous, and it may result in a singular—plural alternation or may not, as in:

‘amal, verbal abstract, “doing, acting, action, activity”,

‘amal, plur. ’a‘māl, “act, action; operation (mil.); work, job; etc.”,

‘amalī, singular-shaped nisba, “work-, working-; serving practical purposes, practical; applied” (W, 645),

śinā‘a, when allowing a concrete interpretation, pluralizable in -āt and ʂanā‘i, “art, skill; occupation, vocation, calling, business, profession; handicraft; trade, craft; industry”; plur. “branches of industry, industries”,

ṣinā'i, singular-shaped nisba, “artificial, synthetic, imitation (adj.); workmanlike, handicraft, trade (adj.); industrial”,

ṣanā'i, plural-shaped nisba; as an adjective, it equals *ṣinā'i*; when substantivized, “artisan, craftsman” (W, 526); etc.

The substantivization of the plural-shaped nisba which is, in Modern Written Arabic, an optional process in this particular case, may turn compulsory in some other varieties of Arabic, as in (Egyptian Arabic):

ṣinā'a, plur. *ṣanāyi'*, “profession, occupation, art, trade, workmanship, industry”,

ṣinā'i “artificial; industrial”,

sanay'i “workman, artisan, artificer” (Spiro, 261);

(2) mass nouns, like

dahab, unpluralizable, “gold; gold piece, gold coin”,

dahabi “golden, of gold; precious, etc.” (W, 313),

'aj, unpluralizable, “ivory”,

'ajī, “ivory (adj.)” (W, 653), etc.

(2.1) Nevertheless, certain nouns may alternatively occur as mass terms and as regular countables. In the former case they resist pluralization, in the latter, a singular—plural variation in the derivational basis may (but, of course, need not) take place, as in:

hadid, mass term, “iron”; plur. *hadā'id* “iron parts (of a structure); forgings, hardware, ironware”,

hadidi “iron (adj.)” (W, 160);

as against:

harir, mass term, “silk”; plur. *harā'ir* “silken wares, silks”,

harirī “silken, silky, of silk”,

harā'irī “silken, silk-, of silk; silk weaver” (W, 165), etc.

The general picture may further be obscured by frequent intervarietal divergences:

MWA:

hajar, mass term, “stone”; as a count term possibly pluralized: *'ahjār*, *hijāra*, *hijār* “stone; weight”,

hajari “stony, stone (adj.)” (W, 157).

Egyptian Arabic linguistic influence:

*hajarī*²⁷ “stony” (Dozy I, 253: Bc, “pierreux”).

Hispano-Arabic linguistic influence:

hijārī “of stone, stone (adj.)” (Dozy I, 253: Gl. *Edrisī*, “de pierre”); etc;

(3) collective nouns are mostly opposed to what is currently known as unit nouns, in Arabic grammars, which are normally pluralizable (collective nouns forming part of the latter derivational system are usually treated as singulars²⁸), e.g.,

baqar collective noun, “bovines, cattle”,

baqara unit noun, plur. *-āt*, “cow” (W, 68; this interpretation stems from a suppletive relation of *baqara*, to *tavr* “bull”); “one head of cattle”,²⁹

baqarī “bovine, cattle-, cow-” (W, 68), etc.

(3.1) But even in the derivational domain of the collective and unit nouns there are cases of a direct pluralization which may be observed with a number of collective nouns alternatively interpretable as count nouns of individual reference, as in

hašiš, collective noun; as a count noun possibly pluralized: *hašā'iš*, “herbs, grasses; weeds; hay; hemp (*Cannabis sativa* L.; bot.), hashish, cannabis; etc.”, *hašiša*, unit noun, “herb”,

hašišī, in regionalized (Egyptianized) MWA usage, “sap-green, reseda-colored” (W, 179); *hašiši*, when constituting part of the Egyptian Arabic lexicon; etc.

When an alternative count noun interpretation of a collective noun is possible, a singular—plural variation in the derivational basis may take place. The following case of this alternation is presented in an interdialectal dimension:³⁰

Hispano-Arabic dialectal influence:

hašišī (as a variant of *haššāšī*³¹), substantivized, “hashish addict” (Dozy I, 289; *Gl. Esp.* 207, etc., “celui qui s’enivre souvent au moyen du hachich”).

Maghrebi dialectal influence:

hašā'išī, substantivized, “hashish smoker” (*ibid.*: Cherb., Daumas *V. A.*, 103, “fumeur de hachich ou tecrouri”); etc.³²

²⁷ Viz., in Dozy’s presentation in terms of traditional orthography, in a strict Egyptian Arabic phonemic presentation /hagari/.

²⁸ Cf. Fischer, pp. 48–49. See also Fischer’s term Singular—Kollektiv (e.g., *šajar* “Bäume, Baum /als Gattung/”). Classification of the latter type of collectives as singular nouns is to a considerable extent justified by a secondary sex-gender reinterpretation of a number of nouns belonging to this derivational system, as in *hamām*, collective noun, “pigeon(s) (of whatever sex)” vs. *hamām*, singular noun entering a regular singular—plural relationship, “pigeon” (male-masc-line). For a more detailed linguistic evidence see also our paper *Collective and Unit Nouns As Sex-Gender Pairs in Arabic*. In: Asian and African Studies, 10, 1974, pp. 41–48.

²⁹ Wright, W.: *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (= Wright). I–II. Cambridge U. P. 1967 (3rd ed.). See Vol. I, p. 147.

³⁰ For the transcription of the following colloquial items see Note 19.

³¹ In most varieties of Arabic, inclusively of MWA, the derivational pattern *haššāš* is used to denote “hashish addict (in whatever form: hashish smoker, chewer, eater, etc.)”. The latter pattern is here further “agentialized”, rather atypically, however, from the point of view of the Standard Arabic derivational system, in terms of the nisba suffix *-ī*. The latter usage is frequently occurring in some colloquial varieties of Arabic and may be illustrated by the following examples (from the Chad-Sudan dialect area): *bahhāri* (MWA: *bahhār*) “boatman, sailor”, *haddād/haddādi* (MWA: *haddād*) “smith, blacksmith, iron-worker”, etc.; see Roth-Laly, A.: *Lexique des parlers arabes tchado-soudanais (An Arabic-English-French Lexicon of the Dialects Spoken in the Chad-Sudan Area)*, fasc. 1–2 (so far), Paris 1969. See fasc. 1, p. 43 and fasc. 2, p. 111 resp.

³² *hašiš*, while denoting “hashish” may more conveniently be classified as a mass noun.

3.12 The rate of unpredictability is even greater outside these and possibly still some other nominal classes. Singular—plural alternation in the derivational basis of nisba formations may substantially be classified as (1) a semantically bound, and as (2) a semantically free alternation. The relation between both types may be very diffuse and it may be sometimes very difficult, if not impossible, to establish a clear-cut distinction between them.

(1) Semantically bound singular—plural alternation may display a markedly varying range of semantic distinction involved therein. Besides cases exhibiting a quite synchronous and truly palpable way of lexicalizing the inflectional distinction between both the alternants, less obviously differentiated cases may occur as well.

(1.1) A relatively well-defined semantic distinction between both the alternants may be illustrated by the following examples:

dawla, plur. *duval*, “state, country; power, empire; etc.”,

dawlī “state (adj.)”,

duvalī “international” (W, 302).

Similarly:

'asl, plur. *'usūl*, “root; origin, source; descent; foundation, fundament, basis; the original (e.g., of a book); etc.”, plur. *'usūl* “principles, fundamentals, rudiments, elements; rules; basic rules, principles, axioms; etc.”“

'aslī “original, primary; genuine, authentic; basic, fundamental, principal, etc.”, *'usūlī* “in accordance with the rules, conforming to prevailing principles; traditional, usual; legit” (W, 19); or

kitāb, plur. *kutub*, see § 2.11 (1.42),

kitābī, see ibid.³³

kutubī “bookseller, bookdealer” (W, 812), etc.

Or the Egyptian Arabic pair (quoted in 3.11 (1.1)):

ṣindī “artificial; industrial”,

sanayī “workman, artisan, artificer”.

(1.2) In a number of other cases, however, semantic overlaps may be stated in a considerably greater extent, as in

ṣinā'i / *ṣanā'i* (see 3.11 (1.1)),

harīrī / *harā'irī* (see 3.11 (2.1)).

Similarly:

hulq, *huluq*, plur. *'ahlāq*, “innate peculiarity; natural disposition, character, temper, nature”; plur. *'ahlāq* “character (of a person); morals; morality” (W, 258—259),

hulqī “ethic(al), moral”,

'ahlāqī “moral; ethic(al); ethicist, moral philosopher” (W. 258—259), etc.

³³ For a simultaneous relation of *kitābi* to *kitāb* and *kitāba* see ibid.

(1.3) A more entangled variety of a semantically bound alternation may take place when several plural patterns of the same noun are derivationally relevant, as in:

dār, plur. *dūr*, *diyār*, *diyārāt*, *diyara*, “house; building, structure, edifice; habitation, dwelling; residence, home; area, region; land, country; etc.”,
dārī “domestic; native”,
dūrī “domestic (animal)”; ‘*usfūr dūrī* and *dūrī* “house sparrow”,
diyārī “domestic; native” (W, 299—300), etc.

(2) Semantically free singular—plural alternation may include cases, like:

malik, plur. *mulūk*, *'amlāk*, “king, sovereign, monarch”,
*malakī*³⁴ “royal, kingly, regal; monarchic, sovereign; monarchist”,
mulūkī “idem” (W, 922—923), or
kawkab, plur. *kawākib*, “star”,

kawkabī / *kawākibī* “pertaining to the stars, starshaped, astral, sidereal”,³⁵ etc.

(2.1) A special type of singular—plural alternation, mostly classifiable under the present heading, may coincide with an alternative occurrence of the nisba suffix, operating as an agential marker in a number of substantivized nisba adjectives, with other agential markers of foreign (Turkish) origin, as in:

Iraqi Arabic:

sā'a, plur. *sā'at*, *sī'*, “watch, clock, timepiece”,
sā'ači “watchmaker, watch and clock repairman or dealer”,
sā'ati “variant of *sā'ači*” (*Dict. Ir. Ar.*, 210), or

Takrūna Arabic:

mungāla, plur. *-āt*, *mnāqəl*, “watch, clock, timepiece”,
mungālži / *mnāqli* “watchmaker”.³⁶

It should be noted, however, that the latter type of alternation is, despite its frequency, nothing more than a matter of coincidence since, in other cases, inflectionally undifferentiated nouns may co-occur in the derivational basis, as well. E.g.,

Egyptian Arabic:

kutbi / *kutubgi* “bookseller” (Spiro, 370), for a plural-based *-i/-gi* alternation,
hammām, plur. *hammamāt*, “bath, public bath”,
hammāmi / *hammamgi* “keeper of a public bath” (Spiro, 145), for a singular-based *-i/-gi* alternation.

³⁴ *malak-* in *malakī* is a pattern alternant of *malik*, due to dissimilation (see § 3); the meaning “angelic”, quoted in Wehr, stems from a homonymous relation statable between *malaki* (derived from *malik* “king”) and *malakī* (derived from *malak* “angel”).

³⁵ *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Auf Grund der Sammlungen von A. Fischer, Th. Nöldeke, H. Reckendorf... hrsg. durch die Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden 1937, p. 447.

³⁶ Marçais, W.—Guiga, A.: *Textes arabes de Takroūna. II. Glossaire (=Takr.).* Fasc. I—VIII. Paris 1958—1961. See fasc. VIII, p. 4057. (Takrūna Arabic is a rural variety of Tunisian Arabic.)

3.13 Although, theoretically, every singular form of a noun may produce a nisba derivative, there are nevertheless considerable lexical restrictions imposed on the latter potentiality. In a number of cases only a plural-based derivative is used with no singular-based counterpart, as in

rajul, plur. *rijāl*, “man”,

rijālī “men’s, for men” (W, 329), or

imra'a, suppletive plural *niswa*, *niswān*, *nisā'*, “woman; wife”,

niswī, *nisā'i* “female, feminine, womanly, women’s” (W, 963), or in modern terminological usage:

šūba, plur. *šūab*, “bronchus”,

šūabī “bronchial” (W, 472), etc.

In most cases, however, the plural-featured nisba tends to be substantivized and operates as an agential noun in denoting members of various professions and trades, as in

sikkīn, plur. *sakākīn*, “knife”,

sakākīnī (as a variant of *sakkān*) “cutler” (W, 418), etc.

The latter usage may amply be recorded in various colloquial varieties of Arabic, e.g.,

Hispano-Arabic:

ajāb, plur. *ajā'ib*, “miracle” (Alcalá³⁷: “milagro”); “tightrope walking, equilibrist’s performance” (viz., “danse sur la corde”; Alcalá: “boltejadura”),

ajā'ibī “tightrope walker, equilibrist” (viz., “danseur sur la corde”; Alcalá: “boltejador”) (Dozy II, 96: Alc.).

Takrūna Arabic:

tahūna, plur. -āt, *twāḥən*, “mill”,

twāḥni “miller” (Takr., V, 2358: “propriétaire ou gérant d’un moulin”), etc.

Egyptian Arabic:

filūka, plur., *falāyik* (Ital. *felucca*) “small boat, ship’s boat”,

fdayki “boatman” (Spiro, 339—340), etc.

3.14 The singular—plural alternation in the derivational basis of nisba formations may further be complicated by a relatively frequent use of anomalous, inflectionally inoperative “plural” forms while occurring with nouns which inflect for the plural by resorting to other plural patterns or which do not inflect for the plural at all. Such “ghost” plurals, even if traceable in the inventory of the Arabic plural patterns, do not operate as inflectional markers relatively to the nouns with which they occur in the derivational basis of a given nisba, but are due to the effect of analogy with

³⁷ Alcalá de, Pedro: *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*. Granada 1505; quoted after Dozy (see also Note 19).

such nisba formations which are derivationally related to real plurals. They will be referred to as pseudo-plurals in what follows.³⁸

Pseudo-plurals in the derivational basis of nisba formations may operate either independently of other numeric inflections or in alternation with them:

(1) Pseudo-plurals operating independently of other numeric inflections may include cases, like:

Egyptian Arabic:

duhān, no plural, “smoke, tobacco”,
dahahni “tobacconist” (Spiro, 170),³⁹ or
nu'l, no plural, “dried fruits or sweets”,
mu'ali “dessert-seller, dry-fruit seller” (Spiro, 481),⁴⁰ or
farah, plural *'afrāh*, “joy, happiness; wedding”.
farayhi “pertaining to a wedding” (Spiro, 329), etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

fuhhār, no plural, “earthenware, pottery”,
fhāhri “potter” (Takr., vi, 2898—2899), or
r̬abāb, no plural, “rebab (a sort of stringed musical instrument)”,
rbāybi “one who plays the rebab” (Takr., iii, 1412—1413), etc.

Under the linguistic influence of modern vernaculars a limited number of similar cases may be found in the Standard Arabic lexicon as well, e.g.,

hazāyinī, possibly further classicized to *hazā'inī*, “sad, mournful; mourning-, mortuary, funereal” (W, 174), etc.

(2) Pseudo-plurals alternating with other numeric inflections (singulars in what follows) may be illustrated by the following examples:

³⁸ In describing similar cases in Moroccan Arabic, Harrell speaks of the pseudo-plural stem *CCayC-* as distinct from the plural pattern *CCayeC*. Cf., “The plural pattern *CCayeC* is a common sub-pattern of the more general plural pattern *CCaCeC*, and there are a number of nisbas formed from such stems; e.g., *fluka* “boat”, pl. *flayek*, nisba *flayki* “boatman”. The pattern *CCayC-* has, however, become generalized as a nisba stem, and a number of nouns which either have no plural, or which have a plural of some form other than *CCayeC* derive their nisbas from a stem of pattern *CCayC-*. E.g., *džaž*, pl. *džažat* “chicken, fowl” — *džayži* “fowl merchant”; *mešta*, pl. *mšaṭi* “comb” — *mšayti* “comb maker, merchant”; *noqra* “silver” — *nqayri* “maker of silver jewelry”; *r̬ham* “marble” — *r̬haymi* “marble mason”; *sella*, pl. *slel* “basket” — *slayli* “basket maker”; *efyun* “opium” — *fayni* “opium addict”, etc. These cases contrast with nisbas derived from real plurals, like *bermil*, pl. *bramel* “barrel” — *bramli* “barrel maker”; *fendeq*, pl. *fnadeq* “hotel” — *fnadqi* “hotel keeper”; *gazita*, pl. *gwazeṭ* “newspaper” — *gwazṭi* “journalist”, etc. See Harrell, R. S.: *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic*. Washington D. C. 1962, pp. 69—71 (for the examples), p. 70 (for the text quoted).

³⁹ As a matter of analogy with cases like *dukkān* plur. *dakakīn* “shop” — *dakakni* “shop-keeper, tradesman” (Spiro, 176).

⁴⁰ Analogically with e.g., *sitra* plur. *-āt*, *sitar* (MWA: *sutra* plur. *sutar*) “coat, tunic” — *sutari* “buffoon” (Spiro, 215), etc.

Hispano-Arabic:

haraka, plur. *-āt*, “movement, motion; action, undertaking, enterprise; etc.” (W, 170),⁴¹

harakī, derivationally related to singular, “restless” (Alcalá: “inquieto”); “one who disturbs” (Alcalá: “inquietador”),

harā'ikī, derivationally related to pseudo-plural, “merchant” (Alcalá: “negociador”) (Dozy I, 276), etc.

Other ways in which the pseudo-plurals may be related to real numeric inflections are apparently possible as well.

⁴¹ The MWA equivalent of *haraka* is quoted for the convenience of the reader and has to compensate for the lack of the true Hispano-Arabic equivalents, as given by Alcalá, since Alcalá's *Vocabulista* is not available to the author of the present paper.

ON THE USE OF PROGRESSIVE PARTICIPLE WITH SYNSEMANTIC VERBS IN BENGALI

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The progressive participle is a very frequent infinite verbal form in the Bengali language. It usually appears at the end of a subordinated clause expressing two actions in sequence. But very often it occurs also in combinations with various synsemantic verbs. The aim of this paper is to analyse the latter instance of the progressive participle use, i.e. the syntagms consisting of the progressive participle and a synsemantic verb having some modal or phase meaning.

1

Bengali is one of those languages in which the verb is used in a high degree. Our analysis of texts proves that about a quarter of all the words employed were in verbal forms.¹

In Middle Bengali the action was expressed mainly by verbs in finite forms but this has changed considerably during the last four centuries. Though the total number of the verbal forms in the analysed texts remains approximately the same, there is a clear tendency there to use all the time less and less finite verbal forms and, on the other hand, more and more verbs in the infinite forms. Thus, an ample use of the infinite verbal forms has become one of the characteristic features of the contemporary Bengali language.

The class of the Bengali infinite verbal forms contains: verbal noun, verbal adjective, perfect participle, progressive participle and conditional participle.

The progressive participle, the use of which is the object of the present paper, is one of the most frequently used infinite verbal forms in Bengali.

As far as the form of the progressive participle is concerned, it is very simple (it can be expressed by the scheme *R + -ite*, i.e. the root of a verb + the suffix *-ite*) but its grammatical nature is not clear at all. The form *R + -ite* is usually considered

¹ We analysed the story by Mitra, Premendra: *Ghonādāke bhot din*, Calcutta 1886, which contains 21,511 words 5,472, i.e. 25.43% of which were verbal forms including 2,322, i.e. 10.79 % finite verbal forms and 3,150, i.e. 14.64% infinite verbal forms.

as the participle, but some authors do speak also about its being an infinitive. The reason of this dissension lies probably in the fact that the form *R + -ite* can function both as the participle and the infinitive in a sentence.

According to S. K. Chatterji this form has originated from two various sources. The progressive participle in *-ite* has its origin in the MIA. participle in *-anta* which was transformed to *-ita* and later to *-ite*, the locative absolute.² The infinitive in *-ite* appears to be the verbal noun in *-i* put in the locative.³

Though S. K. Chatterji speaks about two different forms in *-ite*, he admits that in the contemporary Bengali language it is difficult to distinguish whether the form *R + -ite* is the progressive participle or the infinitive. According to him, the form *R + -ite* which combines with the verbs like *cāoyā* — to want, to look at, *deoyā* — to give, to allow, *pārā* — to be able, *haoyā* — to be and *yāoyā* — to go, is to be considered the infinitive⁴ and the form *R + -ite* which] combines with Nominative, the participle.⁵

Some authors, e. g. W. S. Milne,⁶ Wegner,⁷ and E. M. Bykova⁸ agree with this Chatterji's distinction, but some others, e.g. W. S. Page⁹ and H. Ghos¹⁰ do not. They suppose that it is just the form *R + -ite* combined with Nominative that is to be considered as the infinitive.

The purpose of this study is not to find out the criteria for distinguishing these two forms but to analyse the use of the form in *-ite*, called the progressive participle, without taking into account its origin.

The Bengali progressive participle occurs at the end of a subordinated clause expressing two actions in sequence, or in the combination with synsemantic (auxiliary) verbs. In this paper, we concentrate on the latter instance of the progressive participle use.

2

In contrast to autosemantic verbs, synsemantic verbs do not denote the dynamic features of things, i.e. actions and states that are understood as a process, independ-

² Chatterji, S. K.: *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1970, pp. 1000—1002.

³ Ibid., p. 1014.

⁴ Ibid., p. 1014.

⁵ Ibid., p. 1000.

⁶ Milne, W. S.: *Bengali Grammar*. Calcutta 1917.

⁷ Wegner: *Wegner's Bengali Grammar*. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press 1920.

⁸ Bykova, E. M.: *Podlezhashchee i skazuemoe v sovremenном bengalskom yazyke*. Moscow 1960.

⁹ Page, W. S.: *An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali*. Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons 1934.

¹⁰ Ghos, H.: *Bānglā bhāṣār vyākaraṇ*. The University of Gauhati 1955.

ently. They combine with autosemantic verbs and in these combinations autosemantic and synsemantic verbs are reciprocally determined, i.e. they are at the same time both determined and determining members of syntagms. An autosemantic verb carries the real content of a syntagmatic unit and is more precisely modified by a synsemantic verb which also helps it to enter into syntactic relations.

A synsemantic verb cannot function as an independent predicate of a two-member sentence. In syntagms it occurs in the combination with an autosemantic verb that quite often takes the form of the progressive participle in the Bengali language.

Synsemantic verbs combining with the progressive participle are called phrase-makers or mode-makers. They are: *āch-*, *cāoyā*, *thākā*, *pāoyā*, *pārā*, *yāoyā*, *lāgā*, and *haoyā*.

The inventory of these synsemantic verbs is limited and differs from the inventory of synsemantic verbs used with the perfect participle (*āsā*, *othā*, *calā*, *tolā*, *dārāna*, *deoyā*, *dharā*, *neoyā*, *parā*, *phelā*, *basā*, *berāna*, *yāoyā*, *rākhā*), called compound makers.

Only the synsemantic verbs *deoyā* and *yāoyā* combine with both participles, but their meanings in combinations with them differ. They have modal meaning when combined with the progressive participle, and grammaticalized or lexicogrammatical meaning with the perfect participle, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Meaning:	Modal (with progress. part.)	Lexico-grammatical (with perfect participle)
<i>deoyā</i>	to allow to, to let	action oriented towards an object
<i>yāoyā</i>	to be going to	completeness, continuity of action

ebāre ār āmi tomāke āgā nite deba nā! (40)¹¹

I shall not allow you to take the peak (of the sugar cane) now!

bāgh āstei to bāghinī tār kāche sab kathā bale diyeche... (102)

When the tiger came, the tigress told him everything.

jalkhabār kathā sune... sei mādurer upar baste gela (16)

When he heard about drinking of water... he was going to sit down on the rag.

... *kichu nā khele se marei yābe* (99)

... if he eats nothing, he will die.

¹¹ The examples are from the book by Rāycaudhuri, U.: *Tuntunir bai*. Calcutta 1972. The numbers in brackets denote pages.

It follows that the combinations of the perfect participle and the progressive participle with synsemantic verbs form two independent categories differing lexically as well as grammatically.

The perfect participle combined with a synsemantic verb (compound maker) forms one lexico-grammatical unit, the meaning of which is derived from the meaning of the first component, i.e. the participle. The finite, i.e. synsemantic verb serves only as a modifier adding different modifications to the meaning of participle. It indicates suddenness of action, its continuity, completeness etc. In this type of combination, the lexical meaning of a finite verb is, as a rule, completely lost.

The combinations of the perfect participle with synsemantic verbs are called compound verbs in grammars of the Bengali language.

The progressive participle combined with a synsemantic verb forms a combination of a modal, or a phase verb in finite form with an autosemantic infinite verb. This combination does not form any indivisible lexico-grammatical unit. It is just a two-member syntactic combination in which both the verbs retain their original lexical meaning. They remain separate, though not quite independent components of a syntagm.¹²

3

In combination with the progressive participle the Bengali synsemantic verbs form two types of syntagms in which they can function as modal verbs (A) or phase verbs (B).

A. In the function of modal verbs we find: *āch-* — should, *cāoyā* — to want, *deoyā* — to allow to, to let, *pārā* — can, *pāoyā* — to be able to, *yāoyā* — to be going to, and *haoyā* — must. These verbs express modality proper, i.e. they give only objective data about the disposition of an agent to perform an action.

In Bengali modal verbs three grammemes of modality occur: 1. intention, 2. necessity, and 3. possibility to perform an action.

1. Intention of a subject to perform an action is expressed by verbs *cāoyā* and *yāoyā*.

takhan tumi balbe — orā bāgh khete cāy (50)

Then you will say — they want to eat a tiger.

kumir ār śiyāl mile cāš karte gela (39)

The crocodile and the jackal were going to do farming together.

2. Necessity is expressed by modal verbs *haoyā*, and *āch-* (in negation *nei*). Verb *haoyā* (must) denotes a higher degree of necessity than *āch-*. The meaning of necessity

¹² Bykova, E. M.: op. cit., p. 65.

is also more definite in *haoyā* than in the verb *āch-* (*nei*) — should (should not) where the need is caused by some objective circumstances or by interpretation of an order.¹³

nadi balle, "bhāi, āmāke balte habe" (67)

The river said: "Brother, you must say it to me".

eman nimatrāntā ki chārte āche? (34)

Shouldn't I take notice of such an invitation?

... *duṣṭa loker upakār karte nei* (76)

... one should not help bad people.

3. Modal verbs *deoyā*, *pāoyā*, and *pārā* are used to express possibility in Bengali.

Verb *pārā* contains two modal meanings. *Pārā₁*, having the same modal meaning as the verb *deoyā*, indicates that someone may perform an action because somebody has allowed him to do it. The difference in using these two modal verbs can be seen clearly when they are transformed to the first person: *pāri* — I can do something as somebody has allowed me to do it; *dii* — somebody can do something as I have allowed him to do it.

tomār saṅge sahare yete pāri

I may go to town with you.

ebāre ār āmi tomāke āgā nite deba nā! (40)

Now I shall not allow you (you must not) to take the peak (of the sugar cane)!

Pārā₂ expresses possibility (ability) of a subject to perform an action. The modal meaning of *pārā₂* is the same as the modal meaning of *pāoyā*. *Pāoyā* is usually used with the verbs of sensory perception (sporadically also with other verbs), *pārā₂* in other cases.

kintu śiyāl badda cālāk, tāi tāke dharte pāre nā (44)

But the jackal is very clever, therefore he cannot catch him.

māthe marā hāti dekhte peye se khub khusi haye ese tāke khete ārambha karla (55)

When he saw the dead elephant in the field, he was very happy; he came and started to eat it.

Verb *pāoyā* (its modal meaning is "to have an ability to" and lexical meaning "to get") has a special position in the class of Bengali synsemantic verbs. If *pāoyā* is combined with the progressive participle of a verb of sensory perception, it has something in common with compound verbs as well as with the combinations of the progressive participle with a synsemantic modal verb. Just as the rest of the modal verbs, *pāoyā* occurs in the combination with the progressive participle and indicates some modal meaning ("ability"). But as opposed to other modal verbs, it does not retain its lexical meaning, but more or less merges with the meaning of the participle,

¹³ Panevová, J.—Benešová, E.—Sgall, P.: *Čas a modalita v češtině*. Prague, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica 1971.

similarly as compound makers do. E.g. *dekhā* — to have a look at, *dekhte pāoyā* — (to have an ability) to see.

In Bengali, more frequently than, e.g., in Slovak, a verb can function as a synsemantic verb (i.e. phase verb, modal verb or a component of a compound verb), as well as an autosemantic verb. With regard to this criterion the class of Bengali modal verbs can be divided into two basic groups: The first group contains verbs having only some modal meaning (*pārā*). The second group contains verbs having besides the modal meaning, also some other meaning. These verbs can occur as synsemantic verbs with non-modal meanings: a) verbs of existence (*āch-*, *haoyā*), b) compound makers (*deoyā* and *yāoyā*) in combination with the perfect participle, or as autosemantic verbs (*cāoyā*, *deoyā*, *pāoyā*, and *yāoyā*), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Modal verb	Other synsemantic verb		Autosem. verb
	a) existence	b) compound maker	
<i>āch-</i> should	to be	—	—
<i>cāoyā</i> to want	—	—	to want
<i>deoyā</i> to allow to	—	“action oriented towards an object”	to give
<i>pāoyā</i> “to have an ability to”	—	—	to get
<i>pārā</i> can	—	—	—
<i>yāoyā</i> to be going to	—	“continuity or completeness”	to go
<i>haoyā</i> must	to become	—	—

The above-mentioned verbs are combined with the progressive participle only when they have some modal meaning and then no subordinated clause can be substituted for them.

B. The second type of the analysed syntagms consists of the progressive participle and the phase verbs *lāgā* or *thākā*. These phase verbs are used to express some particular phase of verbal action. The phase verb *lāgā* — to begin, in combination with the progressive participle denotes the inchoative phase, the verb *thākā* — to continue, expresses the continuative phase of verbal action. In Bengali there is no phase verb for denoting the terminative phase, therefore, this phase is expressed by the compound *śeṣ karā* (to end, lit. to do an end). Analogically also the inchoative phase can be expressed by the compounds *ārambha karā* or *śuru karā*.

takhan bāgh ... gharmay khūjte lāgla (39)

Then the tiger ... started to inspect the house.

chānāgulio bhūter mata cyācāte śuru karle (53)

Also the little (tigers) started to shriek as ghosts.

e kathā śunei kumir tārātāri sekhānkār jal gholā karte ārambha karle (45)

As soon as the crocodile has heard those words he started quickly to make the water muddy.

āmi gān gāhite thākiba

I shall go on singing the song.

āji kājtā śeṣ karba

I shall finish the work this very day.

Some authors¹⁴ consider the syntagms consisting of the progressive participle and the phase verbs *lāgā* or *thākā* as compound verbs. But when taking into account the above analysis of the combinations of the progressive and perfect participles with synsemantic verbs, it is evident that these combinations cannot be included among compound verbs as they differ very clearly from them by the fact that in contrast to compound verbs, both the components of these combinations retain their lexical meanings.

¹⁴ E.g. Chatterji, S. K.: op. cit., p. 1052 or Milne, W. S.: op. cit., p. 196.

BEMERKUNGEN ZUR BENUTZUNG DER EUROPÄISCHEN QUELLEN IN DER OSMANISCHEN GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG

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Der Artikel bringt einen Beweis über die Benutzung einer Nachricht angeführt in einer zeitgenössischen deutschen Flugschrift, benannt „Aussag eines Frantzösischen Renegatens“ im osmanischen historischen Werk Hasan Ağa's *Cevahir el-tevarih* (*Edelsteine der Geschichte*).

Die wechselseitige Beeinflussung der islamischen und europäischen (westlichen) Geschichtsschreibung entsprach bis in die moderne Zeit hinein nicht der Bedeutung, die die beiden Zivilisationen aufeinander ausübten. Der Vergleich beider Historiographien in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung zeigt, dass sie sich unabhängig, ohne jedweden fruchtbaren Einfluss entwickelten.¹ Die mittelalterliche muslimische Gesellschaft war von der Endgültigkeit und Selbständigkeit ihrer Zivilisation überzeugt. Der Islam war der einzige rechte Glauben und außer ihm waren nur noch die Ungläubigen, was einem Äquivalent des griechischen „die Barbaren“ gleichkam. Fremde Länder und Völker waren der muslimischen Geschichtsschreibung unbekannt, oder genauer gesagt ohne Interesse für sie. Diese Situation dauerte mit Ausnahmen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert. Der Islam ignorierte nicht nur Quellen, sondern auf theoretischer Ebene noch viel mehr die methodologischen Errungenschaften der europäischen Geschichtsschreibung und Europa wurde mit den anregenden Gedanken Ibn Chalduns erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bekannt. Um einiges günstiger war die Situation in der Benutzung der Quellen — die der islamischen durch die europäische Geschichtsschreibung und die der europäischen Quellen durch die islamischen Geschichtsschreibungen — vor allem der arabischen, der persischen und der osmanischen.

Wir wollen hier die arabische und die persische Geschichtsschreibung ausser Acht lassen, und unsere Aufmerksamkeit vor allem auf dieses Problem in der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung lenken.² Wir werden auf dieser Stelle nicht die Probleme

¹ Spuler, B.: *Islamische und abendländische Geschichtsschreibung*. In: *Saeculum*, VI, 1955, S. 127—135.

² Die beste Übersicht gibt Lewis, B.: *The Use by Muslim Historians of non-Muslim Sources*. In: *Historian of the Middle East*. Ed. by B. Lewis and P. M. Holt. London 1962, S. 180—191.

der einzelnen Werke und derer Quellen, die sich mit der europäischen Geschichte oder mit der Geschichte anderer nicht muslimischer Länder befassen, analysieren.³ Uns geht es hauptsächlich um das Problem der Benutzung der europäischen Quellen und deren Eingliederung in die Werke der osmanischen Historiker.

Es ist bekannt, dass der osmanische Polyhistor Kâtip Çelebi (1609—1657) eine grosse Menge Stoff aus europäischen historischen und geographischen Werken sammelte und diesen in seinen drei Werken benutzte, in denen er sich speziell mit der Geschichte der christlichen Völker befasste. Die Übersetzungen der europäischen Quellen verrichtete für Kâtip Çelebi der französische Renegat, der unter dem Namen Şeyh Mehmed İlhasi bekannt war.⁴ Es handelte sich hier um die türkische Bearbeitung des Werkes *Atlas Minor* von Mercator und Hondius, die Benutzung der französischen Übersetzung der deutschen Chronik von Johann Carion, die Philipp Melanchthon umarbeitete und die Kaspar Beutzer als selbständiges Werk weiterführte, welches unter dem Titel *Tarih-i Firengi* bekannt ist, sowie die Benutzung von Angaben aus dem Werk A. Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

Ein anderer osmanischer Historiker İbrahim Peçevi (1574—1649?) benutzte die Übersetzungen von ungarischen Chroniken zur Geschichte Ungarns. Dieser Benutzung von Angaben feindlicher Historiker bezeichnete B. Lewis als „revolutionary idea“.⁵ Peçevi selbst gab die Benutzung der ungarischen Chroniken in seiner Geschichte zu, obwohl er sie nicht namentlich erwähnte. Später identifizierte J. Thúry⁶ als Peçevis Quellen das Werk von Gaspar Heltai *Chronika az magyaroknak dolgairól* (Cluj 1575) und von Nicolaus Istvánffy *Historarium de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV* (Köln 1622). Diese Entdeckung wird gewöhnlich F. von Kraelitz⁷ zugeschrieben, dieser hat jedoch Thúrys Entdeckung lediglich interpretiert.

Bei der Analyse der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung zur Geschichte Ungarns behauptet der ungarische Historiker J. Szekfű, dass es ein Verdienst N. Istvánffys war, dass sich Peçevi vom Stilismus abgewendet und realistischere Formen der Darstellung historischer Wirklichkeit gesucht hat.⁸ Peçevi war nicht der erste Historiker, der westliche Quellen benutzte, als erster jedoch hat er fremde Angaben mit heimatlichen Quellen über dieselbe Begebenheit verglichen, und diese zu einer einfachen Darlegung zusammengestellt.

³ Aus den neueren Arbeiten über diese Frage kann man zitieren: Matuz, J.: *L'ouvrage de Seyfi Çelebi, Historien ottoman du XVI^e siècle*. Édition critique, traduction et commentaires... Paris 1968. Der Verfasser befasst sich mit dem Werk *Kitab-i tevarih-i padışahan-i vilayet-i Hindu ve Hıbatay ve Kışmir ve vilayet-i Acem ve Kasqar ve Qalmaq ve Çin*.

⁴ Gökkay, O. S.: *Kâtip Çelebi, hayatı, sahisiyeti, eserleri*. In: *Kâtip Çelebi, hayatı ve eserleri hakkında incelemeler*. Ankara 1957, S. 64.

⁵ Lewis, B.: op. cit., S. 185.

⁶ Pecsévi viszonya a magyar történetíráshoz. In: Századok, XXV, 1892, S. 395—406.

⁷ Der osmanische Historiker İbrahim Peçevi. In: Der Islam, VIII, 1918, S. 232—260.

⁸ A hódoltságkorábeli török történetírók. In: Török történetírók, III. Budapest 1916, S. 57—58.

Eine weitere ausgeprägte Persönlichkeit der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung, die sich für Europa interessierte und die europäische Quellen benutzte, war Hüseyin ben Cafer gen. Hezârfenn († 1691).⁹ Es geht besonders um seine Werke *Tarih-i Devlet-i Rumîye ve İstanbul*, wo er unter Beihilfe von Nicusios Panagiotis und des Polen Adalbert Bobowski (Ali Bey) griechische und lateinische Quellen benutzte, und *Tenkîh el-tevarih*, wo er abermals lateinische und griechische Quellen benutzte.¹⁰

Ein anderer osmanischer Autor Ahmed ben Lütfullah, bekannt als Mîneccîmbâsi (†1702), widmete in seiner allgemeinen Geschichte seine Aufmerksamkeit auch der europäischen Geschichte, die er auf Grund europäischer Quellen bearbeitete und sich auch für andere Teile der Welt interessierte.¹¹

Wir haben hier lediglich die bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten der osmanischen Historiographie erwähnt, die in ihren Werken europäische Quellen benutzten, bzw. sich für die Geschichte der europäischen Länder interessierten. Auf den ersten Blick könnte es scheinen, dass das Interesse für europäische Geschehnisse osmanischerseits wirklich gering und mit den europäischen Werken (auch den Übersetzungen) über die zeitgenössische Türkei nicht vergleichbar war, ganz abgesehen von der polemischen Literatur. Ohne zu übertreiben kann man jedoch konstatieren, dass die angeführten Beispiele nur einen Bruchteil der Benutzung von europäischen Quellen, die erhalten blieben, darstellen, auch wenn andererseits ein massenhaftes Interesse von osmanischer Seite nicht vorauszusetzen ist. Ein eingehenderes Studium der reichhaltigen handschriftlichen Fonds türkischer und europäischer Bibliotheken wird gewiss weitere Belege für die Benutzung europäischer Quellen durch osmanische Historiker bringen. Als Beweis für diese Behauptung möchten wir ein Bruchstück aus dem Werk des osmanischen Chronisten Hasan Ağa *Cevahir el-tevarih* und eine zeitgenössische Flugschrift deutscher Herkunft, „Aussag eines Frantzösischen Renegatens“ genannt, anführen.

Die Urheberschaft des Werkes *Cevahir el-tevarih (Edelsteine der Geschichte)* ist nicht endgültig bestätigt. J. von Hammer¹² hat die Urheberschaft dieses Werkes eindeutig Hasan Ağa, dem Siegelbewahrer (*mühürdar*) des Grosswesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha zugeschrieben. Der türkische Literaturhistoriker Brusali Mehmed Tahir¹³ behauptete jedoch, dass das Werk, gewöhnlich *Tarih-i Mühürdar* genannt, der Feder Erzurumlu Osman Dede's entstammt, der die Überlieferung Hasan Ağas benutzte. Die Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung bezweifelte bereits

⁹ Die neueste Monographie von Wurm, H.: *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğacfer genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg i. B. 1971 behandelt diese Problematik ausreichend.

¹⁰ Wurm, H.: op. cit., S. 91 f.

¹¹ Lewis, B.: op. cit., S. 187—188.

¹² *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches VI.* Pesth 1830, S. v-vi.

¹³ *'Osmanlı Müellifleri. III.* İstanbul 1343, S. 30.

F. Babinger¹⁴ und konstatierte, dass erst das zukünftige Nachforschen Licht in die Frage bringen könne. A. S. Levend, der das Werk *Cevahir el-tevarih* untersuchte, schreibt die Urheberschaft wieder Erzurumlu Osman Dede zu.¹⁵ Levend untersuchte die伊斯坦布尔 Handschriften dieses Werkes und konstatierte, dass das Exemplar in der Bibliothek Süleymaniye (Esad Efendi, Nr. 2242) ohne Angabe des Autors ist, die Handschrift in Köprülü Kütüphanesi (Nr. 231) die Urheberschaft Osman Dedes bestätigt, während die Handschrift in Revan Kütüphanesi (Nr. 1307) als Autor den *mühürdar* Hasan Ağa anführt und dass das Werk den Titel *Tarikh-i Feth-i Kandiye* trägt. Im weiteren konstatiert jedoch A. S. Levend, dass das Werk Hasan Ağas über Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha Osman Dede in einem gehobeneren, *münşiyane* Stil umgeschrieben habe. Gegen diese Ansichten wäre einzuwenden, dass A. S. Levend die alten, in den europäischen Bibliotheken (Paris, Wien) befindlichen Handschriften dieses Werkes nicht untersucht und nicht feststellte, welches der伊斯坦布尔 Handschriften das Autograph sein könnte. Ausserdem bemerken wir, dass das Werk *Cevahir el-tevarih* in der Wiener und Pariser Handschrift nicht die geringste Spur von einer Umarbeitung im Stil *münşiyane* aufweist. Für die Urheberschaft Hasan Ağas spricht auch die zeitgenössische Übersetzung des ersten Drittels dieses Werkes (die ersten zwei Kapitel) ins Lateinische, die im Jahre 1680 J. Podestà machte und sie Kaiser Leopold I. widmete.¹⁶ Podestà erstand für Geld ein Exemplar dieses Werkes während seines Aufenthaltes in Istanbul in den Jahren 1678—1679 von einem gewissen Imam aus dem Archiv des Grosswesirs Kara Mustafa Pascha (a me pecunaria vi ex Archivis moderni Veziri Turcarum Cara Mustafa Bassae). Diese Angabe zeugt davon, dass Podestà eine sehr frühe Abschrift vom Autograph benutzte und über die Urheberschaft gut Bescheid wissen musste.¹⁷ In den Handschriften, die uns zugänglich waren, bringt der Autor ausserdem seine Funktion des *mühürdar* des Grosswesirs Fazıl Ahmed Pascha des öfteren in Erinnerung, was Osman Dede bei der Bearbeitung wahrscheinlich weggelassen hätte.

Das Werk *Cevahir el-tevarih* entstand wahrscheinlich zwischen 1669, dem Jahre der letzten eingetragenen Begebenheit und 1672, dem Todesjahr des Autors.¹⁸ Es ist in fünf Kapitel (*fasıl*) und ein Nachwort (*hatime*) eingeteilt, die in Zeitfolge die Taten des Grosswesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha behandeln.

¹⁴ Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke. Leipzig 1927, S. 216.

¹⁵ *Gazavât-nâme ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavât-nâmesi*. Ankara 1956, S. 121.

¹⁶ Annalium Gemma Auctore Hasan Aga Sigilli Custode Kupurlı seu Cypry Ahmed Bassae, Supremi Vizirii Mehmed Quarti Turcarum Tyranni ex turcico-arabico-persico Idiomate in latinum translata et diversis notis ac reminiscentiis illustrata a Joanne Podestà, S.C.R. Majestatis a secretis 1680. Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Handschriften Nr. 8745.

¹⁷ Die ähnliche Meinung hat auch Wurm, H.: op. cit., S. 55. Anm. 1.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Bei der Untersuchung dieses Werkes, vor allem seines zweiten Teils, der dem osmanischen Feldzug gegen Ungarn 1663—1664¹⁹ gewidmet ist, sind wir uns des ausserordentlichen Wertes dieses Werkes für den behandelten Zeitraum bewusst geworden.²⁰

Ein charakteristisches Merkmal dieses Werkes sind ausser anderem zahlreiche Kopien von Briefen (*süret-i mektub*), ob zwischen den osmanischen Würdenträgern (dem Sultan und Grosswesir, dem Grosswesir und anderen Würdenträgern) und dem Krim-Khan gewechselt, oder an fremde Würdenträger und Befehlshaber (an den Präsidenten des Hofkriegsrates in Wien, an Kommandanten der belagerten Festungen, die aufgefordert wurden sich zu ergeben) adressiert, oder aber Kopien abgefangeener Briefe des Feindes, die vom Gesichtspunkt unseres Themas am interessantesten sind. Das rege Interesse des Grosswesirs an diesen Dokumenten, die auch vom militärischen Gesichtspunkt nicht ohne Bedeutung waren, führte dazu, dass sie der Dolmetsch der Hohen Pforte Nicusios Panagiotis übersetzen musste²¹ und Hasan Ağa Auszüge aus diesen Übersetzungen in sein Werk übernahm. Zu den umfangreicheren Aufzeichnungen dieser Art gehört ein Teil des Werkes genannt „Übersetzung der vom Kurier erworbenen Briefe“ (P 21r-23r, W 25v-28r), wo folgende Briefe angeführt sind: 1. die Übersetzung eines Briefes vom deutschen *veznedar*, der an einen deutschen Adeligen, einen Ungläubigen Namens Marko in Nové Zámky gesandt wurde; 2. ein Brief aus Wien an den deutschen Hauptmann Locatelli in Nové Zámky; 3. ein Brief Montecuccolis an die Novigrader Garnison; 4. ein Brief an Forgach aus Wien; 5. ein Brief Montecuccolis an Forgach; 6. ein Brief an Hauptmann Pio in Nové Zámky vom Grafen Barat; 7. ein Brief aus Wien an Hauptmann Pio; 8. der Inhalt der Briefe einzeln an die Festungen Nové Zámky, Levice und Novograd vom Wiener Präsidenten der Kammer (*Beç defterdarı*) gesandt; 9. ein Brief an den deutschen Hauptmann in Novograd vom Grafen Harrach; 10. ein Brief an Forgach.

Eine andere Gruppe von Briefen gewann der Behauptung *Cevahir el-tevarih* (P 27v, W 33v) zufolge Kibleli Mustafa Pascha von einem getöteten Ungläubigen

¹⁹ Hammer von, J.: GOR, VI, S. 107 f., Zinkeisen, J. W.: *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa. IV.* Gotha 1856, S. 909 f., Jorga, N.: *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches IV.* Gotha 1911, S. 112 f., Uzunçarşılı, İ. H.: *Osmancı Tarihi. III.* 1. Ankara 1951, S. 144 f., Danışmend, İ. H.: *Izahli Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi. III.* İstanbul 1951, S. 430 f., Eickhoff, E.: *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645—1700.* München 1970, S. 196 f.

²⁰ Ottoman Narrative Sources to the Uyvar Expedition 1663. In: Asian and African Studies, VII, 1971, S. 90—100, und Eine Quelle der Geschichte Silihdärs. In: Asian and African Studies, IX, 1973, S. 129—139. Bei der Analyse verwendeten wir Mikrofilme aus den Handschriften dieses Werkes —Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. turc 506 (weiter P) und Wien, Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 84^a(W). Ich danke den beiden Bibliotheken für die Gewährung der Mikrofilme.

²¹ *Tarih-i Raşid I*, 41... *divan-i hümayun tercüməni ol məkəlibi tercümə etmek üzere mamur oldı...*

bei einem Feldzug in die Umgebung von Nové Zámky während der Belagerung der Festung. Er sandte diese dem Grosswesir, der sie, wie auch die vorherigen Briefe übersetzen liess. In der Übersetzung führt *Cevahir el-tevarih* (P 28v—29r, W 34v—35r) einen Brief aus Wien in die Festung Banská Bystrica (Neusohl) vom 14. Muharram 1074 (18. August 1663) an, der ausser anderem auch die schlechte Lage im habsburgischen Teil Ungarns, die Belagerung der Festung Nové Zámky, die möglichen Überfälle der Türken und Tataren auf Mähren und Schlesien zwecks Beute und Lebensmittel, den Sieg Zrinyis bei Csakatornya, das Eintreffen der französischen Hilfe zum Rhein und die Streitigkeiten um die Befehlsführung in der ungarischen Armee erwähnt. Ein weiterer, in Buda (Ofen) geschriebener Brief bringt das Entsetzen über die Niederlage von Forgachs Heer bei Parkan zum Ausdruck. Und schliesslich ist hier der Brief, der das Erzählen des französischen Renegaten enthält. Der Anrede nach ist der Brief dem Vater des Schreibers adressiert, der in der unglückseligen Schlacht bei Parkan in die türkische Gefangenschaft gefallen ist.²² Der Schreiber erwähnt, dass die Türken 700 deutsche und 800 ungarische Musketiere geschlagen haben, und konstatiert, dass sich von ihnen kaum zehn Leute retteten. Im weiteren erwähnt er, dass unter den letzten er selbst gefangen genommen wurde und mit Gottes Hilfe dem Tod entrinnen konnte. Die türkische Übersetzung des Briefes führt weiter den Bericht an, wie aus dem osmanischen Lager beim Dorf Hidvar (es handelt sich ohne Zweifel um Udvard — das heutige Dvory nad Žitavou, Kreis Nové Zámky) ein französischer Renegat entflohen ist und von der osmanischen Armee erzählt hat. Da wir diese Problematik als Ganzes auf Grund von osmanischer und westlicher Quellen untersuchten, bemerkten wir die Übereinstimmung in der Benennung einer zeitgenössischen Flugschrift „Aussag eines Frantzösischen Renegatens“ und dem osmanischen Bericht. Eine Flugschrift wird von J. von Hammer in der Liste der Werke über die osmanische Geschichte, die in Europa erschienen sind, erwähnt.²³ Eine weitere Flugschrift wird in der Liste von Büchern und Flugschriften über Ungarn von A. Apponyi²⁴ erwähnt und beide sind in der neuesten Liste von Flugschriften in der Budapestere Bibliothek Széchényi könyvtár von I. Hubay²⁵ angeführt. Abgesehen von einigen Wörtern und der Uneinheitlichkeit

²² Über die Niederlage des Befehlshabers von Neuhäusel, Graf Forgach, den 7. August 1663, siehe: *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 18r-v, W 21v-22v, *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 257—265, *Tarih-i Râşid II*, S. 38—39, *Evliya Çelebi: Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. VI, S. 281—300.

²³ „Außsag Eines Frantzösischen *Renegatens*, welcher an heut den 23. Augusti 1663. Jahrs, von dem Türkischen Lager, so jenseits deß Fluß Neutra vorhero vmb das Dorff Udler geschlagen, i reywillig herüber naher Neuhäusel kommen. GOR X, 211 unter den Nr. 1885.

²⁴ *Hungarica. Ungarn betreffende im Ausland gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften II.* München 1903, Nr. 868. Außsag vber 23. Puneten. Deß Frantzösischen *Renegatens*, welcher an heut den 13. Augusti Anno 1663. von dem Türkischen Lager, so jenseyts deß Fluß Neüttra, vor hero vmb das Dorf Velos geschlagen, freywillig herüber nacher Neühäussel kommen.

²⁵ *Magyar és magyar vonatkozású röplapok, újságlapok, röpiratok az Országos Széchényi-könyvtárban.* Budapest 1948, Nr. 603 und 603a.

der Transkription einzelner Wörter stimmen beide Flugschriften überein. Die Flugschrift Nr. 603 bringt jedoch nach der Aussage des französischen Renegaten die Briefe aus Wien und Ungarn vom „sehr erbärmlichen Zustand der Christen vnd von der Türkene großen Sicherheit vnd Tyranney“, während die Flugschrift Nr. 603a nach dem Bericht des Renegaten „Zwey Schreiben, das Erste auß Raab den 25. Augusti, Das Ander auss Schindau den 26. Augusti diß 1663. Jahrs“ enthält.

Der Herausgeber und der Ort der Herausgabe sind nicht bekannt. Es ist vorauszusetzen, dass die Herausgabe beider Flugschriften in einem der Zentren der Herausgabe von Flugschriften, in den deutschen Städten Augsburg, Frankfurt am Main oder Nürnberg erfolgte. Die Flugschrift Nr. 603a scheint älter zu sein, da sie Berichte vom 25. und 26. August bringt, während die Flugschrift Nr. 603 Berichte vom 4. und 6. September 1663 beinhaltet. Anschliessend führen wir den Text der Flugschrift Nr. 603a mit Angabe der Abweichungen, die in der Nr. 603 (siehe Titelseite in der Beilage) auftreten, an. Weiter folgt der osmanische Text, wobei in Klammern die Angabe ist auf welchen Punkt der Flugschrift er sich bezieht und seine Übersetzung.

Text der Flugschrift Nr. 603a (siehe Beilage I)

Außag vber 23. Puncten. Deß Frantzösischen *Renegatens*, welcher an heut den 13. Augusti Anno 1663. von dem Türkischen Lager so jenseyts deß Fluß Neüttra vor hero vmb das Dorff *Velos* (Nr. 603 hat Udler) geschlagen, freywillig herüber nacher Neühäussel kommen. Wie auch Zwey Schreiben, das Erste auß Raab den 25. Augusti, Das Ander auß Schindau den 26. Augusti diß 1663. Jahrs.

Erstlich, Sagt er, daß die gantze Türkische Macht, da seye, welche mit dem groß *Vezier*: vnd *Allij Bassa* (Nr. 603 Alibassa), auß der Türckey kommen, sambt allen Türkischen Gränitzern, ausser der Tarttarn vnd Asiatten.

2. Der Groß *Vezier* hätte von dem Türkischen Kayser Befelch, sich vber 50. Tag in der Christenheit nit auffzuhalten, sonsten bey Ergießung der Wasser er vil Volck verlieren möchte, in mittels aber solle er mit aufwerffung grosser Werck, worauff die Stuck zupplantzen, Neühäussel vnd noch zwey Orth zubekommen, Eylfärtigst befürdern, worauff der groß *Vezier* gäntzlich *rosoluiert* (Nr. 603 resolvirt), von disem Orth gar nit abzulassen, vnd verhoffe solches innerhalb 8. Tag zu erobern, vnd ehender nit, biß zuvor die Werck auffgeworffen, vnd die Stuck gepflantzt seynd, mit einem *general* Sturm anzugehen, darbey alles Volck arbeiten müsse, die Schaufflen vnd andern darzu gehörigen Werckzeug führen die gehuldigte Bauren.

3. Solten sie Türkken mehrers nit als 11000. Janitscharen bey sich haben.

4. Vermainten die Türkken desto leichter disen Orth zu erobern, weylen sie gewiß darfür hielten, daß kein Entsatz zuerwarteten.

5. Seye der groß *Vezier* alldort so weit *logiert* (Nr. 603 campirt), dahin vnsere Stuck nit raichen könden, die ihrige Stuck wollen sie ehender nit in die nähe bringen,

es seye dann, daß sie zuvor ihre Werck auffgeworffen, sich verschantzt vnd die Batterie gemacht haben werden.

6. Das vollige Läger solle sich zum *Allij Bassa* (Nr. 603 Ali-Bassa) an die Neüttra schlagen.

7. Eine Brucke wollen sie vber die Neüttra machen, so haben sie aber die darzu gehörige Schiff nit, das Holtz aber so sie darzu haben, legen sie in die Morast, woran sie stehen, darmit sie die Stuck darüber bringen können.

8. Meldet auch diser *Renegat*, wann die Christen vnsere den 8. diß wider den Türkern gehabten *Rencontre* in einem Tag ehender vorgenommen hätten, so wären alle die Türkern damalen im Läger erlegt vnd alles ihnen abgenommen worden, wie aber denselben Tag, als man die Türkern angriffen, die Christen gar die Türkischen Zelten geplündert, worinn 2. Bassa ergriffen, darunter der *Anhal Bassa* (Nr. 603 Amhat Bassa) gewesen, den man noch nit weißt, ob er todt oder die Flucht geben. Die Türkern sagen, daß die vnserigen bey diser *Rencontre* alle müssen voll gewesen seyn, daß sie gleich das Läger angegriffen, Sie Türkern hätten vns auff 12000. Mann *aestimiert*, vnd nacher vernommen, daß wir nur auff 4000. vnd etwas mehrers gewesen.

9. Wie deß Graff Forgatsch Trompetter mit seiner von Silber posumierten Liberey gefangen worden, haben ihn die Türkern vor einen grossen Herren, der sich wol wider *rancionieren* könde gehalten, beynebenst aber gesagt, daß man kein dergleichen leben lasse, dann wann sie sich außlösen würden, möchten sie alles was sie gesehen, verrathen.

10. Wann der groß *Vezier* Neühäussel nit einnemen sollte, wurde es seinen Kopff gelten.

11. Das Geschrey sey allenthalben vnter den Türkern, daß gar wenig Volck zu Neühäussel in der Besatzung seye, vnd mainen, daß bey obgedachter mit ihnen gehabter *Rencontre*, die allhiessige Neühäußliche *Guarnisson* maistens geblieben.

12. Die Türkische *Cavallerie* steigte ab vnd laufte so wol Sturm, als das Fußvolck.

13. 160. Kleine vnd 35. grosse Stuck hätten sie bey sich, worbey viel verdeckter Wägen mit *Munition*, so auch die gehuldigte Bauren führen.

14. Schaff, Biscotten, vnd Reiß hätten sie genug.

15. Von tauglicher Mannschaft zum fechten hätten sie in die 100000. Mann, darey auch so vil deß Gesindl vnd Troßbueben.

16. Vor Wien aber wolten sie nicht, weylen es zu vöst, vber das Jahr aber wolten sie den *Serin attaquieren*, vnd das *Winterquartier* zu Bellgradt schlagen, vnd diser ihr Zug seye meisten theyls darumb, daß ihre Völcker besser Lufft gewohnen, vnd vber das Jahr desto besser vnd früher hinauß fallen könnten.

17. Der *Bassa* von Ofen sampt allen alldort geweßten *Guarnissonern* seyen auch in disem Läger, ob der *Bassa* aber selber noch lebe, wisse er nicht, weylen er in letzterem Scharmitzel mit beygewesen, vnd vermutlich solle geblieben seyn.

18. Wir Christen aber solten bald darzu thun, vnsere Völcker zusammen zubringen,

dann diser Feindt leichtlich zuschlagen wäre, wann er vber die Neüttra eine Brucken macht, vnd darüber gehet, weilen alles in höchster confusion geschicht, sonsten seynd sie sehr stoltz, vnd verachten vnsere Leut gar sehr.

19. Der Orthen haben sie kein *Fouragien* für ihre Pferdt, dann sie eine grosse Anzahl bey sich haben.

20. Der Türckische Kayser hatte dem Groß *Vezier* ein *Costan* (Nr. 603 ein Kaftan) vnd Säbel geschickt, darbey auch befohlen, daß er seine Leuth wol bezahle, vnd *obseruieren* solle, auch selbige bald in die Quarttier schicken, dann diß sein letzteres Volck seye.

21. Von allen disen, so sie bey obgedachter *Rencontre* köpfft haben, sie vom Kopff ein Ohr von den *Principalen* aber die Haut von den Köppen geschunden, vnd mit Stro außgefüllt, vnd dem Türkischen Kayser zugeschickt haben.

22. Viel Camel vnd Maulthier hätten sie bey sich, auff den Camelen waren das *Prouiant*, auff den Maulthieren das Gelt vnd andere *Mobilien*.

23. Bossonetten hätten sie 12 000. zu Fuß mit langen Spiessen armiert.

Türkischer Text P 28v—29r (siehe Beilage II, III)

W 34v—35r

İslam askerinin orduları Hidvâr nam kariyede iken anlardan firar edüb gelen Francız mürteddin takrirî derki beyan olunur mürted-i mezzbur hikâyeti bu derki demişki: /2/ İslâm Padişâhi ziyade ta'kid ile vezir-i âzama ismarlamış ki elli günden // ziyade düşman vilâyetinde kalınmasun zira sular taşkin olur ve vezir-i âzam Uyvar kalesini asan vechle almağa kıyas eder ve derki gayri vechle olmaz hemen toprak sürmekle olur ve anı alındıdkıdan sonra iki kale dahi almağa niyet eder /3/ ve yeniçeri taifesi yirmi binden ziyade yokdur /4/ ve Uyvar kalesi tarafımızdan imdad olmadıkca anı almaları mukarrerdir /5/ zira vezir-i âzam toplarını kaleye yakın getürmez meterise girmedin amma meterise girdiklerinden sonra korkusuz ve zararsız cenc eder /6/ ve Ali Paşa askeriyle Nitre semtine konacakdır /7/ Nitre suyunun üzerine yapılacak köprinin kerestesi dahi hazır değildir /8/ ve dahi derki Tuna kenarında varan askerimiz iki gün mukaddem varıldı İslâm askerini bozub cümle mallarını yağma edebi-lürler idi ve dahi derki müslümanlar derki ol mahalde üzerlerine varan askerimiz cümle sarhoş idi ve ol ecelden bu kadar asker-i İslâmın üzerine varmışlardır ve ol kıyas ederlerdi ki varan askerimiz on iki bin asker olmuş ola sonra haber almışlardır ki yalnız dört bin adam idi /9/ ve dahi derki Forgacının boruzanı tellü esbablar giymekle kıyas etdiler ki bir büyük adam ola ve eğer vezir-i âzam kimesne bakmayub ve behalarına ta'm etmiyub cümlesini kırmışdır /11/ ve asker-i İslâmın içinde söyleñürki kalede adam az kalmışdır zira ol cenkde kırılmışdır /12/ ve dahi derki asker atlusu yürüyüş mahallinde yaya olup // yürüyüş eder /13/ ve derki alay topları yüz almış olub ve büyük topları otuzbeşdir /14/ ve peksematları ve pirinçleri çokdur /15/ ve cümle kılıça kadir askerleri yüz bin adam olur /16/ ve bundan sonra Zerinoğlu

w 34 v

p 29 r

nim memleketini vurub ve Belgrad'a varub anda kışlamağa muradları vardır /17/ ve Budun // Paşası orduda askerile bile olmağla Budun hâli kalmışdır /18/ ve derki takayyûd etmek gerek ki düşman köprüleri geçer iken varız ziyade şaşkınlıkları olurdu /19/ ve davarları çok olmağla otlakları azdır /20/ ve Padişah vezir-i âzama kaftan gönderüb ismarlamışdır ki askerin ulufelerini verüb erken kışlaya getüre /21/ ve Forgac cenkinde katil olanların kulaklarını kesüb Padişaha göndermişlerdir /22/ ve deve ve katırları çokdur zahirelerini develere ve akçelerini ve esbablarını katırlara yükledirler /23/ ve dahi derki Bosna'dan on iki bin yaya asker gelecekdir.

Die Übersetzung des türkischen Textes

Als sich Abteile islamischer Soldaten im Dorfe Namens Hidvar befanden, entfloß von ihnen ein französischer Renegat, der erzählte und berichtete. Dies ist die Erzählung des besagten Renegaten, der sagte:

/2/ Der islamische Padischah befahl dem Grosswesir mit grossem Nachdruck nicht länger als 50 Tage im feindlichen Lande zu verbleiben, da die (Wässer) der Flüsse aus ihren Ufern treten werden. Der Grosswesir meint, dass er die Festung Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) leicht erobern wird und sagte, sollte es nicht anders gehen, liess er die Erde aufhäufen. Und nach der Einnahme dieser (Festung) wolle er noch zwei Festungen erobern. /3/ Die Zahl der Janitscharen ist nicht grösser als 20 000. /4/ Sollte der Festung unsererseits keine Hilfe zukommen, ist es klar, dass sie sie erobern werden. /5/ Der Grosswesir stellte die Kanonen nicht in der Nähe der Festung auf, er liess sie vergraben, wenn sie aber dann in die Schützengräben eindringen, werden sie ohne Furcht und Schaden kämpfen. /6/ Und Ali Pascha mit seinen Soldaten schlug sein Lager in der Nähe von Nitra auf. /7/ Und die Pontons für die Brücke, die den Fluss Nitra überbrücken soll, sind nicht bereit. /8/ Und auch sagte er, dass unser Heer, das ans Donauufer eingetroffen war, wäre es um zwei Tage früher eingetroffen, hätte es das islamische Heer vernichten und dessen ganzes Eigentum erbeuten können. Und auch sagte er, dass die Muslimun erzählt hätten, dass unser Heer, welches dort angegriffen hatte, betrunken gewesen sei. Nie zuvor hätten so viele das islamische Heer angegriffen. Sie dachten, erzählten (die Muslimun), dass unser Heer, welches angegriffen hat, zwölftausend Mann stark wäre und erst später hätten sie erfahren, es seien nur viertausend Mann gewesen. /9/ Und auch sagte er, dass der Trompeter Forgachs, da er mit silberbestickter Kleidung bekleidet war, sie ihn für einen grossen Mann gehalten hätten. Der Grosswesir auf niemand Rücksicht nehmend und er war ihres Wertes nicht gierig und liess sie alle totschlagen. /11/ Und im islamischen Heer erzählt man sich, dass in der Festung (Nové Zámky) wenige Leute geblieben wären, weil sie im Kampf erschlagen worden sind. /12/ Und sagte er, dass die Reiter beim Angriff zu Fusssoldaten werden und als Fusssoldaten kämpfen würden. /13/ Er sagte der leichten Kanonen 170 und der grossen Kanonen sei 35. /14/ Sie hätten viel Zwieback und Reis. /15/ Aller Soldaten des Schwertes

mächtig sei 100 000. /16/ Und dann würden sie das Gebiet Zerinoğlu's angreifen und sie wollten nach Belgrad kommen und dort überwintern. /17/ Und da der Pascha von Ofen mit seinen Soldaten im Lager sei, sei Ofen leer geblieben. /18/ Und er sagte, man müsse sich in acht nehmen, denn würde der Feind die Brücken überschreiten, würde eine grosse Überraschung entstehen. /19/ Da sie viele Tiere haben, hätten sie zu wenig Futter. /20/ Der Padischah sandte dem Grosswesir einen Kaftan und befahl ihm den Soldaten den Sold auszuzahlen und rechtzeitig das Winterlager zu beziehen /21/ und denen, die im Forgach-Kampf gefallen sind, die Ohren abzuschneiden und diese dem Padischah zu schicken. /22/ Sie haben viele Kamele und Maultiere. Lebensmittel haben sie auf die Kamele, Geld und Kleidung auf die Maultiere geladen. /23/ Und auch sagte er, dass 12 000 Fusssoldaten aus Bosnien kommen sollen.

Aus dem Vergleich beider Texte geht es klar hervor, dass es sich um den gleichen Bericht handelt. In der osmanischen Bearbeitung wurde der Bericht bedeutend gekürzt und einige Teile weggelassen. Sui generis ist es eine interessante Redaktion einer fremden Quelle. Der erste Punkt aus der Flugschrift wird weggelassen und der zweite gekürzt. Punkt 3, wo die Flugschrift von 11 000 Janitscharen spricht, führt *Cevahir el-tevarih* als „nicht mehr als zwanzigtausend“ an. Gekürzt wurden auch Punkte Nr. 4—7, obzwar Inhalt unverändert blieb. Der Punkt 8 spricht von dem Zusammenstoss bei Parkan und ist ebenfalls gekürzt. Es ist verständlich, dass die Autozensur es Hasan Ağa nicht gestattet hat anzuführen „Wann der Groß Vezier Neuhäussel mit einnehme sollte, wurde es seinen Kopff gelten“. Ähnlich wurden auch die weiteren Punkte der Erklärung des französischen Renegaten bearbeitet, eventuelle schmähliche Aussagen über die osmanische Armee, z. B. bei der Angabe (Punkt 15) das osmanische Heer habe an 100 000 Soldaten, wird jedoch der Anhang „darbey auch so vil deß Gesindl vnd Troßbueben“ weggelassen.

Interessant ist der Schluss, den das Werk *Cevahir el-tevarih* über die ganze Angelegenheit anführt: „Der besagte Renegat entfloß aus der islamischen Armee, um dem Feinde so Bericht erstatten. Vielleicht hat ihn der Grosswesir selbst gesandt, um dem Feind unsere Angelegenheiten die stattgefunden hatten, mitzuteilen...“²⁶

Die osmanischen Historiker Silahdar und Raşid, die sich in ihren Beschreibungen des Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel dieses Werkes ausgiebig bedienten, übernehmen diese, sowie viele weitere Angaben ähnlicher Art, nicht.

Mit diesem minuziösen Beleg wollten wir zeigen, dass ein weiteres eingehenderes Studium der osmanischen Quellen neue Beweise für die Anwendung und Eingliederung europäischer Berichte in den osmanischen Quellen bringen wird.

²⁶ Mezkur-ı mürted asker-i İslâmdan kaçub bu uslûb üzere düşmana haber vermişdir. Sanki sâdr-ı azam kendus; göndermişdir varub vaki olan ahvalimizi düşmana takrir ede...

✓ 1663

Rußsag

Sup. I.

6.

Eines Frankösischen Renegatens, welcher an heut den 23.
Augusti 1663. Jahrs/von dem Türkischen Lager/so jenseits des Flusß
Neutra vorher omb das Dorff Odler geschlagen/steywillig herüber
naher Neuhäusel kommen.



Gantz gewisser und warhaffter Relation/
unterschiedlicher Schreiben auf Wien und Ungarn/wes-
gen sehr erbärnlichen Zustands der Christen/und vender Türken
grossen Sicherheit und Tyranny.

I. Széchényi könyvtár, Budapest. Hubay, Nr. 603a.

اسید و شوی و قنار لدقن پن کودرب افته هنای بکام هنای دوب بنی خلا من پلشند
 اسلام عکسیندا وردو لری حدو ار نام وزده ایکن اندر ده فرا اراده دوب کلان تو بخیز
 اسقی افته پیاده رکه بیان او لند من زدن بور حکایتی بود رکه دعشه که اسلام پادشاه
 زنیاده تا کید ایله وزنیاعظمه امریکه الکی کوندن زنیاده دو شنا ولاستن و لکھست
 زنیا مولو هاشون او لووب و وزنیاعظم او بوار قلعه سی آسان و جیله المنه بیکه
 ایدد و درکه غیره و جبله ایلان همان طبیعت سودکله او لووب و ای الدف نضکه
 ایکی قلعه دجی المنه بت ایدد و بیکوه طایقه سی بکری سیکن زناده بیوقدر او بیور
 قلعه سی طرف زدن ایجاد او ملد بجه اپی للهی مفترضه زنیا در زنیاعظم طوبه بی قلعه
 به بیتین کنون من متریسه کیمین امامت رسیه کبر کد نضکه و دقوس و ضر زخنه
 ایدد و بیلی پاساعکری بله تنہ سمنه و قناب عقد و ترمه صوینیع او زنده با پلک
 کو بینک عکراسته سی دجی حاضر و کلدن و دخی دیر که طونه کنار زن و ازان هنک عنایکی
 کون مقدم و رایدی اسلام عکسین بعذوب جبله مالکین بیان بیلور لایه بی
 و دجی دیر که سل زندگه اول همکن او زنیه و دادن عکر کن جلد سخو شریعه
 واولاد جلد بعقدر عکس اسلامه او زنیه و ای مثود و اوله فیاضه ایدد
 و ادان عکر کن اونایکی بیک عکر امشاد لا هنک خبر المثلود رکه با کون دود
 بیک ادم ایدد و دجی دیر که مغور غاجینه بوروزیات تلو اسایلک کیله بیاس اندیز
 که بربوکه ادم اوله و اکن وزنیاعظم کمنه با قاچوب و دهار زنیه طیع ایغوب
 جبله سی فریادر دعکس اسلامک ایچنده سو بیلقد که قلعه ده ادم ای فریادر
 زنیا اوله جنکن فریادر و دجی دیر که عکر اتویی بود و دین محنت دیبا اوله

يعدها بعدين ايلد و دير كه الدي طول بري يوز المتش او لووب وبويك طول بري او نور
 و بوكسندلاري و بيجنلاج جورهند و جله قليجه قادر عسكري بوز بيك الم او لور و
 بوند نفكي رزين او غلينك مملكتن او رعي و بلغاده واروب اندو قشنه ملجه زري
 او ردر و بود پيشان ايپه او ردر ده عسکر ليه بله او لمغنه بدد خالي عالشد
 و دير كه تقىيدانلىك كره دشمن كوبروك و هاجرا بكن و دانىز زيانه شاشقانلىك زري
 او لور ديجي و ملود زري جوفا او لمغنه او تلد قلري ازدر و بادشاه و زين اخلاقه قشنه
 كوندر دب اصل شدر كه عكرى علوفه لرين و بروجا اركن قشنه كعن و فرغانه
 جنكز قىدا ولاندر قولا قدرين كسبه بادشاهه كوندر سخندر و دوه و فاطل
 لوح جوقدر زخين لرين دوه لون و الجه لرين و اسباب لرين قاتل لون يعكلدر
 و دخى دير كه بوسنه دن اون اپكى بيك يابا عسکر كېكدر و بيم قىندام بونه هوكه
 دل توردر اما بوكندي كلن مردى عن فدار احوالى لرين بيلو كاهى كمشدرا ول
 احلىت دخى انك تقرىي اعلام او لمتعدد من ذكر مردى عسکر سلام دن فاق حوب
 بوا سلوب دوزن دوشنه خبز و بىشدر منكه سدا عظم كندو بيجي كوندر شند
 واروب واقع اولاد احوالى لري دوشنه تغير ايده هنكله ناك بون يوكى فن سانه
 عاصم بيه كوندر دمدى ايوجه بوقدر اما پىنه متر سلاحو لين كونه لم يكى كوند
 او لىدى اصلو بىئر دېعادى ببورلى او بع طرفدى يور دبىي و ملوب اغ دجي
 طرفدى سودو لعمردى الحمد لله تعالى عسکر سلام جوفا طوبىاف سورى كون دود
 شنبت ابدىي و زين اعظم اهدى باشاكتىدا يې جله طائىه سيله بىئ دفتر دا واحد
 باشاجبه كتاب ايله و طائىه لوي ايله و بعده سرقته وچار پىئى بعده سينا

RESISTERS AND COLLABORATORS: TWO CASES FROM UGANDA

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This study attempts to summarize the main points of an argument on the theme of African reactions and responses to the imposition of colonial rule illustrating them by instances from two East African kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda. It proves that the nature of African reactions to European conquest depended on variables on both sides of the Afro-European relationship — on European intentions as well as on African statecraft.

The nineteenth century in Uganda, as elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, was a revolutionary era. It was a revolutionary era for various reasons. We can trace the climax of what has been described as a sort of African partition of Africa, a radical reshaping of political structures and boundaries, forming of new states, ethnic fusions and local political upheavals, taking place and picking up momentum in the nineteenth century. African states entering into more or less stable relations grew or diminished in power as a result of commerce, statecraft, war and internal changes.

It was, however, also the period when the imperial factor was looming larger and larger until it ultimately came to control African destiny. It meant for Africans the loss of political sovereignty accompanied by political, economic, cultural and military dominance of the white man. African peoples were forced to adapt their attitudes and institutions in response to challenges presented by foreign traders, missionaries and administrators. With the exception of the early period of contact, however, African peoples faced with European supremacy had limited freedom of choice and could hardly avoid the imposition of colonial rule. They were inevitably compelled to respond to European presence and enter into relationships with them. And they responded actively to the new situation and retained the initiative. This initiative was demonstrated in a variety of reactions and attitudes that clearly had one aim, namely survival. The whole range of African reactions and responses towards the European intruders, whether they manifested themselves in resistance, collaboration or in innumerable local pressures and manoeuvrings through which Africans attempted to satisfy the needs and desires dictated by their own experience and background, were all part and parcel of what in Professor Ajayi's terminology

may be called the African Politics of Survival during the colonial period.¹ To understand how, in what manner and by what devices African peoples survived is impossible unless the historian understands something of the societies themselves, of their life, modes of thought and behaviour, of the nature of local politics and organization. The arrival of European did not put a stop to the former spite, grudge and war-like tensions and rivalries among the African peoples living in the area. These weighted their attitudes towards the newcomers in terms of their own political horizons, of the microcosm of the local political situation of the continuous struggle for survival, wealth and power. Local interests and commitments helped to form the pattern of white dominance. The arrival of Europeans affected the balance of power in the Lacustrine area. The Europeans threw their weight on the balance of local African rivalries. With regard to Buganda, British officials advocated policies of coexistence and collaboration. With regard to its neighbour, Britain's position in and commitments to Buganda led to repeated conflicts, strengthening an antithetical stereotype of Bunyoro.

Buganda and Bunyoro were two African societies that did not differ considerably either in structure, or in motive and atmosphere from one another. Still, there were distinctions between their fortunes and potentialities that influenced the pattern of their subsequent policies and shaped the political history of these two African peoples.

This study is rather modest in scope and by no means as securely based as I would wish. Here I will only summarize the main points of argument, attempt to find answers to at least some of the questions and prove the validity of some of the generalizations for the Kiganda and Kinyoro societies.² Elsewhere³ I hope to deal in

¹ See Ajayi, J. F. Ade: *The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism*. In: *Emerging Themes of African History*. Edited by T. O. Ranger. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968, pp. 197–200.

² This study is heavily dependent on the following studies: Ranger, T. O.: *African Reactions to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in East Central Africa*. In: *Colonialism in Africa. 1870–1960*. Vol. I. *The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870–1914*. Edited by L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan. Cambridge University Press 1969, pp. 293–324.

Hargreaves, John D.: *West African States and the European Conquest*. In: Gann, L. H.—Duignan, P.: *Colonialism in Africa*, op. cit., pp. 199–219.

Ajayi, J. F. Ade: *The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism*, op. cit.

Ajayi, J. F. Ade: *Colonialism. An Episode in African History*. In: *Colonialism in Africa*, op. cit., pp. 497–509.

Davidson, A. B.: *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule*. In: *Emerging Themes of African History*, op. cit., pp. 177–188.

Ranger, T. O.: *Connections between "Primary Resistance" Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa*. Paper presented to the University of East Africa Social Science Conference, December 1966. Published in *The Journal of African History*, IX, 1968, Nos 3 and 4, pp. 437–453 and 631–641 respectively. Often I only paraphrase here the main arguments of Professors Ranger and Ajayi to whose works I owe special debts.

³ I am preparing a detailed history of Baganda and Banyoro reactions to the imposition of colonial rule in Uganda based on the Kinyoro and Kiganda sources, on the C. M. S. and the White Fathers' archives and on Government sources.

more detail with the extensive subject of the Baganda and Banyoro reactions to European presence and conquest. There is no doubt an enormous amount of literature both on the Baganda and the Banyoro⁴ which must be seriously examined and crosschecked if a properly documented account of this aspect of Buganda and Bunyoro history is to be written.

It is commonly held that while the Banyoro had to be conquered by force of arms, the Baganda accommodated themselves very easily to the colonial rule. Superficially the distinction seems clear. Many students of Buganda have been deeply impressed "with how quickly British rule was established". In Uganda the position of the early colonial administration depended on its alliance with the collaborating group of Baganda *bakungu* chiefs.⁵ The technical, capital, financial and primarily the manpower resources of Great Britain employed for colonization of Uganda were minimal.⁶ Because of its relative military weakness and financial dependence early colonial administration in Uganda needed native allies to establish itself and to extend its authority over the area. To these they were prepared to accord substantial privileges. The Uganda administration certainly had no large military forces at its disposal. This, no doubt, influenced its policy towards the Baganda. With just a handful of people responsible for administering the area, inadequate military forces and scanty financial resources, the Uganda administration was forced to use diplomacy rather than force, and rule through negotiation. The Administration simply could not afford to ignore the desires of its Baganda allies. The Baganda belonged to those

⁴ An increasing volume of Luganda written sources, both published and unpublished, has been recently coming to light. See Rowe, J. A.: *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing 1893—1969*. The Uganda Journal, 33, 1969, Part 1, pp. 17—40. A fairly complete bibliography of both European and vernacular sources on Buganda and Bunyoro is in *History of East Africa*. Edited by Ronald Oliver and Gervaise Mathew. Vol. I. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1963, reprinted 1966, and *History of East Africa*. Vol. II. Edited by Vincent Harlow and E. M. Chilver, assisted by Alison Smith. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1965.

⁵ See Pawliková, V. E.: *The Transformation of Buganda, 1894—1914*. Asian and African Studies, VI, 1970, Bratislava, VSAV and London, Curzon Press 1972, pp. 93—130. Also Twaddle, M.: *The Bakungu Chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule, 1900—1930*. The Journal of African History, X, 1969, No. 2, pp. 309—322.

⁶ The I.B.E.A. Company spent £ 538,000 in its attempt to administer East Africa. When it had gone bankrupt, the Company agreed to accept £ 250,000 in compensation for its assets and for the repeal of its charter. Oliver, R.: *Some Factors in the British Occupation of East Africa, 1884—1894*. The Uganda Journal, 15, 1951, No. 1, pp. 49—65. The imperial grant-in-aid rose from £ 50,000 for each of the three years between 1894 and 1897 to about £ 400,000 a year from 1897—1900. See Oliver, R.: *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa*. London, Chatto and Windus 1957, p. 289 and Low, D. A.: *Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894 to 1919*. In: *History of East Africa*. Vol. II, op. cit., p. 77. Lugard is also clear on this point. See Lugard, F.D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*. Two Vols. Edinburgh and London, Blackwood 1893 and M. Perham and M. Bull (Eds), *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*. Three Vols. London, Faber and Faber 1959.

African peoples whom early colonial administrations at given situations could not easily afford to fight. "There was no question of the establishment of administration in the sense of imposing it without regard to the wishes of the Tonga", writes Dr van Velsen.⁷ This holds also for the Baganda. Through their alliance with the British, the Baganda collaborating élite managed to secure more power for themselves to the detriment of the traditional ruler, the *kabaka*, and special access to new sources of prestige, profits and privilege established in the law.⁸ Apart from the advantages and position of entrenched power gained by the Baganda collaborating élite of *bakungu* Christian chiefs within their own society, advantages were also gained by the Baganda over their traditional enemy, the Banyoro. The British Baganda allies successfully exploited the ignorance and need of the colonialists and turned the colonial occupation to their own and their country's advantage. Through collaboration, the Baganda leaders gained better schools and greater economic opportunities. They became very active economic, administrative and even military auxiliaries of the British. In the following years they played the leading role in the Protectorate as disseminators of Christianity and artisans of the new political and social order in other parts of the Protectorate.⁹ This made some African historians speak of Baganda 'sub-imperialism'.¹⁰ In the first phase of colonial era some African peoples in Uganda experienced colonial rule through Baganda agents rather than through

⁷ See Velsen van, J.: *The Missionary Factor among the Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland*. Rhodes-Livingstone Journal 1960, No. 26; *The establishment of the administration in Tongaland*. In: *Leverhulme Inter-collegiate History Conference*. Salisbury, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesia, 1960; *Historians in Tropical Africa*. In: Proceedings of the... Conference... Salisbury, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962, quoted also in Ranger, T. O.: *African Reactions to the Imposition of Colonial Rule*, op. cit., p. 300.

* In the famous Uganda Agreement of 1900, the only local treaty actually negotiated rather than dictated by the British. See Pawliková, V. E.: *Buganda and the Agreement of 1900*. Asian and African Studies, IV, 1968, pp. 93–112; also Pawliková, V. E.: *The Transformation of Buganda 1894–1914*, op. cit., and Low, D. A.: *The Making and Implementation of the Uganda Agreement of 1900*. In: Low, D. A.—Pratt, R. C.: *Buganda and British Overrule. 1900–1955*. London, Oxford University Press 1960, Part One, pp. 3–156. On June 26, 1900 an agreement was signed with Toro, in 1901 with Ankole, but there was no agreement signed with Bunyoro, which was considered to be a conquered state, before 1933. Neither of these was so complex as the Uganda Agreement of 1900.

⁸ See Pirouet, Louise M.: *The Expansion of the Church of Uganda (N.A.C.) from Buganda into Northern and Western Uganda between 1891 and 1914*, with special reference to the work of African teachers and evangelists. University of East Africa, 1968, an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Also Pirouet, Louise M.: *Evangelists and subimperialists*. An unpublished lecture originally read before the Uganda Society on April 30, 1969.

¹⁰ See e.g. Roberts, A. D.: *The Sub-imperialism of the Baganda*. The Journal of African History, III, 1962, No. 3, pp. 435–450; Thomas, H. B.: "Capax Imperii" — *The Story of Semei Kakungulu*. The Uganda Journal, VI, 1939, No. 3, pp. 125–136.

British administration. Resistance against these ‘sub-imperialists’ is one of the most interesting themes of Ugandan history.¹¹

“According to the value judgements of modern Africa”, we can read in Professors Oliver and Fage’s *Short History of Africa*, “such peoples were traitors and quislings; but these categories hardly fit the circumstances of eighty years ago. Then, the primary choice lay not with individuals but with their political leaders. If these were far-sighted and well-informed, and more particularly if they had had access to foreign advisers such as missionaries or traders, they might well understand that nothing was to be gained by resistance, and much by negotiation.”¹² In such a way, it is held, collaborators such as the Baganda, “by influencing the pattern of pacification, helped to determine the shape of colonial administration, and also gained a pathway to the future by exploiting the colonial situation”.¹³

On the other hand, the Banyoro seem to have suffered to the last point the fate assigned by Oliver and Fage to those African societies that chose to resist the invaders by force of arms. “If they (political leaders, author’s remark) were less far-sighted, less fortunate, or less well-advised, they would see their traditional enemies siding with the invader and would themselves assume an attitude of resistance, which could all too easily end in military defeat, the deposition of chiefs, the loss of land to the native allies of the occupying power, possibly even to the political fragmentation of the society or state.”¹⁴ In accordance with this generalization, the Banyoro did see their traditional enemies, the Baganda, siding with the British invaders and themselves assumed an attitude of resistance which ended in military defeat, the deposition of their *omukama* and other leading chiefs, the loss of a large part of their territory to the native allies of the occupying power¹⁵ and in a considerable weakening of the Kinyoro society caused by long years of resistance, decimating of cattle, devastating and plundering of the country. Were the Banyoro political leaders really less far-sighted, less fortunate, or less well-advised and informed than their Baganda counterparts?

As has already been suggested here with regard to the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro, their systems of organization were basically the same. The *kabaka* and *omukama* respectively, represented a nucleus of centralized power based on

¹¹ See Uzoigwe, G. N.: *Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara*. Part 2. The Kyanyangire, 1907: Passive Revolt against British Overrule, pp. 30–64. Makerere History Papers, Longman of Uganda 1970.

¹² Oliver, R.—Fage, J. D.: *A Short History of Africa*. London, Penguin African Library 1962, p. 203.

¹³ Ranger, T. O.: *African Reactions to the Imposition of Colonial Rule*, op. cit., p. 302.

¹⁴ See Note 12.

¹⁵ There is much detailed information on the events relating to the apportionment of Bunyoro’s “lost counties” to Buganda and on the administration of them, e.g. F. O. (Bertie) to Berkeley, August 8, 1896, F.O. /XLVI, 1896; Berkeley to F.O. (Salisbury), November 19, 1896, F.O./ XLVIII, 1897, etc.

a court and elaborate hierarchies of chiefs and officials. The king symbolized the state and its continuity. He was held responsible for its welfare. What these two East African states shared was centralization of power under a ruler who controlled outlying districts or provinces through a hierarchy of officials responsible to himself. Both states had common problems related to the fact of centralization, the risk involved in the delegation of power to distant officials who might obtain local support for rebellion or secession.¹⁶ Thus, military considerations in both kingdoms tended to determine the overall policy. Both Buganda and Bunyoro were states organized for wars, both offensive and defensive, and raids to plunder the enemy's land of cattle, women, children, produce, ivory and hoes and to enforce the payment of a regular tribute. Both states built up military and raiding systems.¹⁷ The political system of the Interlacustrine Bantu characterized by the existence of various overlapping and interdigitating authority structures all centering on one person, the absolute ruler, was most elaborate in Buganda. The Kiganda system of administration gradually achieved a higher degree of cohesiveness and efficiency. Since the eighteenth century Buganda and Bunyoro had been struggling for leadership and supremacy in the Lacustrine region, with Bunyoro on the decline, diminishing in power, and Buganda fighting its way into a dominant position. Some fifty years before the arrival of the first travellers and missionaries, Buganda had gained the upper hand in this struggle and became "primus inter pares" of the Interlacustrine Bantu region. The decline in Bunyoro's fortunes which became obvious by the second half of the eighteenth century accompanied with the concomitant phenomenal rise of Buganda had continued unchecked until Kabarega became the *omukama*. Under Kabarega, the kingdom of Bunyoro had shown a remarkable revival and while gradually expanding and regaining some of the lost territories, became a positive threat to the power of Buganda.¹⁸

The pre-existing commerce with the south, dating from the end of the eighteenth

¹⁶ See Oliver, R.: *Discernible Developments in the Interior, c. 1500—1840*. In: *History of East Africa*. Vol. I, op. cit., especially pp. 187—191. Cf. with Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *The Empire of Bunyoro-Kitara: Myth or Reality?* Makerere University College, History Department, Occasional Paper, No. 1, Longmans 1968.

¹⁷ See Uzoigwe, Gm. N.: *Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro-Kitara*, op. cit., Part I. Kabalega's Abarusura: The Military Factor in Bunyoro-Kitara, pp. 1—29; Uzoigwe, G. N.: *Kabalega and the Making of a New Kitara*. Tarikh, 3, 1970, No. 2, *The Peoples of Uganda in the 19th Century*, pp. 5—21, and Rowe, J. A.: *The Baganda Revolutionaries*. Tarikh, op. cit., pp. 34—46. Dr. Kiwanuka attempted to challenge the prevailing view that Kings Suna II and Mutesa I reorganized the army and created a special force under the *mujasi*. See e.g. Low, D. A.: *The Northern Interior, 1840—1884*. In: *History of East Africa*. Vol. I, op. cit., p. 335.

¹⁸ See Uzoigwe, G. N.: op. cit. and Low, D. A.: *The Northern Interior, 1840—1884*, op. cit., pp. 297—351. Cf. with Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *Bunyoro and the British: a reappraisal of the causes for the decline and fall of an African Kingdom*. The Journal of African History, 9, 1968, No. 4, pp. 603—619.

century, by 1844 stimulated Zanzibari traders to open up their sphere of interests as far as Buganda. Bunyoro that enjoyed the major share of the iron trade around the shores of the Lake Kyoga, was soon trading not just with the Zanzibaris, but (unlike Buganda) with the Khartoumers as well. Ivory and slaves were the main items of export, and among the imports there was a steadily rising hunger for guns, eagerly demanded not only by ivory hunters but also by the rulers and their chiefs. This hunger for guns was closely associated with their desire to enlarge the power of their country. In the steps of the first Arabs followed bands of armed European adventurers tramping around the East African interior, whose purpose and intentions must have been worrying to the local rulers and their peoples. The first European travellers, Grant and Speke, entered the territory of what is now known as Uganda, in 1862, followed by other European adventurers of various nationalities, later missionaries and representatives of various companies.¹⁹ The highly centralized kingdom of Buganda quickly became an object of interest to imperially-minded British officers. The incoming Europeans upset the balance of local African rivalries, and decisively influenced the local struggle for supremacy and dominant position in this area, which made up the mid-nineteenth century African scene. By aligning with the Baganda they upset the balance of power between the rivalling states of Buganda and Bunyoro and completely frustrated Kabarega's dreams of restoring Bunyoro's power.

Both Buganda and Bunyoro had to respond to European presence and face the problem of relations with foreigners. The nature of African reactions depended on variables on both sides of Afro-European relationship — on African statecraft as well as on European intentions. Policies of African peoples towards the Europeans in the early period of contact were to a large measure determined by their desire to secure external support for their dynastic or territorial claims, to gain increasing access to fire-arms and build up trading and diplomatic connexions which would help them to face the challenges and threats of the nineteenth century and solve some of the weaknesses of their political systems. What lured Africans into treaties or collaboration with Europeans was not merely access to fire-arms and consumer goods, but above all opportunities to enlist powerful allies in external and internal disputes. Both peoples attempted to use the incoming Europeans and make them play a role in their own politics. As it happened, interests of the Baganda coincided and those of the Banyoro conflicted with the interests of the British intruders. The Baganda special treatment of Captain Lugard was conditioned by the immediate political situation within their own society and related to the hopes that the British could be used as agents of their foreign policy with respect to the Banyoro and the Baganda Muslims. On the other hand, the Baganda alliance with the British was

¹⁹ It is difficult to give a meaningful selection of references. See the pertinent chapters in *History of East Africa*. Vol. I, op. cit.

an important factor in determining the Banyoro policy towards the Europeans.

The Banyoro were, no doubt, less intransigent than they were believed. The military resistance of Kabarega, who between 1891—1899 fought the British with remarkable tenacity and military skill, seems to be one of the classical cases of military resistance. As a matter of fact, Bunyoro as nearly all African states, made some attempt to find a basis on which they could coexist with Europeans. The record of Kabarega's relations with Europeans shows many examples of his readiness to negotiate bases for some sort of cooperation with them, provided that such bases safeguarded certain fundamentals of his independence. The Banyoro received the first Europeans not less hospitably than the Baganda,²⁰ became much more suspicious of the British after Sir Samuel Baker's visits to Bunyoro,²¹ but only fought them after Lugard had made his hostility unmistakably clear. Having failed to keep the British away by diplomacy, the Banyoro raised an army to oppose them. Kabarega was not leading a war against all Bazungu, nor a politically mature revolt against imperialism. If we accept a useful periodization of African resistance movements of the Soviet Africanist A. B. Davidson,²² Kabarega's and Mwanga's military resistances fall into the second phase of African primary resistances which coincides with the period of European scramble and partition of Africa (1870—1900). Kabarega was concerned practically with governing and extending the empire he had conquered,²³ with controlling its resources of salt, cattle, agricultural produce, ivory, guns, and people, including of course its slaves. This policy was incompatible with the purposes of the British on the Nile. The British had to reckon with the possible danger of being forestalled by other European powers.²⁴ For whatever the arguments else-

²⁰ See e.g. Speke, J. H.: *The Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. London 1863. Chapter XVII.

²¹ Baker, S. W.: *Ismailia*. A narrative of the expedition to Central Africa for the suppression of the slave trade. 2 Vols., London 1874. Cf. Southall, A. W.: *The Alur Legend of Sir Samuel Baker and the Mukama Kabarega*. The Uganda Journal 15, 1951, No. 2, pp. 187—190.

²² Davidson, A. B.: *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule*, op. cit., p. 178. According to this periodization the first phase of African resistance movements dates from the beginning of colonial penetration and ends in the 1870's; the second phase from the 1870's till about 1900, the third stage deals with the early years of European colonialism from 1900 till 1914, the fourth covers the interwar years "when the crisis of the colonial system and imperialism started" and the fifth and last phase covers "the period after the second world war, when this system was broken down and dozens of young states appeared in place of colonies".

²³ See Uzoigwe, op. cit.; Nyakatura, J. W.: *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*. St. Justin, Canada, 1947 and K. W.: *Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara*. The Uganda Journal, 5, 1937, No. 2, pp. 53—68.

²⁴ See e.g. Collins, Robert O.: *Origins of the Nile Struggle: Anglo-German Negotiations and the Mackinnon Agreement of 1890*. In: *Britain and Germany in Africa, Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*. Edited by Prosser Gifford and WM. Roger Louis, with the assistance of Alison Smith. New Haven — London, Yale University Press 1967, and Flint, J.: *The Wider Background to Partition and Colonial Occupation*. In: *History of East Africa*. Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 352—390.

where as to what motivated the European conquest of Africa, there was little doubt that in Buganda as in Bunyoro and the whole Lacustrine area, the motivation was to eliminate other European powers and monopolize in British hands the access to the Nile sources.

The basic motives of Mutesa's and Kabarega's policies towards Europeans in the early period of contact are exemplified in their relations with the first agent of a foreign empire-building power to enter the lakes area—Captain (later Sir Samuel) Baker, in the service of the Khedive Ismail's Egypt. Undoubtedly, both rulers saw the approach of foreign empire-builders from within their own terms of reference. If Kabarega sought (and failed) to gain Egyptian support to strengthen his own position against the rival pretender Rionga,²⁵ Mutesa's overtures to Baker and his successor Charles Gordon²⁶ did not lie in any question of protection by Egypt, but in the hope that they might frustrate any potential alliance between Bunyoro and Egypt and secure for Buganda a powerful ally against Kabarega's alarmingly recovering Bunyoro. Certainly the explorer Stanley, who showed himself ready to forward Buganda's political interests by fighting for it, misinterpreted Mutesa's interest and willingness to invite more Europeans (European missionaries) into his country. The advantages these African rulers sought to obtain in this period of Afro-European contact from collaboration with representatives of empire-building powers were short-termed and personal. In fact, motivations and intentions on both sides of the Afro-European relationship were very often misinterpreted, and very rarely was the portent of imperial advance fully appreciated. This was particularly the case with the treaties of protection and 'eternal friendship'. The story of Bunyoro's relations with Baker is replete with such misunderstandings, typical of Afro-European relations at the time of the imperial advance.²⁷ Because of these misunderstandings, Bunyoro was at this point of contact dubbed implacably hostile, even though there was little warrant for this accusation. As regards the treaties of protection, it is difficult to tell how far African rulers were aware of having entered into some new relationship with any particular empire-building power. It is very unlikely that they viewed them in quite the same terms as the European colonialists. More probably they interpreted them quite differently and hardly apprehended their full consequences.

²⁵ Once again, it is difficult to give a meaningful selection of references. Apart from the sources already quoted, see also Dunbar, A. R.: *A History of Bunyoro-Kitara*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press 1965, Part II, and *Omukama Chwa II Kabarega* by the same author, *Uganda Famous Men Series*. East African Literature Bureau 1965.

²⁶ See Low, D. A.: *The Northern Interior, 1840—1884*, op. cit., and Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *Mutesa of Uganda, Uganda's Famous Men Series*. E. A. L. B. 1967, Chapter 3.

²⁷ Baker, S. W.: *Ismailia*, op. cit., pp. 181—300; cf. Kinyoro sources, such as K. W.; Nyakatura, op. cit., pp. 131—154, etc.

The Egyptian thrust did not immediately affect the balance of power between Buganda and Bunyoro. Kabarega's conflict with the Egyptians and the intervention of the Egyptian government, however, destroyed his northern trade in guns and ammunition and made Bunyoro's trade with the Zanzibaris doubly important. Therefore, the control of the southern commercial routes upon which the ultimate victory depended dominated the external politics of both kingdoms in the 1870's.²⁸ In the 1880's the struggle for supremacy in this part of East African interior between Buganda and Bunyoro continued unchecked till the European imperial advance in the 1890's set it up in favour of Buganda. The end of 1890's saw Bunyoro crushed and impoverished and Buganda reaping rich rewards at the expense of its neighbours. The outcome of relationships with British imperialists of the two African societies whose atmosphere, motives and intentions were so similar, thus happened to be diametrically different. On the 9th of April 1899 the two rebel kings Kabarega and Mwanga, who had eventually managed to make a common cause, were rounded up and captured by combined British-Baganda forces and deported first to Kisimayu and later to the Seychelles.²⁹ In both cases the British installed a successor whom they hoped would prove more compliant.³⁰

Unlike Bunyoro, Buganda was, however, never considered a conquered state. Buganda with remarkable success combined willingness to accommodate and skill in doing so with war-like tendencies and open resistance. This successful combination of collaboration with resistance furthered its cause of national survival. Bunyoro, on the other hand, was never given a chance to negotiate for its future and was forced to defend its national cause³¹ in the field. December 1890 saw the arrival

²⁸ Low, D. A.: *The Northern Interior*, op. cit.

²⁹ There is much detailed information in the F. O. Correspondence. See e.g. Ternan to Salisbury, April 15, 1899, with enclosure, F.O./LVII; Ternan to Salisbury, May 11, 1899, F.O./LVIII; Johnston to Walker, March 15, 1900, Entebbe Secretariat Archives, A7/6; Cunningham to Marquess of Lansdowne, January 9, 1901, F.O./LXIV, etc.

³⁰ Not long after his flight Mwanga's one year old son Daudi Chwa was proclaimed at a meeting in Kampala Kabaka in his stead. Ternan to Salisbury, August 14, 1897, and enclosure, F.O./LI. Similarly, in March 1898 Kabarega was deposed and his son Kitahimbwa was proclaimed Omukama. Africa, 1898, No. 7, p. 42.

³¹ "Nearly all West African states made some attempt to find a basis on which they could coexist with Europeans. Virtually all seem to have had some interests which they would defend by resistance or revolt—some conception of what can only be described as a rudimentary 'national cause' anterior to, and distinct from, the national loyalties demanded by modern independent states. An analysis of the 'national cause' of any specific people would need to embrace some values deeply rooted in their own culture and not very readily comprehensible to outsiders, together with some that can be universally understood — claims to territory, freedom to settle matters of internal concern without foreign interference. On this basis they would face the problem of relations with foreigners. Whether it was judged necessary to defend the national cause in battle, and at what stage, depended on variables on both sides of the Afro-European relationship—on African statecraft as well as on European intentions." Quoted from Hargreaves, John D.: *West African States and the European Conquest*, op. cit., p. 206.

in Buganda of the representative of the Imperial British East Africa Company, Captain (later Lord) Lugard. The ambitious and thrusting Captain Lugard was hostile to any policy of tolerating Kabarega's empire. Despite Kabarega's overture, who had several times sent emissaries to treat for peace,³² Lugard initiated the military campaign against Bunyoro which in the next few years resulted in the military subjugation and conquest of Bunyoro. Kabarega's dealings with the British and vice versa were so marked by mutual mistrust that it was always doubted in the British circles whether Kabarega's attempts at coexistence were seriously intended. Certainly, starting with Lugard, none of his successors ever contemplated to open up negotiations with Kabarega. Interests of the British in the early 1890's were focused on Buganda and the surrounding areas were largely viewed in terms of their relation to Buganda and according to how they were seen by the Baganda. Thus, the Baganda traditional hostility towards Bunyoro was adopted and perpetuated by the British administrators from Lugard onwards. Portal's policy of restricting the British administration to the kingdom of Buganda, of a minimum interference in local administration and peace with neighbouring states, was abandoned by his successors Major Macdonald and Colonel Colvile who returned to Lugard's policy of protecting the British position in Uganda by checking the power of Bunyoro. As it happened, the Baganda cooperated with the British in the conquest of its traditional rival Bunyoro. Colonel Colvile, instructed to send an expedition to the Nile basin to check an alleged Belgian advance from the Congo state and protect British interests on the Nile, had a good excuse to launch a military campaign against Bunyoro in December, 1893. The Baganda readily provided some 20,000 men armed with guns, spears and bows.³³ They rightly conjectured that their long-wished aim

³² Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*. Vol. II, p. 114; Nyakatura, J. W.: op. cit., pp. 190–192; K. W., op. cit.; Dunbar, A. R.: *A history of Bunyoro-Kitara*, op. cit., pp. 67–80. Several times Kabarega sent messengers to negotiate for peace. Three times Mwanga wrote to Kabarega saying he would intercede on his behalf, but Kabarega apparently did not trust his traditional enemy. See e.g. Colvile to Cracknell, December 5, 1893 and enclosure Colvile to Kabarega, F.O./XXXVII, 1894 and Mwanga to Kabarega, December 5, 1893. E.S.A., A2/1, 1893. Cf. Jackson to Hardinge, January 17, 1895 and various enclosures, e.g. Thruston to Jackson, 26 December 1894: Effect of the Military Operations, and Prospects of Pacification, F.O./XLI, 1895. There is an interesting comment. Kabarega sent a messenger to treat for peace. He expressed his willingness "to acknowledge sovereignty of Great Britain but not of Mwanga". See also Hardinge to Kimberley, March 23, 1895 re Terms of peace offered to Kabarega and articles of Treaty, F.O./XLI, 1895.

³³ There are very many references in the Entebbe archives to the Bunyoro expeditions. Eyewitness accounts are given in Ternan, T.: *Some Experiences of an Old Bromsgrovian: Soldiering in Afghanistan, Egypt and Uganda*. Birmingham, Cornish Brothers Ltd. 1930; Colvile, H.: *The Land of the Nile Springs*. London, Edward Arnold 1895; Macdonald, J. R. L.: *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*. London, Edward Arnold 1897; Thruston, A. B.: *African Incidents, Personal Experiences in Egypt and Unyoro*. London, John Murray 1900 and Vandeleur, S.: *Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger*. London, Methuen and Co. 1898.

to conquer Bunyoro at last might be realized. The military campaign of 1894 had tragic results for Bunyoro. It lost parts of its land to the west and to the south, and a chain of forts from Kibiro through Hoima to the river Kafu cut off western from eastern Bunyoro and opened a line of communication between Buganda and Lake Albert.³⁴ Kabarega had been chased out of his capital by the combined British-Baganda troops and initiated a guerrilla war.

Nevertheless, it can still be argued that there were similarities in motives and aims between the two societies, though their situations and methods differed. As a matter of fact, neither of the two societies can be straightforwardly described as collaborative or resistant. More characteristic is the existence of both these roles in the same society or even in one and the same individual. The rulers of both kingdoms, Kabarega, Mutesa and later Mutesa's son Mwanga, were equally suspicious and hostile towards whatever challenged their power and sovereignty. Both the Baganda and the Banyoro resisted the establishment of the colonial rule when the portent of imperial advance was fully appreciated, or the extent of European encroachment discovered. Their initial collaboration had changed into hostility and resistance as soon as they felt their sovereignty and national cause threatened. In both societies, however, at one point or another of their contact with the Europeans, there were groups or individuals ready to cooperate with the occupants. Different factions, leadership groups or individuals within both societies would then adopt divergent attitudes. At certain points of their contact with the European power, attitudes of some representatives of the political leadership groups, influenced and conditioned by their personal ambitions and interests, would shift from hostility to collaboration. At a sign of determined British pressure, factions or individuals in both societies abandoned their traditional allegiance and aligned themselves with the British. The history of reactions and attitudes and shifts of attitudes to European conquest and colonial occupation in both kingdoms reflected internal changes in the power structure of the society.³⁵ To say that the Baganda were 'collaborators' and the Banyoro were 'resisters' is to oversimplify and distort the facts. The truth is far more complex. As Professor Ranger noted "a historian has indeed a difficult task in deciding whether a specific society should be described as 'resistant' or as 'collaborative' over any given period of time".³⁶

Despite their policies of accommodation and cooperation with the British in the administration and organization of the country, the majority of Baganda were not less intensely devoted to their national cause—that admixture of certain interests and values inherent to their own culture with claims to territory and freedom to settle matters without much foreign interference—than their Banyoro coun-

³⁴ See Thruston to Colvile, December 16, 1894, E. S. A., A2/3, 1894.

³⁵ See Ajayi, J. F. Ade: *Colonialism. An Episode in African History*, op. cit., p. 506.

³⁶ Ranger, T. O.: *African Reactions to the Imposition of Colonial rule*, op. cit., p. 304.

terparts. What would the Baganda have done, if, like the Banyoro, they had seen their country cut into parts by a line of forts, garrisoned by mercenary Sudanese troops, allowed to plunder the country instead of a regular pay; if they had been faced with the European-led invasion of their territory by their traditional enemies plundering the country and looting it of cattle and women; if their overtures to open up negotiations with the Europeans for peace had been steadily refused, their regiments driven back, their capital captured, and their king forced to flee from the country? The answer, no doubt, would have been unambiguous.

The Baganda had met with a fine treatment and within the newly introduced system were left ample room to pursue their own personal ambitions and manipulate the British in their own political interests. The Baganda's sense of aggrandizement of their country coincided conveniently with the intention of the British to bring the hitherto unoccupied parts of the Protectorate under an effective administration. The collaboration of the ruling oligarchy of the Christian *bakungu* chiefs brought about the end of Buganda's independence, but not the end of the Buganda kingdom. They did not lose all possibility for bargaining and manoeuvring. Since in the internal affairs of the country the Baganda were left at first with a surprisingly free hand, and in external affairs found in the Europeans who, as they believed had come "to educate and protect Buganda", a powerful ally amenable to their own political interests, contrary to the Banyoro, they did not see their cause of national survival immediately threatened by the imperial advance. At the time of Lugard's arrival in Buganda, Mwanga and his chiefs were not less apprehensive of the British imperial advance than Kabarega and his men. Because of the recent political developments and changes in the power structure of the society, the Baganda were unable to present a common front to the European invaders. "The Christian revolution" laid the basis for the dominance, in the Kiganda political system, of a new ruling oligarchy formed by the highly intelligent and educated young Christian converts who had survived the nineteenth century's persecutions and "religious" wars.³⁷ Though advocating the policies of accommodation and collaboration with the British, they were not British creatures, they held their offices on the traditional basis, had traditional upbringing and, as their record of relations with the British administrators shows, they were often making good use of their proficiency in the art of policy-making and mech-

³⁷ Wrigley, C. C.: *The Christian Revolution in Buganda*. Comparative Studies in Society and History, II, 1959, No. 1, pp. 33–48 and Low, D. A.: *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875–1900*. East African Studies No. 8, Nairobi 1957. Professor Ranger's thesis is that "in a series of so-called 'Christian Revolution' the key collaborators sought to solve some of the weaknesses of the 19th century African state systems to make their bureaucracy more efficient through literacy, to liberate the central political power from traditional sanctions and limitations and to break away from dependence on kinship and regional groupings". See Ranger, T. O.: *Connections between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa*, op. cit.

anisms of power to further their country's political interests.³⁸ The "Christian revolution" in Buganda and the presence of influential advisers-missionaries did help to shape the attitudes of the *kabaka* and the leading chiefs towards Lugard. What, however, in the present writer's opinion actually pushed them into accepting European overrule was the immediate critical internal and external political situation and the extent to which they had managed to identify their interests with those of the British colonialists.³⁹

Quite naturally Mutesa's son Mwanga, who had succeeded him upon his death in October 1884, resented his political subordination to these "new men". Mwanga's downfall in 1888 was followed by personal estrangement between himself and the leaders of the ruling Christian oligarchy, and Mwanga's political impotency. Theoretically the ruler of the country, he was not more than a pawn, "a king by courtesy", a creature of the missionaries, colonial officials and *bakungu* chiefs, who merely tolerated his occupancy of this office, provided he behaved well and did not interfere in state matters too much. The rebellion of 1897 was not only the last chance for Mwanga and his followers to regain the lost independence, it was also the last chance for the collaborators to change their allegiance from the British to their *kabaka*. Accounts differ about the effectiveness of his resistance.⁴⁰ Mwanga sent messengers to stir the people to rebel in the whole of Buganda, to Busoga, Toro, and he also invited Kabarega, *omukama* of Bunyoro, who had been leading a guerilla warfare against the British, to join him.⁴¹ He failed to gather a universal support. The white men's military superiority represented by Hilaire Belloc's famous Maxim gun helped to determine the Baganda decisions in 1897. They had seen such vivid exhibitions of it in the military campaigns against Bunyoro and their own Muslim and Catholic compatriots, that many preferred to wait for the result of the first encounter between the Kabaka's forces and those loyal to the British, before openly joining the rebellion.⁴²

³⁸ See Low, D. A.: *Uganda and the British, 1862—1900*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Oxford, Exeter College 1957; also Low, D. A.: *The Making and Implementation of the Uganda Agreement*, op. cit.

³⁹ Lugard, this garrulous and pompous man, had exaggerated faith in his personal powers of persuasion and influence. Still, as he admits, he was himself surprised how quickly the treaty had been made and signed despite the hostile atmosphere. Another crucial factor in determining the Baganda decision seems to have been Lugard's threat to go over to Kabarega unless the treaty was signed immediately. See *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 27—46, especially pp. 36—37.

⁴⁰ It is impossible to quote all references or give a meaningful selection of them, but see, for instance, Ternan to Salisbury, July 20, 1897, F.O./L.

⁴¹ Ternan to Salisbury, July 13, 1897, F.O./L, 1897 and enclosures; C. M. S. Report, 1897 to 1898, p. 114: White Fathers Archives, Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 87, Stations du Nyanza Septentrional, e.g. Achte à Livinhac, 4 Janvier 1898.

⁴² Diary of Rev. G. K. Baskerville of Ngogwe, June 4, 1898, Church Missionary Intelligencer, III, Uganda, 1895—1901, p. 123; C.M.S. Report, 1897—1898; etc.

Besides, Mwanga's personal prestige had suffered several setbacks. Neither did he possess any of Kabarega's military and leadership abilities.⁴³ Still, the extent of the support gathered was surprising to both missionaries and the colonial administrators.

The fighting potential of the Baganda and the Banyoro was certainly far from negligible. Nevertheless, in armed clashes the superiority of modern weapons and military drill generally made up for the lack of numbers. Militarily, Africans could not stand before regular troops. However weak the British administration might have been on the spot, what counted was their potential power which was much superior to that of their opponents. Had the Baganda collaborators failed and not provided thousands of porters as well as military troops against their own Kabaka and the Sudanese troops,⁴⁴ the British might have suffered a serious disaster. But this would have been surely reversed as soon as the British would commit more troops and money and hardly would stop the British from taking over the country. Something might have also been achieved had Kabarega and Mwanga been capable of rising above their quarrels in time to present a common front to the invaders. Such a coalition might have postponed the British conquest of the country and might have given a different direction to the subsequent history of Bunyoro and Buganda, but it is doubtful whether it could have averted it.

The way the African peoples faced the challenge of European conquest and supremacy and the whole variety of their reactions to the European presence at various stages of their contact, ranging from open resistance and rebellion, through various pressures, manoeuvrings and shifts of attitudes to cooperation and collaboration was a part of their Politics of Survival, aimed to defend and further the people's cause of national survival. As the instances from Buganda and Bunyoro prove,⁴⁵ a multiplicity of internal and external factors converged and combined to shape the pattern of European imperial penetration and colonial occupation of this part of the East African interior, as well as the nature of the Afro-European relationships at various points of their mutual contact.

⁴³ Several times in his career, as soon as his defeat was imminent, Mwanga would take to his heels, in 1888—1889, in 1892 and in 1897. See e.g. Sir John Milner Gray's authoritative study *The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda—Mwanga, Kiwewa, Kalema, 1888—1889*. The Uganda Journal, 14, No. 1, pp. 15—53. Ternan to Salisbury, April 15, 1899, F.O./L and enclosure, F.O./LVII.

⁴⁴ There is a lot of sources on the Sudanese mutiny, see e.g. Berkeley to Salisbury, May 16, 1898, F.O./LIV.

⁴⁵ Some views and interpretations are still tentative and should be buttressed by original researches based on a detailed examination of both vernacular and European sources.

MONARCHIES WITHIN REPUBLICS: EARLY VOLTAIC STATES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY*

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The aim of the present essay is to reevaluate the relationship between two early Voltaic kingdoms (Wagadugu and Dagomba), and the colonial and post-colonial political systems in the Upper Volta and Ghana. The analysis is a combination of historical and social anthropological approach. The author comes to a conclusion that the specific combination of traditional and modern features in these monarchies permitted them not only to survive but also to influence to a certain extent the political and social development of colonial and independent regimes. Traditional institutions and leaders remain to be an important factor in rural Africa of today.

0. The fact of the striking survival of the traditional early Voltaic state structures in the epoch of colonial conquests and the following colonial administration, as well as during the post-independence period, has evoked a persistent interest among social anthropologists and sociologists. The role of these monarchies and chiefdoms has been discussed from many angles: resistance against European supremacy, collaboration of kings and chiefs in the 'Indirect rule', their roles in the liberation movements, and traditional political units in the era of modern republican political systems in Africa and other developing areas.

Traditions of the pre-colonial past still exist and continue to develop. They are a strong factor in the modernization processes in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world. Moreover, traditions of early states which were not destroyed by colonialism and independent regimes, have played an active role and continue to influence vast masses of the population. Why is it so and what are the mechanisms of this impact? What is the genuine function of the traditional states in the twentieth century? This is the purpose of the present essay: to correlate pertinent facts about the Voltaic states of Wagadugu and Dagomba as they were developing in the epoch of far-reaching social and cultural transformations in the twentieth century.

* This essay is a revised extract from my larger manuscript on the dynamics of early state development in the Voltaic area, written in 1972—1973.

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1. The Voltaic states, having emerged during the first half of our millennium in the area within the bend of the Niger in West Africa, began early in this century to attract the interest of European ethnologists, historians and social anthropologists because of their unusual homogeneity of ecology, technology and their complex social structures, combining the *immigrant* and *autochthonous* elements.

All of the states in the Voltaic area (and their number exceeds twenty) have the same myth of common origin and share a similar set of religious ideas. (See Izard, 1970: *passim*.) Nevertheless, they soon had begun to differentiate between themselves and allowed mainly political competition inside and outside their societies. Political struggle for the *nam*—power and authority—determined their external dynamics. The whole pre-colonial time was full of surprising political turnovers which, however, never ended in destruction of the states. (See Skalník, 1973, cf. Skinner, 1964, 1970b.)

It happened then that the Voltaic states appeared as living symbols of the African past on the eve of the modern era in Africa and continue to bring confirmation of their vitality and effectiveness today.

2. It is well-known from the history of Africa that at the end of the nineteenth century, all the Voltaic states rather easily became the booty of colonial conquests by France, Britain and Germany. It is now certain that the structural weakness, poor communication, economic decentralization and frequent internal conflict among the members of ruling hierarchies were the most important causes of the inability of the Voltaic monarchies to resist invasion and defend their independence. In spite of this conflict, the character of statehood in the Voltaic area was strong enough, or perhaps, also weak enough, to survive under colonial rule and also within the framework of the modern African republics of Ghana, Togo and Upper Volta.

Literally, within about the first five years of colonial occupation, the whole Voltaic area, one of the last in Africa to undergo foreign conquest, was “pacified”. In the beginning of the twentieth century the area was already characterized by the intensive actions and measures of the Europeans to incorporate the local centralized political units—the early states—into their colonial systems of domination.

Although the acceptance of the overseas authorities was mostly peaceful, and in some instances even solved problems of internal disunity, the most important Voltaic rulers never thought of giving up their prerogatives and participation in the political and economic decision-making in their respective states. Their ability to manoeuvre had been well developed through the centuries and it also was used with skill during the colonial and post-colonial periods.

It was characteristic of the situation after the European conquest that the colonialists viewed the early Voltaic states as areas much more important and interesting than those inhabited by acephalous peoples. These African states contained both promise and danger. On the one hand, they were better organized and socially more differentiated, but on the other hand, the authority of chiefs and rulers, as well as the state consciousness of common people, could be a serious impediment to the

incorporation policies of European administrations. It is well-known to students of African affairs that the politics of the 'Indirect rule', using the dissimilarities in the traditional African societies as the basis for an easy administration of colonies and protectorates, was not an immediate issue of colonial conquest. The French, for example, tried almost everywhere to impose a direct rule in their African territories.

Though originally very different from one another in concept, the policies of different European governments in the African states of the Voltaic area worked out very similarly in practice. Europeans gradually recognized the importance of early state institutions to the success of their colonial policies and tried to gain the participation of traditional authorities in their domination projects. This endeavour, it is noteworthy, was rather successful, though not automatic. The attitudes of the European powers could both help and undermine the authority of traditional African rulers and chiefs. Recognition of African statehood, though very unusual, was relatively advantageous for both European and African authorities. The denial of this recognition could have caused grave difficulties and even resistance on the part of the Africans. The authority of kings and chiefs was very strong in the initial phases of European domination.

The French in the northernmost Voltaic kingdom of Yatenga soon understood the importance of the recognition of Mossi statehood for the effective rule of the country. There and elsewhere in the Voltaic area they had, however, to take measures to ensure that the respective personalities would be their loyal allies and obedient subordinates before they would confirm them in the most important traditional offices. The French in Wagadugu and the Germans in Dagomba themselves put the obedient and loyal rulers on the stools, or skins, and the French in Yatenga strongly supported the Yatenga Naba Bulli who called them into the country. In this way the conquerors from Europe intervened in the succession rules of the most important Voltaic states at the very beginnings of their administrations. (Izard, 1970: pp. 345, 359—363; Skinner, 1970a: p. 100; Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: p. 345.)

The rest of this essay will be dealing with the destinies of two largest Voltaic kingdoms, Wagadugu and Dagomba, which are the most characteristic and best described among the Voltaic states.

3. Wagadugu, after a short period of manoeuvring by the exiled Mogh Naba Wobgho between France and Britain, got a new Mogh Naba Sighiri, a younger brother of Wobgho, who promised support for the French. From the beginning the French were trying to put an end to succession "quarrels" and imposed the father—son succession. They sought by all means to weaken the central power. They supported the strivings of district and village chiefs to get autonomy and in 1907 divided the whole French Voltaic territory into three districts—Ouagadougou, Ouahigouya, and Fada N'Gourma. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 100.)

The rulers in Wagadugu, as well as in Wahiguya and elsewhere, soon lost much of their previous executive powers. The military aspect of their authority was severely

cut. Yet the intended direct domination soon proved rather unrealistic. For every sixty thousand Africans, there was only one French administrator. The French soon understood that the effective political and, specifically, economic domination of the country would be impossible without assistance from the traditional rulers and traditional system of authority and respect. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 102.)

A new, very young ruler, Mogh' Naba Kom was elected under French pressure in 1905 with the hope that he would be the stronghold of the French rule in Wagadugu. On the contrary, he proved himself extremely adept at balancing relations between his people and the French. After a series of bad results, the French had to recognize the restoration of chiefs. A secretly organized rebellion of the chiefs was the direct cause of the growing compromise between local rulers and the foreign masters.

The abrogation of traditional institutions had to be remedied. The ruler was allowed to collect tax-tribute and the chiefs began to gain new respect, authority and rights. However, the sacred status of the ruler was gradually disappearing. The ruler now appeared at different occasions rather as an elevated civilian than as a king who was unapproachable and regarded as divine in the pre-colonial time. Mogh' Naba Kom inaugurated a new role of the chiefs as auxiliaries of the colonial administration. Under him, a school for the chiefs' children began to function and bureaucracy grew even stronger than it was in the nineteenth century. Kom even broke the sacred rule of immobility of Mossi rulers and left the capital for districts in the pursuit of his political goals. (Skinner, 1970a: pp. 105—106; cf. Balandier, 1969: pp. 190—191.)

Also, the traditional functions *par excellence* of the chiefs were modified. The chiefs nominally carried out many of their functions but in almost all cases they were limited in the scope of the execution of these functions. Rulers could nominate chiefs but the French had to approve them. The ruler or other higher chiefs could not prevent dismissal of their subordinate chiefs by the French. The Mogh' Naba could not officially give any political or judicial decisions. He did them secretly, however, but he did not dare to take fines and his services became profitless. The French, viewing the incorporating and integrating importance of the *Tense* ritual, abolished this ceremony under the pretext of preventing further exploitation of agricultural producers through gift giving to the chiefs. In contrast, the individual ritual of the ancestors, the *Basgha*, was permitted. (Skinner, 1970a: pp. 104—105.)

Of great importance was the policy of Mogh' Naba Kom in the matter of the Upper Volta colony. The colony, after eleven years as an administrative entity, was split into several parts which were added to adjacent French territories in 1930. Naba Kom and many Mossi chiefs saw in the action, officially motivated by the economic unprofitability of the Upper Volta, a great threat to their authority and also to the prospects of the Mossi country. Yatenga was incorporated into the French Sudan, Wagadugu and Tenkodogo were added to the Ivory Coast and the

Gurma kingdom with Liptako went to Niger. This measure, taken not long after the division of the Voltaic area among three colonial powers, brought about resolute opposition. Mogh' Naba Kom patiently explained to the administrators that this was not a wise political step, that the economic situation would not improve but on the contrary, would continue to deteriorate. Kom's policy was very skilled in principle. His strategy was to strengthen the traditional system, but at the same time he always tried to be on good terms with the representatives of the administration. He proclaimed his allegiance to France at every Friday ceremony. (Delobson, 1928: p. 388; Skinner, 1970a: p. 108.)

The adaptability of the Mossi state of Wagadugu was also remarkable in religious matters. With the French also came the European church, namely Roman Catholicism. Very soon the Mogh' Naba began to attend prayers in the Wagadugu church, though it is certain that he did not convert. His relations with the Catholic church were very good, though many other chiefs had controversies with it. He also visited festivals and solemn occasions organized by the French.

The total political skill of Mogh' Naba Kom secured for him the most solid authority among the Africans in the Upper Volta between the wars. His endeavours to make France recognize the Upper Volta as a distinct element in its colonial domain was partly successful after 1938, when a special administrator with residence in Wagadugu was nominated. Naba Kom died in 1942, after a life full of attempts to preserve as much of his traditional authority and executive powers as possible. He manoeuvred among the French administration, the Catholic church and his own people. His adaptability was enormous and he, in principle, was very successful in his policy. France was compelled to make many compromises during his reign and when his son was elected to the highest office in the Wagadugu kingdom as Mogh' Naba Sagh II, he could self-confidently declare, "My father is dead but the soul of Mossi country lives on". (Skinner, 1964: p. 176.)

Sagh II followed strictly the political principles of Kom, expressing overtly his support to Pétain's regime and to his people at the same time. In his ceremonial visits, he also included the Catholic mission in Wagadugu. The relations between the church and the royal court were somewhat complicated in that period as the church tried to persuade the ruler and other chiefs to give up polygamy. It was a sort of a repetition of an older problem which existed during the reign of Mogh' Naba Kom, when the district and other chiefs had controversies with the churchmen over the old institution of *pughsiure*—giving of women to young men, who in turn gave their first born daughters to their chief as countervalue. This was resolved by the French recognition of this Mossi custom. (Skinner, 1970a: pp. 107, 110.)

The post-war situation with its rapid changes was another trial of the traditional institutions. On the one hand, Mossi aristocracy represented by the Mogh' Naba, refused to cooperate with Ivory Coast bourgeoisie in the formation of modern political parties. On the other hand, Mogh' Naba Sagh II rigorously strived for

recreation of the Upper Volta colony, the most important political goal of his father. For this purpose a ‘Union pour la défense des intérêts de la Haute-Volta’ (UDIHV) was formed and one of the most important provincial ministers, the Balum Naba, became a candidate to the French Assembly in the first post-war elections. The colony was recreated in 1947 and the ruler with all his numerous chiefs triumphed. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 111.)

However, Mossi participation in the war in Europe and relatively rapid post-war liberalization and modernization gave birth to new political forces, an élite, which was commoner or non-Mossi by origin, recruited from the ex-military and educated Voltaics. These people founded three anti-chief parties on the ruins of the former UDIHV, which ceased to be functional after the recreation of the colony. These parties accused the rule and chiefs of ‘neo-feudalism’ and the development turned logically against the traditional state hierarchy, especially its head. The anti-chief parties were supported by the R.D.A. (Rassemblement démocratique africain), then led by the Ivory Coast leader Félix Houphouët-Boigny. In the 1950s, several branches of competition broke out “between the eastern and western regions; between the Mossi and non-Mossi; and among the Mossi there was regional competition, competition between Catholics and Muslims, and of greater danger to the Mogh’ Naba, the Mossi commoners rebelled against the chiefs”. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 111.)

The Mossi chiefs mobilized their defences. Their interests expressed their Parti social d'éducation des masses africaines and they founded a special Syndicat des chefs traditionaux de la Haute-Volta which decided to meet annually. Mogh’ Naba Sagha II, who presided over this Syndicat was also one of the most important initiators of and speakers at the conference of traditional chiefs held at Dakar in 1956. There he declared for the Mossi chiefs that “Chieftainship has always existed among us, and we intend to conserve it in spite of anything one may say. Who desires more than we chiefs the rapid evolution of our country? However, because of the pride we have in the organized society that we have known well before French occupation, we wish this evolution to take place within our specific cultural pattern, to harmonize with, and to take into consideration the wisdom which has permitted us to conserve the integrity of our homeland until French occupation”. (Skinner, 1960: p. 404; Skinner, 1970a: p. 112, quoted from *L'Afrique Française*, 66, 1957, p. 21, Paris.)

The conflict between the modern politicians and the political aspirations of the traditional chiefs became overt. Probably with the approval of the French, Sagha II was the most important speaker at the conference at Dakar. He there expressed the most determined decision to preserve chieftainship against all the severe criticism and attacks of the new anti-chief politicians. Mogh’ Naba Sagha in fact proclaimed the right of the chiefs to become the most influential modern politicians. He advocated that the traditional political values are the best basis for rapid modernization. Being an educated chief, he promoted young literate members of the nobility for

chieftainship in the vacant districts and villages and thus was preparing them to be modern political carriers.

The timing of these actions, however, thwarted the expectations of the ruler and his chiefs. French administrators supported the veterans of the war and other worldly-minded commoners, which curbed the activities of the chiefs. In the elections of 1957, the majority of the people voted for the Voltaic branch of the R.D.A.—Parti démocratique voltaïque—in spite of the fact that the ‘chief’ party—P.S.E.M.A.—entered the alliance with the R.D.A.—P.D.V. Moreover, soon after the elections Mogh’ Naba Sagha II died.

A new Mogh’ Naba was elected in 1958 after a series of interventions by the modern political parties. An opposition alliance—Groupement de solidarité voltaïque (G.S.V.), comprised of the P.S.E.M.A. and two other parties, competed with the R.D.A.—P.D.V. over succession. The latter group’s candidate received the most votes and he was nominated by the traditional electors as the Mogh’ Naba Kugri (son of Mogh’ Naba Sagha II). Though delegated by the anti-chief party which won the elections, the new ruler did not hesitate to confirm the leading principles of the policy of his father and grandfather towards the colonial regime. He even dared to complain that the chiefs were largely ignored by the French administration.

He again manoeuvred like his predecessors between his people striving for independence and de Gaulle’s France, which was trying to preserve her colonial empire. With de Gaulle’s support, Naba Kugri believed he would realize the “opportunity to become a ‘constitutional monarch’”. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 114.) When the autonomous Voltaic republic was proclaimed and this hope defeated, a desperate action by the disappointed monarch followed. According to traditional patterns of decision making, the Mogh’ Naba summoned his war minister, Tansoba, from the country and ordered him to seize the Territorial Assembly. This attempt at a coup d'état was not successful and the traditional army was dispersed. The Syndicat of chiefs dissociated itself from the ruler’s action. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 114; Skinner, 1964: pp. 199—200.)

To regain his status, Mogh’ Naba Kugri launched a new personal policy. He divorced his wives and married a merchant’s educated daughter in a civil ceremony. He converted to Islam. Then he began trading with the Ivory Coast in fruits and vegetables from his lands. The slowly won respect he gained did not help him to be more than a mere spectator, however, on the Independence Day in August, 1960. (Skinner, 1964: p. 202; Skinner, 1970a: p. 115.)

The first president of the Republic of Upper Volta, Maurice Yaméogo, was of simple Mossi peasant origin and outspokenly anti-chief. The five years of Yaméogo’s regime were probably the most difficult period for the Mossi monarch and the hierarchy of chiefs. The latter were persecuted and the Mogh’ Naba was forbidden to nominate new district chiefs after the deaths of existing chiefs. On the other hand, the lowest ranking chiefs, those in villages, were preserved both for their

indispensability in administration and their social distance from the top of the hierarchy. All the privileges, special salaries and other attributes of the chiefs were abolished. In the future, no Mossi chief or *naba* would be distinguished from and preferred to other people. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 115.)

However, traditional chieftainship was not abolished as some young radicals demanded. The ruler continued to nominate the district chiefs, although he had to do it secretly because, officially, they no longer existed. The system continued to function in other ways. People continued to appeal to the Mogh' Naba in the most difficult judicial conflicts, and sometimes his mediation in conflicts was sought even by the anti-chief people. The Muslim community soon recognized the Mogh' Naba as its honoured member. The government was predominantly Catholic and therefore the position of the Mossi ruler was visibly in opposition to it in religious terms. Islam was much closer to the traditional religion and whole Mossi social system than were the European ideas of Christianity. Formerly a feared element, Islam became a logical ally of the traditionalists. (Skinner, 1970a: pp. 115—116.)

By 1964, the authority of the Mogh' Naba was again ascending and the *nabas*, who had always had a solid support among the peasant masses, continued to receive homage. The government, in a crisis by that time, realized that it could not administer the rural areas without the assistance of the chiefs and the ruler of the Wagadugu kingdom. Thus, when the presidential elections of 1965 approached, the president was said to have made a secret pact with the Mogh' Naba and his chiefs to secure the support of the rural population. Whether it was true or not, President Yaméogo was re-elected by 99.9 per cent of the votes.

The first actions taken by Yaméogo after his victory were directed anew against the chiefs. This time the actions were without effect because of the general discontent with the government, partly fostered by the government's attitude towards traditional authorities, which led to a public revolt and subsequent formation of a military government. (Skinner, 1970a: p. 117.)

The period after 1966 was marked by a considerable increase in the authority and prestige of the Mogh' Naba and Mossi chiefs, both in the capital and in the country. Though the trade-unionists and other leaders of the revolt were most probably more anti-chief than Yaméogo, the Mogh' Naba's welcome of the fall of the anti-chief president was accepted by the military government. Officially the ruler's status did not change under the military and civil government of President Lamizana, but in fact there was a large scale increase of respect for the chiefs. The Mogh' Naba and many other traditional dignitaries were invited to most ceremonies organized by the government and thus obtained a certain role which would have been unthinkable before in the political life of the country.

Presently the Mogh' Naba demonstrates his interest in state matters and his hierarchy of chiefs supports the economic programme of the government. The authority of the Mossi nobility in the rural areas remains unsurpassed. The chiefs are no longer

harassed as a social group and their influence is used in the implementation of agricultural improvements.

To confirm their position and declare their indispensability, the chiefs, led by the Mogh' Naba, convoked a conference of the Syndicat of traditional chiefs of Upper Volta in April, 1968. The conference claimed a renewal of prestige and demanded the participation of the traditional chiefs in the modern political and economic life of the Upper Volta. The participants criticized very harshly the regime of Yaméogo, and expressed hopes that the new government would understand the important role of the chiefs. Mogh' Naba Kugri, re-elected for president of the Syndicat, said in his closing speech that the Upper Volta could not exist today without the efforts of past ancestors and rulers who led the society skillfully into the modern time. He concluded with the words that "the traditional chieftainship has given proof of its reconversion to the modern principles of developing Africa". (Carrefour africain, May 4, 1968, p. 6—quoted from Skinner, 1970a: p. 120.)

The new regime of President Lamizana thus gave chiefs, and primarily Mogh' Naba Kugri, a chance to effectively enter the decision-making process in the Upper Volta. The Mossi ruler was awarded the Voltaic National Order in August, 1968. He continues to nominate literate personalities to be district chiefs. The chieftaincy posts are sought by the young sons of the chiefs. Perhaps these educated chiefs will be important agents of the transformation of rural areas in the Upper Volta. It seems that the Mossi traditional hierarchy has been able to make use of the chances provided by the circumstances of modern Voltaic history. The successes of the recent past do not exclude the possibility that a new chapter of 'endless adaptability' of this ancient politico-religious monarchy is just beginning.¹

4. The colonial history of Dagomba had two main phases. The first period began with the colonial occupation in 1898 by the Germans and the British, including the reunification of the Dagombaland by the British, and ended with the conference of the traditional chiefs in 1930. The second period was characterized by the recognition of chiefs in the policy of 'Indirect rule' and ended with new rules for succession in 1960.

The first phase was characterized on both British and German sides by the neglect of traditional state institutions and the chiefs as the basic elements of these institutions. Until 1900, when the Anglo-German treaty on Dagomba was signed, the Naa of Yendi remained the supreme ruler and the traditional politico-religious system led by him continued to function. The tribute in slaves and political dependence on Asante ceased to exist in the last years of the nineteenth century and hitherto dependent Nanumba began to administer itself by 1896. The succession questions

¹ The data on Wagadugu and Dagomba are mostly excerpted from more extensive writings on the modern face of early stages of Wagadugu and Dagomba by Elliott Skinner, Phylis Ferguson and Ivor Wilks. Without them, of course, this generalized essay could not have been written.

in Dagomba, as in other Voltaic kingdoms, were solved in a purely political way in competition between political parties. (Cf. Benzing, 1971.)

The aim of both the British and the Germans was to depoliticize the traditional kingship and to suppress the political life to a minimum. In the British part of the Dagomba territory where only a few higher provincial chiefs and district chiefs remained, the British administrator Morris proclaimed himself the highest chief. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: p. 330.) The British held twice as much territory as did the Germans, but the area had few chiefs. The Germans seized Yendi, the capital, and with it the majority of chiefs. However, the colonial policies of both foreign governments towards the chiefs was ill-defined and short-sighted. The country was divided for about fifteen years and the local traditional government almost ceased to exist. The leadership principle in the traditional states was discounted and the colonial bureaucracy visibly “overburdened its own resources while under-employing indigenous ones”. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: p. 329.)

Succession to high office in Dagomba has been the axis of confrontations between colonialism and the pre-colonial heritage, between modernity and tradition. A very typical affair in the succession matters is connected with the German administration. The economic deterioration and internal conflicts in Dagomba during the last third of the nineteenth century climaxed in 1899, when Naa Andani died in August of that year. After a series of litigations between an anti-colonial wing of chiefs and a “constitutionalists” wing, a candidate of the resistance used his ‘gate’ to the Naa-ship. Naa of Savelugu, called Abd al-Rahman or Kukra Adjei, was elected the Naa of Yendi after protracted secret deliberations. This meant that the anti-colonial resistance of the joint Dagomba and Babatu forces would continue.

This was not acceptable to the Germans and therefore shortly after the installation of the new Naa, a German troop under the command of Dr. Rigler entered Yendi by violence, killed the new Naa of Savelugu, Idris, who also belonged to the resistance party, and compelled the Naa Abd al-Rahman to flee into exile in the Mossi country to the north. He thus reigned only forty-eight days. The Germans called the Naa of Karaga, Alasan or al-Hasan, to the Naa-ship and all the ‘gate’ chiefships of Savelugu, Karaga and Mion received new incumbents supporting the new Naa and the German administration. Thus, the German colonial regime interfered actively in the complicated and dynamic process of choosing the successor of the deceased ruler from the earliest opportunity. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: pp. 344—345.)

We lack complete data on the entire German rule in Dagomba. However, we certainly know about the striving of the Naa of Yendi to become subject to British rule. Naa Andani in 1898 argued that he and his kingdom were subject to Asante, which subsequently became a British domain, and therefore he wanted to belong to the “English”. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: p. 331.)

It seems that the British occupation of Eastern Dagomba in the first weeks of the First World War and the reconstitution of the Dagoniba kingdom under the

British, with the restoration of its old borders, was a welcome series of events. It seemed that both the chief hierarchy and the Dagbamba people would benefit from that change.

However, much did not change. Though the British were well aware of the existence of an elaborate system of administration, succession and acquisition of revenue in pre-colonial Dagomba, the practices of British rule in the first three decades only documented that both the status of the Dagomba ruling hierarchy and the revenue from the Dagomba territory rapidly deteriorated. The interdependence of both the political and economic traditions was not realized. The colonialists seemed unable to respect and make use of the existing African political structures, although some of the early administrators were advised to do so. The transit trade, which was a considerable source of revenue for the Dagomba royal court, was not revived and the chiefs were not allowed to continue levying tribute and taxes, which led to further loss of respect for the chiefs among the subjects. The same limitations were laid on the judicial system.

These weaknesses of the colonial system were criticized by some representatives of British colonialism themselves. They urged the use of the traditional institutions in administration of Dagomba and introduced so-called 'Indirect rule'. As many of the principles and details of the traditional system were unknown to or forbidden by the British, it was decided to gather data on them before deciding what to do.

A Conference of Dagbamba (Dagomba) chiefs in November, 1930, convened by the British administrators A. C. Duncan Johnstone and H. A. Blair, put on paper the traditional constitution and procedures of the Dagomba state. The most important issues of the conference were the recognition of the paramountcy of the Naa or king of Dagomba, and the ascertainment of succession rules limiting the access to power only to the chiefs of three large provinces of Savelugu, Karaga and Mion, and these in rotating order.

This theory would end the competition over succession so typical for Dagomba and the Voltaic states in general. The chiefs were specifically classified into Bihe, or descendants of kings, who can aspire to kingship, and Kpamba, who can never rise in the hierarchy. The constitution also stated that during the interregnum following the death of the ruler, his eldest son would become a regent (*Gbonlana*) until a new Naa was elected. No chief could be deposed except by death or voluntary resignation. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: pp. 333—339; Duncan—Johnstone—Blair, 1932: *passim*.)

This constitution was a peculiar mixture of traditional rules, and the reality and wishes of the colonial system. It overtly stated that the African chiefs, partly depoliticized by the octroyed succession and the absence of an army, should be effective instruments of the British government in local administration, judicial matters of minor and middle importance, and especially in tax collection. The chiefs proved to be very loyal and pleased by this charge.

From our point of view it is an error to think that the chieftship in Dagomba was artificially revived after it nearly declined. Not only did the government need it for normal running of public life, it was also needed by the people, who had no mediator to rule their affairs. Even today, in independent Ghana, the functions of African traditional statehood are an important element of Ghana's political system. The chiefs deal with the local population, which is still almost completely illiterate, and have more success in dealing with them than do the officers sent from the capital. In local matters the voice of the chiefs is decisive.

Although many difficulties of the previous political situation were remedied after the 1930 conference, it did not automatically mean that the future functioning of the Dagomba state was to be smooth and without internal and external conflicts. Even though the Dagomba system adapted very well to the colonial government's requirements in many respects (similar to the situation in Wagadugu), some features of the traditional ways could not be suppressed. The succession conflicts especially were sort of a barometer of the vitality of the Dagomba state. Five times in the twentieth century a ruler of Dagomba died and five times it was a very complicated process to agree upon the successor. Two rules determined the succession in Dagomba: First, in general, no son should rise higher than his father, and second, the system is promotional, allowing only the holders of three chiefships or 'gates' to aspire for kingship. (Benzing, 1971: pp. 237—238.)

The promotional aspect of the system was challenged during the twentieth century and the British in vain tried to eliminate 'disputes' by championing primogeniture in the Dagomba succession. In 1917, the conflict over succession had both promotional and intergenerational character. Instead of Bukari Naa of Savelugu, an old man who was formerly leader of the resistance party of 1898—1899 contest for kingship, the oldest son of the deceased Naa Alasan was elected to the Naa-ship under the pressure of the British. It was a difficult conflict which lasted for the three years. Though the new ruler Abdulai II was the incumbent of the Mion-chiefship, he was at the same time Gbonlana, a regent, and member of a younger generation of the nobility. Though earlier both latter qualities would not have been enough to obtain the highest office, with the support of the British they were.

There were, however, two precedents of intergenerational conflicts over succession in the nineteenth century. (See table in Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: p. 347.) This intergenerational conflict is the natural result of competition between younger brothers and senior sons of the deceased ruler. As Ferguson and Wilks wrote, "Intergenerational conflict appears then to be a structural feature of contents for succession to high office in Dagomba". (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: p. 348.)

The British overtly supported the father—son succession while the Dagomba political system preferred competition between different candidates irrespective of whether they were of son or brother generations. The confirmation for this assertion is the case of 1917. The senior (brother) factions seemed to be more conservative

while the junior (son) factions were more elastic in their politics and were also more inclined to collaborate with the colonialists.

The next competition took place in 1938, after the death of Abdulai II, son of Naa Alasan. It was after the conference of 1930, which the British wanted to follow literally. Rivalry as the natural way of selecting the new ruler broke out at this time among the native population. The competition began between two sons of Naa Andani who were both incumbents of 'gate' chiefships of Savelugu and Mion. Also Gbonlana Alasani, encouraged by the success of his father, claimed that the regency should become a fourth 'gate' for the Naa-ship. The British this time obeyed the rule and intervened in favour of Mionlana Mahama, who became the new Naa of Dagomba in September, 1938. The drum traditions narrate that Mahama received Yendi from the white man, although he was largely supported by his Mion fellow countrymen. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: pp. 348—349.)

The importance of the succession process of 1938 lies in the attempt to codify the right of the regent, Gbonlana, to the kingship, i.e., to codify the filial succession. It was inspired by two preceding cases of such filial succession in Dagomba: 1: Abdulai I to Alasan/al-Hasan, which was, however, not direct, as the younger brother of Abdulai I, Andani II, reigned in the period ca 1876—1899; 2: Alasan to Abdulai II, which was a direct filial succession. Though in 1938 the attempt of Abdulai II's son, Alasani, to prevent Naa Mahama from entering the royal palace at Yendi was not successful, Alasani received the vacant chiefship of Mion, which gave him a new opportunity to make later attempts to gain kingship. Mahama's success meant also a sort of indirect filial succession, as he was the son of Andani. Abdulai (1917—1938) reigned between Andani and Mahama. Thus roots of a competition over succession had already developed between the two parties in the second half of the nineteenth century, one formed from the descendants of Abdulai I and the other from the descendants of his brother, Andani II. The role of the regent, Gbonlana, in these complicated succession questions was steadily increasing during the twentieth century.

The rotating succession between the three 'gates' to Naa-ship became only a superficial expression of competition between the Abdulai and Andani parties for the high office in Dagomba. When Naa Mahama tried to strengthen prospects of his son, Andani, for the high office by promoting him to the vacant Karaga 'gate' in 1947, the Karaga 'skin' was seized by Adam, a son of the deceased Naa of Karaga. The traditional system of authority, still very strong in the Voltaic area, was flouted by Adam's seizure of the Karaga 'skin'. To let the people know that the traditional Dagomba system cannot tolerate the authority of the ruler to be broken by a subordinate, the Naa Mahama "appealed to his ancestors" and took his own life to avoid disgrace (*ka n kpi*) in February, 1948.

His son, Andani, automatically became Gbonlana, a regent, and put his own candidacy for the high office. His bid was jeopardized by the Mionlana Mahama and

Naa of Savelugu, Mahamuru. The British again intervened in favour of Mahama "to prevent a long struggle" and thus supported the Abdulai party that time, as Mahama was the youngest brother of Naa Abdulai II (1920—1938) and son of Naa Alasan (1899—1917). The Gbonlana Andani got the skin of Mion and was to play an eminent role in the political life of the monarchy during the coming twenty years.

Naa Mahama or Mahama-bla died after five years of reign in 1953. His son, Abdulai, became Gbonlana. He was not a holder of any 'gate' chieftaincy. Andani, the Mionlana, and son of Naa Mahama (1938—1948) from the Andani party, naturally wanted to gain the Naa-ship. This time, however, he was not allowed to perform the funeral customs for the deceased ruler, as he had been accused of bewitching Mahama-bla. The British intervened again and as the traditions narrate, "the commissioner gave the Naa-ship to Gbonlana Abdulai". It is without any precedent in the modern history of Dagomba that a Gbonlana without a 'gate' chiefship ascended to the 'skin'. This was the final breach of traditional succession rule which went back to the eighteenth century, when the Mamprusi ruler, Na-Yiri Atabia, recommended that the choice of new rulers be made only from the three chiefs of Karaga, Savelugu and Mion. (Cf. Duncan—Johnstone—Blair, 1932: p. 10; Tamakloe, 1931: pp. 25—28.)

Supporters of the traditional Dagomba system protested very strenuously. Violence erupted and Naa Abdulai III was in danger of being deprived of office several times. It is probable that Mionlana Andani, leader of the Andani party, stood behind these attempts and placed charges against the ruler before the Dagomba State Council. The most important objection, of course, was that he never had held any 'gate-skin'. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: pp. 348—349.)

By 1960, the government of independent Ghana came to the conclusion that it would not be possible to allow future disorders because of the succession competition in the traditional Dagomba monarchy. The Ghana government understood the indispensability of traditional institutions for the administration of the country and did not abolish the chieftaincy system and monarchy as a whole. However, central government politicians from Accra ignored that the stress on political competition for the Naa-ship was the basis of the existence of such an African monarchy. Like the British in 1930 and later, the Accra government tried to resolve the succession dilemmas.

The conclusions of the 1930 conference were rejected and a lesson was taken from the reality of competition in the twentieth century: in the future, there would be a rotational succession between the Abdulai and Andani family parties. This would mean that at the next opportunity the representatives of the Andani party would come to power twice, because in 1960 a second member of the Abdulai party ruled already. The compromise was that only sons of previous rulers and only occupants of 'gate' chiefships among them, could be eligible for the high office. This

decision was issued as the Declaration of Customary Law (Dagomba State). (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: pp. 349—350.)

It seemed that succession in Dagomba would become automatic, but with the fall of Nkrumah's regime, the factional struggle was renewed. The Declaration of 1960 was no longer respected and a new competition began when Naa Abdulai died in September, 1967.

A nineteen-year-old of Naa Abdulai III, Mahama, became Gbonlana and entered immediately the succession struggle. The Mionlana Andani, son of Naa Mahama (1938—1948), was his most important rival. Andani hoped that the law of 1960 would help him but he met with the very well organized opposition of the Gbonlana Mahama. The rivalry broke out in fighting in 1968.

Finally Andani was promoted to the Naa-ship in November, 1968. Several senior chiefs and councillors protested against this, bringing evidence that the election was brought about by the violent intervention of supporters of Andani, who smuggled him in woman's clothing into the sacred room where the election ceremony took place. When Andani was installed, although through false means, it was not possible to depose him, as the ruler's person is sacred. Moreover, he was soon visited by the government officials, which meant an official recognition of the new ruler by the government. On the other hand, a committee was formed to inquire into the matter of the election. During the work of commission, Naa Andani (III) died, in March, 1969. He had reigned less than five months. His son, a twenty-five year old school teacher, named Yakubu, tried to be his successor.

The committee finally resolved the controversy in September, 1969, with the statement that the 'enskinment' of Mionlana Andani was repugnant to Dagomba custom, and that Gbonlana Mahama Abdulai (son of Abdulai III) should have been installed as Naa instead of Andani, and the Andani's reign was annulled. New fighting followed this decision and a demonstration of two thousand people ended with shooting and arrests. Mahama Abdulai was installed as the Naa of Dagomba on September 12, 1969, under the protection of the army. The Andani faction protested against both the massacre and the installation. (Ferguson—Wilks, 1970: pp. 350—353.)²

5. All the evidence given above led to only one conclusion: that the appeasement policy of both the Gold Coast and Ghana governments in the Dagomba succession competitions were useless. It is true the governments violated, in all cases, the procedures of election and installation, but they could not change the principle of traditional statehood. As in other Voltaic states, the high office was an object of achievement, rather than ascription. Each candidate had to gain a following and find resources for keeping it. In the twentieth century, in Dagomba and other Voltaic states, the internal traditional politics were increasingly important after other state func-

² See Note 1.

tions were curbed by the colonial powers. The ideology of competition is a condition sine qua non of the existence of the Voltaic states. In Mamprussi it was impossible to choose a new king without actual combat between the candidates. Chiefs contending for the high office sought support from the district commissioners. (Drucker in *Colloque*, 1967: pp. 82, 87.)

The ideology of competition is, however, not only applicable to the succession competitions but also to the survival and active existence of the Voltaic states in the twentieth century modernization process. I think the extreme adaptability of the Voltaic states to modern ways of government, education and economy are immediate consequences of the spirit of competition. Only events of the twentieth century revealed the politico-religious substance of the Voltaic states. If they were inflexible structures with exaggerated stress on economy, the first waves of the new wind of modernization would have destroyed them. The close interdependence between the early state rulers, chiefs and common people has objectively helped to modernize the most backward rural areas of Africa. So far neither the colonial nor independent regimes of modern Africa have been able to substitute for the 'syncretizing ability' of the traditional leaders of early states in the administration of rural areas. (See Skinner 1970c.) This is the answer to the most curious question of why the monarchies are possible and effective within the republics of changing Africa.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

SIR APOLo KAGGWA AND THE ORIGINS OF LUGANDA LITERATURE

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The Kings of Buganda is the first volume in a new series of historical texts of Eastern and Central Africa.¹ Sir Apolo Kaggwa's *Basekabaka be Buganda*, first printed in 1901, was the first book originally written in Luganda ever to be published. This famous book of history is probably the best known book in Luganda and has been used by many scholars working on Buganda history.

The first English translation of *Basekabaka* was made by Simon Musoke at the East African Institute of Social Research in the early 1950's. Dr. Kiwanuka translated the first half of Sir Apolo Kaggwa's *Basekabaka be Buganda* up to the death of Mutesa in 1884 in the course of writing his University of London dissertation in 1964.² Apolo Kaggwa's *Basekabaka* is here, however, not only translated into English and supplemented with an Introduction and Notes. Utilizing modern research methods of studying oral traditions, the author subjected Kaggwa's work to a critical examination and found Kaggwa remarkably reliable, rigorous and objective in his judgement. To do so, Kiwanuka not only had to become familiar with all the available sources on the subject in English, French and Luganda, but also to do an extensive field research. The results, originally embodied in the above mentioned doctoral thesis, appeared in book form in 1971.

The first impulses to African literary activities in Uganda, as elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, were given by Christian missions.³ Christian missionaries had usually arrived long before colonial administrators and for years remained for

¹ *The Kings of Buganda by Sir Apolo Kaggwa*. Translated and edited by M. S. M. Kiwanuka. Historical Texts of Eastern and Central Africa. Nairobi—Dar es Salaam—Kampala, East African Publishing House 1971. 256 pp.

² Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *The traditional history of the Buganda Kingdom*. With special reference to the historical writings of Sir Apolo Kaggwa, University of London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1965 (unpublished).

³ Literacy entered Uganda for the first time with the introduction of Islam in the late 1860's and for nearly a decade instruction in Islam and Arabic was progressing and flourishing at the royal court. In 1877 the first members of the Church Missionary Society arrived to be followed by the Roman Catholic White Fathers in 1879. They provided an alternative literacy and belief system.

Africans the exclusive source of education. Until proper schools were established in Uganda after the turn of the century⁴ instruction in literacy centred entirely in the church. From the very start the teaching of literacy was a particular concern of both the C. M. S. and White Fathers' missions. Soon both missions were producing *emisafu* or alphabet sheets, word lists and grammars, later full-scale dictionaries, textbooks and manuels, translations of portions of the Gospels and later of the whole of the Bible — *Ekitabo Ekitukuru*, first in Swahili and later in Luganda.⁵ Producing these materials which were the first documents of the written form of the language, the missionaries created the pre-conditions for the building up of the literary tradition and the written literary language.

The efforts of both missions met with an enthusiastic response. Early missionaries in Uganda left vivid accounts of Baganda "readers" drifting from one mission station, one set of instruction to another, often frequenting both mission stations as well as the Zanzibari camp at Lungujja, and of Baganda lads sitting on the hay-covered floor in the royal palace reading or scribbling on boards or any scrap of paper they could pick up and, lacking paper, sometimes even practising with a stick or just their own fingers in the dust of the royal courtyard.⁶ The majority of "readers" came from among the Kabaka's young pages — *bagalagala* — who were in training there for high positions of *bakungu* chiefs, or from among the ruling administrative hierarchy of *bakungu* client chiefs present at the Kabaka's court. The converts possessed qualities that were in the highly mobile Kiganda political system indispensable for a good politician in the traditional sense. They were, in Professor Rowe's words, "highly adaptable, alert to the shifts of power and influence and, above all, concerned with the control and exercise of political power, using it to eliminate their rivals and maintain themselves in office".⁷ They also "wished to come to terms with modernization, the missionary influence, the new commercial and technical opportunities".⁸

⁴ Day schools had existed since 1896. A Mengo High School was opened in 1905 and at about the same time the Roman Catholic Mill Hill Fathers opened a boarding school at Namilyango. The C.M.S. mission opened the King's College, Budo in 1906 and the White Fathers St. Mary's College at Kisubi.

⁵ See Appendix II, Linguistic Bibliography, pp. 76—77. In: Fallers, M. Ch.: *The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu (Ganda, Soga). Ethnographic Survey of Africa*. Edited by Daryll Forde. East Central Africa Part XI. London, International African Institute 1960.

⁶ Mullins, J. D.: *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*. London, C. M. S. 1904 includes early memoirs of a leading Protestant convert Hamu Mukasa. See also Mackay to Lang, 29 September, 1885, CMS Archives, G3A6/02. Quoted in Rowe, J. A.: *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893—1969*, Uganda Journal, 33, 1969, No. 1, pp. 17—40.

⁷ Rowe, J. A.: Baganda chiefs who survived Kabaka Mwanga's purge of 1886, a paper obtainable from Makerere Institute of Social Research, date unknown.

⁸ See Ranger, T. O.: *Connections between "Primary Resistance" Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa*. A paper given to the University of East Africa Social Science Conference, December 1966.

Most Baganda of Sir Apolo Kaggwa's generation had acquired literacy after enduring many hardships sometimes incurring physical risk in so doing.⁹ The civil succession wars of 1888—1892 saw the triumph of the Christian converts. The Protestant-Catholic coalition had gained sole control over the political hierarchy and those who were not in communion with them or with the recognized Muslim minority, had no other alternative but to join one of the religious parties.¹⁰ Victorious Christians swept all the unsuccessful from their posts. Christianity and literacy, for these two things were inseparably connected, came to be viewed as the key to social and political advancement.

Apolo Kaggwa lived amidst these turbulent events. Born about 1865 he was placed by his parents in the household of a chief, their relative. After several years spent in the household of Basudde, the chief of Ekitongole Ekiisuuna, through his acquaintance with Nzalambi, the caretaker of the royal mosque, Kaggwa roughly in 1884 eventually entered the royal court and joined the service of the chief keeper of the royal stores, Kulugi. Converted by the C.M.S. mission, in 1886 he was arrested by Kabaka Mwanga with other Christian converts, but he luckily escaped execution and was beaten instead. In 1887 Apolo Kaggwa was promoted to be the chief of the royal stores and placed at the head of the Ekitongole Ekyeggwanika, filled predominantly by converts of the C.M.S. Kaggwa was also made responsible for the distribution of the booty, and became wealthy. After the civil war of 1888 Kaggwa was given the chieftainship of *mukwenda*. He became politically prominent during the civil succession wars of 1888—1889 when the Christians, defeated by the Muslims, took refuge in Ankole. The turning point in his political career came in 1889 after the Christian victory: he became *katikkiro* and continued to hold this office until 1926 when he was forced to resign. A staunch collaborator and supporter of the new régime and a personal friend of British officials and missionaries, he was for his loyalty and faithful services honoured by the colonial government with a K.C.M.G.¹¹

The interest that Sir Apolo Kaggwa took in writing, and the importance he attached to preserving the written word were not exceptional and were shared by most of his contemporaries. As soon as the Baganda learned to read and write, they were keen to practise it. Many semi-legible notes containing news of anything said or done at the court have been preserved in both the C.M.S. archives in London

⁹ See Rowe, J. A.: *The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court*. Journal of African History, V, 1964, No. 1.

¹⁰ See Low, D. A.: *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875—1900*, East African Studies No. 8, Nairobi 1957, especially p. 16 and *Uganda and the British, 1862—1900*, an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Oxford, Exeter College 1957.

¹¹ See Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *Sir Apolo Kaggwa and the Pre-Colonial History of Buganda*. Uganda Journal, 30, 1966, No. 2, pp. 137—152 and the book under review, pp. XXIV—XXV.

and the White Fathers' archives in Rome, as well as in the Lugard Papers at Rhodes House, Oxford, and in other private papers. It cannot be doubted that this habit of writing anonymous letters and of conveying political secrets by writing was one of the contributing causes of Mwanga's persecution of Christians in 1886. As substantial collections of Baganda correspondence prove, later during the civil wars the Baganda were becoming more and more skilled in accurately conveying their thoughts on paper and supplementing verbal reports with written communications. Imitating the Europeans and adopting their ways and habits, the Baganda became genuine products of the Victorian age with its passion for recording, corresponding and writing diaries. Dr. Rowe's picture of Hamu Mukasa and his house with large glass-fronted bookcases, all the drawers, cupboards and boxes stuffed and crammed with diaries, journals, letter-books, ledgers, maps and assorted records and documents, proves that the Baganda did like to write.¹² This is also clearly demonstrated by an ever-growing volume of Luganda written sources, both published and unpublished which have been recently coming to light. The wealth of family papers, for example, has only begun to be explored.¹³

The original edition of *Basekabaka be Buganda*, printed in England in 1901 and numbering some 500 copies, was put on sale in Uganda in 1902 at 5 rupees per copy.¹⁴ Already by 1912 a second edition containing some new material appeared, including an account of the return of Kabaka Mwanga's body from the Seychelles, where he had died in 1903 in exile. This was followed in 1927 with a third edition also containing new additional sections on some neighbouring countries, such as Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro. This last edition was reprinted in 1953 by the Uganda Bookshop and sold out within a few years.

Apolo Kaggwa was a prolific author. In fact, to all intents and purposes he was a remarkable man, though there were others of a similar cast. Still, in many respects, he led the way. "There is no one more anxious for the advancement of Uganda in every art than the Katikiro", the Reverend John Roscoe wrote in 1902. "He built the first house with an upper storey, a wooden framed one covered with reeds. He next introduced sun-dried bricks and built a more durable house, of which he frequently laid the bricks, and also made doors, shutters, and a staircase. He has introduced the telephone and electric bells; he uses a typewriter; he has a sewing-machine, which he can work; he possesses and can ride a bicycle, and in fact he encourages progress of all kinds. He keeps full accounts of the cases he tries in court, and of other State business transacted by him. It is a cause of surprise, even to

¹² See Rowe, J. A.: *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition*, op. cit., p. 17.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 17–18.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 21. The price was soon reduced to three rupees.

Europeans, how he accomplishes so much.”¹⁵ In 1904 the Uganda Notes wrote: “The Katikiro’s brick house has 20 rooms, big rooms too, a corrugated iron roof, board floors upstairs, and panelled doors and shutters; it is really excellent structure, far and away the best in the country. The second regent has also got a large brick house, and most of the leading chiefs have built or are building similar places on a smaller scale; even peasants look upon grass as no longer desirable abodes, and prefer mud walls and a wooden hinged door... No longer are people content to sit in the dark from 6.30 daily, or have merely a flickering firelight. Paraffin lamps are largely used, and reading, letter writing and sewing are carried on extensively in the evenings.”¹⁶

The turn of the century was the beginning of a busy period in Luganda literature. Kaggwa seems to have started at an early date to record the turbulent events of the 1880’s and 1890’s. According to Ashe of the C.M.S. mission, already by 1894 Kaggwa had written a tiny booklet on *The Wars of Buganda* (*Entalo Za Buganda*), which is, however, no longer extant. Starting with *Basekabaka be Buganda* in 1901, Kaggwa’s other historical writings followed: *Ekitabo kye Empisa Za Baganda* (*The Book of the Traditions and Customs of the Baganda*), first published in 1905; *Ekitabo Ky’Ebika bya Abaganda* (*The Book of the Clans of the Baganda*), published in 1908; and the book of the Grasshopper clan, *Ekitabo Kya Kika Kye Nsenene*, published in 1904. The latter was the first production on a small printing press which was presented to the *katikiro* by the Foreign Office when Kaggwa and Mukasa visited England for Edward VII’s coronation in 1902. Besides these major historical works, in 1902 Kaggwa produced his first edition of *Baganda Fables* (*Engero za Baganda*), reprinted by Sheldon Press in 1920.

Kaggwa’s major historical works were written between 1900—1912; some thirty years after the Luganda language had been committed to writing. After 1912 Kaggwa

¹⁵ *Apolo Kaggwa, Katikiro and Regent of Uganda* by the Rev. J. Roscoe, Church Missionary Gleaner, July 1, 1902, p. 108. Kaggwa himself described how at first he alone adopted new customs and work habits, beginning on 31th January 1890, with his purchase of a watch. Others laughed at him at first but later followed him. He went on to reform the slipshod procedure of the *lukiiko*, purchased a horse (September 1902); built a two-storey brick house (July 1894); bought a kerosene lamp (January 1896); and a bicycle (1898) and began writing his first book. In 1894, he also adopted the custom of eating while seated at a table instead of upon mats spread on the floor, and of drinking tea instead of banana beer. Quoted from *Social Mobility, Traditional and Modern* by L. A. Fallers in: *The King’s Men, Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*. Ed. by L. A. Fallers. London, Oxford University Press on behalf of the East African Institute of Social Research 1964, p. 183.

¹⁶ *Uganda Progress of Commerce*. Uganda Notes, June 1904, pp. 82—89. Already in 1891 Lugard reported that coloured cloth, beads and wire were useless as trade goods in Buganda. “They want paper, notebooks and writing materials.” See Lugard to Admin. Gen. IBEA Co., 13. Aug. 1891, in Africa, No. 4, 1892, p. 124. Quoted also in Rowe, J. A.: *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition*, op. cit., p. 29.

stopped writing, except for a few occasional articles he contributed to the Ebifa, a C.M.S. newspaper. The three most outstanding historical works, *Basekabaka be Buganda*, *Ekitabo Kye Empisa za Baganda* and *Ekitabo Ky'Ebika bya Abaganda*, supplement each other and together cover every aspect of the history of Kiganda society, dynastic, military, political, cultural and social. Kaggwa's sources were, as in contemporary historical fieldwork, oral traditions. Kaggwa acted as a collector of traditions for the missionary John Roscoe. The information he had collected for Roscoe in Luganda he wrote down and the notes provided the basis for his own writings. As Dr. Kiwanuka suggested, it seems that Kaggwa was prompted to write in Luganda what John Roscoe was already writing in English.¹⁷

There were many other Baganda historians writing in Luganda. The literary atmosphere provided by the mission stations and the publication of Apolo Kaggwa's works acted as a stimulus to Luganda historical as well as non-historical writing. Kaggwa's interest in recording the past was shared and followed by a number of his contemporaries who wrote to complement Kaggwa's books, correct him or provide a new information. They had consulted a wide variety of oral informants for the times past and, recalling the days of their youth, they were able to contribute much from their own first hand experience. Since 1911, when the White Fathers first published their newspaper Munno, the Baganda have been contributing historical articles in that paper as well as in Ebifa, a C.M.S. newspaper. Alifunsi Aliwali, who acted as a collector of oral traditions for Bishop Gorju,¹⁸ has been one outstanding contributor to the missionary newspaper Munno. From among works by other Baganda historians, the following deserve to be mentioned here: Prince Gomotoka's massive seven volume hand written history of Buganda entitled appropriately *Makula (Treasure)*,¹⁹ John Miti's unpublished *Short History of Buganda (Ebyafayo bya Buganda)*; Hamu Mukasa's three volumes of historical narrative and personal memoirs entitled *Simuda Nyuma (Don't Turn Back)* and the Rev. Bartalomayo Zimbe's *Buganda ne Kabaka (Buganda and Kabaka)* published on the Gambuze Press in 1938.²⁰ As Dr. Rowe has pointed out, there seems to have evolved a literary

¹⁷ Roscoe, J.: *The Baganda. An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs*. London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1911.

¹⁸ Gorju, J. L.: *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard*. Rennes, Imprimeries Oberthür 1920.

¹⁹ Prince Gomotoka was the former ssabalangira. He began his book in 1920 as the history of the Baganda royal family. Two decades later, at the time of his death, it was not quite finished.

²⁰ The first volume of Mukasa's *Simuda Nyuma*, subtitled "Ebiro by Mutesa" (The reign of Mutesa), was published in London in 1938 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The second volume *Ebya Mwanga (That of Mwanga)* appeared in 1942 and the third volume allegedly sent to Bishop Willis in England, who was to have seen it through publication, was lost. Dr. Rowe discovered a carbon copy of the lost volume at Kwata Mpola House, the home of the late Hamu Mukasa, in March 1964. For details see his article, *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition*, op. cit. An English translation of Miti's manuscript was also supposedly sent to Bishop Willis in England at about the same time as Mukasa's lost volume. See ibid.

tradition in Buganda that ageing prominent Baganda of the turn of the century generation should set their pens to paper to revive their generation's *ekitibwa* (prestige), to recount their lives or expound their principles so that others may profit by their examples. The variety of fields Luganda writings cover has been gradually increasing. In addition to the histories, military memoirs from the period of religious turmoil, booklets of moral admonition and practical instruction, biographies and political pamphlets, a flood of other writings have appeared, short stories, plays and novels as well as pamphlets devoted to giving advice on such matters as sex life, dream analysis and business success. Professor Rowe compiled a fairly complete bibliography of Luganda written sources, including published books and pamphlets, periodicals published before 1930, unpublished works and private papers.²¹ This can be compared and cross-checked with Snoxall's survey of Luganda literature and a list of Luganda publications attached to M. Ch. Fallers' Ethnographic survey of Baganda and Basoga.²²

This early stage of literary development is inevitable for creating the pre-conditions for the building up of the literary tradition and the rise of modern fine literature. There undoubtedly exists a rich vein of impressive literary achievements in Luganda and strong foundations of the literary tradition, on which modern fine literature could be created, have been certainly laid. The past, present and future development of the Luganda literature therefore seems to be worth studying.

Turning back to the publication under review, Dr. Kiwanuka must be thanked for making Kaggwa's famous *Basekabaka* available to the wider public. Some historians interested in Buganda history, the present author included, who have not mastered the Luganda language, may, however, feel disappointed that a part of *Basekabaka* covering the colonial period was skipped from this publication. There remains to hope that Dr. Kiwanuka will keep his promise and make the rest of *Basekabaka be Buganda* also available to us.

²¹ See *Bibliography of Luganda Written Sources* attached to Rowe, J. A.: *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition*, op. cit.

²² Snoxall, R. A.: *Ganda Literature*. African Studies, Vol. I, 1942 and Fallers, M. Ch.: *The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu*, op. cit., Appendix II, Luganda Literature, pp. 74—76.

BOOK REVIEWS

Vitkin, M. A.: *Vostok v filosofsko-istoricheskoi koncepcii K. Marksа i F. Engelsа* (The Orient in the Philosophico-Historical Conception of K. Marx and F. Engels). Moscow, Nauka 1972. 116 pp.

This book though small in size, is of the utmost importance for everyone interested in the Orient and its relations to the West from the point of view of social sciences. The author's epistemological research traces the development of Marx' and Engels' views on the Orient through several decades of their scholarly activities. Vitkin wrote the first version of the book as a CSc. dissertation in the late sixties when the revived discussion on the Marxist concept of the Asiatic way of production was in full bloom both in the Soviet Union and elsewhere among Marxist-oriented orientalists, anthropologists and historians.¹ The book appeared in 1972 to close the first stage of the renewed discussion and to strengthen decisively that indispensable basis from which concrete analyses of the social history of different societies of Asia, Africa and America could safely continue.

Vitkin's fundamental thesis in the introduction is the following: Marx and Engels always recognized the specificity of social life in the Orient but their interpretation of it was changing in accordance with the growing amount of available data and the development of their theory of historical materialism. He stresses the idea that Marx and Engels approached the problem of the Orient with an emphasis on total aspect. Vitkin believes that "the concept of the Asiatic way of production represents an organic part of the teaching of K. Marx and F. Engels on society" and therefore sets himself three goals of research, as follows:

¹ Articles and bibliographies can be found in the following publications: La Pensée, 1964, No. 114; Eirene from Vol. 3/1964; Tőkei, F.: *Sur le mode de production asiatique*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1966; Pečírka, J. — Pešek, J. (Eds): *Rané formy civilizace (Early Forms of Civilization)*. Praha, Svoboda 1967; Sur 'le mode de production asiatique'. Paris, Editions Sociales 1969.

"1) To analyse the concept of the Orient in the context of a wider problem of interrelationships of natural and social ties in the world history; 2) to show its dynamics, stages of development, motives of evolution; 3) to reproduce the search for the total approach to the problems of the Orient so typical of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels" (p. 16).

Vitkin devoted all his skill to attain these three goals in four chapters of his highly interesting book. In the first chapter he deals with the idea of the "natural" and "social" in the philosophy of history according to Marx and Engels. The problem of the social character of the Orient according to the author forms only a partial question in the framework of the dichotomic categories of the "natural" and "social" as understood by Marx and Engels. The classics of Marxism divided the whole human history into two basic epochs: primitive (natural) and civilized (social). The former can be called the epoch of personal relations and the latter, one of reified relations. Vitkin later shows that the social characteristics of the Orient (and similar areas elsewhere) are precisely the key to an understanding of the transitional phase between these two epochs.

Primitive work was a "function of the member of the natural collectivity" and as such aimed only at immediate utility (p. 20). Everything in human activity and organization in the primitive epoch is "natural", people are living in isolated communities characterized by the unity of concrete useful work and personal natural ties (specific quality of collectivism).

With a change in the character of work, its abstractivization and marketization, begins the epoch of civilization, truly relations between men as producers of goods. Marx termed these reified relations "social". Though this process is very complex and differs in the pace and other qualities of locality and time, it is widely marked by "formation of antagonistic classes so that the history of civilization appears as a history of their struggle. The domination of natural relations in pre-bourgeois societies leads to the fact that relations of exploitation are here chained by personal ties" (p. 27).

Marx' and Engels' views on the Orient developed in dependence on the above theory in the following way: In the forties of the nineteenth century, they related the Orient to the natural phase of history; in the fifties to seventies they saw in the Orient a contradictory combination of natural and social relations, with the natural being the dominant ones; and finally, at the beginning of the eighties they came to the conclusion that the natural phase was not followed immediately by civilization and that civilization was preceded by an immense social epoch, "primary formation", which differed substantially from civilization, and that the Orient was a part of this primary formation and not of civilization. Vitkin discusses a lot of questions and details in the history of the Orient as viewed by K. Marx and F. Engels in the remaining three chapters. In the first period (Chapter 2) Marx and Engels were influenced by Hegel's philosophy of history and made little use of concrete data

available on the Orient. They viewed the relations between the Orient and the West as historically opposed. The Oriental state was understood by them as the extension of patriarchal ties to a national dimension. A critical approach to Hegel and to the opposing of the Orient and the West as representatives of the "natural" and "social" respectively, later enabled Marx and Engels to understand that this is not a fatal metaphysical difference, but "a problem of two 'strikingly contradictory' (F. Engels) world-historical forms of the 'social'" (p. 46). This conclusion was achieved only after Marx and Engels went in the fifties to seventies through a period of understanding the Orient as one special part of a social epoch.

This period in the development of Marx' and Engels' views on the Orient is best known through their famous writings like *Grundrisse*, *Das Kapital*, etc. The model of the Asiatic way of production was mostly identified with Marx' and Engels' views from that period and it was argued by some recent and earlier authors that especially Engels appeared later to have dropped this concept. To show exactly the genesis of Marx' and Engels' view from this period, Vitkin analyses with considerable profundity the question of both natural and social relations, as well as their unity in a special Oriental form. Marx and Engels concluded then that the struggle of these two types of relations ended in a victory of the natural ones. The Orient and Antiquity were understood by them as two different forms of unity of natural and social relations. In the third chapter Vitkin also pays attention to the Oriental city and the role of migrations of nations in the development of the Asiatic way of production. In the discussion of terminological problems Vitkin argues that the term Orient (and the Asiatic way of production) should not be understood as geographically biased, but in its arbitrary meaning, i.e. in the same way as it was (so often) used by Marx and Engels. But as arbitrary, the term Orient (Oriental, Asiatic) is not less suitable for science as other terms of this sort.

In the last, the fourth, chapter Vitkin is thoroughly original and the book attains its climax. He brings to the attention of readers the data on Marx' and Engels' way of thinking at the beginning of the eighties when Marx studied Morgan's *Ancient Society* and other works of ethnologists and sociologists.² The result was the reformulation of Marx' view on the Orient and primitive communitarian society. Thanks to Morgan's research Marx spelled out the theory of formations, dividing the evolution of mankind into the primary (archaic) and secondary (civilization) formations. Henceforward he and Engels no longer made a distinction between the natural and social epoch as analogy of the personal and reified principles. Two sequential (primary and secondary) forms of social relation included both the

² What Vitkin mentions on pp. 94–95 as a task for the future has already been done or is in preparation. See, in particular, *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*. Transcribed and edited with an introduction by Lawrence Krader. Assen, Van Gorcum 1972, 454 pp. (on works of Morgan, Phear, Maine, Lubbock). Professor Krader prepares also an edition of Marx' notes from reading Maxim Kovalevski.

personal and the reified, thus creating typological differences along with the stages ones. The Orient (and the Asiatic way of production) has been classified as the highest stage within the primary formation. The secondary formation in Marx and Engels of the eighties embraces antique, feudal and bourgeois societies, i.e. European history during the last two and a half thousand years.

Oriental society is a state system of local ties of village communities. This is the conclusion by classics of Marxism on the Orient as developed in the last stage of their lives: There is almost no market exchange, goods production, class differentiation, no state ownership of land. Communities supply tribute to the state which emerges as the centralizing force from outside (either foreign group or one of the communities). The state is the organizer of everything on above-community level, it receives surplus products from agrarian communities for the services (both indispensable and formal) which it provides to the communities.

The Oriental society is, according to Marx and Engels, the last stage of primary formation, "it can be highly vital mainly because its basis was the agrarian community — an archaic structure, which achieved a harmonic combination of social and private interests of individuals on the basis of predominance of the former (dualism of community)". It is the society of the agrarian statehood, characterized by the despotic form of social power, sacralization of rulers and power, hierarchical structure of the state.

Vitkin showed and brought evidence for the usefulness and indispensability of Marxist concepts of the Orient and the Asiatic way of production. As he overtly states "there could be no correct explanation of teaching of K. Marx and F. Engels on the social formations that would ignore the concept of the Asiatic way of production" (p. 12). I would add that the Marxist analysis of pre-capitalist societies and early state in particular cannot exist without a *horizon*,³ i.e. correct knowledge and interpretation of the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to which Vitkin's book has contributed in a most distinguished manner. Many thanks to him.

Peter Skalník

Desherieva, T. I.: *Yazykoznanie i matematika* (Linguistics and Mathematics). Alma-Ata, Nauka 1973. 84 pp.

In the recent period, Soviet linguists have made a remarkable contribution to the methodological advance of linguistics. The present publication is a witness to what

³ Cf. Godelier, M.: *Horizon, trajets marxistes en anthropologie*. Paris, Maspero 1973.

has been achieved by Soviet scholars in the field of "mathematization" of linguistics, although some attention is paid to work carried out abroad as well.

Gnoseological methods are classified by the author into three categories, i.e. (1) method of dialectic materialism, (2) general scientific methods, (3) particular scientific methods (p. 8). Mathematical methods may be characterized as belonging either to the second or to the third category.

The term "mathematical linguistics" seems to be superfluous and Desherieva stresses that its use is unparalleled in other branches of science.

Altogether Desherieva distinguishes some thirty mathematical methods (pp. 16—17). However, only a couple of them are discussed under four headings, i.e. (1) axiomatic method (pp. 17—29), (2) models (pp. 29—37), (3) statistical, probabilistic methods as well as information theory (pp. 37—52), (4) logical methods (pp. 52—81).

Desherieva's style is clear and easy to follow and therefore the present volume can be read even by those linguists who are not very well versed in mathematics and logic. Thus it may serve as an introduction to this constantly expanding branch of linguistics.

Viktor Krupa

Matematicheskaya lingvistika (Mathematical Linguistics). Volume 1. Kiev, The University Press 1973. 138 pp.

This is Volume One of a new annual issued by the Kiev University and devoted to mathematical linguistics in the wider sense of the word. It includes contributions by linguists from several Ukrainian institutions specializing in linguistics. Most of the authors concentrate upon questions of speech generation, text grammar, mathematical modelling of sentence structure, semantics, and psycholinguistics.

The reviewer is far from being competent to give a fair evaluation of all the sixteen articles. Rather, he will confine his attention to the discussion of those papers that are of a direct relevance for the study of initial phases of speech generation.

A. A. Beletsky (*Semantic Correlations*, pp. 5—13) has launched an attempt to answer the old question of system in vocabulary. He suggests that first of all form and content ought to be distinguished here, in his terminology external and internal form. He stresses that semantically related forms are often formally unrelated, e.g., father — mother, son — daughter, husband — wife, etc. The same is true of antonyms, e.g., big — small, good — bad, etc. Thus, an order, notable for the level of internal form, is contrasted by a lack of order upon the level of external form. The internal form order consists of a set of interrelations holding for the internal forms of semantemes. Such interrelations are termed semantic correlations by the

author (p. 6). Having defined the semantic correlation, Beletsky proceeds to enumerate universal semantic correlations. At the same time, he discusses their relation to their pendants upon the level of elementary logic.

In logic, ideas are classified into (1) compatible and (2) incompatible. Compatible ideas are (1) equipollent, (2) subordinate, (3) coordinate, (4) overlapping. Incompatible ideas, in their turn, may be divided into (1) contrary, (2) contradictory, (3) incomparable.

Compatible ideas are expressed by semantemes that are to some extent synonymous. On the other hand, incompatible ideas coincide with antonymous semantemes.

Beletsky has established the following semantic correlations in his study:

(1) explicit, provided the correlation is manifested both upon formal and semantic levels, e.g., wide — widen, fly — flight;

(2) implicit, provided the correlation is manifest only upon the semantic level, e.g., rose — flower — plant, house — room — wall — floor — ceiling — door — window — roof;

(3) positive, e.g., all listed under (2);

(4) negative, e.g., cold — heat, good — bad, big — small, wide — narrow;

(5) dianomic, i.e. those which take into account whether an idea is expressed by a single word or by several words; they are logically irrelevant. They can be subdivided into:

(a) monomic, e.g., red — blue — yellow, wanderer — wayfarer — traveller;

(b) polynomic (or explicative), e.g., linguistics — science of language, red — one of the seven colours of the rainbow — colour of revolution;

(c) polynomic, e.g., letters of the Russian alphabet — graphemes of the Russian script, William Shakespeare — the author of Hamlet.

Beletsky's paper represents a remarkable contribution to the study of semantics, especially to its formalization. Above all, it supplies us with a simple and useful framework for the componential analysis of meaning.

G. G. Pocheptsov, Junior (*Three Levels of the Semantic Structure of Sentence*, pp. 66—73) points out that there is still a notable lack of interest in the semantics of sentence. According to him, the semantics of sentence can be studied upon the levels of (1) constituents, (2) superstructure, and (3) text. The constituents level can be subdivided into abstract and concrete sublevels. The former includes general semantic models and the latter combinatorics of autonomous lexical units. Upon the superstructure level, the sentence meaning is regarded as an integral whole. The text level comprises sublevels of information novelty and text parts. Then the author proceeds to the discussion of superstructure. This term refers to the meaning of sentence as a whole, i.e. to the meaning that is not derived from the meaning of its constituents. This type of meaning includes the central idea of sentence, indication of possible contexts, and presupposition. Logical accent is just a partial instance of the central idea of sentence. As an elementary instance of the indication of possible

contexts may be cited the unity question — answer. Although the term presupposition is widely discussed, it would deserve more space in Pocheptsov's paper.

Of an unusual importance for the theory of speech generation is the joint article by L. E. Pshenichnaya and T. N. Rylova (*Some Ways of Solving the Contradiction Between the Polydimensionality of Content Level and Linearity of Text Organization*, pp. 80—85). The authors proceed on the valid assumption that texts reflect more or less complex, interrelated situations. That is why the texts display both coherence and internal organization. Put another way, they are connected and structured. Pshenichnaya and Rylova suggest that a complex semantic situation (reflected in a text) be represented as an ordered n -dimensional graph. The latter is a transformation of a semantic vector space. During the process of speech generation, this polydimensional semantic graph is being transformed into a text that is notable for its linearity. The authors stress that linearity is a basic principle in language and its consequences are far-reaching. The whole mechanism of language depends upon it (p. 81). Thus, a contradiction arises between the levels of content and expression. This contradiction manifests itself in the fact that words, related in some way with another word, are frequently removed one from another. As a consequence, immediate relations of those words may be expressed not only within the same sentence, but also in several sentences. However, natural languages dispose of means to express immediate relations between words that are removed one from another in the text. The authors have found out that there is a trend to increase the material means denoting interrelations with the growing distance between the interrelated words. A hypothesis is postulated by the authors that the very existence of sentences is a consequence of the linear organization of text (p. 81). Some of the relations of a word extend inevitably beyond the sentence borders. This means that several sentences may refer to one and the same object. This calls for the task of identifying objects of various sentences. The coherence of text, therefore, depends upon the repetition of object (which may be denoted by several words), as well as upon the existence of linking elements.

An analogous problem is tackled by E. F. Skorokhodko (*An Analysis of Texts with the Application of Speech Semantic Networks*, pp. 97—103). The author defines any two sentences of a text as semantically interrelated provided there is at least one relevant word in the first sentence that would coincide with a certain word in the second sentence. The text is interpreted by Skorokhodko as a graph. The author suggests a formula for the semantic coherence of text

$$C_s = \frac{2n}{t(t - 1)}$$

where n = number of semantically interrelated sentence pairs and t = text length in sentences. Skorokhodko uses his speech semantic network to distinguish fourteen types of semantic structures (e.g. chain structure, circular structure, broken structure, and monolithic structure, etc., p. 101).

In conclusion it may be said that the present volume of *Mathematical Linguistics* contains a wealth of new and refreshing ideas that deserve to be further elaborated, verified, and, if necessary, modified.

Viktor Krupa

Obshchee yazykoznanie. Metody lingvisticheskikh issledovanii (General Linguistics. Methods of Linguistic Investigations). Edited by B. A. Serebrennikov. Moscow, Nauka 1973. 318 pp.

The present monograph has been compiled by a team of Soviet linguists headed by B. A. Serebrennikov. The authors have decided to give preference to methods that have proved to be useful in practice. It is no wonder therefore that the method of genetic comparison takes up a prominent place in the discussion. The geographical linguistics is likewise well represented, which cannot be said of other methods, e.g. of descriptive linguistics, modelling, statistical or transformational approach. The exclusion of those methods that have not advanced beyond an experimental stage deprives the present publication of at least one part of its urgency.

The authors are right when maintaining that all linguistic investigation is based upon the principle of comparison (p. 12). Another useful idea is the proposal to introduce the so-called allogenetic relations of partial affinity into genetic comparison (p. 17). Most illustrative material is from either Indo-European or Uralic languages. In the reviewer's opinion, too much space has been allocated to the discussion of the linguistic geography (pp. 120—167). One chapter deals with the principles and methods of structural analysis (pp. 168—223). A variety of problems are analysed there, e.g., sound and semantic substance, borders of structural units of language, functional classification of language units, hierarchical relations, etc. The section on typology (pp. 224—256) ranks no doubt among the best chapters of the present publication. Here the comparison is again proclaimed to be a universal linguistic device. The last chapter (pp. 257—310) is remarkable for its width of scope. It discusses the theoretical foundations of linguistic methodology as well as its relation to philosophy and, especially, to Marxism. The authors warn against monopolizing any particular linguistic method, since the extraordinary complexity of language requires a combined approach including a variety of concrete methods (p. 259). At the same time, the systemic character of the scientific method is stressed (p. 258). When discussing the external stimuli and their role in linguistic change, the authors stress that Marxism cannot give up investigating causality (p. 282). Therefore, linguists should not ignore external stimuli of linguistic change under the pretext that they are strange to the linguistic structure. Furthermore, the authors warn

against what they term "cybernetization of linguistics" (pp. 297—299) and remind us that the transformational generative grammar does not supply a model of what is going on in the speaker's mind when producing speech (pp. 300—301).

The above-mentioned objections in no way diminish the value of the publication under review. Quite the contrary, this monograph may be recommended to all persons interested in general linguistics.

Viktor Krupa

Universals in Linguistic Theory. Edited by Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms. 2nd Edition. London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1972. 210 pp.

This volume includes a collection of papers read at a symposium that took place at the University of Texas, at Austin in 1967.

All the four papers are witness to considerable changes in linguistic theory toward the end of the sixties. These changes had originated in the Chomskian theory but they have displayed such a rapid growth as to cause substantial modifications of what is known as the transformational generative grammar.

Within the framework of modern linguistics, one can characterize linguistic theory as an attempt to discover what is common to all languages and what are the universal and objective terms that can be used for the description of various languages. In the last few decades, linguists have been trying to find out an objective methodological basis for the description of all languages.

One example is C. J. Fillmore's extensive paper entitled *The Case for Case* (pp. 1—88). In this paper, Fillmore explains his ideas about a universal underlying set of caselike relations that, according to him, play an essential role in determining syntactic and semantic relations in all languages. Fillmore accepts B. L. Whorf's distinction of covert and overt categories. This means stressing the semantic criterion against the formal one.

E. Bach's paper (*Nouns and Noun Phrases*, pp. 91—122) exemplifies that a deep study of a language leads toward, rather than away from "universal grammar".

J. D. McCawley (*The Role of Semantics in a Grammar*, pp. 125—169) suggests that the notion of "deep structure" is actually identical with that of "semantic reading".

Finally, there is P. Kiparsky's contribution (*Linguistic Universals and Linguistic Change*, pp. 171—202) dealing with phonological problems and especially with the relevance of historical change for the adequacy of linguistic theory.

In conclusion, it may be said that although this collection of papers is based upon

Chomskian postulates, it points out to new vistas for linguistic theory and this may be regarded as the greatest merit of the whole book.

Viktor Krupa

Voprosy metalingvistiki (Questions of Metalinguistics). Edited by L. N. Zasorina. Leningrad, University Press 1973. 136 pp.

This collective publication has been issued by the Department of Structural and Applied Linguistics of the Leningrad University.

It is subdivided into three main sections, i.e., General Assumptions (pp. 5—25), Aspects of Language and Speech (pp. 26—76), and Factorization and Description Techniques (pp. 77—136).

In a brief introduction (pp. 3—4), Zasorina surveys the scope of metalinguistics, stressing the semantic aspect of language. The term metalinguistics is suggested to cover linguistic theory and methodology. The authors of various papers concentrate upon the empirical principles of the linguistic theory.

Linguistic investigations are divided by Zasorina into two groups. First, there are investigations concerned with the informational aspects of speech and, second, those concentrating upon the functional aspect of language system (p. 3). The former is external from the point of view of language structure.

The domain of those phenomena which can be investigated by strictly linguistic methods is related to the generative aspect of language. It includes processes of both explication and implication of meaning (p. 4).

Papers published in this volume represent the first approximation to a systematic investigation of both informational and generative aspects of language.

The first section (General Assumptions) consists of a single contribution by Zasorina (*On Some Empirical Principles of Metalinguistics*, pp. 5—25). This is an important paper since the author attempts to evaluate several linguistic schools, especially structural and algebraic linguistics. The former is said to have already exhausted its possibilities, while the latter is notable for its meagre empirical basis that does not very well compare with its elaborate formal apparatus (p. 7). Zasorina is right when maintaining that the cardinal problem of modern linguistics is the relation between language and thought (p. 7). In the near future, linguists will have to pay increasingly more attention to mechanisms of speech production. The latter is, namely, the only form of existence of language and thus the language system is a product of the speech activity.

On p. 17, Zasorina asks herself the following question: "What is the way in which morphemes are created from phonemes? Are there any regularities governing the

creation of meaningful speech units from phonemes?" To the reviewer's knowledge, this question has at least partly been answered, namely, in quite a few papers and books on phonotactics which need not be listed here.

As far as the other two sections are concerned, the reviewer would especially recommend to the readers the contribution by V. N. Moroz (*Utterance Types and the Act of Thought*, pp. 26—42) because of its fresh insight into the deep structure of sentence, as well as that by N. N. Matveeva (*On Kernel Types of Sentences*, pp. 110—118). The latter study ranks among those few works ever published in which the class of so-called kernel sentences is theoretically delineated.

However, the above selection reflects just the reviewer's preferences and personal tastes. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the remaining articles also contain a lot of inspiring ideas.

Viktor Krupa

Wilks, Yorick Alexander: *Grammar, Meaning and the Machine Analysis of Language*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. 198 pp.

Wilks' book may be viewed as one of those works that stress the vital importance of semantics for any valid linguistic description. In the author's own words, the main purpose of this book is "... to describe a system of semantic analysis" (p. 1).

The chief trouble with early machine translation was an insufficient development of the semantic theory. This era of "simple-minded machine translation" is over a long time now. Two new disciplines have grown upon its ruins — computational linguistics and artificial intelligence. The adherents of computational linguistics start from the assumption that what we need is a correct theory of natural language. Wilks maintains that Chomsky's transformational grammar is probably not the most suitable theory either for understanding the structure of natural language or for programming computers. The author proposes a new theory of his own based on notions related to meaning. His new theory is constructed so as to be able to resolve ambiguity of texts. It is a well-known fact that a correct and exhaustive interpretation of a sentence cannot be seen just as a function of the semantic totals of its component words. Sentence meaning is something more than that. Wilks suggests the term template to account for content of utterances or message form. In his Wilks restricts his attention to the problem of the resolution of word-sense publication, ambiguity.

The reviewer agrees readily with the author when maintaining that "... our attention should have shifted by now to creative aspects of language *not* explained

by Chomsky's model..." (p. 53). Wilks attacks Chomsky also because of his intention to present transformational grammar as a scientifico-linguistic theory (p. 66). However, a theory must be formulated so as to be amenable either to confirmation or disconfirmation. As for Chomsky's model, we are authorized to maintain that it does not meet this demand (p. 67).

Unlike Katz and Fodor, Wilks stresses the need to include in semantics not only word-senses but also message-forms, text fragments and semantic compatibility. He also calls, together with McCarthy, for a formalization of the kinds of information conveyed in natural language (p. 95).

A close scrutiny of Wilks' book, as well as of other theoretical works published recently, reveals that in the coming decade or so linguists are going to be preoccupied with two main problems, i.e., that of speech generation process as well as information and meaning formalization.

Viktor Krupa

Zvegintsev, V. A.: *Yazyk i lingvisticheskaya teoriya* (Language and Linguistic Theory). Moscow, The University Press 1973. 248 pp.

The prominent Soviet linguist has selected nine of his papers concerned with the most general questions of linguistic theory for this volume. They are grouped in two parts. The first part includes studies *Relation of Method and Theory in Contemporary Linguistics* (pp. 17—59), *Empirism versus Rationalism in Contemporary American Linguistics* (pp. 60—86), *Linguistics and Nonlinguistics* (pp. 87—130), and *Language and Social Experience* (pp. 131—162). The second part is devoted to the methodology of generative linguistics and comprises five articles, i.e., *Meaning and Sense in the Communicative Activity* (pp. 163—179), *The Status of Deep Structure in Linguistic Theory* (pp. 180—198), *Linguistic Correlates of Scientific Prognoses* (pp. 199—213), *Man and Sign* (pp. 214—232), and *Langue versus Parole as an Expression of the Double Object of Linguistics* (pp. 233—242).

From the first page on, Zvegintsev stresses the crucial role of language in the cognitive processes. Because of this — and other functions as well — linguists are obliged to investigate thoroughly the problems of linguistic theory. Zvegintsev characterizes traditional linguistics as a largely descriptive discipline that seldom leaves the level of method and does not aim at constructing global linguistic theories (p. 9). This is an understandable objection since a theory is not merely a description but an abstraction of the object described plus an appropriate hypothesis. Theory is not torn away from reality, as some would maintain, but it is verified by reality.

Zvegintsev sketches a critical evaluation of two important linguistic theories,

namely those of Hjelmslev and Chomsky. At the same time, he lays the foundations of his own theory of language based upon the speech activity.

Discussing generative grammar, Zvegintsev expresses a view that what is called deep structure is just an operational construct (p. 54). He criticizes generative grammar which pretends to explain the creative aspect of language but in practice turns out to be just a descriptive model (p. 83).

Zvegintsev tries to solve the eternal problem of the limits of linguistics and criticizes the vulgar variety of materialism because of its denial of the role of subjective factor.

The author stresses the vital importance of the speech act in many places. In this light it is sentence and not word that deserves the utmost attention of linguists. The basic difference between word and sentence consists in the fact that the former possesses meaning while the latter carries sense. Sense is built up from meaningful elements (i.e. words) but the sense of an utterance cannot be identified with the sum of meanings of its component words. Thus sentence as well meets the requirements set for a system.

Zvegintsev carefully distinguished meaning from sense. Meaning has to do with words while sense with sentences. It is assumed that one and the same sense can be expressed in several ways. Zvegintsev stresses that paraphrasis is possible only with "senseful" sentences. The possibility of paraphrasis may thus become a criterion for distinguishing acceptable sentences from unacceptable ones. Linguistic meanings are in a way independent of the communication activity and are confined to the limits of the particular languages. That is why they change from one language to another (p. 175). On the other hand, sense is in a way extralinguistic, although it can be expressed only because meanings exist. Each time a word is pronounced, a generation or even "regeneration" of its meaning takes place thanks to its participation in the production of sense. This is why the meaning of a word is relatively stable in language and at the same time very elastic in the process of communication. Zvegintsev thinks that the cognitive activity of brain takes place upon the level of sense because it is here that the creative aspect of language manifests itself (p. 178).

Having discussed the problem of sign, Zvegintsev arrives at the conclusion that language is a system of pure relations or pure meanings; it exists objectively only in its two realizations, i.e., speech and thought (p. 218). Language furnishes speech and thought with discreteness and meanings (p. 228). There is one important difference between the two realizations of language. While the syntax of speech is linear, that of thought is coherent and complex (p. 229). Furthermore, speech (unlike language) is oriented and situationally conditioned; while language displays only two parameters, i.e., syntagmatics and paradigmatics, there is one more in speech, i.e., pragmatics (p. 238).

As the author himself admits, his book leaves a somewhat fragmentary impression. However, this in no way diminishes its importance for the further development

of Soviet linguistics. The wealth of ideas contained in Zvegintsev's book will no doubt be appreciated by linguists from other countries as well.

Viktor Krupa

Lemaître, Yves: *Lexique du tahitien contemporain* (A Dictionary of Contemporary Tahitian). Paris, Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer 1973. 202 pp.

The volume under review is the first up-to-date dictionary of Tahitian. A. Haudricourt is right when maintaining in his short preface that Lemaître's is the first dictionary where Tahitian is correctly written.

The author's aim was not to compile a sort of a thesaurus of Tahitian. Instead, he has produced a dictionary of the present-day spoken language. The users of the dictionary will immediately notice the absence of historical and archaic words and the presence of neologisms and many borrowings from European languages. Thus Lemaître's work is representative of the vocabulary of averagely educated Tahitians.

It is to be appreciated that both vowel quantity and glottal stop are consistently marked throughout the book, the former with a macron and the latter with an apostrophe. Loanwords are written phonemically, i.e., as consisting of such phonemes only that enter into the Tahitian phonemic system.

The introductory section contains a brief survey of Tahitian grammar. Lemaître's description of morphology and syntax is entirely modern and based upon phrase structure grammar which has been applied to various Polynesian languages by B. Biggs, S. H. Elbert and A. K. Pawley.

The total number of entries in the Tahitian-French section (pp. 29—139) is estimated by the reviewer at some 4,000. However, since most entries include more than one lexeme, the number of all Tahitian lexicological units in the dictionary may be as many as some 10,000. The volume contains also a brief French-Tahitian glossary (pp. 141—201).

The reviewer believes that all scholars and students of Tahitian and other Polynesian languages will welcome the appearance of this new dictionary of Tahitian, the need of which has so acutely been felt for many years.

Viktor Krupa

Arakin, V. D.: *Samoanskii yazyk* (The Samoan Language). Moscow, Nauka 1973. 88 pp.

This is another monograph published in the well-known series titled *Languages of the Peoples of Asia and Africa*. As far as the internal structure and organization of the book is concerned, Arakin's monograph adheres rather strictly to the formal canon recommended by the editorial board.

The brief introduction (pp. 9—13) contains information on geographical, historical, and ethnological background, as well as some basic data on Samoan orthography and literature. The next chapter titled *Phonetics* (pp. 14—16) includes a short description of the Samoan phonemic system and some notes on Samoan phonetics. Much more attention has been paid by Arakin to vocabulary and derivative processes (pp. 16—29). The Samoan word stock is divided into several layers (Austronesian, Polynesian, specifically Samoan, etc.). Word structure has been analysed in a fairly exhaustive and detailed way. The problem of the so-called chiefs' language is dealt with in this chapter (pp. 27—29), since it is largely a lexical category, not a morphological one.

Arakin has acquainted himself with all literature available, which is obvious throughout the book, but mainly in the chapter on morphology (pp. 29—67).

Parts of speech as defined in European languages are of no use for Samoan since Samoan words, as a rule, lack any morphological markers. Arakin suggests to apply a set of criteria including (1) semantic type, (2) functioning in sentence, (3) distribution, (4) derivative structure (p. 31). The so-called complex prepositions (pp. 60—61) behave, in fact, like nouns with a defective distribution; therefore, they are usually classed with nouns as a special restricted subclass. This solution is preferable to that adopted by Arakin, since then these so-called local nouns do not reappear again under the heading of adverbs (p. 63).

The term phrase is not used by Arakin in his description of Samoan.

The chapter devoted to syntax (pp. 67—80) comprises an enlightening treatment of various types of syntagms. The structure of simple sentences (pp. 73—77) has been dealt with rather briefly and the same is true of complex sentences (pp. 77—80).

The monograph is furnished with two sample texts (pp. 81—83), with a map of the whole Archipelago (p. 84), and with a bibliography (pp. 85—86).

This volume is a welcome contribution to the still small, but growing Russian literature on the languages of Oceania.

Viktor Krupa

Shumway, Eric B.: *Intensive Course in Tongan*. (PALI Language Texts: Polynesia). Honolulu, The University of Hawaii Press 1973 (Second Printing). 723 pp.

To the reviewer's mind, Shumway's *Intensive Course in Tongan* is the most exhaustive and up-to-date textbook of any Polynesian language. This is due not only to its respectable size, but much more so to the author's brilliant arrangement of the

stuff to be learned. Shumway has divided his course of Tongan into 130 rather short lessons. This facilitates the learning process to a considerable extent. Each lesson consists of the following sections: (1) Goals where grammatical markers and patterns to be learned are explained, (2) Dialogue consisting of short Tongan sentences followed by their English equivalents, (3) Notes concerned with various irregularities, (4) Drills based upon repetition, memorization and substitution, and (5) Vocabulary, listing new lexical items that have occurred in the lesson. The 130 lessons take up the great bulk of the book (some 520 pages).

The last 200 pages are divided into four large sections. Supplementary Materials (pp. 521—590) supply additional information on morphology (affixes, special plural forms, reduplication, pronouns). The second part titled Useful Conversational Material (pp. 591—612) introduces some idiomatic expressions, courtesy language and expressions that might be used by classroom teachers. The next section, Tongan Culture (pp. 613—650), comprises a list of 38 Tongan proverbs, several traditional songs, as well as several word lists classed according to the subject.

Finally, there is a glossary of Tongan words (pp. 651—723). Each entry contains a Tongan lexicological unit, its English equivalent or equivalents and, finally, an indication of the lesson in which it occurs.

This textbook is the result of two and a half years of research and five Peace Corps training projects. Terminology used by the author corresponds to that found in C. Maxwell Churchward's *Tongan Grammar*.

The present volume may be warmly recommended to all those who are seriously interested in mastering the Tongan language.

Viktor Krupa

Fox, C. E.: *Arosi-English Dictionary*; Geerts, P.: *'Āre'āre Dictionary*; McElhanon, K. A.—McElhanon, N. A.: *Selepēt-English Dictionary*; Parker, G. J.: *Southeast Ambrym Dictionary*. Canberra, The Australian National University (Pacific Linguistics Series C, Nos 11, 14, 15, 17) 1970. 406, 186, 144, and 60 pp.

This annotation is concerned with four dictionaries of various languages of the Southeast Pacific. All of them are first lexicographic descriptions of these languages and are of medium to small size.

The dictionary of Arosi, a Melanesian language spoken in the western part of San Cristobal (Solomon Islands), was compiled by Fox many years ago. It is the largest of all four dictionaries and contains some 10,000 entries. Most entries include derivations and grammatical indexes (e.g., gerund, v. intr., pers. pron., caus.). English lexical equivalents are sometimes replaced by descriptions, namely in those

instances when an Arosi word refers to such an object or activity for which there is no simple English equivalent.

Scarcity of linguistic material is typical for the 'Are'are language as well. This Melanesian language is also spoken in the Solomon Islands, to be more precise, in the southern part of Big Malaita and on the north-western end of Small Malaita. The number of entries included in this dictionary amounts to some 4,000. The English glosses are very brief and grammatical characteristics are indicated only in minority of instances. The volume is complemented with an English-'Are'are glossary (pp. 142—185). A map shows the geographical position of the language in the archipelago.

K. A. and N. A. McElhanon have compiled a dictionary of Selepet. The data were collected by the authors during 1964—1969 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University. Selepet is a Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) language spoken in the Morobe District (Territory of New Guinea). The introduction includes a sketch of Selepet phonology, morphophonemics, and a list of abbreviations. The latter refer to grammatical features and are very useful in the text because Selepet is notable for a highly complicated grammar. Some 4,000 entries comprise numerous explanations and examples where necessary. The authors have included a bibliography relating to the Selepet language in general (p. XXI). No English-Selepet glossary is included in the volume.

G. J. Parker's *Southeast Ambrym Dictionary* likewise includes a brief sketch of grammar that is fairly complex in this Melanesian language spoken in the New Hebrides. The vocabulary lists some 1,800 lexemes collected by the author in 1967—1968. Each entry contains a grammatical index, an English gloss and sometimes derivations of the word listed in the entry. An English-Southeast Ambrym Finder List (pp. 45—60) complements the book.

All the four volumes represent a useful contribution to our knowledge of the vast Melanesian area.

Viktor Krupa

Benton, Richard A.: *Spoken Pangasinan*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. x1 + 690 pp.

Benton, Richard A.: *Pangasinan Reference Grammar*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. xxv + 260 pp.

Benton, Richard A.: *Pangasinan Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. xvi + 313 pp.

Benton's three volumes represent a complete series on Pangasinan developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii. Although each volume can be used separately, they complement

each other to a certain extent. A common feature of the set is, in the first place, a detailed introduction. Further, all the three volumes follow an orthography in which many words of Spanish origin are spelled as in Spanish while others, especially old borrowings, are not. Only in the dictionary, Spanish *e* is replaced by *E* as a guide to pronunciation. This results in quite a few double spellings, e.g. *antiójos* in the textbook versus *antióhos* in the dictionary, meaning eyeglasses. A similar problem arises with *ñg* and *ng* (one phoneme in Pangasinan). Writing of capitals should likewise be unified, especially with the names of week days and months (e.g. *Viernes* and other days in the textbook, *viérnes* in the dictionary; *abril* in a Pangasinan-English section of the dictionary, *Abril* in an English-Pangasinan Index). Stress is marked consistently in all volumes, which is an excellent aid for the student of Pangasinan where stress is phonemic.

The textbook is a basic course in speaking and reading Pangasinan and comprises thirty-three units (pp. 1—579). Each unit contains a Pangasinan section and an English commentary. The former is further subdivided into four parts, namely a dialogue, a text for reading (except in Unit I), drill exercises, and supplementary materials. It is written exclusively in Pangasinan. The Pangasinan section is complemented by an English commentary. There is a complete (or almost complete) literal translation of the dialogues in the first thirteen units. Dialogues in subsequent units are treated in this way only partly. There is a vocabulary list at the end of each unit as well as brief grammatical notes and explanations.

The textbook is supplemented by Index to Substitution Drill (pp. 580—590), Index to Lexical Unit (pp. 591—681) and Glossary to Technical Terms (pp. 682—690).

In his *Reference Grammar* the author explains various aspects of the Pangasinan language. He gives careful and objective explanations of linguistic terms and assumes that most readers will have an opportunity to communicate with native speakers of Pangasinan. Contacts with native Pangasinan speakers are required especially for a full understanding of the section on phonology.

The grammatical section consists of phonology (pp. 1—40), morphology (pp. 41—154) and syntax (pp. 155—228). It is followed by three appendices. In the first appendix, the affixes are listed, with references to the section or sections of the grammar. The second appendix contains keys to exercises, both from English to Pangasinan and vice versa. The third appendix includes miscellaneous lexical items (e.g. personal pronouns, basic numerals, verbal affixes). Basic vocabulary at the end of the book is compiled on Swadesh 200-word list.

The dictionary comprises two parts, viz. a Pangasinan-English dictionary (pp. 1—184) and an English-Pangasinan index (pp. 185—313).

The first part lists over 3,000 word roots, the second one nearly 3,000 entries. The entries in the Pangasinan-English section are arranged according to word roots, with derivations added. The vast majority of the entries consists of simple roots. The use of particular words and affixes is exemplified both in the textbook and

Reference Grammar. Here, only a brief paradigm illustrating some major verbal affixes appears.

The books under review are compiled in a fresh way and can certainly encourage students to learn the Pangasinan language. The reviewer believes that they will be of a great help to general linguists as well. They might serve as model descriptions for other Philippine languages.

Jozef Genzor

Constantino, Ernesto: *Ilokano Reference Grammar*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 42 pp.

Constantino, Ernesto: *Ilokano Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 504 pp.

The books under review written by Professor Constantino form part of materials for Ilokano (the third book, *Ilokano Lessons* by Bernabe, Lapid, and Sibayan, was reviewed in the previous volume of the present Annual). All these materials have been developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii.

The tiny book is a very brief outline of the grammar of Ilokano, one of the major languages of the Philippines. A few pages are devoted to Ilokano phonology and the rest deals with syntax. Morphology has been omitted entirely from the book, which thus hardly deserves to be titled a reference grammar.

As for the dictionary, it comprises about 7,000 entries. The entries are sometimes not only translated but are equipped by an explanation. Many of them are illustrated by Ilokano sentences. Variants and synonyms are also given. Homophonous forms are indicated by raised numbers before the entries.

Words of foreign origin in Ilokano are indicated by an abbreviation of the source language in square brackets. They refer, however, solely to borrowings from Spanish, English, and Tagalog, the latter being quoted only in two cases, namely *huk* and *kamuting-kahay*. It must be stated that the origin of particular words is marked in an inconsistent way. Some of the evident borrowings from Spanish are not listed as such, e.g. *bulsa* (pocket), *dama* (draughts, checkers), *kalbo* (bald), *lampara* (lamp), *miembro* (member of an organization, association, union, etc.), *palda* (skirt), *pipino* (cucumber), *silbato* (whistle), *suekus* (wooden shoe), *tarampo* (top — a toy), etc. from Spanish *bolsa*, *dama*, *calvo*, *lámpara*, *miembro*, *falda*, *pepino*, *silbato*, *zueco*, *trompo*.

Some words of Spanish origin are followed by a question mark in square brackets although there can be no doubt as far as their provenience is concerned. This is the

case, e.g., with *bokal* (a provincial board member), *intrimitida* (inquisitive, observant, curious), *para* (for, on behalf of), *pitson* (squab, young of a pigeon or dove), *prasko* (bottle larger than a soft drink bottle), all of them from Spanish *vocal*, *entremetida*, *para*, *pichón* and *frasco*.

There are words erroneously indicated as borrowings from English despite their Spanish provenience, e.g. *autor* (author), *barnis* (varnish, shellac), *birhinia* (Virginia tobacco), *estudio* (studio), *gerilya* (guerilla), *pupular* (popular), *situasion* (situation), *suskripsion* (subscription) — their Spanish equivalents are: *autor*, *barniz*, *virginia*, *estudio*, *guerrilla*, *popular*, *situación*, *suscripción*. On the other hand, one can hardly believe that *balediktorian* (valedictorian) and *pulis* (policeman) are from Spanish rather than from English *valedictorian* and *police*.

Some entries contain cross-references but they refer to words that are not listed in the dictionary, as is the case, e.g. of words *don*, *donya*. These contain references to *senyor*, *senyora* which are missing from the dictionary; *rebulto* is explained only as a variant of *bulto* but *bulto* is missing. The users of the dictionary would also appreciate if the stress would be marked throughout the volume.

In short, despite this reviewer's comments, Constantino has done a commendable job in presenting important material in his dictionary, which could be interesting for all linguists engaged in Austronesian linguistics. However, the unfortunate slips listed above detract somewhat from the technical value of the dictionary.

Jozef Genzor

Mintz, Malcolm W.: *Bikol Text*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971.
1v + 706 pp.

Mintz, Malcolm W.: *Bikol Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971.
x + 1012 pp.

The two books under review, together with *Bikol Grammar Notes* written by the same author (reviewed in Asian and African Studies X), represent a complete series on Bikol. The whole set has been developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute of the University of Hawaii.

Right at the beginning it must be stated that the textbook includes no grammar notes. For that reason the student is obliged to use the *Bikol Grammar Notes* together with the text. The user is warned concerning this fact already in the Preface to the textbook. This is one of the disadvantages of the book, although it is destined to be used under a teacher's guidance. Vocabulary is simple, taken from everyday conversational usage. Lessons do not contain many new words but the emphasis is

correctly laid on the verb. That is why having mastered the course, the student can easily enlarge his knowledge provided he will have an opportunity to spend some time in a Bikol speaking area.

Howard P. McKaughan, the Editor, has written the Preface, and together with the author, A Brief Teacher's Guide. This is followed by an Introduction comprising some general and technical remarks. The bulk of the book is divided into three parts, Phonology (pp. 17—55), Lessons (pp. 57—526), and Dialogues (pp. 527—658). Besides, there is an Appendix with ten songs, Glossary and Index, at the end of the book. The Bikol language (or, to be more precise, languages) is dialectically very much differentiated and, here, the standard Bikol dialect of Naga City is applied (naturally, the same is accepted in the two companion volumes, too).

The section on phonology contains a description of the Bikol orthography and the sound system of the language. It also includes pronunciation drills and recognition tests. The orthography used in Mintz' materials is essentially based on the spelling system of Pilipino. Only borrowed words from English, not yet absorbed into Bikol, are written in English spelling.

The subject-matter is divided into seven units, which in their turn, comprise varying numbers of lessons. On the whole, there are 121 short lessons. Stress is marked throughout the lessons, except for drills (however, newly introduced items have it).

Part III contains 297 dialogues (some of them are monologues) which make an integral part of the textbook. They should be taught along with lessons. The stress is marked consistently excepting in some complementing questions.

The introductory parts of the *Bikol Dictionary* are the same as in the textbook, which may be regarded as redundant. This concerns especially the Introduction (general section, sections on alphabet, orthography and sounds in Bikol; the only modifications are alternate writing of capital and small letters).

The spelling policy is the same as in the textbook, i.e. only borrowed words from English not fully adopted into Bikol are written in English orthography and are followed here by the abbreviation (E).

Entries contain stylistic qualifications (whether the word is used in literature, slang, etc.) but in relatively few cases only. In the first place, the conversational usage is emphasized in the dictionary. Homophonous forms are marked in Part I with numbers. Masculine and feminine endings are also indicated. Some entries are provided with examples.

The dictionary is divided into two parts. Part I Bikol-English (pp. 45—491) contains about 7,000 entries, Part II English-Bikol (pp. 493—1012) over 14,000 entries.

In conclusion, it can be said that the *Bikol Dictionary* is the most valuable volume of the series and will be especially appreciated by linguists, while the textbook would need some revision.

Jozef Genzor

Mirikitani, Leatrice T.: *Speaking Kapampangan*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. xi + 971 pp.

This textbook has been developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii. The complete series on Kapampangan still include two companion volumes: *Kapampangan Grammar Notes* and *Kapampangan Dictionary*, both compiled by Michael L. Forman (reviewed in the previous number of the Asian and African Studies).

The dialect in which exercises are given is that of San Fernando City, Pampanga. The author explains the subject-matter in fifty lessons (pp. 1—799), two of them being review lessons (Nos 6 and 19). These lessons are divided into seven parts (i.e. Structural Content, Conversational Context, Drill I, Situational Dialogue, Drill II, Structural and Cultural Notes, Vocabulary) from which the first half (viz. parts 1—3) covers the basic and essential structures in Kapampangan. The second half includes additional grammatical and cultural information; in fact, its aim is to help generating new material on the basis of the more elementary parts. Each exercise contains fluent translations except for those in part 6 where these alternate with literal ones. The author concentrates upon the colloquial Kapampangan. So, grammar is explained, above all, in practical usage. (Linguistic explanation is given in *Kapampangan Grammar Notes*.) Verbs with their tenses and aspects are complex and important, as is usual in all Philippine languages, and, they are dealt with adequately in the textbook.

The supplementary materials, ten lessons (pp. 800—851), include useful classroom expressions and additional dialogues necessary in everyday conversation (e.g. buying, visiting, asking directions). They are equipped with fluent translations into English. Only the tenth lesson contains a literal translation.

Though lessons ought to be taught by a teacher, yet it would be proper for accent as well as vowel length to be marked. This might have been done at least in Kapampangan-English Glossary for the sake of a better and more rapid orientation of the students. This kind of information would be especially useful in parts 4—7 of each lesson (despite the use of modern aids, e.g. language laboratory, tape recorder). The author advises students to imitate their teacher, as far as intonation, rhythm, stress and vowel length is concerned. But, in spite of her advice to rely on oral work and her statement that accent and length are missing in the book, she had to indicate the vocalic quantity in at least a few specific cases — principally in verbs, i.e. to help distinguish between continuing and future tenses that differ only as to the vowel length (e.g. *māmasa* ~ *mamasā*). Otherwise, length is marked only sporadically (e.g. *anak* — child ~ *ānak* — children).

The student who will carefully go through the reviewed textbook can be sure to acquire a solid basis for understanding and speaking the language. *Speaking Kapam-*

pangan (together with its companion volumes) forms a model series on one of the major languages of the Philippines. Linguists will find it very useful in many respects.

Jozef Genzor

Motus, Cecile L.: *Hiligaynon Lessons*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. xxiii + 430 pp.

Wolfenden, Elmer P.: *Hiligaynon Reference Grammar*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 238 pp.

Motus, Cecile L.: *Hiligaynon Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. xxx + 305 pp.

The materials under review (consisting of a textbook, grammar and dictionary) represent a complete series on Hiligaynon and have been developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii.

The textbook includes twelve units. The latter are in their turn divided into 54 lessons (pp. 1—339). Their number varies in each unit. Units I and II contain, besides, six supplementary lessons. The core of each lesson is composed of dialogues which are short and simple, but authentic. They may help the student to achieve basic conversational habits. Grammatical explanations and vocabulary lists are given in each lesson. Cultural notes and cumulative dialogues and exercises appear in several lessons. The former give brief accounts of Hiligaynon life and institutions or linguistic nuances, the latter two contain samples of native conversation. A glossary (Hiligaynon-English) follows (pp. 341—373). Among Supplementary Materials (pp. 375—430) one can find additional vocabulary lists, a brief introduction to Hiligaynon phonology, written exercises and reading exercises, songs, poems, etc.

The book is intended chiefly for the classroom but it can also be used by autodidacts. After mastery of the book is achieved, one can acquire a solid basis for further improvement in Hiligaynon.

The *Reference Grammar* is based on the speech of Iloilo City and presents a description of the grammatical structure of Hiligaynon. The particular constructions are illustrated with examples. The description consists of phonology (pp. 7—37), morphology (pp. 39—155) and syntax (pp. 157—237). The interpretation is well balanced and is presented in a lucid way. Although the grammar is intended to assist *Hiligaynon Lessons*, it may be used independently. The author has concentrated on describing constructions as revealed by grammatical markers. Less effort has been devoted to delimiting the classes of items that occur in the constructions.

The dictionary comprises some 3,500 entries. There is a brief sketch of Hiligaynon grammar which facilitates orientation. Almost every verb is exemplified by a sentence example. Stress, phonemic in Hiligaynon, is marked with an acute sign on every entry, which in turn, includes a grammatical classification (whether it is a noun, verb, adjective, etc.). The dictionary lists not only autosemantic words but also some affixes and formatives, especially the more common ones. Some of the English explanations are descriptive, even when superfluous (e.g. *kerida* — mistress, a woman with whom a man cohabitates without the advantage of marriage). Loanwords are not marked as such.

There is no doubt that these materials on Hiligaynon will be useful both to those interested in acquiring a speaking ability in Hiligaynon as well as to linguists, especially to those engaged in Austronesian linguistic studies.

Jozef Genzor

Ramos, Teresita V. — Guzman de, Vide: *Tagalog for Beginners*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971. 863 pp.

The book under review is one of the independent volumes of the series on Tagalog, developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii. The other two volumes, namely *Tagalog Structures* and *Tagalog Dictionary*, both compiled by Teresita V. Ramos, were reviewed in the previous volume of the Annual.

Forty-four pages are taken up by the Introduction. It contains a variety of useful remarks on the Tagalog language, on the text proper, especially notes to the teacher and explanations of the symbols used in the text.

The text is organized into nine units (pp. 45—606) discussing major grammatical constructions. Each unit consists of four to eleven lessons, totalling 56 lessons, which in their turn comprise cycles, various drills, a cumulative dialogue or short dialogues, a vocabulary list, and grammar notes. In some units, notes on Tagalog culture are inserted. In a few cases reading and writing exercises are included. It is very helpful that verb roots are separated from their affixes (by means of hyphens and parentheses) in the vocabulary lists. This arrangement enables the student an easy orientation in the Tagalog word structure. Marking of word stress and glottal stop (predominantly in the cycles, vocabulary lists and Glossary) is another creditable feature of the book.

Seven appendices (pp. 607—804) supplement the lessons. They list vocabulary items in terms of their semantic categorization (e.g. nationalities, professions and

occupations, parts of the human body, parts of the house, tools, foodstuffs, flora, fauna, colours, numerals, units of measure, time expressions, kinship terms); useful expressions for various occasions; twelve pronunciation lessons; four charts helping to understand better the inflection system of Tagalog verbs; various sample exercises eliciting new grammatical information; samples of oral and written tests; native songs (the national anthem and 12 popular songs). However, in Appendix I (subgroup Nationalities) it would be desirable to enlarge the list of items and to add feminine endings (as is the case in the subgroup Professions and Occupations) as well as to add the forms: *Austrálian*; *Australiáno/a* or *Austrálýan*; *Australiáno/a*, *Kanadyáno/a*, *Haponés/a* to items *Ostralyáno*, *Kanéydiyan* and *Hapón*.

Glossary (pp. 805—863) contains 1,350 vocabulary entries, i.e. all words introduced in the lessons. Each entry includes an abbreviation marking its word classification. Conjugated verbs are cross-referenced to their infinitive forms. An Arabic numeral indicates the lesson in which an entry appears.

Tagalog for Beginners is an elementary textbook and after mastering it, the student will be able to communicate in the language. He will achieve a solid knowledge of some 2,000 words used in a variety of useful sentence types. The textbook is destined for a classroom, but it can be used with some effort by an autodidact, too. Its appearance will be appreciated by all those who are interested in Austronesian linguistics and in this most important of the Philippine languages. It is a suitable starting-point for gaining a deeper knowledge of Tagalog.

Jozef Genzor

Prentice, D. J.: *The Murut Languages of Sabah*. Canberra, The Australian National University (Pacific Linguistics, Series C, No. 18) 1971. xi + 311 pp.

The indigenous languages of Sabah form a part of the Philippine hesion in the huge family of the Austronesian languages. The area of the present-day Sabah is linguistically little investigated or even unknown. That is why the book under review is a serious contribution to the study of the languages, dialects and subdialects spoken in the state.

The Murut languages are subdivided into Lowland Murut, Highland Murut, Okolod Murut and Salalir Murut. The author works with the material from one of the Lowland Murut dialects, namely Timugon and the data collected and analysed are taken from its Poros subdialect.

The book is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 1 is introductory, with general and linguistic background of the investigated area. Chapter 9 presents three texts (two of them are folktales, one is part of a conversation). Each text is supplemented

by a short commentary as well as a summary of its contents. Then the text proper is equipped with literal and fluent translations. Chapter 10 deals with brief descriptions of other Murut languages.

Phonology, morphology and syntax of Timugon are analysed in chapters 2—8 (pp. 13—240). The author adheres to the tagmemic approach suggested by Kenneth Pike. This is betrayed by his terminology and order of explanation. One shortcoming of this approach is an excessive use of complex abridgments which make the grammatical explanation hard to follow. Semantics is excluded from the scope of this work.

There is a bibliography and a map of the Murut language group in the book.

It is very important to put down languages of this type. As a rule they are exposed to pressure of more prestigious language (or languages) and thus liable to rapid changes. Moreover, in a case like this changes are speeded up by the similar phonological structure of Malay.

The present book will be of considerable help to all linguists engaged in the study of Philippine languages.

Jozef Genzor

Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia. Collected Journal Articles of Harry J. Benda. Yale University Southeast Asia Studies Monograph Series No. 18. New Haven, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies 1972. 306 pp.

The book under review is a selection of Harry J. Benda's articles dealing with problems of the history of Southeast Asia that appeared over a period of some fifteen years in various, mostly American, journals. The greater part of the articles can be grouped along five main themes: Islam in Indonesia, continuity and change in Indonesian history, Intelligentsias as political élites, peasant movements in Southeast Asia and Asian Communism.

1. The problems of Indonesian Islam are discussed in the following articles: *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia* (The Journal of Modern History, 1958, pp. 83—92; the pagination refers to the present edition, not to the former one of the journals), *Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942—1945* (Pacific Affairs, 1955, pp. 37—49) and *Continuity and Change in Indonesian Islam* (Asian and African Studies: Annual of the Israel Oriental Society, 1965, pp. 170—185).

This last article (pp. 170—185) is a considerable revaluation of the author's previous opinions concerning the differences in Indonesian Islam. While in his earlier works he considered the difference between "abangan" and "santri" to be

conditioned by the socio-economic factors, in the present article this difference is explained in ethnical terms. Thus, the author speaks about two basic groups in Indonesian Islam: that of the Outer Islands, progressive and dynamic with a sense of entrepreneurial activity, and, in contrast to it, the conservative, syncretic Islam of Java in which the residues of Hindu-Javanese past are clearly discernible.

This simplified and inexact division was the subject of various criticism [cf. A. I. Ionova, *Sovremennoe indoneziiskoe muslimanskoe dvizhenie v istoriografii SSSR*. In: *Istochnikovedenie i istoriografiya stran Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (The Contemporary Muslim Movement in the Historiography of the U.S.A. In: Textual History and Historiography of Southeast Asia), Moscow, Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1971, pp. 205—221, who criticizes Benda's theory as being essentially an apology of the dissident rebellions in the late fifties and its leaders, partly Masjumists].

2. The same article also belongs to the series of papers dealing with continuity and change in Indonesian history. Here can be ranged: *Tradition und Wandel in Indonesien* (Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, 1963, pp. 154—161), *Democracy in Indonesia* (The Journal of Asian Studies, 1964, pp. 162—169) and *Decolonization in Indonesia: The Problem of Continuity and Change* (American Historical Review, 1965, pp. 205—220).

Benda's views concerning his conception of continuity and change are made explicit in *Democracy in Indonesia* (pp. 162—169), which is a polemic with Feith's conception of Indonesian history and that of current Western historiography in general. According to Benda, the main fault of the works dealing with the modern history of Indonesia is their methodological approach that can be defined as "Europocentrism" or "automatic historical parallelism". This approach is based upon an "unwarranted belief that all societies are essentially similar" (p. 164). Thus, the developments in Sukarno's Indonesia have been interpreted as a violent interruption of the promising evolution towards bourgeois democracy, but this applies only when the recent history of Indonesia is being considered. In a contrary manner, Benda suggests Indonesian history to be understood in terms of historical continuity, "as a selective process of adopting resurgent continuity to a changing reality" (p. 219).

The articles *Tradition und Wandel in Indonesien* (pp. 154—161) and *Decolonization in Indonesia: The Problem of Continuity and Change* (pp. 205—220) are examples of the method implied. The troubled development in Indonesia under the "guided democracy" is presented as a return to a genuine Indonesian evolution.

3. The third set of articles deals with the role of intellectuals in political élites of the developing countries. Besides articles presenting rather general view of the problem, such as *Non-Western Intelligentsias as Political Elites* (The Australian Journal of Politics and History, 1960, pp. 93—106) and *Intellectuals and Politics in Western History* (Bucknell Review, 1961, pp. 107—120), we find here one more Southeast Asia-oriented paper: *Political Elites in Colonial Southeast Asia: An*

Historical Analysis (Comparative Studies in Society and History, 1965, pp. 186—204).

Benda divides political élites of the developing countries into “traditional ruling classes” and “new ruling groups” composed of “intelligentsia”, i.e., western-trained intellectuals and military leaders. The most characteristic trait of these “new ruling groups” is that they wield political power “as intelligentsias, rather than as spokesmen for entrenched social forces” (p. 97). They are not a product of organic social growth, but rather a product of alien education, they form, therefore, an isolated social group in society, trying to realize their own western-derived aims in their conservative social environment.

The above-mentioned independence of the rule of “intelligentsia” can be considered ideal rather than real. Benda underestimates the economic factors which cause that in many developing countries the “intelligentsias”, unable efficiently to control national economy, are confined to keeping a problematic balance between antagonistic social forces.

4. The article *Peasant Movements in Colonial Southeast Asia* (Asian Studies, 1965, pp. 221—235) deals with the long neglected chapter of the history of Southeast Asia to which Benda assignes a great importance. He characterizes peasant movements as “reactions to social *malaise* as often as not backward-looking, and whose goal usually was the recreation of an imaginary state of primordial past tranquility, of social *stasis*” (p. 276). Thus, Benda opposes those historians who considered peasant movements to be an expression of their anti-colonial attitude, and also those who spoke about their entire loyalty toward the colonial rulers. Benda then illustrates his thesis (in a not entirely persuasive way) on the example of four peasant rebellions of the thirties: Samin movement, Saya San rebellion, the Vietnamese uprisings of Nghe An and the so-called Sakdal rebellion of 1935 in Central Luzon.

To the Samin movement refers, in a more detailed way, the article *The Samin Movement* (Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1969, pp. 269—302) written in collaboration with Lance Castles.

5. The next articles treat the problem of Asian Communism *The Communist Rebellions of 1926—1927 in Indonesia* (The Pacific Historical Review, 1955, pp. 23—36), *Communism in Southeast Asia* (The Yale Review, 1955, pp. 50—62) and *Reflections on Asian Communism* (The Yale Review, 1966, pp. 253—268).

In the first two articles Benda’s opinions do not differ too much from the commonly accepted views of many Western politicians of the period of the Cold War. This may be said about the reasons he gives to explain the growing penetration of socialist ideas in the widest strata of Asian society and still more of his more or less pronounced conviction that Communism in Southeast Asia must be halted. Different views are uttered by the author in his *Reflections on Asian Communism* that purport in a denunciation of growing American involvement in Vietnam.

There are some articles that cannot be ranged in any of the above groups. The most remarkable of them is *The Structure of Southeast Asian History: Some Prelim-*

nary Observations (Journal of Southeast Asian History, 1962, pp. 121—153). Here, the author proposes his solutions to some methodological problems of the history of Southeast Asia.

The article *Indonesia* (The Australian Outlook, 1950, pp. 1—22) is a historical survey comprising the period from the beginning of the Dutch colonization to the Hague Conference.

In *The Beginnings of the Japanese Occupation of Java* (The Far Eastern Quarterly, 1956, pp. 63—82) the changes during the early months of the Japanese occupation are evaluated, the most remarkable of them being, in the author's opinion, the increased participation of Indonesians in political and social life on Java.

The last article *The Pattern of Administrative Reforms in the Closing Years of Dutch Rule in Indonesia* (The Journal of Asian Studies, 1966, pp. 236—252) shows, in contrast to a generally accepted view, the relative unimportance of Indonesian nationalism in the closing years of the Dutch colonial rule.

The book is completed with a Bibliography of Harry J. Benda's works (pp. 303—306) and, last but not least, with an introductory Appreciation of Harry J. Benda's personality and work by Robin W. Winks (vii-xii).

Štefan Fatura

Peacock, James L.: *Indonesia: An Anthropological Perspective*. Goodyear Regional Anthropology Series. Pacific Palisades, California, Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc. 1973. 168 pp.

This book represents a somewhat nontraditional introductory survey of Indonesian problems. The author himself characterizes it in the introduction as "a mixture of history, anthropology and travelogue". "More attention is paid" in this book "to Indonesian prehistory, tribal or ethnic diversity, and sociocultural patterning than in the typical historical survey. More attention is given to history and national life than in the typical anthropological survey. Several chapters, especially the last, include first-hand impressions based on recent travel and research in the archipelago".

A major part of the book (seven out of twelve chapters, pp. 7—93) is devoted to history. Indonesian history, as interpreted by Professor Peacock, is, above all, a history of structural changes in the society. In a wide take outlined in rough traits, embracing Indonesian history from antiquity down to modern times, the author delves deep for the causes of these changes and seeks the driving forces conditioning the course of Indonesian history. He finds them to reside between the enterprising progressive component represented by the "coastal kingdoms" and the conservative one represented by the "inland". This contrast which had evolved already in the early period of Indonesian history, went through numerous changes in the course of its historical evolution (the author underlines mainly the influence of Islam and of

the Dutch colonization), however, its essence did not alter and finds an expression in the well-known antagonism between *abangan* and *santri*. Political pendants of *abangan* and *santri* in the postrevolutionary history of Indonesia are "problem solvers" and "solidarity makers". In this sense, Suharto's coming to power is interpreted as a triumph of the "problem solvers" signifying a return of Indonesia to the values of Western civilization. This approach is essentially the erstwhile "lookout for the bourgeois" under Indonesian conditions (to use Benda's term) with all the drawbacks which Harry J. Benda points out.

The next two chapters are concerned with ethnographic problems (pp. 94—134). In view of the historical orientation of the book, the author deals mainly with those nations that played an important role in the history and social development of Indonesia: the Javanese, Balinese, Toba Batak, Minangkabau, Atjehnese, Makassarese, Buginese, Mabonese and Chinese. Alongside these, however, the author devotes some measure of attention also to some more remote societies from Borneo, the New Guinea and the Lesser Sundas. These two chapters enable at least a partial insight into the interesting and complex problems of nationality diversity which represents one of the determining traits of Indonesian history.

In contrast to these two, the last chapter (pp. 135—152) dwells rather on the features that concur in uniting Indonesia. Among these, the author singles out common patterns of urban culture, the educational system, religious traditions and further items, such as food, sport, dress, etc. Here the author makes use of his observations and notes collected during his stay on two occasions in Indonesia, full of interesting insights that betray the author's ability to see far more behind apparent details than does the average visitor.

On the whole, the book is a successful introduction into the problems and issues facing Indonesia. It presents in a balanced proportion the most important items as regards the geography, history, ethnography and culture of the country, but brings also insights into modern Indonesia that give an idea of the contemporary development of the region. The author has provided an Index (pp. 162—168) and an Annotated Bibliography (pp. 153—156) listing the most important works on the topic published in the English language, and a Glossary (pp. 157—161) of the most important terms referring to 'things Indonesian'. Thanks to its wide orientation, the book provides the layman, for whom it is primarily destined, with a broader and more compact picture of the Indonesian problems than the traditional introductions generally geared to only certain aspects.

Štefan Fatura

Nguyen Dong Chi: *Kho tang truyen co tich Viet-nam* (Ecrin des vieilles légendes vietnamiennes). Tomes I et II, a leur 4^e édition corrigée et complétée. Hanoï, Edition des Sciences Sociales 1972. 305 + 315 pp.

Les deux tomes se rapportent à la première édition de cette série qui avait paru sous le titre *Luoc khao ve than thoai Viet-nam (Esquisse des mythes vietnamiens)* en 1957.

Au début, l'auteur traite de la recherche et de l'élucidation du développement historique des légendes en général, les classifie selon son propre système et relève les particularités idéologiques-artistiques et la valeur des légendes vietnamiennes. Celles-ci sont traitées sur le principe comparativiste (quand le contenu, ou une partie d'une légende se rencontre aussi dans une autre légende, ou même dans une légende d'une autre nationalité).

La présente édition est plus riche, supplémentée de beaucoup de légendes obtenues en différentes manières au Vietnam et à l'étranger.

Un intérêt spécial est présenté par les parties où l'auteur prête son attention aux relations de la légende aux autres formes prosaïques et où il analyse en premier lieu la relation entre la légende, l'histoire et le roman.

Il convient de noter la manière dont il résout la question de la paternité, de l'origine et la fin ou disparition de la légende.

Au point de vue de son contenu, cette publication est vraiment un écrin l'ancienne histoire et culture du Vietnam.

Ján Múčka

Anthologie de la littérature vietnamienne. Tome I. dès origines au XVII^e siècle. Hanoï, Editions en langues étrangères 1972. 335 pp.

La maison Editions en langues étrangères de Hanoï est bien connue de ce qu'elle fournit au public mondial non seulement les travaux ayant rapport aux problèmes contemporains du Vietnam, mais aussi des œuvres de valeur sur la littérature vietnamienne. Une d'elles est aussi le 1^{er} tome de *l'Anthologie de la littérature vietnamienne* (couvrant la période à partir du commencement du 17^e siècle), élaborée et traduite en français par un collectif d'auteurs: Nguyen Khac Vien, Nguyen Van Hoan, Huu Ngoc, Vu Dinh Lien et Tao Trang, en coopération avec Françoise Corrèze.

L'anthologie est prévue pour sept tomes, qui doivent comprendre les époques et les thèmes suivants: tome II — littérature du 18^e et la première moitié de 19^e siècle, tome III — la seconde moitié du 19^e et les commencements du 20^e siècle (jusqu'au l'an 1945), tome IV — la période de 1945—1970, tomes V et VI — la littérature populaire et le folklore, tome VII — la littérature des minorités nationales.

Tome I montre des spécimens du 10^e jusqu'au 17^e siècles. Il ne s'agit que de la production vietnamienne artificielle (nationalité Kinh) avec des extraits des œuvres

écrites en chinois classique et en écriture nationale *chu nom*. Puisque la majorité des œuvres de la littérature vietnamienne classique avait été détruite au cours des occupations diverses (les Mongols, les Chams, les Mings), et un grand nombre de textes anciens se trouvent encore dispersés dans les familles, cette anthologie ne pourrait guère prétendre à être complète.

Le livre débute par une introduction relativement étendue, qui présente une revue de la littérature vietnamienne de la période indiquée. Il rapporte les résultats des recherches archéologiques vietnamiens, traite du royaume de Van Lang (du 3^e siècle antérieurement à notre ère appelé «Au Lac»), de l'organisation économique et politique de l'état vietnamien, de buddhisme comme la première religion d'état, de la lutte idéologique entre le buddhisme et le confucianisme répandu plus tard jusqu'au début du 15^e siècle, l'époque où le confucianisme est devenu la doctrine officielle au Vietnam.

La partie La langue et l'écriture vietnamiennes, analyse du point de vue linguistique la question de la nation vietnamienne en tant qu'une ethnie, présente la caractéristique linguistique de la langue vietnamienne et des autres langues apparentées de l'Asie du Sud-est et leur classification. Les auteurs prêtent une attention assez détaillée aussi au problème de l'écriture nationale *chu nom* et *chu quoc ngu*.

De l'époque Ly-Tran (10^e—14^e siècle) attention est due à l'*Edit Royal sur le transfert de la capitale* (*Thien do chieu*), par lequel le fondateur de la dynastie Ly Thai To transfère la capitale à Thang Long (le présent Hanoï), et à la *Proclamation aux officiers et soldats* (*Hich tuong si*) du célèbre héros national du Vietnam, Tran Hung Dao qui au 13^e siècle remporta la victoire sur les Mongols.

Le personnage le plus important de la période du 15^e au 17^e siècle est certainement Nguyen Trai de qui viennent la *Proclamation sur la pacification des Ngo* (*Bing Ngo dai cao*), un *Recueil de poèmes de Uc Trai en chinois classique* (*Uc Trai thi tap*) et un *Recueil de poèmes en langue nationale* (*Quoc am thi tap*), qui excellent par une forme poétique bien polie et la richesse d'expression. En ce qui concerne la poésie comprise dans cet œuvre, il s'agit pour la plus grande partie d'une lyrique réflexive, dont la source d'inspiration était la nature ou bien les regards rétrospectifs sur leur vie intérieure. Un autre groupe est représenté par poèmes patriotiques en teneur lyrico-épique qui constituent une réaction aux événements de l'histoire vietnamienne.

Quant à la prose, peut être les plus intéressantes sont les légendes de la collection *Recueil d'histoires étranges du Linh Nam* (*Linh Nam chich quai*) par Vu Quynh et Kieu Phu du 15^e siècle. Elles ont le caractère de mythes d'un passé éloigné et portent preuve de l'érudition étendue des auteurs dans la sphère de l'histoire, et étant des plus anciens documents de la littérature folkloriste vietnamienne, elles sont de grande valeur historique et sociologique.

Un genre littéraire ultérieur qui s'approchait le plus de la nouvelle classique chinoise est représenté par la collection de Nguyen Du *Vaste recueil de merveilleuses légendes* (*Truyen ky man luc*) du 16^e siècle. Deux contes en sont reproduits dans

l'anthologie: *Le procès du palais du Dragon* (*Long dinh doi tung luc*) et *Entretiens avec le bûcheron du Mont Na* (*Na Son tieu doi luc*).

Chaque spécimen littéraire est introduit par une caractéristique brève de l'auteur et de son œuvre et supplémenté par les explications fondamentales. Ce qu'on peut qualifier de défaut dans ces commentaires, c'est que toutes les données chinoises et noms de personnes sont écrits dans la forme sino-vietnamienne, ce qui rend l'orientation plus difficile aux lecteurs noninitiés.

On peut probablement reprocher aux compilateurs de l'anthologie d'y avoir inclu diverses édits, proclamations et lettres de dignitaires et généraux, qui, même s'ils comprennent un grand nombre de faits historiques et littéraires, néanmoins n'appartiennent pas à la création littéraire.

Cependant, l'anthologie remplit sa mission en général, et contribue d'une manière significante à la connaissance de la littérature vietnamienne. Un tableau synoptique, un index des noms d'auteurs et un index des œuvres littéraires closent l'anthologie.

Ján Múčka

American-East Asian Relations. A Survey. Edited by Ernest R. May and James C. Thomson Jr. Cambridge, Massachussets, Harvard University Press 1972. 425 pp.

The book under review is the first of a series called Harvard Studies in American-East Asian Relations.

In the *Foreword*, Professor Ernest E. May, a political scientist specialized in American policy, writes: "We lack adequate knowledge about political, economic and cultural relationships between America and Asia. Such knowledge must be gathered by scholars who can work expertly at both ends of these relationships. Among them must be historians trained in the highly sophisticated field of U.S. history and equally well trained in the history of Japan, China, Korea, Indochina, or aspects of South-East Asia. Knowing the necessary languages and using first-hand sources, these historians can reconstruct the evolution of linkages."

These are significant words, and call attention to two aspects in particular. Professor May here underlines the need of scholars "who can work expertly at both ends", i.e., experts who are conversant not only with the American, but also the Far-Eastern aspects of the problem studied. He also calls for scholars — and that is his second point — who command not only European, but also Far-Eastern languages. Such a view is not quite current among contemporary political scholars.

The project is sponsored by a Committee on American-East Asian Relations

established in 1968 by the American Historical Association and financed (allegedly in a modest way) by the Ford Foundation. The volume of essays and papers under review is the first fruit of this project and has resulted from the proceedings of a conference held in January of 1970 at Cuernavaca in Mexico. The aim of the volume is to present a historiographic survey of the American literature (and not only that) on American-East Asian relationships between 1780 and 1970. It comprises 17 essays assigned into 4 sections.

The first of these, entitled *From the Empress of China to the First Open Door Notes, 1784—1899*, includes three essays on America and China and one on America and Japan.

It opens with Edward D. Graham's essay called *Early American-East Asian Relations* covering the historiography of the 1784—1839 period. The author makes an evaluation of existing studies dealing with American-Chinese relationships during this period pointing out problems that deserve attention in the field of economic, diplomatic, political history, missionary activity and cultural impact.

John K. Fairbank in his essay *America and China: The Mid-nineteenth Century* should have confined himself to the period between 1840 and 1860, but in fact takes note of both preceding and subsequent developments. Even though he is interested in his essay in what has already been done in this field, his principal efforts are devoted to novel perspectives. He is more taken up with the cultural scene of that period, in particular with American missionary movement in China, than with political and economic issues. Although religious beliefs and theological doctrines are not of great importance in China, it is a pity that "almost nothing has been done to analyse Christian writings in Chinese and see how their foreign ideas were presented to Chinese readers and often unavoidably modified in the process". Such studies and observations of the roles of the missionaries in practice would enable better to understand Chinese Confucian anti-Christian resistance, as also Christian modernism in China at the end of the last and in this century.

The third essay *America and China: The Late Nineteenth Century* was written by Kwang-ching Liu, and covers the years 1850—1895, hence, partially overlapping Fairbank's essay. The first part of this work consists of an analysis of the state of research on the Chinese in California and Professor Liu smiles compassionately over "certain weaknesses of American idealism"; the second part deals with Americans in China, a question that has thus far received little attention. This should be an important object of study in future research.

American contacts with Japan until the year 1895 are dealt with in a single study by Robert S. Schwantes, called *American Relations with Japan, 1853—1895: Survey and Prospect*. Introducing this study, the author states that "scholars ought to broaden the range of their interest beyond traditional diplomatic and political relations to a study of Japanese-American economic and cultural relations". This, evidently, should not be made to apply solely to Japan. Similar conditions obtain

as regards China. In an otherwise excellent paper Professor Liu, for instance, makes no mention of prospects of study in the field of cultural relations. Mr. Schwantes, on the other hand, is concerned not only with diplomatic and political relations, but also with the question of foreign experts, of Japanese students in America, and Christianity in Japan. A noteworthy remark of his is that "the transfer of ideas between Americans and Japanese is one of the most difficult, and therefore least explored facets of the relationships between the two countries". One cannot but agree with Mr. Schwantes. The same holds also for China. And this not only with reference to the American impact.

Marilyn Young's *The Quest for Empire* opens up the second section of the book called From the Open Door Notes to the Washington Treaties and simultaneously ushers in the third section entitled from the Washington Treaties to Pearl Harbor. Young's essay is followed by further 7 (4 in part two and 3 in part three) dealing with the period from 1901 until 1941, hence, from the beginning of the present century, or since the time Theodore Roosevelt entered the White House, until the outbreak of the war in the Pacific. The authors take no particular note of China and Japan or Korea, but deal with American-East Asian relations as a whole. Papers devoted to the period 1901—1912 do not even mention the "cultural aspect" of American-East Asian relations. Burton F. Beers' article analysing the years 1913—1917 pays minimum attention to this question. Roger Dingman's study making an analysis of the historiographical production of the years 1917—1922 points to a survey of the missionary question, but not from a cultural point of view, but rather from an economic and educational one. Similarly Professor Akira Iriye takes little notice of cultural questions in his otherwise excellent study. He confines himself to pointing to the works by Y. C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872—1949*, and by J. Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance*, which he very correctly characterizes as "extremely illuminating", without however, endeavouring to point to similar other studies, or to outline at least concisely and in the most general strokes, the perspectives of such a study.

All the other essays included in this volume, whether historiographic or bibliographic in character, resemble one another. All excel as surveys of political and diplomatic history, but are rather wanting as regards other aspects of the story. They hardly take any notice of the cultural history. All the essays (except two) have for aim to investigate American relations with the Far East as a whole, to which South-East Asia becomes associated after World War II as a significant factor mainly from the political aspect. The first of those two exceptional studies deals with the Philippines between the years 1790—1946, the second with America and China between 1942 and 1946.

The volume under review may be said to be indispensable for all intent on a study of political and diplomatic history of American-East Asian relations, but it will tell little to those wishing to follow up the economic aspect of these relations, and

next to nothing to investigators in the field of modern Chinese intellectual history (with the exception of the essays by Graham, Fairbank and Schwantes).

Professor May's *Foreword* is then, to some extent, misleading, promising more than the book gives. The team should have included at least two "experts" for cultural history — one for China and one for Japan. The organizers of the conference have evidently overestimated the ability of the selected participants.

"Americans and Asians", we read in the *Foreword*, "do not, however, have any understanding — faulty though it often is — between Americans and Europeans. To be sure, America is an off-shot of Europe. Americans and Europeans share a heritage and certain values and ways of thinking. Americans and Asians, on the other hand, have little common background. They find it hard to comprehend one another's languages, concepts and beliefs."

We can but acquiesce to these words. The point at issue is, what to do to learn something more substantial about the cultural relationships between America and Asia, and the other way round. One thing is certain, viz. this type of study will be substantially more onerous and painstaking than the one which involves a knowledge of the diplomatic and political aspect of these relations, nevertheless, it is an essential and immensely needed type of knowledge.

The book under review is the first of the series. Perhaps one of the subsequent volumes will make up for the omissions of the present one and will show that the intellectual history is no "child of Agar" insofar as a study of relationships between America (or Europe, for that matter) and Asian countries is concerned.

Marián Gálik

Lidin, Olof G.: *The Life of Ogyū Sorai. A Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher*. Lund, Studentlitteratur 1973. 209 pp.

The book under review is the 19th of a Monograph Series of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. Its author (born 1926) is now a Professor of Oriental Languages at Copenhagen.

Ogyū Sorai (1666—1728) belong among the most prominent of Confucian scholars of the Tokugawa era (1603—1867) in Japan. Lidin's work is an attempt at outlining his life and work, particularly the former, and simultaneously it is the first monograph processing of this personality in Western literature.

The book is divided into 14 chapters, 10 of which are concerned with Sorai's life, his ancestors or descendants, and 4 deal with his philosophical and sinological work. From these last chapters, one speaks of the philosophy of Itō Jinsai (1627—1705),

who was Sorai's predecessor and rival, and another chapter is about Sorai's students. The book is "limited to tracing the life of Ogyū Sorai and placing him as carefully as possible within the context of Tokugawa history". It succeeds in the one and the other, though is rather weak as regards an analysis of Sorai's philosophical work. The reader gets this impression in particular because the author himself states that Sorai "created perhaps the most influential philosophy of his age", but comes short of implementing his statement. For the moment the hope remains — held by author and readers alike — that this book will be followed by another supplementing it precisely in the domain of an analysis of Sorai's philosophical and literary and critical views. It would likewise be fit to process Sorai's work comparatively in view of the old Chinese philosophy and literary thought.

It would be interesting to find out why Sorai was taken up with Li P'an-lung (1514—1570) and Wang Shih-cheng (not chen!) (1526—1590) who in Sorai's times had long been forgotten in China. Moreover, Li P'an-lung, although belonging among the better poets, was not considered to belong to the intellectual and literary elite of the Ming times. And if he did, then for a very short time only. The choice of Wang Shih-cheng is more justified.

Lidin's analysis implies that Ogyū Sorai was more of a philosopher than a man of letters. Again, it is rather noteworthy that Ogyū Sorai was probably not acquainted with his Chinese contemporaries Yen Yüan (1635—1704) and Li Kung (1659—1746). Both of them "opposed the Sung and Ming Neo-Confucianism, in place of which they propounded new doctrines claimed by them to represent the true teachings of Confucius and Mencius". (See Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2. Princeton University Press 1953, p. 632.) It was precisely this tendency which was later given the name Han learning (*Han hsüeh*) that set up the entire movement and this not only in the field of philosophy, but also that of history, textual criticism, philology, archaeology, and so on. It was the most fruitful time in Chinese scholarship before the introduction of modern Western methods of scientific investigation. How was the *kugaku* movement, represented by Sorai, reflected in the Japanese intellectual life of the Tokugawa era?

From what we finds in Lidin's monograph it ensues that Ogyū Sorai was certainly a very noteworthy phenomenon in the field of intellectual history. However, it is far from enough to investigate his life (which will hardly say much to us about his times), but note must be taken of his whole work and this not solely against a background of Japanese own tradition and home conventions, but also in relation to the immensely weighty moment represented by Chinese intellectual life, a living fountainhead of Sorai's work, whether in the positive or negative sense.

Marián Gálík

Piasek, Martin: *Gesprochenes Chinesisch*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1973. 159 S.

Das rezensierte Buch ist ein Konversationshandbuch, welches relative häufig verwendete chinesische Sätze über verschiedene Themen, deren phonetische Transkription nebst Übersetzung ins Deutsche beinhaltet. Der Benutzer des Buches wird hier mit den elementarsten phonetischen Regeln sowie der Minimumgrammatik vertraut gemacht.

Der Grossteil der Texte wurde aus dem sog. *Language Corner*, der in der Zeitschrift *China Reconstructs* erscheint, übernommen. 12 der insgesamt 39 Texte des rezensierten Buches gehörten dem Fernost-Seminar der Karl-Marx-Universität in Leipzig. Der Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Gruppen der Texte ist recht auffällig. Erstere sind natürlicher, leichter praktisch zu erfassen, während letztere viel schwieriger sind und es befinden sich darin Ausdrücke, die in der Umgangssprache nicht immer verwendet werden. Das Markante der Unterschiede hätte sehr wohl beseitigt werden können durch redaktionelle Bearbeitung, vor allem durch Entfernung der überflüssigen Ausdrücke, die die stilistische Geläufigkeit und die praktische Brauchbarkeit beeinträchtigen.

Der Zusammensteller ist überzeugt, dass das Buch auch für Autodidakten verwendbar ist, ja sogar für jene, die es nicht vorhaben die chinesischen Schriftzeichen zu erlernen. Gewiss wird es dem deutschsprachigen Ausländer in China in so manchen Lebenssituationen gute Dienste leisten können.

Auch bei den Studenten der chinesischen Sprache wird es als Ergänzung zu den üblich benutzten Lehrbüchern Verwendung finden.

Marián Gálik

Bauer, Wolfgang: *Das Bild in der Weissage-Literatur Chinas*. München, Heinz Moos Verlag 1973. 74 S.

Die rezensierte Broschüre knüpft an den Artikel ihres Verfassers *Zur Textgeschichte des T'ui-pei-t'u, eines chinesischen „Nostradamus“*, in *Oriens Extremus*, 20, 1973, S. 7—26 an und ist ein Bestandteil des langjährigen Interesses dieses Forschers für die Probleme, die mit den sehr interessanten Gebieten der chinesischen Geistesgeschichte: Paradiese, Utopien und Idealvorstellungen, zusammenhängen. Am deutlichsten trat dieses Interesse zutage in Bauers Opus magnum *China und die Hoffnung auf Glück*. München, Carl Hanser Verlag 1971. 703 S.

Was die sog. Weissage-Schriften betrifft, blieben ihrer nur wenige erhalten.

Der Gegenstand dieser Broschüre ist einer der Texte mit Bildern und einigen existierenden Varianten, genannt T'ui-pei-t'u (Rückenstoss-Tafel, oder Rückenklopftafeln). Er entstand zur Zeit der Dynastie T'ang (618—906) oder der Fünf Dynastien (906—960). Dieser Text überdauerte Jahrhunderte und wird bis an unsere Zeiten in verschiedenen Formen bzw. Stufen (A bis D) herausgegeben. Professor Bauer standen 16 der verschiedensten Texte zur Verfügung, als er die rezensierte Broschüre verfasste. Für den Laien ist der Text interessanter so wie er dargeboten wird, zusammen mit vielen Abbildungen, die den Text begleiten. Der Sinologe würde wohl eher die Deutung der einzelnen Bilder begrüßen. Im Text der Broschüre finden wir jedoch die Deutung lediglich einiger von ihnen (S. 22—30).

Der Untertitel des Buches Prophetische Texte im politischen Leben von dem Buch der Wandlung bis zu Mao Tse Tung stammt wahrscheinlich vom Verleger oder vom Herausgeber und entspricht dessen Inhalt nur ungenügend. Es ist jedoch möglich und es wäre wirklich gut, wenn es Professor Bauer versuchen würde die Geschichte dieser chinesischen Weissage-Texte zu bearbeiten, was bislang als Ganzes noch nicht unternommen wurde.

Marián Gálik

Izuchenie kitaiskoi literatury v SSSR (Study of Chinese Literature in the U.S.S.R.). Moscow, Nauka 1973. 381 pp.

This is a *Festschrift* commemorating the 60th birthday of N. T. Fedorenko. The chairman of the Editorial board is L. Z. Eidlin who in the introductory article *O nauchnykh trudakh Nikolaya Trofimovicha Fedorenko* (*On the Scholarly Works of Nikolai Trofimovich Fedorenko*) brings close to us the life and work of this well-known Soviet sinologist.

The book under review — by the way, probably the most outstanding collection of studies devoted to Chinese literature published in the U.S.S.R. during the past few years — comprises 20 articles that can conveniently be assigned to several thematical groups.

Of the latter, the present reviewer considers as significant, the one with the design to study the given problems through systemo-structural methods. Here belongs, for instance, the stimulative study by T. P. Grigorieva entitled *Makhayana i kitaiskie ucheniya* (*Mahayana and Chinese Teachings*). This is an attempt at applying a systemo-structural approach to the study of Mahayana Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. The authoress starts with a very important question and immediately strives to give a brief answer: "How are we to explain the free entrance of Mahayana into the consciousness of Chinese (from the 1st century onwards) and the Japanese

(from the 6th century)... Evidently this was not due only to the open nature of the teaching. Buddhism possibly built on the structure of Chinese thought which may be known on the basis of old documents..." T. P. Grigorieva mentions *I-ching* (*The Book of Changes*) (about 1200 B.C.), Lao-tzu's *Tao-te-ching* (second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th cent. B.C.), Chuang-tzu (398—286 B.C.) and the books like *Lun-yü* and *Chung-yung* by Confucius (551—479 B.C.) (p. 86).

In this resides, at first sight, the visible novelty of the authoress' approach for which she should strive further. However, she will have to avoid the pitfall of factual mistakes. For instance, free entrance of Mahayana into Chinese consciousness cannot be dated from the first century A.D. During this century Buddhism reached China, but evidently could exert an influence only much later, sometime in the 5th century. Likewise *Tao-te-ching* could not have been written at the time stated by Grigorieva. It might perhaps suffice to refer to Max Kaltenmark's authority and that of his book *Lao Tzu and Taoism*, Stanford University Press 1969, pp. 13 and 15. According to the above data, Chuang-tzu would have lived more than 110 years. An error is evidently involved in writing the year of his birth which is fairly frequently given as 369 B.C., but with a question mark (for example, Ma Hsü-lun, Feng Yu-lan and after them others, too). Neither is *Chung-yung* a work by Confucius, but is currently ascribed to Confucius's grandson, Tzu Ssu, and one of its parts was proved to have been written during the Ch'in or Han period, that is several centuries after Confucius.

The present reviewer is of the opinion that to classify *Mahayana* and ancient Chinese teachings as systems of one type is a premature conclusion. The systemo-structural aspect of these teachings has not as yet been studied, what is more, probably no one has even made the attempt. To rely on the conviction of ancient Chinese or Japanese philosophers is not a judicious course and should not be adopted, for they never were unbiased observers of the dynamic encounters of the systems and their structures and never succeeded in correctly analysing those "fields of force" principally because they were a prey to the most diverse prejudices derived from their passionate adherence to tradition. The question of the intersecting systemo-structural entities is an extremely complex one and cannot be adequately resolved without a deep and extensive erudition. A study of the works of O.O. Rosenberg and F. I. Shcherbatsky will hardly suffice today. The influence of the *Lancāvatārasūtra* in China may not be compared to its influence in Japan. The authoress has taken no note at all of works dealing specifically with Chinese Buddhism.

An application of the structural approach is also evident in the next two studies — in the shorter one by B. L. Riftin called *Organizatsiya povestvovaniya v narodnykh knigakh (pinkhua)* (*Organization of Narration in Folklore Books*) (*p'ing-hua*), and in the more extensive one by D. N. Voskresensky, *Rabota starogo kitaiskogo avtora nad syuzhetom i tekstom* (*The Work of the Old Chinese Writer on the Narrative Structure and Text*). The former succinctly points out the influence of official histories,

Ssu-ma Kuang's (1019—1086) *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* (*The Complete Mirror for Aiding Government*), of folklore and Buddhist literary tradition on *p'ing-hua* of the 13th and 14th centuries. The latter analyses the textual and artistic structure of story No. 23 from Ling Meng-ch'u's *Erh-k'e p'ai-an ching-ch'i* (*Second Series of Amazing Tales*) and its antecedent literary variants: Ch'ü Yu's *Chin-feng-ch'ai* (*Golden Phoenix Hairpin*) from the collection entitled *Chien-teng hsin-hua* (*New Tales Under the Lamp*) and the *tsa-chü* called *Pi-tao hua* (*The Flowers of Azure Peach*).

The next group is made up of papers dealing with various phenomena of Chinese cultural life. N. A. Speshnev has contributed a valuable study *K voprosu o tsinskikh "czydishi"* (*On the Question of Ch'ing "tzu-ti-shu"*). This is the first extensive study devoted to general aspects of *tzu-ti-shu* in world literature. E. A. Serebryakov's study *Doklady sunskogo poeta Lu Yu pravitelstvu sostavlennye v 1162—1163 gg.* (*The Memorials Presented to the Throne Written by Lu Yu in the Years 1162—1163*), similarly as Grigorieva's study, goes beyond the frame of reference of a European interpretation of the term literature and rather fits into the political sphere. The study by N. E. Borevskaya *Moreplavateli v mire dukhov* (*Seafarers in the World of Spirits*) is devoted to the Chinese "hell" and is written on the basis of chapters 87—92 of Lo Mao-teng's novel called *San-pao t'ai-chien hsi-yang t'ung-su yen-i*, which the authoress translates as *Plavanie Chjen Khe po Indiiskom okeanu* (*Cheng Ho's Sailings on the Indian Ocean*). Borevskaya in her research takes contact with the significant study by J. J. L. Duyvendak, *A Chinese "Divina Commedia"*, T'oung-pao, 41, 1952, pp. 255—316. In contrast to Duyvendak, the authoress takes note of this novel as a form of social criticism rather than a reflection of religious-philosophical notions. She owes, however, a great deal to the Dutch sinologist and makes frequent references to him. Borevskaya has endeavoured to use a systemic approach to the topic under study, and similarly as Duyvendak, also a comparative research. The most important elements in the system of a Chinese hell are the Buddhist and Taoist ones, but certain Islamic motives are also very much in evidence; these have reached Chinese system usually through the intermediary of Persia.

A comparative approach is characteristic for papers of the next group. One such is — as manifest from the title itself — that by I. S. Lisevich entitled *Sredneaziatskie vliyaniya v kitaiskoi klassicheskoi literature* (*Central Asian Influences on Chinese Classical Literature*), in which the author endeavours to point out foreign Central Asian influences on Chinese dancing art insofar as it has been expressed in Chinese poetry, further the so-called northern *yieh-fu*, and finally the poetic genre *chüeh-chü*. In the study of the last two phenomena, the author takes support from the research by the Japanese sinologist Ogawa Tamaki. Another article of this type is that by N. I. Nikulin, *Vietnamskie ustnye zabavnye rasskazy i ikh vzaimosvyazi s kitaiskoi folklornoi traditsiei* (*Vietnamese Humoristic Anecdotes and Their Mutual Relation With Chinese Folklore Tradition*), and also V. S. Dilikova's *Nazidatelnye rechenia*

Sakya pandity (*The Aphorisms of Sakya*) dealing, at least summarily, with the influence of Indian Buddhistic views on the work being analysed.

But the pride of place in this book goes to the noteworthy study by K. I. Golygina, *Kontseptsiya tvorcheskoi lichnosti v konfutsianskoi esteticheskoi teorii* (*The Concept of Creative Personality in Confucian Aesthetic Theory*). “A literary critic of the Confucian trend” writes Mrs. Golygina, “was never considered to be an original creator, a creator of his own system of views. He always was but a transmitter, the last representative in the series of his predecessors.” Of interest to the Western reader will be the statement that there is no concept of genius in Confucian aesthetic theory. Chinese Confucian theory knows the concept of wise man (*sheng-jen*). It would be useful to ascertain in what measure the concept of genius, creative genius is present in non-Confucian teachings and to point out its specific traits.

Some studies are devoted to the problems relating to Chinese literature of modern times. Perhaps the study of likely interest to Western sinologist will be that by A. G. Shprintsin entitled *O literature na kitaiskom yazyke, izdannoi v Sovetskem Soyuze (20—30 gody)* (*On Literature Published in Chinese in the U.S.S.R. in the Twenties and Thirties*). Here they will learn, for instance that A. Fadeev’s *Razgrom* (*The Nineteen*) was translated into Chinese not only by Lu Hsün, but also by P’eng Hsiu-lung (Zamkov) and was published at Khabarovsk. M. E. Shneider’s study *V poiskakh “literatury dlya zhizni”*. *Proizvedeniya Leonida Andreeva v Kitae* (*In Search of the “Literature For Life”. The Works of Leonid Andreev in China*) takes contacts with his numerous articles devoted to the reception of Russian and Soviet literature in China. This article gives occasion to point out certain shortcomings which the author could, of course, have hardly avoided. The story *Lan-sha-lieh-ssu* is not Andreev’s *The Governor*, but his *Lazarus*, as the present writer pointed out in his article *The Names and Pseudonyms Used by Mao Tun*, in *Archiv orientální*, 31, 1963, p. 94. Ming Hsin usually was (though not always) the pseudonym of Shen Tse-min at the time just after the May Fourth Movement. Besides *Lazarus*, Shen Tse-min translated also the long essay called *An-t’o-lieh-fu-ti wen-hsieh ssu-hsiang kai-lun* (*A Short Outline of Andreev’s Literary Mind*), *Hsüeh-sheng tsa-chih* (Students’ Magazine), 7, 1920, Nos 5—7, pp. 1—7, 9—19, 21—31, which has apparently escaped Mr. Shneider’s attention. This is a “creative” translation and was made on the basis of the following books: H. T. and W. Follet, *Some Modern Novelists*, S. Persky, *Contemporary Russian Novelists*, F. W. Chandler, *Aspects of Modern Drama* and A. Dukes, *Modern Dramatists*. Besides the translation prepared by Chi Tse of the story *Seven Who Were Hanged*, there exist at least two others: one by Mao Tun and Shen Tse-min in *Hsüeh-sheng tsa-chih*, 8, 1921, Nos 4—6, 8—9, pp. 1—12, 1—8, 1—11, 48—59, 24—30 and the other by Yüan Chia-hua (see *Ch’üan-kuo tsung shu-mu*, Shanghai 1935, p. 443). Mao Tun translated likewise passages about Andreev, probably from M. J. Olgin’s book *A Guide to Russian Literature*, see *Tung-fang tsa-chih* (*The Eastern Miscellany*), 17, 1920, No. 10, pp. 60—68. *Chin-tai O-kuo*

hsiao-shuo chi (*A Collection of Modern Russian Short Stories*) was published in 1924 on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Eastern Miscellany and is to be found on the stock of the Royal Library, Copenhagen. *Mayakovskii na kitaiskom yazyke* (*Mayakovsky in Chinese*) by L. E. Cherkassky constitutes one of the first attempts at a widely-conceived project of the research of the reception and influence of Mayakovsky's poetry in China. V. I. Gorelov's article *Prozaicheskie miniatyury Syui Di-shanya* (*Prosaic Short Sketches of Hsü Ti-shan*) endeavours to present a brief characteristic of Hsü's short pieces.

The attention devoted to the most recent literary events in China is evident from three studies in the book: A. N. Zhelokhovtsev's *Sudby naslediya Lu Sinya posle "kulturnoi revolyutsii" v Kitae* (*The Fate of Lu Hsün's Heritage in China After the "Cultural Revolution"*), M. V. Tarasova's *Teatr KNR "kulturnoi revolyutsii"* (*The Theatre of People's Republic of China During the "Cultural Revolution"*), and S. A. Toportsev's "Sedaya devushka" i "tvorcheskii metod sochetaniya..." ("The White-Haired Girl" and the "Creative Method of Combination...").

The first of these nicely supplements an earlier study by V. I. Semanov, *Lu Sin i dogmatiki* (*Lu Hsün and the Dogmatists*), Narody Azii i Afriki (Peoples of Asia and Africa), 2, 1968, pp. 64—73 and the other two in a certain sense complete a similar study by D. W. Fokkema, *The Maoist Myth and Its Exemplification in the New Peking Opera*, Asia Quarterly, 4, 1972, pp. 341—346.

The book under review is concluded by L. Z. Eidlin's essay, *K istorii razvitiya kitaiskoi literatury v III-XIII vekakh* (*On the History of the Development of Chinese Literature Between the 3rd and the 13th Centuries*). It is of a historical character — similarly as another study by V. F. Sorokin, *Klassicheskaya drama Kitaya v XIII-XIV vekakh* (*The Classical Chinese Drama in the 13th and 14th Centuries*).

Marián Gálík

Lin, Julia C.: *Modern Chinese Poetry. An Introduction*. Seattle — London, University of Washington Press 1972. 264 pp.

After Michelle Loi's *Roseaux sur le mur* and Leonid E. Cherkassky's *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya 20-30-e gody* (*New Chinese Poetry of the 1920's and 1930's*) the book under review is the third more extensive work dealing with modern Chinese poetry published in recent years.

The three books originated quite independently of one another. Lin's book has much in common with anthologies of modern Chinese poetry in English translation, particularly with Kai-yu Hsu's *Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry*. It differs from these

anthologies principally by its being oriented in a large measure to an analysis of modern Chinese poetry.

Julia C. Lin is Assistant Professor of English Literature at Ohio University. It could be said that she is equally good at both ends of the study, but seems to be rather surer at the English one. It is perhaps precisely this character of her knowledge, by the way, quite rare instance among sinologists, and her Chinese origin that caused her to consider as "oversimplification" to see "in every instance of similarity to Western poetry" a sure sign of indebtedness to the West. According to Mrs. Lin, there is the possibility "that such parallelism could result simply from the affinity of poetic minds, whereby similar characteristics could develop simultaneously in two different cultures". But at the same time she acknowledges "the tremendous influence of the West on modern Chinese poetry" and calls for a more balanced critical stand insofar as an evaluation of this relation is concerned. She herself endeavours to achieve this in her book.

Mrs. Lin's book is made up of three parts. The first of these treats of the pre-1917 period and constitutes a very concise outline of old Chinese poetry, in particular of its prosodic aspects, and of the pre-history of modern Chinese poetry. Only Huang Tsung-hsien is treated here at some length.

An analysis proper of modern Chinese poetry begins in the second part of the book, and deals with the period 1917—1937. It consists of three chapters.

In the first of these — the third in the book — entitled *The Pioneers*, Lin takes note of the works by Hu Shih, K'ang Pai-ch'ing, Yü P'ing-po, Ping Hsin, Wang Ching-chih and Chu Tzu-ch'ing. She devotes most attention to the last of these and presents a relatively good analysis of his most significant poem *Dissolution (Hui-mieh)*. This analysis makes it evident that the authoress wishes to draw attention solely to that part of Chinese tradition that affected the origin and the forming of this long poem. It was the collection *Ch'u-tz'u*, but she bypasses the tradition connected with the Buddhist interpretation of *ch'a-na* (Sanskrit *ksana*), i.e. an extremely short moment, and to its apprehension in Buddhist philosophy of incessant change. Chu applied this philosophy extremely readily to the poetic realm. He expresses the "philosophy of the moment" very pregnantly in the following lines: "This is a human smile. /You pursue it./ It's gone with the wind." Attention to this aspect of Chu Tzu-ch'ing's poetry was drawn by his friend Yü P'ing-po, see his *Yen-chiao-chi*, Shanghai 1936, pp. 16—19.

Not only in this particular case, but generally in almost the entire book Mrs. Lin takes very little note of the research done by her predecessors. On the credit side of this chapter stand brief analyses of the works by Yü P'ing-po and K'ang Pai-ch'ing, while the analysis of Ping Hsin's work is inadequate, due, this time, to a lack of regard to results achieved by non-Chinese sinology.

The fourth chapter, entitled *The Formalists*, is the best of the whole work. The authoress devotes in it unusual attention to Wen I-to, Hsü Chih-mo and Feng Chih.

The present reviewer is of the opinion that 20 pages or so devoted to the last of the three poets, represents her most substantial scientific contribution. Not because they are the best passages of the book, but rather because Feng Chih's poetic production has so far received the most consistent treatment. Wen I-to and Hsü Chih-mo have already been written about in the West. Similarly as in that of Cherkassky, so also in Mrs. Lin's book, Hsü Chih-mo is a *Kronzeuge*. According to the authoress, Hsü "wrote some of the most impassioned and memorable lines of his age". She is here questioning Professor Birch's opinions concerned with metrical analysis (the so-called English metres in the poetry of Hsü Chih-mo) and proposes here another, probably a better hypothesis that Hsü's indebtedness to the Western matters "lies not in a direct transplant of specific metrical patterns, but rather in the adaptation of stanzaic forms of unequal verse length and their accompanying rhyme schemes". She is also convinced of Hsü's indebtedness to Keats, and principally to Shelley from among the Westerners, to Li Po, Taoists and Buddhists from Chinese tradition. On about half of the thirty odd pages devoted to Hsü Chih-mo, she refers to, or follows up Hsü's linkage with Western authors, yet nowhere does she attempt to set off that "parallelism" resulting "simply from the affinity of poetic minds". We would be, however, guilty of unfair judgment towards the authoress were we to apply this statement to the whole book. In passages devoted to Wen I-to she points concretely to synaesthetic imagery as intrinsic not only to modern European art, but also to old and new China.

In Chapter 5, called The Symbolists, Julia C. Lin has come far below the rightful expectations of readers of and experts on modern Chinese poetry. She confines herself to two of the most quoted figures of Chinese symbolism, namely Li Chin-fa and Tai Wang-shu, but even her analysis of the two stands in opposite relation to their importance: she devotes three times more space to Li than to Tai. And yet, she had access to the major part of Tai's production, while only a few poems of Li's extensive output were available to her. She may have been attracted by the ambiguities, excentricities in Li's poetry, its mysteriousness. How are we to know? But why has she translated (with slight alterations) only poems previously translated by Kai-yu Hsu? The pages devoted to Tai Wang-shu in the book by Mme Loi, or in that by Mr. Cherkassky have shown Tai to be greater and more noteworthy poet of the two.

Julia Lin does not even make an attempt to tackle the problem of periodization of modern Chinese poetry — a problem defying solution by the normal, periodic manner. Chapter 6, called The War Period and the Rise of "Proletarian" Poetry, opens up with Ai Ch'ing who entered the poetic alley in the first half of the thirties, continues with T'ien, who came to be spoken of in the second half of the thirties, and concludes with Kuo Mo-jo, one of the first modern Chinese poets. One has but to agree to the inclusion of the first two into the current of proletarian poetry. As to Kuo Mo-jo, he has a unique place in the history of Chinese poetry. Not on account

of the quality of his poetic work (this was outstanding only at the beginning of his poetic career), but because of his unusually long activity, from the times of the May Fourth Movement down to recent years.

Chapter 7, concluding the third part of the book and entitled Poetry After 1949 has been written in haste. There, not poets, but only individual poems are analysed. They are poems of authors from the preceding chapters, for instance, those of Kuo Mo-jo, Ai Ch'ing, T'ien Chien, Feng Chih, and partly also of others, everyone of them being usually characterized by the translation of a single poem. There are also "unknown" poets from the people: workers, peasants and soldiers. It would be difficult to say whether Mrs. Lin made the attempt to study individual poets from this period. It might be of interest to follow up the development of, say, the poet Li Chi after the year 1949, or of the peasant poet Wang Lao-chiu.

The book is supplemented with not a very rich bibliography and an index.

Mrs. Lin's book is actually an introduction. Anglo-American readers should still wait for a real history of modern Chinese poetry.

Marián Gálík

Wolff, Ernst: *Chou Tso-jen*. New York, Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1971. 152 pp.

The book by the American sinologist Dr. Ernst Wolff deals with the personality and work of one of the most interesting among modern Chinese essayists, Chou Tso-jen (1885—1966). It constitutes the first complex scientific analysis of Chou Tso-jen. It had been preceded by only a few partial studies by Chinese and Japanese literary critics, and in the West, by the English sinologist's work D. E. Pollard, which appeared in *Asia Major* (N. S. XI, 1965, pp. 180—198). References to Chou Tso-jen may of course be found in practically every work on modern Chinese literature and modern Chinese intellectual history, as well as in numerous books and articles on his elder brother, the greatest modern Chinese writer, Lu Hsün (pen name for Chou Shu-jen).

Chou Tso-jen took an active part in the creation of modern China and its culture. Following his studies in Japan (1906—1911) he joined the group of the Peking progressivists, and in progressively-oriented journals published his translations and essays in the vernacular and thus gave considerable support to the movement for the introduction of this language into Chinese literature. In addition, in the ideological preparation of the May Fourth Movement of 1919, a stimulative role was played in the issue of feminine emancipation by his aptly selected translation of an article by the Japanese woman-writer, Yosano Akiko *On Chastity*. In 1921 he was co-founder of the then largest literary association, the Society for Literary Studies. Persecutions

and disappointment over the political evolution in 1926—1927 meant a break in his life: Chou Tso-jen withdrew to study old Chinese literature and philosophy and confined his activity to his work at the Peking University. After the invasion by the Japanese armies in 1937, contrary to many of his colleagues and students who emigrated to the nonoccupied territories, he stayed on in Peking where he became Commissioner, later Minister of Education in the Japanese-sponsored North China régime. In 1946 he was sentenced to fourteen years of prison for collaboration with the enemy, but was freed in 1949 under the general amnesty declared by the Kuomintang authorities. He lived until his death in Peking, writing translations and studies of Greek and Japanese literature and folklore, and reminiscences of Lu Hsün.

In the first chapter of the book under review, Ernst Wolff presents an exhaustive biography of Chou Tso-jen which sheds light also on several less known motivations in his life. The book then brings a concise outline of Chinese essay writings and an analysis of Chou's literary education. But the most comprehensive treatment is devoted to Chou Tso-jen's own essay writings. A chapter of more than usual interest is that dealing with its stylistic elements: language, style, mood, humour. E. Wolff shows that Chou, though a very zealous promoter of vernacular, did not, in contrast to several of his contemporaries, dogmatically condemn classical Chinese as a dead language without any relationship whatever to the vernacular. In the question of mood, the author emphasizes Chou's aloofness and humour, and his use of satire in essays on political and social problems.

In a further part, E. Wolff concentrates on an analysis of foreign influences on Chou Tso-jen. He shows how Chou became enthusiastic over the Japanese synthesis of Eastern and Western elements, the Japanese style of living and its essence, in which he found traces and influences of the old Chinese culture. As to Western thinkers, he was most influenced by the work of the British writer and scientist Havelock Ellis. From among home sources, E. Wolff makes a detailed analysis of Chou's relationship towards Confucianism: As an adherent of the modernizing trends of Chinese life, Chou Tso-jen was essentially anti-Confucianist, however, he greatly valued Confucian emphasis on scholarship and the concept of humanity. In Buddhist scriptures he saw a serious literary treatise. He maintained a very critical attitude towards Taoism, and Christianity interested him as part of the European cultural development. The author comes to the conclusion that Chou's faith was "a syncretism of Confucianism and the Greek ideal of humanity" (p. 61). In the next two subchapters E. Wolff explicitly states which works and movements from European and Japanese literature Chou Tso-jen introduced into China through his translations and essays. The closing part of this key chapter, abounding in examples, is devoted to Chou's contemplative essays, while the last chapter analyses the period after 1927 which the author calls The period of disillusionment and literary retirement. There is an appendix to the book in which E. Wolff included his translation of four of Chou Tso-jen's essays.

The book under review was published as the 184th in Twayne's World Authors Series. It brings proof of the author's deep erudition and his painstaking use of extensive Chinese, Japanese and Western materials. E. Wolff's present work not only fills in an important gap in scientific sinological literature in the area of modern China studies, but simultaneously is processed so as to be accessible, attractive and stimulative to every one interested in modern Chinese intellectual history in general. A strong point of Ernst Wolff's book, alongside its serious scientific grounding, is in its processing: in many instances, the author's style and the brilliance of his insights and judgments lag in nothing behind the outstanding essays of Chou Tso-jen.

Anna Doležalová

Novaya istoriya Kitaya (New History of China). Ed. by S. L. Tikhvinsky. Moscow, Nauka Publishing House 1972. 636 + 30 pp. of Illustrated Supplement.

The book under review is the result of several years of work by a fourteen-member team of foremost Soviet sinologists — mainly historians and economists, collaborators of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., headed by S. L. Tikhvinsky. While carrying on work on this extensive synthetic work (636 pages of text of a large-format book) members of this team published a series of monographs on partial problems of the period studied. The resulting work *Modern History of China*, is the most comprehensive and the most complex one on modern Chinese history from 1644 to 1919 at the disposal of New China Studies. It embraces the results of investigation and research of Chinese historians and the entire worldwide sinology. The authors worked with source documents and made use of materials deposited in Russian archives.

The period dealt with in the book is analysed from a broad aspect. The work represents a history of political, economic, social and ideological development in China. All the stages are processed from the aspect of internal politics and foreign policy. The authors paid due attention to important theoretical issues, such as, for instance, the genesis of the warlordism system, the genesis of various classes and strata in Chinese society, the process of shaping the Chinese nation, etc. The text embodies biographical data of important personages in modern Chinese history — feudal rulers, leaders of the farming class, of bourgeois-democratic movements. In addition to the 39 illustrations in the Supplement, several portraits, characteristic drawings of the period, and maps are found in the text.

The book comprises four basic parts. The first, the most concise, is devoted to the structure of the Chinese society of the late feudal period and the system of

government under the Ch'ing dynasty in the years 1644—1839. The second part comprises the period 1840—1895, hence the "Opium Wars", the farmers' war of T'ai-p'ing, the uprising of non-Han nations and the efforts of the dynasty to reinforce the feudal system. The most extensive is Part Three, which analyses the crucial period in modern Chinese history — the years 1896—1905, hence, the epoch of a semi-colonial position of China, "the new policy" of the Ch'ing dynasty, the position of I-ho-t'uan, the rising bourgeois movement and its organization, opposition to the dynasty and resistance to foreign aggression. Part Four concentrates on the 1911 bourgeois revolution, the setting up of the Chinese Republic, and the period of the government of Yüan Shih-k'ai and the Pei-yang warlords' clique. From several supplements, we may consider as the most important the review of Chinese literature of the period under study and a very useful terminological glossary.

The book is provided with an extensive bibliography, but the professional reader will miss the absence of quotations from sources and literature as well as of any system of notes. The Editor explains this in the Introduction by saying that the book is destined to a wide circle of readers and the quotations are omitted to facilitate reading. However, the serious reader will come to regret this decision on the part of the Editor. The wisdom of this decision will appear all the more doubtful as a similar book, likewise destined to a wide reading public, and nonetheless readable for that matter, *Noveishaya istoriya Kitaya 1917—1970* (Modern History of China 1917—1970), published by Mysl, Publishing House in Moscow 1971, did not discard a system of notes in favour of a doubtful or at the most trivial advantage.

But this debatable editorial principle apart, *New History of China* is a serious, meritorious and stimulative work of Soviet sinology.

Anna Doležalová

Ideology and Politics in Contemporary China. Edited by Chalmers Johnson. Seattle — London, University of Washington Press 1973. xii + 390 pp.

This is a selection of papers presented at a conference on the relation between ideology and politics in the People's Republic of China, held at Santa Fé, August 2—6, 1971, at which 19 scholars took part. The present volume comprises 10 contributions.

Professor Chalmers Johnson, at that time (and until 1972) the Chairman of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, author of numerous works from the field of Chinese and Japanese political history, brought together at the above conference students of political science well-grounded in questions dealing with ideology, its objectives and functions connected with political life.

The present book consists of three sections, very well balanced as regards their contents.

The first of them, entitled *Origins and Functions*, is introduced by John Israel's study *Continuities and Discontinuities in the Ideology of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*. The author picks on certain catchwords such as philosophy of mind, investigation of things, dichotomy of knowledge and action, the role of the struggle, bureaucratism, and examines the ideological component of GPCR from this point of view. He turns his attention not only to the so-called "great tradition", i.e. to the old Chinese philosophy, but also to the "small tradition", as represented by "popular, unwritten, diffuse heritage of the illiterate majority". By "small tradition" he has in mind mainly those values that may be found in old Chinese novels written in vernacular.

This study is made up of two parts. In the first of them, the author evidently did not realize what difficulties he would encounter in connection with continuities and discontinuities. In the second part he was clearly conscious of the fact that "finding continuities is easy, finding meaningful ones is difficult". In virtue of his other studies and the result of works by others, he pointed to certain "stumbling blocks" which get in the way of the modern Chinese intellectual historian. According to him, for example, similarities in form "may well belie an underlying difference in spirit". As an example he mentions Levenson's "amateur ideal" in Chinese history and an "omnicompetence" of zealous Maoists. Another difficulty resides in determining the provenance of these continuities. Professor Israel is right in his assumption that there "may be meaningful similarities between phenomena unconnected by any evident line of continuity". And this not solely in indigenous tradition, but also in cultural patterns of foreign countries. He points here to a tension between B. Schwartz and M. Meisner, the first of them is allegedly "transcending the problem of Chinese uniqueness and constructing a more sophisticated model of intellectual provenance", the latter "relegates the issue of provenance to a low order of importance". It likewise imports to note another of the authors' observations, according to which, in contrast to Schwartz "who emphasizes men's capacities for misinterpreting the ideas of other men", Meisner is more "impressed with the tendency for similar ideas to arise from similar historical conditions". The latter statement implies (if Israel is right) that Schwartz underlines the genetic aspects of the problem and Meisner typological ones. Both are to be taken note of, neither must be neglected, but above all, they should not be confused one for the other, one must learn consistently to know and recognize them. Every individual approach, if isolated, is inadequate and distorts individual "takes" on the wide screen of modern Chinese intellectual history.

The study entitled *The Development and Logic of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, 1928 to 1949*, by Professor Jerome Ch'en, presents the reader with something different from what he promises. Mao Tse-tung's thought embraces far more than shown by Mr.

Ch'en's study. Ch'en judges it solely within the framework of class analysis, organizational developments and operational strategies. The reader is forced to move rather in the world of history than in the realm of philosophy to which Mao's thought more belongs. The author of the study is knowledgeable of the history around Mao Tse-tung's personality, nonetheless, numerous historians would probably have some doubts about Mao's "penetrating understanding of Chinese history and society" as proclaimed by Mr. Ch'en. And especially about the former of the two.

In the second part of this book, called Ideology and Intellectuals, the present reviewer was most taken up with the study by Lawrence Sullivan and Richard H. Solomon, entitled *The Formation of Chinese Communist Ideology in the May Fourth Era: A Content Analysis of Hsin Ch'ing-nien*. Hsin Ch'ing-nien (La Jeunesse, later New Youth) was one of the most influential Chinese journals of modern times. It was founded by Professor Ch'en Tu-hsiu in 1915 and suppressed by an intervention of the Kuomintang in 1926. In 1920 it became the organ of the Chinese Communist Party. The authors characterize the significance of such an undertaking: "The value of a study of the content of this journal as an approach to an analysis of the process of ideological formation lies partly in the prominence of its influence, and partly in the fact that its publication spans the critical period of time when alternative social and political ideas were being explored and then advocated as solutions to China's problems." After this, the authors state yet another reason which induced them to select precisely this topic: the prominent role played traditionally by Chinese intellectuals which was not challenged by New Youth's Group.

New Youth had its own expressive, though to some extent changing policy. It began as a tribune mainly for young Chinese intellectuals dissatisfied with Chinese traditional cultural basis and seeking a substitution for the old values in the cultural spheres of the Western world, especially in philosophy and literature. Though frequently of very disparate views, members of this group were closely united in their unanimous rejection of Confucianism and old tradition. Political events around the May Fourth Movement, the question of participation or non-participation in politics, political discussions, brought about a rupture among the members. The revolutionary faction of this group converted HCN into the organ of CCP.

A very thorough work concerned with content analysis of the complete run of HCN brought noteworthy results. One of these was, for instance, a determination of the so-called stages of ideological formation which are concordant to a large extent with the ideological formation of the people around HCN, destined to play later an important role in setting up and organizing the CCP. Although the goals of this study had been to point out affinities between ideology and politics, its results have exceeded these goals and betrayed certain notions which historians of modern Chinese intellectual history will certainly not let go unnoticed. One of them is the fact that this period (from 1915 to 1926) "was characterized more by cultural search and intellectual experimentation than by the development of a rigid ideology geared

to organized political action". Of interest is also a further notion, namely that "apparently disparate articles published in HCN indicate some degree of common purpose and ideological growth". It is a pity that the authors fail to provide concrete evidence for their statement. As it is, the study has rather the form of paradigm, of the model, practically devoid of any concrete details, although it probably is the outcome of a painstaking research. As HCN was at that time part of a wide intellectual front (even though one politically, but not culturally, divided), another of the authors' statements is also of interest: "Politics, literature, philosophy and language were discussed in terms of their relationship to complete cultural systems. That is, ideas and their institutional frameworks were consistently treated as expressions of particular cultural traditions, especially the French, English and German." Had the authors referred also to other journals of that period, the ensuing picture, though similar, would nevertheless differ in some traits. For one thing, the national constellation of the "influencing cultures" would certainly change. The period of HCN constitutes an *aetas aurea* for those who are interested in intellectual history.

Politics, as the authors of the study under review further show, in the initial period of the existence of HCN was not considered to be a force capable of altering society. It was looked upon as part of culture. Political changes were not to have come as a result of a revolutionary upheaval and regrouping, but rather through the process "of restructuring social institutions, developing new philosophies, and remoulding individual behaviour". It was only later, when the Chinese had become conscious of the effects of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and had been forced towards the events known in history as the May Fourth Movement, that political ideas began to be differentiated from cultural ones though even then they remained closely tied together. Even after the October Revolution, and after the May Fourth Movement the Chinese looked upon Marxism-Leninism as a philosophy of socialism and history, but less as an economic doctrine and "means for action" insofar as a violent overthrow of the old society and building up a new one are concerned. Only in the later phase of the existence of HCN do we see a powerful shift in emphasis with regard to a certain operational code for building a movement, but this too proceeded in such a manner, that the study of organization of the revolutionary movement, the building up of the party, was almost totally forgotten. This last statement is, of course, valid with certain reservations: it is quite possible that a study of other contemporary materials would correct it.

Merle Goldman's *The Chinese Communist Party's "Cultural Revolution" of 1962—1964* is one of her several works devoted to the idea of "literary dissent" in China. This article includes also other materials, e.g. those relating to the debates on history, but these too stand close to literary issues. Incontestably, the article is a contribution to a knowledge of the given topic. A certain drawback is that it takes no notice of works produced outside the Anglo-American world. But then this is rather characteristic for the other papers in this volume. The rare exceptions, for

instance, the references to J. Chesneaux, or to O. Borisov and B. Koloskov, only help to prove the rule. This work certainly stood to gain from a perusal of B. Staiger's book *Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China*, Wiesbaden 1969.

In the last section of the book, Maoism in Action, Philip L. Bridgman in his paper *The International Impact of Maoist Ideology*, analyses "the international impact of the more extreme version of Maoism which began to emerge in the fall of 1962 and eventually culminated in the Cultural revolution". He points to the unrefined methods of Chinese foreign policy of that time, and notes how this policy became reflected within Chinese diplomatic cadres at home rather than outside. This is certainly to the detriment of the cause, and the paper would have profited from a glance at the way Chinese circles chose to act towards the socialist countries.

Benjamin Schwartz concludes the series by his essay *A Personal View of Some Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung*. Schwartz starts out from his assumption that had not Mao Tse-tung acquired power, "few of us would be interested in his metaphysical or moral-political philosophy". Schwartz's essay supplements Ch'en's paper mainly by pointing to Maoist conception of science, to his ideas about bureaucracy and political organizations.

The book under review will be useful reading to political scientists and intellectual historians.

Marián Gálik

Tan, Chester C.: *Chinese Political Thought in the 20th Century*. Newton Abbot, David and Charles 1972. 390 pp.

Professor Tan's book is the first extensive monograph study devoted exclusively to the history of modern Chinese political thought. Monographs and lengthy studies or essays devoted to individual problems (personalities and subjects) do exist. Mr. Tan's effort, however, has been to present an overall systematic history, to ponder over individual subjects and personalities as an organic whole.

According to Mr. Tan, political philosophy "is not created in vacuum: it is part of a nation's political life". The present book lays emphasis on the relation between political thought and social milieu, on the impact of foreign ideas that seemed as a formative force in the process of delineating modern Chinese political philosophy. Nor does Mr. Tan overlook the key role of personalities in this process and underlines their contribution to the formation of the various lines of thought. And not in the last place, he devotes attentions also to the question of the effect of Chinese traditional political thought on modern Chinese political philosophy.

The ten chapters of the book are primarily concerned with four sets of questions:

firstly, with the pre-history of modern Chinese political thought (K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Chang Shih-chao); secondly, with the political thought of Sun Yat-sen and other Kuomintang leaders (Chiang Kai-shek, Tai Chi-t'ao, Chu Chih-hsin, Hu Han-min); thirdly, with the so-called Third Force in modern Chinese political history (Carsun Chang, Chang Tung-sun, Liang Sou-ming, The China Youth Party's leaders); lastly, with the ideologists and leaders of the most important political force in modern China — with the communists from Li Ta-chao to Mao Tse-tung (Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san and Ch'en Shao-yü). In addition, minor topics are also analysed in the book, for instance, the beginnings of socialism in China, anarchism, questions relating to the so-called human rights and democracy or dictatorship. The first two were actual before the violent development of Marxism in China, the last ones during the period of the Kuomintang's sway at the end of the twenties and in the thirties.

In the view of the present reviewer, the most significant scientific contribution of this book is made by Chapter 8 called The Third Force according to an almost identically titled book by Carsun Chang (Chang Chia-sen or Chang Chün-mai) *The Third Force in China*, published in New York in 1952. This third force was not unified as CCP or KMT. Its most powerful components were the so-called State Socialists. The name State Socialist Party which they took in 1932, was altered into Democratic Socialist Party in 1946. This latter denomination corresponds on the whole to the essence of this party and its policy, at least insofar as economic issues are concerned. Carsun Chang did not write about the problems of socialism and capitalism only in the magazine Chieh-fang yü kai-tsao (Emancipation and Reconstruction), but he also wrote a whole book on the "mixed economy": *Impressions Concerning the Social Democracy in New Germany* (*Hsin Te-kuo she-hui min-chu cheng hsiang-chi*), Commercial Press, Shanghai 1922. It is of interest to note that this book has evaded scholars' interest until the present days. Chang had always been a Germanophil, and this not only in economic and political orientation, but likewise in the field of philosophy. This orientation is not so evident from Tan's work, as it would emerge from a study of relevant materials. Mr. Tan makes no mention at all of Hans Driesch, to whom Chang served as interpreter during his lecture trip in China in 1922. Together with Ch'ü Shih-ying — Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's uncle, he translated Driesch's *Gesammelte Vorlesungen* into Chinese — published in Shanghai in 1922. As regards Eucken, the philosopher now fallen into oblivion, may be said to have played in Chang's development probably a role similar to that played by J. Dewey with Hu Shih. It appears that despite his respect towards Driesch, Carsun Chang never abandoned his teacher R. Eucken. Under his guidance he wrote his Ph.D. thesis *Das Lebensproblem in China und Europa*, and Eucken was his Polar Star also when he wrote his best known article *Philosophy of Life (Jen-sheng kuan)* in 1923, which became a stimulus of one of the most animated debates in modern Chinese intellectual history. The point at issue in this discussion was whether

science is to play an important role in Chinese life or not. Chang was sceptical towards "omnipotence" of science and pointed to the materialism and moral degeneracy of the West as a result of the application of science in all fields of social life. Here, he ran against unexpected opposition and had to — at least indirectly — admit his defeat. That is to say, it would otherwise be difficult to account for the fact that the book G. Aleb, ed., *Aus 50 Jahren deutscher Wissenschaft. Festschrift für Schmidt-Ott*, Shanghai 1937, should have been translated precisely under his supervision. Nationalism, too, Carsun Chang learnt from Germans. His is one of three Chinese translations of Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, which appeared in Shanghai in 1932 following the Japanese aggression.

Otherwise, the book under review has predominantly a popular-scientific character, and it could have gained much in value had the author cared to refer to existing works from this field. Professor Tan, it seems, prefers to ignore the existence of experts on K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Li Ta-chao, etc. From the great numbers of Western sinologists who have treated of the most diverse issues relating, among others, also to political thought, he mentions only D. S. Nivison in connection with Sun Yat-sen, and condescends to nod to his fellow-sinologists only in an analysis of the thought of Chinese communists, when in the notes he refers to C. Brandt, B. Schwartz and Tso-liang Hsiao.

Undoubtedly, it is correct to study on the basis of original documents. But the question is whether this should be done when well-founded studies are available, at hand so to say, without the author's taking note of them or referring to them. He thus fails to tell the whole truth to his readers and to be fair to his predecessors.

The book under review may help in a first orientation, but readers anxious to gain a deeper insight into the history of modern Chinese political thought will be well advised to reach also for other works antecedent to the present one.

Marián Gálik

Journal of Chinese Philosophy. Dordrecht — Boston, D. Reidel Publishing Company. Vol. 1, No. 1, December 1973. 117 pp.

A sort of "introduction" to this new journal has been written under the heading *Concerning the Founding of the Journal of Chinese Philosophy*. The objectives are clear: "First, there is an attempt to make available important philosophical materials (in careful translation) from the history of Chinese philosophy in its original form. Second, there is an attempt to make appropriate philosophical interpretations and expositions in Chinese philosophy, which constitutes a contribution to the theoretical

understanding of Chinese philosophy in its truth claims. There is an attempt to make comparative studies within a Chinese philosophical framework or in relation to schools of thought in Western tradition, which constitutes a contribution to the critical understanding of Chinese philosophy and its values."

The first of six essays included in this issue of the journal is of a comparative nature. Thomé H. Fang published here his essay, repeatedly presented at meetings, *A Philosophical Glimpse of Man and Nature in Chinese Culture*. The essay reads well and from this aspect is very successful. The mental space it encompasses is immense: from Socrates to Max Planck, and from the *Book of Changes* up to Rabindranath Tagore. Rather too much for the essay to be correct in every point, but enough to make an interesting and profitable reading. Even though in the title of the essay "man" comes first, and "nature" follows after, the work itself makes it evident that "nature" is to the author the most inciting object. From the vast European tradition, that seems closest to Professor Fang which Baruch Spinoza defined in his *Ethics*, as *Natura naturans* and *Natura naturata*. No wonder then, that from Chinese tradition, he devotes most attention to Chuang-tzu (3rd cent. B.C.), who came closest to Spinozistic insights.

Benjamin Schwartz in his valuable essay *On the Absence of Reductionism in Chinese Thought* makes an appeal "to explore the range, variety and problems" of Chinese philosophy. The essay is also comparative, but more exact than the preceding one by Mr. Fang. By reductionism he understands a "view of reality which regards the cosmic manifold in all its variety as 'reducible' to a kind of 'stuff' (or even a kind of energy) with minimal physical properties of extension, of mass and of a capacity for mathematical arrangement in space..." In only one point the author makes no effort at bringing his observations and reflections to a logical end: when dealing with the philosophy of Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu. And it is a pity.

The following essays deal either with problems of language or of logic — or with both. Only the last one entitled *The Problem of 19 (k)* by R. S. Cohen treats of the criticism of Needham's work. The title derives from Section 19, Mathematics, by J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 3.

Of those concerned with language and logic, the most noteworthy, but also the most fashionable product of study is that by Professor Chung-ying Cheng on Zen (Ch'an) *Language and Zen Paradoxes*. According to Professor Cheng, all Chinese philosophy "including those parts which have been labelled mystical, can be intelligently examined, discussed and communicated". In this study he has undertaken a truly detailed "vivisection" of one of the most mystical teachings in Chinese intellectual history. One can safely agree with Professor Cheng when he says that "there is no reason why one cannot make a rational and scientific study of mysticism". That which appears mystical to J. Legge in his explication of Mencius (see *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 2. Taipei 1969, p. 450) need not appear so to us. That which seemed absurd and illogical to D. T. Suzuki in his *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*,

New York 1964, pp. 58—65, need not seem so to Mr. Cheng. Although Cheng's essay is really a painstaking piece of research, it is probably but an initial stage of the survey. If there is a point which the present reviewer finds discordant in Cheng's essay, it is his faith in Enlightenment which to him is a *terra sacra*, and in the "ultimate reality", which this Enlightenment is to elucidate. Does not Mr. Cheng himself succumb thereby to mysticism? The principle of the so-called "ontic non-commitment" is an ingenious invention, but sometimes one has the impression that there is question here of an adroit verbal drill. One can, of course, see that the "river stops and bridge flows" (as a Zen master says), or that the "river flows and bridge stays" (as we would say), the question is how to discover the truth. It is quite possible that the latter lies somewhere between the statement of the learned Suzuki and the skillful logician Cheng.

The study by A. S. Cua, *Reasonable Action and Confucian Argumentation*, is of a logical character and deals with Confucian ethics. A. C. Danto's essay, *Language and the Tao*, takes note of the relationship between language and Tao in its Taoist interpretation. The subtitle of the essay is: Some Reflections on Ineffability (of the Tao). It will be of interest to those believing in the ineffability of the Tao, the others may skip it.

In general we may say that the Journal of Chinese Philosophy has started very well indeed. If the editors really succeed in keeping it within the "intended comprehensive scope" as indicated in the introduction, and maintain it at the standard of the first number, or even raise the latter, it will certainly be a useful help to those interested in Chinese philosophy.

Marián Gálik

Senger v. Harro: *Kaufverträge im traditionellen China* (Sales Contracts in Traditional China). Zürcher Beiträge zur Rechtswissenschaft. Herausgegeben von Mitgliedern der Rechts- und staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Zürich. Neue Folge, Heft 337. Zürich, Schulthess und Co. 1970. 222 pp.

This is a welcome book, not only because of the author's double competence in jurisprudence and sinology, but also because it enters the rather neglected field of the history of Chinese private law by studying the sales contracts. It hardly needs stressing that the Chinese conception of law consisted almost exclusively in the codification of penal law; but this time-honoured Chinese conception need not necessarily be binding for the sinologist. The Chinese private law became known only after the intensive commercial contact with the West from the 19th century onwards. Before, it was not much studied even in China since it had never been codified and had never entered the horizon of the legislator.

Some factual cases of private law could, of course, have been mentioned by the historian or by a writer, but not systematically, mostly in connexion with some property transactions. Thus, the history of private law entered the domain of sinology very late and slowly, being a rather undeveloped part of the as yet little known economic history of China. One example may suffice: the word law or private law cannot be found e.g. in the subject-index to the excellent book by D. C. Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty* (Cambridge 1970, second edition).

Outside China (more has been done in Japan by Niida Noboru) the merit of a pioneer is due to Jacques Gernet who has contributed the article *La vente en Chine d'après les contrats de Touen-houang, IX^e-X^e siècle*, T'oung Pao, 45 (1967), pp. 295—391 (by the way, H. von Senger wrongly gives the name of this journal as T'oung Bao or T'ung Bao (= Tung Bao) according to the official transcription used in China).

Of the twenty eight sales contracts (or their specimens) studied by von Senger, eleven were taken over from Gernet: The first contract is dated 507 A.D.; this date of the Northern Wei dynasty corresponds better with the book's subtitle written in Chinese (*Wei, T'ang, Sung, Yuan, Ch'ing mai-mai ch'i*) than the rather unspecified reference to traditional China in the German title. Some other contracts (published by Niida Noboru) were translated by the author himself.

The arrangement of the book is very lucid and instructive. The first part presents a general account on China and its legal system while the Chinese terms for contract, sale and purchase are also studied. The third, very short part, sums up the findings formulated tentatively before, while the large second part is devoted essentially to the publication, translation and a juristic analysis of the twenty eight contracts. Each of its three respective sections deals also with relevant general juristic problems, such as the nature of contracts, their force, and their more formal than real datas, the generally unequal position of one of the contractors, the difference between permanent contracts (*chin ken, tu mai, chüeh mai*) and those revocable (*huo mai*, "living" sale).

Unlike the well-known book by Ch'ü T'ung-tsü, *Law and Society in Traditional China* (Paris 1961, 1965), H. von Senger strictly follows the principle of historical development by presenting his samples according to the periods in which they originated. Nevertheless, his well-founded conclusion is that the sales contracts compiled during the fourteen centuries show a rather surprising consistency and primitiveness, although some of them originate from quite different and distant parts of China. The author, well-versed in the study of the sharp acumen of Roman jurists, regrets the almost total absence of juristic abstraction and sophistication.

Most of the contracts are simply presented as absolutely individual cases. This may, only partly, be explained as a product of local customs and law practices which were unheeded by the legislator. There is, so far, no full explanation available and we should try in vain to formulate it now when only small fragments of the history of private law have as yet been studied. Among the preliminary conclusions

we may point out some similarities between the private and the penal law which likewise did not know any equality among the two parties involved and reserved the inferior position to the claimant. From the traditional elements in general we find in the sales contracts a certain conservatism reflected in the aversion towards a fuller transfer of ownership, especially of realties.

The book is well documented, both from the juristic and sinological standpoints. While some of the older studies are quoted in the bibliography without pagination, the most recent ones have been thoroughly consulted. There is no doubt that the effort of the scholars interested in the history of law in China should be more concentrated on its non-penal aspects. Much has already been done in the field of China's economic history which may both contribute to and inspire itself from a closer knowledge of the traditional private law. In view of the characteristic traits of Chinese society one might perhaps speak of a kind of public-private law which was respected in a certain region although it was not a law produced by the State itself.

Josef Fass

Prague Collection of Tibetan Prints from Derge. Edited by Josef Kolmaš. 2 Vols. Prague, Academia Publishing House 1971. 517 + 681 pp.

These two volumes were edited by Josef Kolmaš, a well-known Tibetanist of Prague, whose other historical works *Tibet and Imperial China — A Survey of Sino-Tibetan Relations* up to the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912 (Canberra 1967), *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge* (Prague 1968), his bibliographies and other catalogues of Tibetan manuscripts and blockprints kept in the library of the Prague Oriental Institute, or his assistance in editing Vol. 2 of the late R. Shafer's *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages* (Wiesbaden 1963) — have caught predominantly the attention of scholars engaged on a study of the history of Tibet.

A review of Kolmaš's *Collection* should underline two facts that entitle the editor to our indebtedness for his editing this bulky work on the Prague collection of Tibetan prints originating from Derge. The first is that he has purchased them directly from two monastic printing houses in Derge (Dgon-Chen Monastery and Opal-Spungs Monastery) during his stay in China in 1958 after negotiating with the respective authorities in Peking and Derge. On the suggestion of his Guru, Yü Tao-Ch'üan, he bought there, besides the Kanjur and Tanjur Canons (see also his *Notes on the Kanjur and Tanjur in Prague*, ArOr, 30, Prague 1962, pp. 314—317), also another set of 5,615 minor texts, at least their separate title leaves, which he catalogued and edited here, using the same system of numbering as that used by the

Peking National Library for numbering the same copies of prints. His second claim to our recognition is that his meticulous work has enabled Tibetologic circles to gain an insight into this treasury of Tibetan prints kept in the Prague Oriental Institute.

On pp. 17—31 (Dgon-Chen Prints) and pp. 33—41 (Dpal-Spungs Prints), Vol. I the author strives to analyse and classify the literary material of these prints by adding to them the basic general data on the respective group of texts, their author or editor (as far as they are known), number of volumes or divisions, and the total number of individual items, etc. He also indicates them with the original Prague-Peking numbers for the benefit of a potential user of the catalogue concerned, and moreover, he provides all the texts with consecutive numbering 1 — 5,615 to facilitate reference.

Volume I contains a description and catalogue of 2,299 items of Dgon-Chen collections each marked with number of volumes or divisions, items, Prague-Peking numbering, serial numbers, and author's remarks. Volume II is a description of the Dpal-Spungs collections of 3,316 items, i.e. 5,615 xylograph reproductions in all. Volume I (pp. 3—517) consists of 20 groups (I—XX) of works written by the well-known scholar of the Sa-skya-pa sect, the Great Corrector *Tshul-khrims-rin-chen* (1697—1796), a collection of various Tantric texts, a Sa-skya-pa work by different authors, a collection of sādhanas and related texts of the Vajrayāna tradition of Tibet by different authors, the complete works of *Rje Rin-po-che Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa* (1357—1419), a founder of the Dge-lugs-pa order, Avadānas of the first translations of the Tantras and other works by different authors, the complete works of *Rgyal-sras Thogs-med-bzang-po-dpal* (1295—1369) and other Sa-skya-pa works, the complete works of the well-known Bka'-rgyud-pa Master, *Mñam-med Dwags-po Zla'-od-gzon-nu* (1079—1153), small-size prints, medium-size prints, Avadāna of *Dpal-ldan-chos-skyong* and other works, miscellaneous books, the complete works of *'Jam-mgon Mi-pham-'jam-dbyangs-rnam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho* (1846—1912), works on medicine, *Mdsod-bdun, Rdsogs-pa chen-po ngal-gso* by the Rñing-ma-pa author *Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen Rab'-byams-pa Dri-med-'od-zer* (1308—1363), and other minor texts by different authors, studies and comments of the *Lam-'bras*, “the doctrine of the way and the fruit”, a Sa-skya-pa work by different authors, a collection of minor texts dealing with different aspects of Lamaist mysticism, doctrine, etc., the complete works of the Five Masters of the Sa-skya-pa order, the writings of *'Jam-mgon A-mes-zabs Kun-dga'-bsod-nams*, the well-known historiographer of the Sa-skya-pa sect (16th—17th cent.), the writings of *Kun-mkhyen Go-bo Rab'-byams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge* (1429—1489), an eminent scholar of the Sa-skya-pa sect, together with some works of his teacher, *Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po* (1382—1456), and other texts.

Volume II (pp. 1—681) consists of 15 groups (I—XV) of various literary monuments, e.g., a collection of various Rñing-ma-pa texts, called the *Rin-chen Gter-mdsod*

or "Repository Jewels", prepared on the order of '*Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Rin-po-che Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho* (1813—1899), a collection of upadeśa-texts, called "The Treasury of Religious Instructions" given by great masters of India and Tibet, a *Bka'-rgyud-pa* work collected by '*Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas* (1813—1899), a collection of māntras called "The Treasury of Mystic Charms", *Bla-ma dgongs-pa 'dus-pa*, a *R̄bing-ma-pa* work of higher mystic cogitation, collected works of *Rgyal-dbang Karma-pa Mkha'-khyab-rdo-rje* (1871—1924), the fifteenth head-lama of the *Bka'-rgyud-pa* sect, miscellaneous books, miscellaneous works on grammar, etymology, poetics, astrology, biographies, eulogies, small-size books, and complete works of '*Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Rin-po-che Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho* (1813—1899). The photo-mechanical reproductions are of a high quality, except for a few cases only where the quality suffers from an imperfect print of their original xylographs, which is also the reason why some title leaves can be read only partly or not at all. The scale of photography is 1 : 0.500 (coefficient 2). The quality of paper used by the printer is good.

We recognize that Kolmaš's merits in procuring, cataloguing and editing this collection of Derge prints for our Prague Oriental Institute, are invaluable and of great importance for our and foreign scholars in ancient Tibetan literature, since his work has for the first time enabled Tibetologists to have a deeper look into the great wealth of rare Tibetan literary monuments kept in Derge Monasteries so far, and we sincerely congratulate him on having produced such an important piece of work. But we regret to say that in his foreign authors' quotations, we have not found the excellent Russian work *Tibetskaya istoricheskaya literatura* (Tibetan Historical Literature) written by the eminent scholar, the late A. N. Vostrikov, published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., *Bibliotheca Buddhica XXXII*, Moscow 1962, pp. 1—427 which is one of the best books describing the Tibetan literary monuments from the earliest times.

Kamil Sedláček

Rachewiltz de, Igor: *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*. Indiana University Publications: Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 121. Bloomington 1972. 347 pp.

This volume is appropriately inscribed to the memory of Paul Pelliot and Erich Haenisch. The title is markedly self-deprecating, to the point of under-informing the potential reader. An index, or concordance, to this enormously important work is an obvious desideratum. But the title would scarcely lead us to believe that we have here also an important new clear version of the complete text.

No one faintly familiar with the Secret History (SH) needs to be reminded that

enormous progress has been made since World War II in this, as in other fields of Mongolian philology. As a step in the direction of producing really refined and inclusive coverage of this important early text this index was conceived as a more adequate extension of the simpler tool which we have had in Haenisch's *Wörterbuch* (1939, reprinted 1962). This of itself is a laudable aim and a task deserving of our special gratitude. The index has been produced by computer, and from that alone we might well expect accretions in completeness and accuracy.

But additionally, we have gained in the process an important text edition of a new level of exactitude. In brief, by the incorporation of a quarter-century of scholarship and by the control that the watchful eye of the computer can introduce, we have a text that exceeds in important respects the classic edition of Pelliot (1949) and in some details even the more recent meticulous version of Ligeti (1962 = 1971). From all of this scholarship, as well as from the accuracy of the computer sort, the author has clearly drawn the maximum profit he could.

The result is therefore not merely a concordance of stems and suffixes, but also a highly serviceable printed text of the SH; the degree of revision over Pelliot 1949 is considerable. An example will suffice to show the sort of detailed improvement one finds throughout (§6, 1st line): Pelliot: *ügülärün o tädä nii'üjü ayisugun irgän-ü dotoru nikän*, to which IdeR offers *ügülerin tede newüjü ayisugun irgen-nü dotoru niken*. Except in occasional problematic passages, the differences are in small detail (some in fact are mere typography), but this detail is bringing us closer to a full grasp of various aspects of the text.

The author's principles for presenting the text are, in general, excellent. He tends to respect the written original (i.e. transcribing). Thus, he supplies apparently missing words, while indicating this fact in the Index by bracketing. Alternative readings are also reflected in the Index. Words with doubtful letters are carried over into the Index, but are there equated with the expected shape. Following Ligeti, length is indicated on vowels — a matter on which Hattori has shed much light.

An important textual accuracy provided by this version of the SH is an exact record of all spellings, including violations of vowel harmony. Pelliot showed this, but Ligeti has resolved all cases into the correct harmony. On the other hand, in the Index the orthography actually occurring is equated with the expected harmony. This makes the record clear and exact, and a sure basis for the further study that must be devoted to this phenomenon. It is easy to dismiss an orthography as somehow not being the expected spelling; but we must ultimately try to ask why the scribe left a given element or set of forms unharmonized. The case of -ba has been well studied and illustrates the value both of careful analysis of such phenomena and of preserving the evidence in the first place. Here again the author is to be congratulated on his handling of the question as between Text and Index; while conserving the original orthographies in the text, he marks in the Index all instances

of *-ba* that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* notes trace to *-bai/bei*. However, as he points out, there are many instances of *-ba* for which no note is provided, and which therefore call for imaginative future scholarly effort.

IdeR is quite correct on certain phonological points: There is no need to write *š* before *i*, since (with the exception of three words, which can be marked in the lexicon) this value is given to *s* in this position by a general phonological rule. He is also justified in alphabetizing *o* with *ö* and *u* with *ü*; these variants are given by regular phonological rule, even if the exact form of these rules is not yet agreed upon and still furnishes lively debate in Mongolist and general phonological studies.¹

The author also commendably retains, as did Pelliot, the enclitic status (with a hyphen) of certain particles. This is particularly informative when harmony is broken, as with *qadau'ji-gü* (1828), *jasa'at-gü* (2709), *dayir-usun-u-gü* (3002), *ayisun-gü* (3104).

We are grateful for a much improved tool toward the understanding of a difficult and fascinating text.

Eric P. Hamp

Brands, Horst Wilfried: *Studien zum Wortbestand der Turksprachen. Lexikalische Differenzierung, Semasiologie, Sprachgeschichte*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1973. XI + 149 S. 8°.

In den letzten Jahren häuften sich in der turkologischen Literatur die verschiedenen Rekapitulationen und Handbücher. Die turkologische Forschung ist in allen ihren Bereichen an einen Punkt gelangt, wo die Notwendigkeit, Bilanz zu ziehen, immer deutlicher wurde. In diesen Bestandsaufnahmen ist aber die Lexikologie sowohl vom Gesichtspunkt der Untersuchung einzelner Sprachen als auch der vergleichenden Forschungen etwas zu kurz gekommen. Der Mangel an nötigen Vorarbeiten, und zwar nicht in der lexikographischen Erfassung, sondern in der tieferen Analyse der verschiedenen Komponenten der Entwicklung des Wortschatzes, spielte dabei sicherlich eine wesentliche Rolle.

In dem zu besprechenden Buch haben wir nun eine ausgezeichnete Bestandsaufnahme auf dem Arbeitstisch. Das anregungsvolle Werk von Brands ist praktisch die erste monographische Darstellung des Lexikons der Turksprachen unter historisch-vergleichenden Aspekten. Die Stellung dieses Werkes in der turkologischen Literatur, und zwar im Hinblick auf ihre allgemein sprachwissenschaftlichen Relationen hat

¹ I discuss the problem afresh elsewhere, and in a different framework from my proposal of Word, 14, 1958, pp. 291–294.

der Verfasser selbst klar im Vorwort des Buches umrissen: „Diese Arbeit stellt den — gewiss noch unvollkommenen — Versuch dar, einige Lücken in der turkologischen Wortforschung schliessen zu helfen. Die dabei angewandte pragmatische Kombination traditioneller Methoden der Lexikologie mag in älteren Zweigen der Sprachwissenschaft schon teilweise überholt sein; für die Turkologie mit ihrer relativ kurzen Entwicklungsgeschichte gelten andere Massstäbe. Hier besteht ein unverkennbarer Nachholbedarf, der dem in der Wortforschung engagierten Turkologen zunächst keine andere Wahl lässt als die Anknüpfung z. B. an semasiologische und onomasiologische Fragestellungen, die etwa die Romanistik schon im vergangenen Jahrhundert systematisch entwickelt hat. Anders vorzugehen, hiesse den zweiten Schritt vor dem ersten tun.“

Alle Turkologen, auch diejenigen, die für eine unterbrochene Erneuerung der Forschungsmethoden plädieren, können mit diesen soliden Zielsetzungen nur einverstanden sein. Man ist sich in der Sprachwissenschaft darüber im klaren, dass die Forderung des methodischen Fortschrittes erst dann einen Sinn hat, wenn der organische Anschluss an den aktuellen Forschungsstand gesichert ist. Allein unter solchen Umständen kann das Novum ein gemeinsames Gut werden.

In der Monographie von Brands wird das Wortmaterial der Türksprachen mit dem klassischen Fragenkomplex historisch-vergleichender Prägung konfrontiert. Über die Dimensionen der Problemstellung informiert uns gut ein Blick auf das Inhaltsverzeichnis: I. Einführung (Zum Stand der turkologischen Wortforschung; Aufgabenstellung und Methodik dieser Studien; Technische und terminologische Bemerkungen); II. Wege der lexikalischen Differenzierung (Zum „gesamttürkischen“ Anteil im Wortbestand; Innersprachliche Differenzierung; Funktionen des Lehnguts); III. Semasiologische Aspekte (Beobachtungen zur türkischen Polysemie; Arten des Bedeutungswandels; Übersprachliche semantische Gemeinsamkeiten); IV. Ethnolinguistische und sprachgeographische Gesichtspunkte (Ethnisch-historische Bezeichnungen türkischer Sprachgruppen; Stammesdialekte und Regionalsprachen; Zum Aussagewert von „Regionalwörtern“; Oghusische und kiptschakische Züge im heutigen Wortbestand; Wortbestand und Klassifizierung der Türksprachen).

Bei der Beantwortung vieler Fragen haben die vorhandenen Vorarbeiten selbstverständlich eine gewisse Grenze gesetzt, der sich der Verfasser voll bewusst war. Seine Behandlung gibt sowohl in den Einzelfragen als auch in den grösseren Zusammenhängen ein klares Bild darüber, wo die Materialbasis noch unsicher ist, wo Probleme auftauchen, wo man mit einer sicheren Lösung rechnen kann oder eben noch weiterforschen muss. Dieses solide Augenmass, das in jedem Kapitel des Werkes zum Ausdruck kommt, erhöht sehr den Informationswert des Buches. Brands' Monographie bietet gleichzeitig den Forschern des Lexikons der einzelnen Türksprachen ein ausgezeichnetes Untersuchungsmodell für die weitere Arbeit, das gleichzeitig auch auf die grösseren Zusammenhänge hinweist.

Es ist sicher, dass man zu einzelnen Punkten des Werkes bald neue Angaben

oder Überlegungen wird liefern können. Wir möchten uns nur mit einigen kleinen Bemerkungen begnügen.

S. 57—58: Was das Osmanische und die Interpretation von Némeths Theorie in bezug auf das doppelte Sprachsystem betrifft, würde ich eher an den Phonetismus der Sprache denken. Es ist bekannt, dass Németh in seiner Studie die Tatsachen zwar ausgezeichnet registriert, theoretische Auswertung dieser Fakten eben vom Gesichtspunkt des Systems aber ausgespart hat. Es ist Lees' Verdienst, auf diese Fragen in bezug auf das Phoneminventar und die morphonologische Struktur der Sprache eine adäquate Antwort gegeben zu haben.

Was den Vergleich des Osmanischen oder des „Fasih Türkçe“ mit dem Tschagataischen anbelangt, würde ich beide als ausgesprochene „Buchsprachen“ betrachten und die Unterschiede nicht im Überfremdungsgrad, sondern über die Folgeerscheinungen in der Struktur hinaus — wie auch der Verfasser — in dem Dialekt-hintergrund suchen.

S. 91: Was *qara* und seine Semantik über den Farbenbereich hinaus betrifft, würde ich erneut (cf. AAS, 7, 1971, S. 154) auf eine in der turkologischen Literatur ausserhalb der Sowjetunion wenig bekannte Studie von Kononov hinweisen (cf. Sovietico-Turcica 1177), wo der Lösungsversuch der vom Verfasser angestrebten Klärung entspricht.

S. 84: Im Falle des Ethonyms *türk* und seiner Anwendung würde ich eher den ethno-sozialen als den semasiologischen Aspekten einen Vorrang einräumen.

S. 120—123: Die abschliessenden Erwägungen von Brands enthalten eine Reihe von scharfsinnigen kritischen Gedanken — und zwar über die eigentliche Problematik des eigenen Werkes hinaus — zur Einteilung der Turksprachen. Ich glaube, dass Brands' Bemerkungen auf ein aktuelles Anliegen der Turkologie hinweisen. Man könnte das am einfachsten so formulieren, dass die Zeit gekommen ist, die Fragen der Einteilung der Turksprachen erneut aufzuwerfen. Man sollte die ganze Problematik unter den aktuellen theoretischen Voraussetzungen neu in Angriff nehmen und dabei einige grundsätzliche Fragen (die Rolle der verschiedenen grammatischen Bereiche in der Einteilung, Operation mit Kriterienbündel, Verhältnis der Einteilung der Sprachen und der Periodisierung ihrer Geschichte zueinander, Synchronbild und historische Prägung usw.), die hinter den Kulissen sicherlich oft diskutiert werden, in den Vordergrund stellen.

Brands vermochte eine klare wissenschaftliche Konzeption diszipliniert zu verwirklichen. Das knappe, summarische Bild unserer Handbücher über die Probleme der vergleichenden Wortschatzforschung wird durch die ausgezeichnete Monographie von Brands ersetzt, die die Turkologie und die allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft in einer glücklichen und anregungsvollen Form enger zusammenführt.

Georg Hazai

Mongolenreise zur spaeten Goethezeit. Berichte und Bilder des J. Rehmann und A. Thesleff von der russischen Gesandtschaftsreise 1805/06. Herausgegeben und mit einer Einleitung von Walther Heissig. Mit 18 Abbildungen im Text und 44 Farbtafeln (= Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Im Einvernehmen mit der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Wolfgang Voigt. Supplementband 13). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH 1971. 4 + 177 S. 8°.

Das vorliegende Buch bereichert die Literatur der Reiseberichte über die Mongolei mit der Edition von zwei wichtigen Quellen, die der wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit bis jetzt praktisch unzugänglich waren. Es handelt sich um die Edition von J. Rehmanns *Reisetagebuch und Bildatlas* sowie A. A. Thesleffs *Reisenotizen*. Der Nachlass beider Gelehrten betrifft dieselbe Reise, die 1805—1806 im Auftrag des Zaren Alexander I. stattgefunden hat. Das eigentliche Ziel der Reise war China, wo die Aufgabe der nicht gerade kleinen Gesandtschaft (124 Personen haben an der Reise teilgenommen) offiziell die Ankündigung des Regierungsantritts von Alexander I., tatsächlich aber die Bemühung um bessere Handelsbeziehungen gewesen wäre. Aus protokollarischen Gründen, d. h. wegen einiger übertriebenen Höflichkeitsformen, hat die Gesandtschaft auf die Weiterreise verzichtet und ist nach Russland zurückgekehrt. Unter den Mitgliedern der von Graf Golovkin geleiteten Gesandtschaft befanden sich nur wenige, die über die Reise berichtet haben. Aus diesen Memoiren waren bis jetzt die Reisenotizen von Graf Golovkin selbst, die Erinnerungen von J. H. von Klaproth und A. Martynov bekannt.

Der Nachlass von A. A. Thesleff und J. Rehmann ist auf die Anregung von H. Franke und P. Aalto in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses geraten. Besonderer Dank gebührt aber W. Heissig, dem Herausgeber dieses Bandes, der dieser Anregung gefolgt ist und diese wichtigen wissenschaftlichen Quellen veröffentlicht hat.

Die Edition von W. Heissig gliedert sich folgendermassen: Vorwort: S. V. Inhalt: S. VII—VIII. Einleitung: 1. Berichte zweier unbekannter Mongolei-Reisender der spaeten Goethe-Zeit, S. 1—9; 2. Leben und wissenschaftliches Werk J. Rehmanns (1779—1831), S. 9—19; 3. Alexander Amatus Thesleff (1778—1847), S. 19—23; 4. Die Gesandtschaftsreise von Irkutsk bis Urga nach Thesleffs Tagebuch, S. 23—47; 5. Rehmanns Bilderatlas und Bemerkungen als Quellen zur zeitgenössischen Geschichte der Mongolei, S. 48—63. Joseph Rehmann: Reise v. St. Petersburg durch die östliche Russland und Sibirien in die chinesische Mongolei: I. Reise von St. Petersburg nach Moskau vom 9. zum 13. July 1805, S. 67—73; Aufenthalt in Moskau, S. 74—77; III. Abreise von Moskau, Gouvernement Wolodimir vom 18. zum 20. July, S. 78—86; IV. Gouvernement von Nischny-Nowgorod-Liskowo, S. 86—87; Das Dorf Liskowo, S. 95—99; V. Vierte Abteilung. Der Jahrmarkt von Makarieff, S. 99—121; Kasan, S. 121—126. — Über den religiösen Zustand der Chalkas-

Mongolen und dem lamaitischen Oberpriester Kutuchtu zu Urga (Auszug aus der noch ungedruckten Reise Dr. J. Rehmann durch Sibirien in die chinesische Mongolei), S. 127—131. Verfassung und politische Lage der Chalkasmongolen (Auszug aus der noch ungedruckten Reise des Dr. J. Rehmann in die chinesische Mongolei), S. 132—143. Briefe und Berichte, S. 147—164. Aus der Bildermanne: „Voyage de St. Petersburg à Ourga dans la Mongolie Chinoise par le Russe orientale et le Siberie“ (43 verkleinerte Farb-Faksimilia): I—XLIII. Register; Quellen; Verzeichnis der Abbildungen im Text; Verzeichnis der Tafeln, S. 167—177.

Der Herausgeber hat seine Aufgabe in einer tadellosen Form erfüllt. Das interessante Material der Reiseberichte erhält durch seine Erläuterungen und Redaktion die notwendige Form, die die weitere Ausnützung dieser Quellen für alle erleichtert. Es ist sicher, dass die Edition dieser Quellen nicht nur das Interesse des eigentlichen Mongolisten wecken wird, sondern mit einem breiteren Benutzerkreis rechnen kann.

Das Buch ist im Rahmen der grossangelegten Publikationsreihe der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft unter der Leitung von W. Voigt erschienen. Was die technische Ausstattung anbelangt, muss die grossartige Faksimilereihe hervorgehoben werden. Es ist besonders erfreulich, dass es gelungen ist, die Vielfalt des Bilderatlasses treu wiederzugeben. Die Wissenschaftler können dem Herausgeber des Bandes und der Reihe für ihre Initiative und für die ausgezeichnete Verwirklichung nur den herzlichsten Dank sagen.

Georg Hazai

Tyler, Stephen A.: *India: An Anthropological Perspective*. Pacific Palisades, California, Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc. 1973. 224 pp.

Many papers and articles regarding various questions of Indology have been written up to now and from time to time, a work would appear in which the author tried to solve not one but several important indological problems. S. A. Tyler's book belongs to the latter type of studies. India of the book, according to the author himself (Preface), is both fictional and real as well as both ancient and contemporary. The author derives his knowledge mainly from books and then from the brief personal experience in India.

The book under review consists of eight chapters divided into three parts, i.e. India in Perspective (pp. 1—21), Formation of Indian Culture (pp. 23—104), and Contemporary Social Organization (pp. 105—170). Then the Appendix follows (pp. 171—217) including, besides some shorter additional studies, also a rich bibliography arranged according to separate problems and an Index.

The first part of the book contains some general notes about India, i.e. about the

Indian character (the author presents himself as an excellent observer here as his description of Indian character is, at least from the standpoint of a Westerner, really truthful), then about geographic and climatic conditions, about the influence of these factors upon the Indian culture, and about races in India. Tyler does not go beyond introducing some known attempts at their classification and systematization. He pays attention also to the language situation in India and to language families which are discussed in detail in the Appendix. Some space is devoted to the language problem, i.e. to the problem of enacting the only official language in India. Among others the opinion is voiced (p. 20) that monolingualism is a prejudice, as a large and multilingual country may function quite effectively also without a common language, as in fact the very distant past had proved.

The next part of the book, which is much richer as regards the quantity and variety of the problems studied than the rest of the work, deals with the question of the formation of Indian culture. The author presents the basic notions of Indian thought and then follows a brief survey of prehistoric cultures. The Indus civilization is analysed in more detail. Tyler mentions the known facts and theories regarding archaeological discoveries, the organization of Indus society, the origin and downfall of Indus civilization, Indus script as well as the attempts at its translation.

In the next chapter the Vedic literature which is the main source of information on Indian civilization during the period from 1000 to 500 B.C. is discussed. In an excellent and concise way the main concepts, relations, transformations and categories of Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are explained. The following chapter introducing the basic doctrines and goals of the heterodox religious systems, i.e. Jainism, Buddhism, and Cārvāka is also of a very high quality.

In the chapter The Hindu Synthesis the attention is paid to the six primary Indian philosophical systems (Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya and Yoga, Mīmāṃsa and Vedānta) as well as to the central themes of the secular literature of early Hinduism (mainly dharma and pollution) and to the fourfold division (varṇas) of old Indian society. However, the division of society into Āryan and non-Āryan components with adherence to Āryan sacraments as the chief criterion of Āryanness is regarded as the more important. The problem of castes (to which much more space is devoted in the last chapter of the work) is also touched upon. The Indian word jāti denoting species or kind is considered the indigenous word for caste. Members of different jātis are members of different species having their own duties, obligations and standards of behaviour.

In the subchapter Hinduism, the coalescence of Āryan and non-Āryan religious features in the religious system known as Hinduism as well as the new gods of this religion, the form of theistic devotion (bhakti) and the religious rite (pūjā) are discussed.

The last part of the study treats of problems connected with the organization of contemporary Indian society. The author, as it seems, starts primarily from the

Indian tradition. He pays attention only to the natives and village people — to the organization of village society, to the life of Indian family, relations among its members as well as to the specific features of village Hinduism. Tyler mentions also the endeavour of the Indian government to improve the life of peasants by various means, e.g. through extensive irrigational system. The "community development program" is considered the most spectacular, but he does not believe in its success as "Peasants are peasants and the virtuous Jeffersonian ideal of free, independent yeoman cultivators has been able to exist, if at all, only for short periods under highly specialized frontier conditions" (p. 128).

The town society is completely neglected. In our view, at least some attention ought to have been paid to its problems and organization as it is playing a more and more important role in the life of modern India.

Approximately one page is devoted to the changes in Indian society. Their description comes near the truth but it is a little too succinct. It seems that Tyler does not assign such an importance to the influence of the West, education and industry on Indian society, as some other authors do. He keeps to the traditional Indian life and regards the indisputable changes rather as exceptions confirming the rule, than something of principle. We can hardly agree with this view contesting any progress in modern Indian society.

The chapter called The Caste System belongs to the best and the most interesting parts of the book under review. The profound study of the hierarchic arrangement of Indian society, as well as of the *jajmāni* system, i.e. interdependence of castes on the basis of economic exchange (exchange of services) and some other questions, is illustrated by many figures which enable the reader to grasp quickly the problems studied.

In spite of several critical remarks, the book under review is admittedly a very good one. Its value lies not only in original studies, but also in the attempt to sum up theories known from other literature. The work is written in a modern way and, as already mentioned, illustrated with many excellent tables. Tyler's book can be considered to be a real contribution to indological studies.

Anna Rácová

Lingat, Robert: *The Classical Law of India*. Translated from French, with additions, by J. Duncan M. Derrett. Berkeley—Los Angeles — London, University of California Press 1973. 305 pp.

The book by R. Lingat, a distinguished student of the legal systems of South and Southeast Asia, who nearly until his death in 1972 taught in the Center for Indian Studies at the University of Paris, was first published in French in 1967.

The present book is its English translation by J. Duncan M. Derrett, Professor of Oriental Laws at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University in London.

The aim of Lingat's book is "to clarify the Hindus' understanding of Law before they encountered western notions on that subject" (p. xii).

The Hindu law differs considerably from the law as known in the West. In building up their law, the Hindus relied on religious concepts prescribing the rules of conduct for an individual according to his station in society. Dharma, translated by the author as "duty", is the central concept of the work. It "in effect expresses conformity with what Hindus regard as the natural order of things, and this explains its association with law" (p. xiii).

In the first part of the book (pp. 3—132) the author introduces the sources of dharma (Vedas, Tradition, and "Good Custom"), pays attention to dharma-sūtras, works on dharma written in the sūtra (aphoristic) form, including rules which are developed only in the contexts of family and succession law; then dharma-śāstras follow that include the rules intended to assist in the administration of justice. Some space is devoted to commentaries and digests playing an important role in the evolution of juridical thought in India.

The second part of the work (From Dharma to Law, pp. 135—256) consists of three chapters dealing with interpretations considered as the real beginning of Indian juridical science, the relationship between dharma and custom, and dharma and royal ordinance.

In the Conclusion (pp. 257—272) the author discusses the influence of Muslim rule and English judicial system on the classical law system in India, as well as the development of the Hindu system in the Hinduised states of Southeast Asia.

Anna Rácová

Zahir, Mohammad: *Public Expenditure and Income Distribution in India*. New Delhi, Associated Publishing House 1971. 191 pp.

The work under review is the first study analysing the effect of public expenditure on distribution of income in India during the period of the first three Plans, i.e. from 1951 till 1966 written by an Indian author single-handedly.

The study consists of six chapters: Equitable Distribution (pp. 1—10), Income and Wealth Distribution (pp. 11—47), Pattern of Public Expenditure (pp. 48—73), Public Expenditure and Income Distribution (pp. 74—102), Inflation and the Pattern of Income Distribution (pp. 103—129), and Public Expenditure and Regional Inequalities (pp. 130—156).

The author discusses the necessity of increase in national income and its equitable distribution. Reduction of disparities in income and wealth is considered as one of the major objectives of economic policy in India. M. Zahir investigates also the extent of inequalities of income in his country. He presents the patterns of income distribution in various developed and underdeveloped countries and compares the general observations with the situation in India. Next he examines the trends in public expenditure during the three first Plans and the main directions of change. In the last three chapters the various expenditure policies of Government and reasons of inflation as well as the problem of regional inequalities in India and the effects of the first fifteen years of planning on the regional economy are discussed.

The profound and serious study of the above-mentioned problems is very well illustrated by many tables dealing with income distribution, public expenditure, wages, prices, etc.

Anna Rácová

Mawlânâ, Djalâl Od-Dîn Rûmî: *Odes Mystiques (Divâne Shams-e Tabrizî)*. Traduction du persan et notes par Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch et Mohammad Mokri. Paris, Éditions Klincksieck 1973. 326 pp.

Peu de choses peuvent rendre hommage à un poète d'une manière plus digne que la propagation de ses vers dans le public. Aussi, ce n'est pas par hasard que précisément à l'occasion du 700-ème anniversaire de la mort du représentant le plus éminent de la poésie mystique persane, Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch et Mohammad Mokri ont édité la traduction de *Divâne Shams-e Tabrizî*.

A sa rencontre avec le derviche errant Shams Od-Dîn Mohammad Tabrizî, le philosophe cultivé, d'une grande réputation, Djalâl Od-Dîn était ravi par sa doctrine mystique et cet enthousiasme — quand derviche Shams Od-Dîn a disparu sans laisser de trace (probablement assassiné par les disciples jaloux de Rûmî) — a reçu l'expression concrète dans les suprêmes ghazals mystiques. Désormais, Djalâl Od-Dîn signait ses vers de l'identité mystique du sujet avec l'object de son amour par le nom d'auteur Shams. Mais: «Si Shams n'est pas l'auteur de ces vers, il en est, dans l'esprit de Rûmî, l'inspirateur; le poète a seulement tenté de traduire en mots ce que son maître lui avait transmis» (pp. 10—11).

La traduction du *Divâne* a été faite d'après l'édition critique de l'Université de Téhéran publiée par les soins de B. Foruzanfar (les deux premiers volumes du texte persan contiennent 1081 odes). Les traducteurs ont choisi 408 odes (la numérotation de base a été conservée), le critère de leur choix étant justifié de manière suivante: «Nous nous sommes limités à ce nombre de poèmes pour une double raison: matérielle,

d'abord, afin de rendre accessible la présentation de cette œuvre d'une telle importance bien qu'inconnue des lecteurs français; esthétique, ensuite: certaines de ces odes, si belles qu'elles soient dans leur langue d'origine, ne 'passent' pas en une autre: soit que les particularités de style les rendant pratiquement intraduisibles (allitérations, jeux de mots, assonances prisées à l'époque, mais impossibles à rendre); soit qu'il s'agisse de poésies de circonstances, de répétitions qui nous paraissaient susceptibles de dévaluer l'ensemble» (p. 15).

Les traducteurs ont réalisé un travail presque pionnier: excepté une petite sélection des odes dans les traductions anglaise et allemande, il n'exista pas jusqu'ici une traduction du *Díván-e Shams* d'une extension pareille (les auteurs préparent dans un avenir assez proche le reste de la traduction du *Díván*). Leur traduction des odes n'est pas surchargée de notes superflues; ce qui importe surtout, c'est l'effet esthétique et non pas l'exposition érudite de la mystique persane. Les informations les plus importantes sur le Soufisme sont contenues dans l'Introduction (pp. 7—16), où se trouvent, également, quelques renvois bibliographiques sur des travaux d'une orientation plus professionnelle. Et enfin, il n'est pas sans intérêt d'ajouter que le livre a été rangé dans la «Collection UNESCO d'œuvres représentatives, Série persane».

Kamil Baňák

Utas, Bo: *Tarīq ut-tahqīq, A Sufi Mathnāvi ascribed to Hakīm Sanā'i of Ghazna and probably composed by Aḥmad b. al-Hasan b. Muḥammad an-Naxčavānī*. (A critical edition, with a history of the text and a commentary.) Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, No. 13. Lund, Studentlitteratur 1973. 245 + 53 pp.

It is an unquestionable fact that the Sufi didactic mathnavi owes its origin, in the first place, to Sanā'i. Seven mathnavis (with the exception of *Hadīqat ul-haqīqah*, none of them very long) are attributed to the pen of the first great Persian poet of taṣawwuf. One of them is *Tarīq ut-tahqīq* (*The Path of Verification*). Sanā'i's authorship of this mathnavi was accepted by most of the scholars (e.g. H. Ethé, E. G. Browne, J. Rypka, Je. E. Bertel's, H. Ritter — to name some of the more prominent) and it seems that among them there were no serious objections to the authenticity of this opinion. The late Turkish scholar Ahmed Ateş, considering a relevant fact that the oldest known manuscript of *Tarīq ut-tahqīq* (Istanbul, Üniversite FY 593) ascribes it to an otherwise unknown Persian author, named Aḥmad b. al-Hasan an-Naxčavānī, was of the opinion that the poem is not a genuine work by Sanā'i and should be attributed to this unknown poet. It was also the late Professor Ateş who gave the author of the reviewed book the idea of preparing a critical edition of *Tarīq ut-tahqīq* and to ascertain the authorship of the poem.

In the first two chapters Text Sources (pp. 11—40) and History of the Text (pp. 41—113), twenty four manuscripts of various provenance and date that contain the poem, and five printed editions of it are described and analysed in the broadest possible way. The author compares them so as to eliminate manuscripts that are evidently derived from earlier texts of *Tarīq ut-tahqīq* and thus obtaining a total of nine sources for establishing the text of the poem given in this critical edition. Three manuscripts have been used as primary sources: the first two are not only the oldest known, dated 1485 A.D. or 1493 A.D. respectively, and written in Iran, but both are distinguished by a certain inconsistency as to the title of the poem and its authorship (an-Naxčavānī and Šaix Auḥadī respectively); the third one is much later — dated 1736 A.D. (MSS. collection of the Panjab University Library, Lahore)— but it brings the only known complete text of the poem (ascribed to Sanā’ī). These three primary sources have been complemented by six secondary ones — five manuscripts and one printed edition — that have been chosen as the relevant texts for the critical analysis and conclusive representatives of the textual development of the poem.

The problem of the authorship is dealt with in chapter III (pp. 115—134). The manuscripts ascribe the poem to at least three different poets and nearly all of them to Sanā’ī. But the oldest known manuscript states Ahmad an-Naxčavānī to be the author of the poem and Mr. Utas is of the same opinion. He quotes many reasons that support his conclusion, the following five being the most decisive for his statement: “In view of (i) the relatively late attribution of *Tarīq ut-tahqīq* to Sanā’ī in the *tadkirah* works and similar literature (*supra*, pp. 117—118), (ii) the absence of the poem in the oldest known MSS. of *Kulliyāt-i Sanā’ī* and similar collections (*supra*, pp. 118—119), (iii) the absence of the name of Sanā’ī and of any reference to him in the two oldest MSS. of the poem (A and B) and the existence of the place-name Naxčavān in the later text sources (*supra*, p. 125), (iv) the occurrence in the poem of a verse from *Hadīqat ul-haqīqah* introduced as a saying of “that (ān) Ḥakīm” (*supra*, p. 125), and (v) the difference in style and general strain between the poem and *Hadīqat ul-haqīqah* (*supra*, pp. 120—121, 128), the poem is not a work by Ḥakīm Sanā’ī of Ghazna” (p. 130). Mr. Utas is therefore of the opinion that unknown Ahmad an-Naxčavānī (according to Mr. Utas’ hypothesis the poet probably lived some time in the 14th century A.D.) is most likely the author of the *Tarīq ut-tahqīq*.

The author has chosen not to give a word-for-word translation of the poem, but elaborates a rather comprehensive description of its contents (the chapter IV, pp. 135—164) where he often quotes the most relevant terms also in their Persian equivalent (in transcribed form). This chapter is supplemented by the following chapter V — Commentary (pp. 165—190) that consists of philological and explanatory notes.

Chapter VII (pp. 195—209) brings the Concordance of Verses and Headings

based on the above nine sources, while the critical Persian text of the poem is given in chapter X (pp. 1—53; Arabic pagination). The preceding two chapters — VIII and IX — are Bibliography (pp. 211—225) and Indices of Personal Names and Persian Words (pp. 227—245).

Mr. Utas did more than just issue a critical edition of *Tariq ut-tahqīq*: sharing the late Professor Ates's opinion that the authenticity of Sanā'i's authorship of the poem is rather problematic and proceeding in accordance with his own statement: "In combination with the relative shortness and simplicity of the poem, this has made it possible to survey the existing text sources in an exhaustive fashion, and with this in mind I have judged it profitable to undertake a detailed text-critical investigation, in order to demonstrate how far it is possible to reconstruct the textual history of a poem like this over a period of some 500 years" (Preface, p. 5), he has presented us here with a fine example of an erudite textual criticism.

Kamil Baňák

Rathbun, Carole: *The Village in the Turkish Novel and Short Story 1920 to 1955*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1972. 192 pp.

The fundamental transformation of the Turkish literature was accompanied by a change in literary themes. Revival literature, clearly oriented towards realism, had recourse in a steadily growing measure, to topics of prime importance to life. The village and its inhabitants began sporadically to appear in works of Turkish writers from the closing years of the last century.¹ A sentimentally-idyllic and romantic portrayal of the Turkish countryside in the first novels drawing inspiration from village life gave way to a more realistic apprehension of these problems in the twenties. During the past fifty years, this rural theme has won a foremost place in Turkish literature and even at the present time loses nothing of its actuality. In her work on the village in Turkish fiction Dr. Rathbun endeavours to capture the differences in the understanding and portrayal of rural topics that became apparent during the course of its evolution.

Carole Rathbun's doctorate thesis embraces a period of thirty five years which represent a great step forward in the development of Turkish literature. The authoress

¹ The first attempts in Turkish literature to portray the village theme are dealt with in P. Tolga's unpublished study Cumhuriyet devrine kadar yazılan Türk romanlarındaki köylü tipleri ve köy meseleleri (Village types and village problems in Turkish novels written before the creation of the Republic), which C. Rathbun refers to in the publication under review.

has focussed her attention on the most significant works with a village topic by ten Turkish writers published between 1920—1955. But she also touches, particularly in the closing section of her study, on the development of rural literature after the year 1960.

The Introduction (pp. 13—24) comprises a brief review of political and economic conditions prevailing in the Turkish countryside from the origin of the Republic up to the year 1950. C. Rathbun has chosen the year 1950 as a convenient landmark between two stages in the development of a literary portraying of the countryside. In that year there appeared the outlines by Mahmut Makal, *Bizim köy* (*Our Village*). This was the first book with a village topic by an author who himself stemmed from the country. As a result of the great impact of Mahmut Makal's first work, the rural theme ceased to be a domain commanded by urban writers. More and more frequently this theme is dealt with by young writers coming from rural areas, for the most part graduates of Village Institutes. The authoress makes it a point to underline the significance of these Institutes for the birth of a new village intelligentsia, and in her notes presents a fairly detailed bibliography of writings on the Village Institutes. In this Introduction C. Rathbun also mentions the role played by the Publishing House Varlık and the magazine of the same name in publishing the works of beginning village authors.

She draws attention to the considerable differences in works by authors from towns and those by authors hailing from the village. However, as she follows in detail only the period up the year 1955, she is in fact concerned only with the picture of the village as portrayed by works of urban authors.

Part I The Writers (pp. 25—74) contains personal data on the life and work of ten writers, the years of publication of their most important books and a brief characteristic of their works dealing with village problems. The authoress has made an attempt at recording translations of the various works into foreign languages, but her data are incomplete.

Chapter one, entitled The Introduction of Village Themes: 1920—1945, is devoted to Memduh Şevket Esendal, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Sadri Ertem, Sabahattin Ali and Reşat Enis. In her summarizing characteristic of the manner of treating the village theme by these authors, C. Rathbun emphasizes that in the writings of Esendal, Kadri and Ali, the village appears as static in contrast to the novels by Sadri Ertem's *Çıraklılar durunca* (*When the Spinning-Wheels Stop*) and Reşat Enis's *Toprak kokusu* (*Scent of Earth*), where accent is laid on the villager's inwardness and his awareness of his problems, as also on his relationship with the outside world. The authoress appreciates in S. Ertem the fact that he was the first to deal in Turkish literature with the problem of man's exploitation in industrial society and the migration form the country to the cities.

The chapter The Development of Village Themes: 1945—1958 is devoted to the works of Kemal Bilbaşar, Kemal Tahir, Orhan Kemal, Samim Kocagöz and Orhan

Hançerlioğlu. The authoress dwelt over certain specific aspects in the production of the various writers. She took note in particular of the difference between the mountain village and one on the plains in Samim Kocagöz and Kemal Bilbaşar, as well as of the manner in which the political life of the country became reflected in the works of these five authors.

Part II Subjects in the Literature: The Village Revealed in the Fiction (pp. 81—170) represents the core of the entire work. The authoress starts from the concepts arrived at in Part I, making a systematic analysis of every aspect of the life of a village and its inhabitants as portrayed in the writings of the years 1920—1955. This part is supported with numerous quotations from works dealing with village topics.

On the basis a detailed analysis of the various aspects of village problems in novels and short stories, C. Rathbun is able to state in the Epilogue (pp. 172—177) that an essential agreement exists between the village as portrayed by fiction and that described in works by sociologists and non-fiction of that period. This speaks for a truly realistic orientation of contemporary Turkish literature intent on capturing and portraying on-going phenomena in the life of society. The authoress again underlines the difference in the works of town- and village-writers, especially evident in the manner of apprehending present-day development and changes in the village as seen by young village writers.

The theme bearing on the life in the Turkish village and its inhabitants achieved a foremost place in the literary themes of the fifties and has become an object of investigation by several Turkologists.² Carole Rathbun's work represents as yet the most consistent dissertation on the novel and short story with a village topic in Turkish literature. She focussed her attention primarily on the measure and the manner in which problems of village life had been reflected in the different works, leaving aside their literary value. Despite this one-sided orientation, C. Rathbun's publication *The Village in the Turkish Novel and Short Story 1920 to 1955* constitutes a valuable contribution in the field of study of Turkish literature. The authoress has processed in it an abundant material and has helped towards an understanding of an important period in the development of Turkish prose. There is no doubt but that C. Rathbun will cope with equal success with a study on the development of literature of the Turkish village after the year 1955, which she signalizes in a remark to the introduction of the publication under review.

Xénia Celnarová

² Besides the works listed by C. Rathbun in her references, there are three studies on the village problems in Turkish literature: Spies, O.: *Der türkische Bauer in der Erzählungsliteratur. Die Welt des Islams*. N.S., 4, 1955, pp. 40—46; Sonina, I. R.: *Krestyanskaya tema v poslevoennoi progressivnoi turetskoi proze (Peasant topic in post-war Turkish prose)*. Voprosy tyurkskoi filologii, Moscow 1966, pp. 244—269; Dumont, P.: *Littérature et sous-développement: les "romans paysans" en Turquie*. Annales, Paris 1973, No. 3, pp. 745—764.

Reychman, Jan: *Historia Turcji* (Geschichte der Türkei). Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków—Gdańsk, Ossolineum 1973. 387 S.

Unter den in den letzten Jahren herausgegebenen Geschichtsüberblicken der Türkei wird das rezensierte Buch ohne Zweifel einen würdigen Platz einnehmen. Seinem Umfang nach gehört das Buch zu einem der mittelgrossen, mit einem mustergültig gegliedertem Inhalt. Es ist weder vereinfachend kurz, noch langweilig, und zu seinen Spezifika gehört die Anwendung des polnischen Aspekts auf viele Geschehnisse und Prozesse in der osmanischen Geschichte. Aus dem Blickpunkt der polnisch-osmanischen Beziehungen ist das Buch ein Informant ersten Ranges.

Der Autor, Professor J. Reychman von der Universität Warschau, den wir von einer umfangreichen orientalistisch-historischen Produktion her kennen, bereitete sich für diese Arbeit seit längerer Zeit vor, da er vor einiger Zeit eine populäre Übersicht der türkischen Geschichte *Dni świetności i klęski Turcji* (*Die Glanz- und Verfallstage der Türkei*, Warszawa 1962) und das Skriptum für Universitätsstudenten *Dzieje Turcji od końca XVIII wieku* (*Die Geschichte der Türkei seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Warszawa 1970) herausgab.

In zwölf Kapiteln legt Reychman eine Übersicht der Geschichte der Türkei von deren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart vor. Es ist dies jedoch die Geschichte des türkischen Elementes, da sich die ersten zwei Kapitel der ältesten Geschichte der türkischen Stämme und der Ankunft der Türken in Anatolien widmen. Den wesentlichen Teil des Buches nimmt natürlich die osmanische Geschichte ein, in dem der Autor ausser der politischen Geschichte die Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches einer Untersuchung unterzieht und die Probleme der wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Geschichte verfolgt. Bei seinen Ausführungen geht der Autor aus der neuesten Fachliteratur aus und es ist ein Verdienst seiner enzyklopädischer Kenntnisse, dass wir in viele Geschehnisse neue Einblicke gewinnen. Wir möchten wiederholt betonen, dass das Buch die polnisch-türkischen Beziehungen gut erklärt und einigen Erscheinungen, wie z. B. der polnischen Emigration in der Türkei werden selbständige Absätze gewidmet.

Die neuere Geschichte, vor allem der nationale Befreiungskrieg und die Geschichte der Türkischen Republik, ist eher vom Gesichtspunkt der politischen Geschichte bearbeitet, auch hier aber schenkt der Autor seine Aufmerksamkeit wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Fragen.

Es ist selbstverständlich, dass es äusserst schwierig ist die vollständige Geschichte der Türkei wiederzugeben und Vereinfachungen dabei zu vermeiden. Man kann sagen, dass Reychman Fehlern dieser Art ausweichen konnte, dass im Buch aber trotzdem genug problematische und unrichtige Behauptungen vorkommen. Viele davon sind jedoch der ungenügenden Bearbeitung der betreffenden Probleme in der Fachliteratur zuzuschreiben. So behauptet er z. B. auf S. 68, dass es im Friedens-

vertrag, der zwischen Ferdinand I. und dem Sultan in Istanbul im Jahre 1533 geschlossen wurde, um die Anerkennung Jan Zapskis als ungarischen König ging, obzwar es sich lediglich um die Anerkennung des *status quo* in Ungarn handelte. Auf Seite 78 führt er an: „Das ganze Land war in einige grosse Provinzen, wie Anatolien, Rumelien, Bosnien und früher auch Ungarn, geteilt, an deren Spitze Gouverneure (*beylerbey*) standen, die kleineren Provinzen (*pašalik*) wurden von den Paschas (*paşa*) regiert; Kreise, Fahnen genannt (*sancak*), leiteten die Sancakbeys; noch kleinere Einheiten wurden von den Subaşis geleitet.“ Dazu bemerken wir, dass es nicht möglich ist grosse Provinzen (*eyālet*) und kleine Provinzen (*pašalik*) zu unterscheiden. Nach der Darstellung von H. Šabanović (*Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajewo 1959, S. 109) „stammt die Benennung *pašalik* daher, dass die Beylerbeys oder Mir-i mirans, die die einzelnen *Eyālets* leiteten, gewöhnlich den Titel Pascha mit dem Rang von anfangs zwei und später auch den Titel Wesir mit dem Rang von drei *tuğ* führten“. Ausserdem würde es uns interessieren, was der Autor unter der Bezeichnung von den Subaşis geleiteten „kleinsten Einheiten“ meint. Handelt es sich um *nahiye*, ist auch gegen die Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung einzuwenden, da die *nahiye* eine Verwaltungseinheit nur im Rahmen des Timar-Systems war. Auf der folgenden Seite reiht der Autor die Martolosen unter Divisionsabteile, obgleich die jüngsten Forschungen (M. Vasić, C. Orhonlu) gezeigt haben, dass ihre Funktion im Osmanischen Reich viel weiter war (Beschützer von Bergwerken, Gebirgspässen, polizeiliche Funktionen innerhalb des Staates).

Der Autor vertritt die Meinung (S. 88), dass die militärischen Misserfolge der türkischen Armee seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts auf die Rückständigkeit der neuen europäischen Militärtechnik gegenüber zurückzuführen sind. Uns scheint es vielmehr, dass erst der Dreissigjährige Krieg einen markanten Fortschritt in der Entwicklung der europäischen Kriegsausrüstung bedeutete. Diese, sowie weitere Fragen können jedoch diskutiert werden, da sie die mangelhafte Bearbeitung einer Fülle von Problemen der osmanischen Geschichte widerspiegelt.

Es ist noch hinzuzufügen, dass das Buch sehr sorgfältig illustriert ist, auch wenn es sich aus praktischen Gründen nur auf schwarzweisse Fotografien beschränkt. Es bringt viele unbekannte Stiche aus den Sammlungen des Königs Stanislaus August oder andere wenig bekannte Illustrationen aus polnischen und ausländischen Sammlungen. Wertvoll sind auch die beigelegten Landkarten, die den Text passend ergänzen. Die Orientierung im Buch wird erleichtert durch ein Namens- und geographischen Register (zusammengestellt von D. Reychmanowa), sowie weitere Hilfsbestandteile des Buches, die Genealogie (S. 342—344) und ein Wörterbuch der türkischen Termini (S. 345—352), das von T. Majda zusammengestellt wurde.

Vojtech Kopčan

Röhrborn, Klaus: *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*. Berlin—New York, Walter de Gruyter 1973. XI + 177 S. Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift „Der Islam“, hrsg. von B. Spuler. Neue Folge, Band 5.

Vor einigen Jahren (1966) hat Klaus Röhrborn in derselben Edition das Buch *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* herausgegeben, in dem er auf Grund von Quellmaterial die Haupttendenzen in der Entwicklung der Verwaltung, den Charakter einzelner Würden und Ämter, Befähigungen der Beamten, die sozialen, religiösen und andere Verhältnisse des Safawiden-Persiens untersuchte. Das Buch war ein hervorragendes Beispiel von Bearbeitung der gegebenen Problematik. Während Röhrborns Werk in Fragen der Safawiden-Verwaltung bahnbrechend war (nur teilweise bearbeitete dieses Thema A. K. S. Lambton), steht über die osmanische Verwaltung des untersuchten Zeitraumes doch eine reichhaltigere Literatur zur Verfügung.

Die europäische Osmanistik, die sich lange Zeit ausschliesslich der politischen Geschichte zuwandte, wie dies bis vor kurzem auch in der Türkei selbst der Fall war, verblieb im Bereich der wirtschaftlichen, sozialen Geschichte sowie in den Fragen der inneren Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches lange auf ausgetretenen Pfaden. Nach M. d'Ohsson und J. von Hammer erschienen in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts Beiträge von M. Belin, P. A. von Tischendorf und W. Bernhauer, welche osmanische Abhandlungen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert übersetzten und interpretierten, so dass diese für einen langen Zeitraum zur einzigen Quelle der Kenntnisse der inneren Verhältnisse im Osmanischen Reich wurden. Und so blieben die Ansichten der osmanischen Reformisten des 17. Jahrhunderts bis vor kurzem in vielen Fragen der inneren Entwicklung des Reiches im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert massgebend.

Zur Lösung des Problems auf einer erwünschten wissenschaftlichen Ebene trugen leider auch die, auf einer grossen Anzahl ursprünglichen Materials aufgebauten Arbeiten İ. H. Uzungarsılıs, der sich mit verschiedenen Fragen der inneren Organisierung des Osmanischen Reiches befasste, nicht wesentlich bei.

Als anregender in dieser Richtung können die Beiträge zeitgenössischer Historiker in verschiedenen Ländern Europas sowie in der Türkei betrachtet werden, die auf Grund neuer Quellen einen, üblich als Verfall bezeichneten Komplex von Erscheinungen untersuchten und untraditionell interpretierten.

Röhrborn legt den Gegenstand seiner Forschung wie folgt fest: „Diese Studie untersucht bestimmte Veränderungen in der Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts... Der Schwerpunkt der Studie ist die Darstellung der Verwaltungsakte bei der Verleihung von Pfründen und Statthalter-Posten und die Untersuchung der Wandlungen, die diese Verwaltungsakte in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts erleben. Hand in Hand mit dieser Wandlung

der äusseren Form der Verleihung geht eine Wandlung der Funktion der Pfründen und Statthalter-Posten und eine Veränderung des Personenkreises, der die Pfründen und Posten innehat. Eine umfassende Darstellung müsste also folgende Punkte berücksichtigen: (1) die Form der Verleihung von Pfründen und Statthalter-Stellen, (2) ihre Funktion im sozialen System und (3) den Personenkreis, der sie innehat“ S. 1).

Bei seiner Darlegung ging der Autor von der Situation, die gegen das Ende der Regierungszeit Sultan Süleymans I. herrschte, heraus und erläuterte in den einführenden Teilen die Stellung der leitenden politischen Gruppen im Osmanischen Reich — des Grosswesirs, die Leitung der Palast-Verwaltung, die Spitzen der geistlichen Hierarchie, die Führung der Janitscharen und der anderen Militärgruppen, die Spitzen der Finanzbürokratie und deren soziale Herkunft. K. Röhrborn stellt fest, dass die leitenden politischen Gruppen vor dem Zeitraum des Umbruchs stark integriert und geschlossen waren. In den weiteren Teilen des Buches beantwortet dann der Autor die Frage, welche Massnahmen in der Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches die Störung der ursprünglichen Struktur der führenden politischen Gruppen und den Antritt neuer sozialer Schichten ermöglichten.

Die eigentlichen Ergebnisse der Studie lassen sich folgend interpretieren: zuerst (II A 1) weist der Autor auf die Gruppen hin, denen Pfründen laut traditionellem Gesetz erteilt wurden (Söhne der Inhaber von Gross- und Klein-Pfründen, ein Teil der besoldeten Militärs — die Janitscharen, Angehörige der Abteile der Hof-Reiter und Sklaven oder Dienstleute von Statthaltern). Im weiteren Teil (II B) beschreibt Röhrborn wie zu Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts neue Formen der Erteilung von Pfründen entstanden (Umgehen von Statthaltern und Erteilung von Pfründen direkt an die Grosswesire oder Serdars). Der Erweiterung des Kreises der Inhaber von Pfründen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts ist der dritte Teil des zweiten Kapitels (II C) gewidmet. Gegenüber der vorhergehenden Periode ist die auffälligste Veränderung das Anwachsen der Anzahl der Inhaber von Pfründen, die mit dem Militärdienst nicht direkt zu tun hatten, sondern Diener des Grosswesirs, der Statthalter oder Mitglieder des Hofs waren, sowie das Anwachsen der erteilten Pfründen statt des Soldes. Das führte zur Schädigung vor allem der Interessen der Sipahis, die traditionell den Kern der Lehnsarmee bildeten und die die Erbrechte auf Pfründen für sich beanspruchten.⁴ Die Unzufriedenheit dieser Schichten bildete die „öffentliche Meinung“ über den Verfall und die Notwendigkeit von Reformen, wie es Röhrborns Analyse des Memorandums Koç Beys beweist.

Das dritte Kapitel ist den Statthalter-Posten (Sancakbeys, Beylerbeys) gewidmet. Die Struktur dieses Kapitels ähnelt der des vorhergehenden. Zuerst wies der Autor darauf hin, wer dem traditionellen Gesetz gemäss Statthalter werden konnte (Palast-Beamte, Janitscharen-Führer, Angehörige der Bürokratie, Angehörige der Hof-Truppen oder Inhaber von Gross-Pfründen mit besonderen militärischen Verdiensten, Angehörige der osmanischen Dynastie oder Angehörige von Vasallen-Dynastien).

Der anschliessende Teil wieder weist auf die neuen Formen der Erteilung von Statthalter-Posten in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts hin: (1) Erteilung von Statthalter-Posten für Antritts-Zahlung, (2) Übergebung der Statthaltertümer an Steuerpächter, die es dem Ärar zugesichert hatten neue finanzielle Mittel zu gewinnen. Beide dieser Formen betrachtet Röhrborn als eine getarnte Form von Staatsanleihe.

Diese Umstände verändern auch den Geist der osmanischen Verwaltung. Während die Anrechte auf einen Statthalter-Posten bislang von den militärischen Verdiensten oder von den Dienstjahren abhängig waren, war bei der Auswahl von Statthaltern seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts die finanzielle Fähigkeit ausschlaggebend. So gelangten an die Spitze der Provinzen in zunehmendem Masse die Vertreter des Fiskus (Defterdars und andere Beamte), während die militärisch-politischen Kreise immer mehr verdrängt wurden. Diese Tatsache ist ein neuer Faktor und Röhrborn belegt sie durch mehrere Beispiele, obwohl es uns scheint, dass die Finanziers die Militärs doch nicht so augenscheinlich von den Statthalter-Posten verdrängt hatten. Als eine Folge dieser Veränderungen gelangt Röhrborn zu einer anderen Erkenntnis, die in der Studie *Die Emanzipation der Finanzbürokratie im Osmanischen Reich (Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts)* in ZDMG, 122, 1972, S. 137 angeführt ist: „Die Emanzipierung der Finanzbürokratie bedeutet also gleichzeitig das Eindringen des Türkentums in die höchsten Machtpositionen. Das hat Parallelen in anderen Bereichen des osmanischen Staatsapparats, etwa im Janitscharen-Korps.“

Eine weitere wichtige Schlussfolgerung von Röhrborns Buch betrifft die sog. Memoranden-Literatur, die die Unzufriedenheit jener Kreise der osmanischen Gesellschaft widerspiegelt, die durch diese Veränderungen ihrer Positionen enthoben wurden. Und wie wir bereits erwähnten, beeinflussten diese auch die spätere Historiographie über die innere Entwicklung des Osmanischen Reiches, welche dann im Vergleich zum klassischen Zeitalter die zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts als Verfall betrachtete.

Durch die Art wie Röhrborn zum Thema herangetreten ist und dieses bearbeitet hat, stellt sein Buch einen Meilenstein in den bisherigen Studien über die osmanische Verwaltung und die Entwicklung des Timar-Systems in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts dar.

Vojtech Kopčan

Cook, M. A.: *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia 1450—1600*. London, Oxford University Press 1972. 118 pp. + Maps. London Oriental Series. Volume 27.

M. A. Cook's study is an interesting attempt at verifying certain theses on the trends in Ottoman economic and social history of the 15th—16th century. This involves mainly a re-examination of Fernand Braudel's theses in his famous work

La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II. (1^{ère} Edition, Paris 1949, Seconde édition revue et augmentée, Paris 1966) and of the justification of their claim.

In the first edition of his book Braudel asserted that in the later sixteenth century the western Mediterranean lands shifted from a traditional dependence on imports of Ottoman corn to a new dependence on supplies from the north. The explanation was population growth in both the eastern and the western Mediterranean. M. A. Cook intends here to verify the statement that the later sixteenth century was a period of emergent over-population in the Ottoman Empire (with an orientation to Anatolia). Braudel had two arguments in support of his thesis: the decline in grain export with which he began, and a deterioration in the provisioning of Istanbul.

Cook examines these two arguments in the first chapter of his study (*The Braudel Thesis: Old Evidence*, pp. 1—9). He sets a very relative value on these statements and this in the light of both Ottoman archival sources and the results of a survey of relevant literature. As regards the second argument, Cook makes a point of the close relationship between the ability and power of the Central Government towards the provinces, and the problem of supplying the capital. He adds that Istanbul may not be taken as a case in point, but the issue has to be considered within the framework of the overall developments in the Ottoman empire.

While the preceding chapter was concerned with side arguments in favour of Braudel's thesis on a growth of the population pressure in Anatolia on the basis of past surveys, Chapter II. *The Braudel Thesis: New Evidence* (pp. 10—29) is an argumentation on the basis of Ottoman fiscal surveys for three selected areas of rural Anatolia, viz. parts of Aydin eli (Western Anatolia), parts of Hamid eli (Central Anatolia, the environs of İsparta), and the district around Tokat (in North-Eastern Anatolia). All in all, this represents about 700 villages. On this expanse of territory the author endeavoured to establish and contrast indices for the size of the population and the extent of arable land in the areas selected over the period 1450—1575. He works with indices which he obtained on the basis of concrete data from his fiscal surveys. In order not to encumber the theoretical sections of his study by data on the character of his sources, historical geography of the areas involved, data on the system of taxation and individual contribution rates, measures and tables of partial data, the author has rightly assigned these into Appendixes (pp. 43—81) and Tables (pp. 82—102).

At what conclusions has Cook arrived by means of his analysis of Ottoman fiscal surveys? It might as well be said right at the start that all his statements are thoroughly grounded, judiciously considered and as he himself verifies the hypothesis, he never works with assumptions. His first finding derived from indices on soil and population in the three Anatolian regions points to an evident population growth towards the end of the 16th century and a slight augmentation of arable land. These data would seem to speak in favour of the hypothesis. In the subsequent

sections, however, the author opposes these quantitative expressions by objections deriving from a contradiction between the data used and the presumed reality. As regards the number of inhabitants, he compares here data from surveys of the 1570s and those from modern population censuses. Further verifications concern data on soil and production, relationships between population density in the three areas and further data. The author states that he has endeavoured to utilize "the evidence of the fiscal surveys in every way that seemed relevant, and to give adequate weight to the various objections to which these procedures gave rise" (p. 29). The results he has arrived at through this mode of investigation gives a certain warrant for the acceptance of the hypothesis for the areas studied.

The validity of the hypothesis for the entire Anatolia is dealt with in Chapter III Population Pressure and Social Order (pp. 30—44). Here, Cook examines the interpretation of the decline of the Ottoman state in the second half of the 16th century and points to the mechanical explanation of the changes in rural Anatolia in the description of the causes of the Celali risings. When dealing with the question of the reaction of the Ottoman society on the increase of population pressure, Cook accepts the view that the population talk did play a role in the decline of the social order, however, it was not the only accelerator of this process. He further points out the considerable effect of a diminished possibility of repressing social movements in the provinces in late 16th century due to the frequent wars (with Persia and Austria) and underlines the lack of a rooted centralized political system in a stable autonomous local structure.

Cook's conclusion is in no way an unequivocal one. As he himself chooses to say, even though "Chapter II provided some warrant for Braudel's hypothesis of emergent over-population, and in the present chapter a possible explanation of the initial breakdown of social order has been outlined in which population pressure plays a key role. But the warrant is at best territorially very restricted, and the explanation one of a number of alternative possibilities. It seems unlikely that the situation can be clarified much beyond this point without further research of a very directed kind" (p. 44).

The book is provided with a Bibliography (pp. 103—105), a specimen from an Ottoman fiscal survey with transcription and translation (pp. 111—113) and an Index (pp. 115—118), and maps of the territory surveyed.

M. A. Cook's study may safely be said to be a stimulative contribution to the economic and social history of the Ottoman empire in the 16th century. Simultaneously, it is a challenge to a research of the wide range of problems in this area, still entrapped not only by hypotheses but even by myths.

Vojtech Kopčan

Heyd, Uriel: *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*. Ed. by V. L. Ménage. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1973. xxxii + 340 pp.

During the last years of his scientific activity Prof. Uriel Heyd pursued a study of various aspects of Ottoman criminal law and the present book represents an attempt at a systematic investigation of this law and the administration of criminal justice in the Ottoman Empire. However, his untimely death (1968) prevented the author from carrying out his work to the end. The material he left behind has been edited now by Prof. V. L. Ménage.

As evident from the list of references to sources and literature used, the Ottoman Criminal Law and its application was investigated on a very wide scale. As Introduction to the book which Prof. Heyd had not the time to write, the editor made use of the first part of Heyd's paper *Kānūn and Shari'a in Old Ottoman Criminal Justice* (In: Proceedings of The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, III, 1967). The text of the book proper is divided into two parts: I. The Ottoman Criminal Code (pp. 7—163) and II. The Administration of Criminal Justice in the Ottoman Empire (pp. 167—318).

The first part of the book is then concerned with the shaping and development of Ottoman penal law from the times of Mehmed II until its stabilization by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent as the cumulation of the codifying activity of the Ottoman sultans. This did not involve merely a processing and completing of earlier laws, but a novel arrangement of decrees in accordance with the type of offences as yet not included in the codices. Heyd in his work did not concentrate purely on the official Ottoman criminal code, but took note also of the penal law in the provincial *kānūnnāme* which in some way took over the preceding codex and customs. He devoted special attention to the Dulkadir criminal law — a minor borderland principality in south-eastern Anatolia.

The publication of the Ottoman text of the criminal code (pp. 54—93) is based mainly on the manuscript from the Public Library of Manisa which is the best preserved manuscript of Sultan Süleyman's law. Consideration is naturally given also to further manuscripts and other sources. The English translation (pp. 95—131) is extremely careful about an exact rendering of the Ottoman text and is supplemented with explanations, commentaries and references to other sources. A similar procedure is adopted also in the translation of the Dulkadir Regulations (pp. 132—147), and the first part of the book is concluded with a study on *The Ottoman Criminal Code in Practice* (pp. 148—157), based on the marginals of manuscripts of the criminal code. Heyd shows up how the *Kānūns* regulations ceased to be valid with the gradual decline of the feudal system. Concordance (pp. 158—163) provides an overview of the offences and their correlation in the various codes.

The second part of the book, left in a more fragmentary state by the author,

is arranged in accordance with the true course of criminal law administration in the 15th—18th centuries. It successively takes up the theoretical-legal aspect of criminal law in the Ottoman Empire, the relationship between the religious and civil law (I. The Law, pp. 167—207), the institutions of the courts and the question of judicial competence (II. The Courts, pp. 208—234), the judiciary proceedings in Ottoman court practice (III. Trial pp. 235—258), and finally the punitive aspect (IV. Punishment, pp. 258—311), giving a detailed outline of the carrying out of the various sentences.

The Conclusion (pp. 312—313) derives in large measure from observations by Europeans on the manner in which the Ottoman society looked upon punishment. Appendix I and Appendix II dealing with sources and criminal law in Mogul India (pp. 314—318) are but fragments of considerations left incomplete. The book is provided with an Index of Names (pp. 319—323), an Index of Subjects and Terms (pp. 324—336) and a Glossary (pp. 337—340).

Even though incomplete, the book represents a valuable contribution to the history of the Ottoman criminal law, and credit for this should also be given to Prof. V. L. Ménage.

Vojtech Kopčan

Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change. Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23—28, 1969. Ed. by E. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis, Jr. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1972. 447 pp. Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, ed. by C. H. van Schooneveld. Indiana University, 270.

Balkanology does not belong among old scientific disciplines, and even in European countries connected politically, economically or culturally with the Balkans, a study of this area began to develop at the time between the two World Wars. Interest in a study of the Balkans came to be a discipline on a world-wide scale only after World War II and became institutionalized as late as the sixties, when the Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européennes, working under the auspices of UNESCO, convened its first congress to Sofia (August 26—September 9, 1966), although Balkan conferences had been held earlier in various countries of Europe and the United States of America.

The volume under review brings the proceedings of a conference held at the University of California (Los Angeles) in 1969, with the participations of home and foreign experts. As evident from the published papers, the conference was conceived to include a wide range, both as regards the temporal aspect — from Neolithic down to the present times — and also as regards the subject-matter, or the various scientific

disciplines — papers dealt with archaeology, linguistics, ethnology, history of art, history proper, literary criticism, etc. As S. Vryonis, one of the organizers of the conference, remarks in the Epilogue of the book, the aim of the conference had been to survey the Balkans from the aspect of continuity and change. Such an approach to the problem not only permits a better understanding of the complex of Balkan culture, but may also concentrate contributions of the most general and the most specialized character.

A rather surprising point is that with the exception of the paper by H. L. Kostanick, no discussion bore on the problem of a delineation of the Balkans — although, clearly, the conventional geographical concept is not always adequate.

The papers are arranged according to a chronological order, account being taken of the periods when the pace of change in the Balkans began to accelerate: 1. The Period of the Neolithic culture in the Balkans. 2. The arrival and evolution of the earlier Indo-European peoples (Greeks, and the predecessors of the Roumanians and Albanians). 3. The coming of the Slavs and Bulgars (6th—7th centuries). 4. The transition from Byzantine to Ottoman hegemony. 5. The impact of western Europe.

The earliest period of the Balkan history is dealt with in the paper by M. Gimbutas, *The Neolithic Cultures of the Balkan Peninsula* (pp. 9—49) which, in the light of the most recent researches, pushes the limit of the early Neolithic back to about 6500 B.C. The Bulgarian linguist V. Georgiev, in his paper *The Earliest Ethnological Situation of the Balkan Peninsula as Evidenced by Linguistic and Onomastic Data* (pp. 50—65) claims an earlier arrival of Indo-Europeans on the Balkans than is generally presumed 4th—3rd millennium B.C. Of interest are also further concepts on the relationships between various languages and ethnics on the Balkans, for instance, the origin of the Roumanians and Albanians. Another linguist, P. Ivić, in his paper *Balkan Slavic Migration in the Light of South Slavic Dialectology* (pp. 66—86) investigates mainly two fundamental issues — Slavonic migration to the Balkans and subsequent movements of the Slavs after their having settled down on the peninsula — and this on the basis of data from dialectology. The problem of penetration, use and elimination of Turkisms in contemporary Balkan languages was dealt with by K. Kazazis, *The Status of Turkisms in the Present-Day Balkan Languages* (pp. 87—116).

The next two papers were devoted to the mediaeval periods on the Balkans. P. Charanis, in his paper *Town and Country in the Byzantine Possessions on the Balkan Peninsula during the Later Period of the Empire* (pp. 117—137), points to the economic decline of the Byzantine countryside and towns during the period preceding the coming of the Turks. I. Dujčev underlines the concept of continuity between the first and second Bulgarian empire (*Le problème de la continuité dans l'histoire de la Bulgarie médiévale*, pp. 138—150).

The paper by S. Vryonis, *Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 15th—16th Centuries* (pp. 151—176), brings numerous stimulating insights. Vryonis points to the fact that Christianity and Islam in their mutual impact were strongly influenced

by heresies, superstitions and pagan practices, and in the case of the nomads, even by Shamanism. These circumstances should be taken into consideration also when dealing with the conversions of Balkan Christians to Islam, in which numerous elements of pre-Islamic practices and beliefs persisted.

Subsequent papers of the collection belong to the area of arts — graphic and plastic — or to music — M. Chatzidakis, *Aspects de la peinture religieuse dans les Balkans (1400—1500)* (pp. 176—197), K. Otto-Dorn, *Nachleben byzantinischer Traditionen in der Moschee Murads II. in Edirne* (pp. 198—210) and E. V. Williams, *A Byzantine Ars Nova; The 14th-Century Reforms of John Koukouzeles in the Chanting of Great Vespers* (pp. 211—229).

B. Laourdas endeavoured to outline the fate of Byzantine literary history, primarily of religious texts as the most significant product of this period, after the fall of the Byzantine empire — *Greek Religious Texts during the Ottoman Period* (pp. 230—242).

The extensive study by H. Birnbaum, *Byzantine Tradition Transformed: The Old Serbian Vita* (pp. 243—284), brings a valuable assessment of the Old Serbian Vita as a novel genre, into which was transformed, among others, also Byzantine tradition.

In the paper, *The Balkans and Ottoman Sources — Ottoman Sources and the Balkans* (pp. 288—297), A. Tietze presents a review of published and unpublished Ottoman sources to the history of the Balkans and their utilization by Balkan nations for a study of their own past. The second part of the paper is devoted to the picture of the Balkans in Ottoman sources.

The sequels of Ottoman conquest on the Balkans is followed up by A. B. Lord *The Effects of the Turkish Conquest on Balkan Epic Tradition* (pp. 298—318). The folklore theme is pursued also by R. A. Georges's paper, *Process and Structure in Traditional Storytelling in the Balkans: Some Preliminary Remarks* (pp. 319—337).

A fresh view on the consequences which the decline of the Ottoman empire had on the subject population is presented by H. İnalçik, *The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects upon the Reaya* (pp. 338—354). İnalçik takes into consideration all the changes and their causes that took place in the empire from the end of the 16th century and ultimately led to the fall of the Ottoman power on the Balkans.

In a theoretical reflection, *Die patriarchale Altkultur und der Weg zur Neukultur* (pp. 355—369), J. Matl highly appreciates the share of the old and the new Balkan culture in the history of European civilization.

Parallels in modern Slovene, Croatian, Serbian and Bulgarian poetry are taken up in the comparative study by Th. Eekman, *Parallel Development in the Poetry of South Slavs (Late 19th and Early 20th Century)* (pp. 370—396).

The most recent problems are treated of in the last two papers, namely R. V. Burks's *Nationalism and Communism in Yugoslavia: An Attempt at Synthesis* (pp. 397—423), and H. L. Kostanick's *Balkan Demographic Trends and Population Heartlands* (pp. 424—441).

A retrospective glance at the collection's contents reveals that the greatest number of papers were devoted to the Ottoman period, or rather to the complex of problems relating to the Ottoman domination. This undoubtedly goes a long way to show how important this period is for an understanding of the development of Balkan nations in modern times.

Vojtech Kopčan

Balić, Smail: *Kultura Bošnjaka. Muslimanska komponenta* (Die Kultur der Bosniaken. Die muslimische Komponente). Wien, 1973. 247 S., XIII Taf.

Die bisherigen Beiträge über die Kultur der Bosniaken aus der Feder Safvetbeg Bašagićs, Mehmed Handžićs, Hazim Šabanovićs sowie des Autors dieses Buches waren vor allem auf das literarische Schaffen der jugoslawischen Muslimun gerichtet. Vor geraumer Zeit versuchte sich Smail Balić um einen Gesamtanblick auf die Kultur der jugoslawischen Muslimun in einem in englischer Sprache verfassten Artikel *Cultural Achievements of Bosnian and Hercegovinian Muslims* (in: *Croatia. Land, people, culture*. 2. Toronto and Buffalo, 1970, S. 299—361), jedoch auf beschränktem Raum. Das rezensierte Buch ist der erste zusammenfassende Blick auf dieses Problem in entsprechendem Umfang.

In der Einleitung (S. 11—20) will Balić die kulturellen Quellen erklären, aus denen sich die mittelalterliche sowie die moderne Kultur der Bosniaken herausgeformt hat. Da das Buch die muslimische Komponente verfolgt, wird das Hauptaugenmerk natürlich der Islamisierung von Bosnien und den Problemen der islamisch-osmanischen Zivilisation auf dem Balkan geschenkt. Balić erwähnt einzelne kulturelle Erscheinungen (die Literatur, die Architektur, die Wissenschaft und die Kunst) und deren bedeutendste Darsteller bosnischer Herkunft. Der Autor eifert für eine gerechte Beurteilung der islamischen Kultur auf dem Balkan und vor allem in Bosnien. Dabei lehnt er veralteerte, die islamische Kultur unterschätzende Ansichten ab.

Das zweite Kapitel, betitelt Die Nationale Kultur (S. 23—49) ist in die geistige und die materielle Kultur unterteilt. Nach und nach verfolgt er die Volkspoesie (Heldenepik, Lyrik — hierher gehören die herrlichen Liebeslieder, genannt *sevdalinka*) und ihre Übertragungen in europäische Sprachen, die Volksmusik, wo er die üblichen Musikinstrumente und die bekanntesten Lieder beschreibt, die Volkszählungen und das Volkstheater. Den materiellen Teil der Volkskultur führt Balić mit dem volkstümlichen Handwerk (Waffen- und Goldschmiederei, Herstellung und Verarbeitung von Textilien u. a.) ein, dann widmet er sich dem volkstümlichen Bauwesen, wo er drei charakteristische Typen von Wohnbauten unterscheidet: *kula* (bewohnte Verteidigungstürme), *čardak* (zweistöckige Stein-Holz-Häuser) und

odžak (grössere Wohnhäuser reicher Leute). Weiter führt Balić die Inneneinrichtung und die Regelung der Umgebung der Häuser an. Es war unumgänglich auch den osmanischen Einfluss auf die Bekleidung und die Küche zu erwähnen. Was die Küche betrifft, kann man sagen, dass hier der osmanische Einfluss viel stärker war, und zwar auch auf die nichtmuslimische Bevölkerung der Balkanhalbinsel.

Das dritte Kapitel, das der künstlichen Kultur (vom Schultypus) (S. 53—174) gewidmet ist, geht aus der Teilung in geistige und materielle Kultur hervor und wird chronologisch in den osmanischen (1463—1878), den österreichischen (1878—1918), den jugoslawischen und kroatischen Zeitraum (1918—1945) und die neueste Zeit (von 1945) geteilt. Es ist nur selbstverständlich, dass der Autor die grösste Aufmerksamkeit dem osmanischen Zeitraum widmete, der nicht nur am längsten andauerte, sondern auch die muslimischen Komponenten der bosnischen Kultur mitgeformt hat. Eine grosse Aufmerksamkeit wird im Buch dem Schaffen der Bosniaken in orientalischen Sprachen (Arabisch, Persisch und Türkisch) zuteil. Zuerst führt Balić die bosnischen Autoren nach den einzelnen Sprachen an und anschliessend gibt er eine Übersicht dieser Autoren in alphabetischer Reihenordnung (zuerst die Prosaiker und dann die Dichter). Es besteht kein Zweifel darüber, dass diese Liste noch nicht abgeschlossen ist, da ein eingehendes Studium der handschriftlichen Fonds europäischer und türkischer Bibliotheken gewiss zur Auffindung weiterer, in den drei orientalischen Sprachen schreibender Autoren bosnischer Herkunft führen wird. Es ist nur zu bedauern, dass Balić nicht bei einem jeden Autor mehrere Angaben, insbesondere Hinweise auf die Literatur, Handschriften, bzw. *tezkere*, anführt. Viele Angaben wären auch aus dem Buch A. S. Levend *Ğazavât-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ğazavât-nâmesi*, Ankara 1956 zu ergänzen, z. B. Süleyman Mezâkî schrieb Kassiden über die Eroberung von Kandien, die in den Werken *Cevahir el-tevarih* und *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa* (S. 122—123), und vielleicht auch in Werken neuer Autoren: Akhisarlı Mehmed Münî dem Autor des *Mora Fethi* (S. 21) angeführt sind. Ein Dichter bosnischer Herkunft ist auch der zum Kreise um Fazıl Ahmed Pascha gehörende Salib Ahmed (siehe: H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa'fer, genannt Hezârfenn und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg 1971, S. 53, Anm. 2).

In der Epistolographie kann man sich auch nicht bloss auf Nergisî, als auf einen der bedeutendsten Darsteller der *Inşâ-*-Literatur beschränken, denn, wie dies der Liste der Autoren dieser Literatur von J. Matuz *Über die Epistolographie und Inşâ-Literatur der Osmanen*, in: ZDMG, 1969, Supplementa I, S. 584—591, zu entnehmen ist, gibt es hier auch weitere Autoren (z. B. Salih us-Salahi b. el-Hacc Mehmed el-Bosnevî). Zu den, von osmanischen Würdenträgern in Serbokroatisch geschriebenen Briefen möchten wir hinzufügen, dass auch einige Briefe in slowakisiertem Tschechisch existieren, die von osmanischen Befehlshabern herausgegeben wurden (die Schreiber waren natürlich heimischer Herkunft), und diese Briefe beinhalten auch einige Jugoslawismen (z. B. junak, siromach).

Eine grosse Aufmerksamkeit widmete Balić der sog. Aljamiado-Literatur. Es geht hier um die Literatur, die in serbokroatischer Sprache, jedoch in arabischer Schrift geschrieben wurde. Er betrachtet hier vor allem die zwei bedeutendsten Autoren dieser Literatur — die Dichter Mehmed Havâ'i und Hasan Qâ'îmî aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert und korrigiert einige Irrtümer in der Interpretation.

Der letzte Teil der geistigen Kultur des osmanischen Zeitraumes ist schliesslich den Bibliotheken gewidmet. Da der Autor des öfteren auch die orientalische Sammlung Safvetbeg Bašagić erwähnt, möchten wir einige Anmerkungen hinzufügen. Ausser dem handschriftlichen Fonds, dessen Katalog im Jahre 1961 erschien (*Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*. Unter d. Red. J. Blaškovič. Bratislava 1961), kaufte die Bratislavaer Bibliothek auch gedruckte Werke von grossem Wert an. Die Sammlung ist auch dadurch interessant, dass sie ein konkretes Bild von den Interessen eines gebildeten Bosniens in der Umbruchepoche der Geschichte der bosnischen Kultur liefert. Da wir für die Zwecke der Universitäts-Bibliothek diese Bücher katalogisiert haben, können wir wenigstens in Kürze auf deren Zusammenstellung hinweisen. Die Sammlung der orientalischen Bücher zählte ursprünglich 400 Titel, von denen zum heutigen Tage an die 10 verlorengegangen sind. Überwiegend sind es Bücher herausgegeben in Istanbul, Bulaq oder Beirut, auch wenn wir hier Drucke aus Paris (jungosmanische), Kasan, Persien, Indien und selbstverständlich auch aus Sarajevo finden. Was das Inhaltliche betrifft, herrschen Drucke im osmanischen Türkisch vor, besonders die Diwan-Poesie, die neue türkische Literatur (bis 1921), Ausgaben von Autoren bosnischer Herkunft (Nergisi, Akhisar, Sabit, Sudi al-Bosnevî und andere), literarisch-theoretische Arbeiten über die islamischen Literaturen und *tezkere*, Werke osmanischer Historiker (Saadeddin, Pečevi, Katib Čelebi, Rašid, Naima und weitere), Wörterbücher, *salname* (Bosna, Konya, Hicaz), politische Broschüren (Proteste gegen die Okkupation Bosniens 1908). Als Spezifikum dieser Sammlung können die Bücher über die Frauenfrage im Islam und Werke türkischer Frauen — Schriftstellerinnen bezeichnet werden. Aus den arabischen Drucken sind theologische, historische Werke (Tabari, Ibn Chaldun), Bücher herausgegeben von Louis Cheiko in Beirut (Imprimére Catholique) — insbesondere literarische Anthologien und die klassische arabische Literatur vorwiegend. Aus den persischen Werken sind es die klassische Literatur und deren Kommentare. Ungefähr zehn der Bücher wurden in Sarajevo herausgegeben, teilweise werden sie von Balić (S. 146—147) angeführt.

Der zweite Teil über die materielle Kultur beginnt mit der Architektur: den sakralen und profanen Bauten, nachher führt er die darstellende Kunst an (die Kalligraphie, die Miniaturen- und Wandmalerei). Wertvoll ist die Übersicht der Kalligraphen und der Miniaturen-Maler die bosnische Herkunft waren (S. 133—140).

Der dritte Teil befasst sich mit der alten bosnischen Literatur im Ausland und bietet wertvolle bibliographische Angaben über: (1) Übersetzungen von Werken

der alten bosnischen Literatur in europäische Sprachen, (2) herausgegebene Werke bosnischer Autoren in orientalischen Sprachen und (3) wichtige Übersetzungen des Werkes *Hasanagica*. Als Ergänzung dieses Teiles kann angeführt werden, dass die Teile über die ungarische Geschichte aus dem Werk Ibrahim Pečeviš von Imre Karácsy im Werk *Török történetírók. III.* Budapest 1916 unter dem Titel *Pecsevi Ibrahim Tarikhjából*, S. 71—193 übersetzt worden sind.

Der österreichische Zeitraum in der Geschichte der bosnischen Kultur ist sehr kurz erfasst (S. 149—154), und ebenfalls über den jugoslawischen und kroatischen Zeitraum spricht der Autor nicht ausführlicher.

Die kulturelle Entwicklung nach dem 2. Weltkrieg ergreift Balić nur als Bilanz. Er nennt die Autoren und die Werke im Bereich der Literatur, der bildenden Künste, des Theaters und Films. Interessant ist die Übersicht über die wissenschaftliche Arbeit, wo Balić mit der Tätigkeit der Wissenschaftler bosnischer Herkunft (sie scheint uns unvollständig zu sein) bekannt macht, und die Übersicht über das Zeitungswesen mit einer Liste bosnischer Zeitungen und Zeitschriften (S. 171—174). Mit diesem Teil eng verbunden ist das weitere Kapitel des Buches Tabellenübersicht der neuesten Entwicklung (S. 177—184), welches eine Liste der Schriftsteller und deren Werke, der Wissenschaftler und deren Fachrichtung, der bildenden, sowie der Musik- und Bühnenkünstler bringt. Das Schlusswort (S. 187—192) und eine deutsche Zusammenfassung (S. 195—204) schliessen den Textteil des Buches.

Eine sorgfältig ausgearbeitete, 553 bibliographische Einheiten beinhaltende Bibliographie (S. 207—230) und ein Index schliessen den Behelfsteil des Buches ab.

Die Bibliographie möchten wir um folgende Angaben ergänzen:

Blaškovič, J.—Petráček, K.: *Arabské, turecké a perzské rukopisy Univerzitnej knižnice*. In: Univerzitná knižnica 1914—1919—1959. Martin 1959, S. 125—145.

Petráček, K.: *Povstání sekty Hamzavitů v 16. století*. In: Nový Orient, 20, Praha 1965, S. 305—306.

Veselá, Z.: *O muslimské Bosně*. In: Nový Orient, 21, Praha 1966, S. 216—217.

Das Buch S. Balićs ist ein Grundwerk für das Begreifen und die Erkenntnis der Kultur der Bosniaken und es wird zum einen notwendigen Handbuch für jeden Osmanisten und Balkanisten. Für das Buch wäre es von Vorteil gewesen, hätte der Autor die erstrangigen oder originellen Erscheinungen (auch die Schaffenden) der bosnischen Kultur von den zweitrangigen, bzw. Begleiterscheinungen ausdrucksvoller voreinander getrennt.

Vojtech Kopčan

Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary. Letters from the Pashas of Buda 1590—1593*. Bloomington, Indiana University 1972. VI + 204 pp. Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series. Volume 101 A.

The book under review comprises 107 letters addressed by the Pashas of Buda to the Emperor Rudolf II, to the archduke Ernest and the archduke Matthias, or to the President of the Imperial War Council, David Ungnad, and in two cases, to the count Ferdinand Hardeck written in Hungarian. The documents are deposited in the archival fund *Turcica* in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv in Vienna (fasc. 72—81). They come from the period between January 8, 1590 till August 20, 1593, hence, from the time immediately preceding the outbreak of the so-called fifteen years' war (Bayerle speaks of a thirteen years' war which is more precise, but the above expression is the more common) which proved to be a landmark in the Ottoman-Habsburg relations.

As regards the edition itself, it is in fact a continuation of the first widely-conceived publication of Hungarian letters written by Ottoman dignitaries (Takáts, F.—Eckhart, F.—Szekfű, Gy: *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése I. (1553—1589)*. Budapest 1915). The edition faithfully transcribes Hungarian texts (minor printing errors occur) and supplements them with extensive English *regesta*, so that it is made accessible to a wider circle of users and is not limited only to those knowledgeable of Hungarian.

What to say about the Editor's lucid, comprehensive and expert introduction (pp. 1—15), except perhaps that the documents written by Ottoman officials in Hungary would deserve a detailed diplomatic analysis. G. Bayerle dealt solely with *intitulatio*, the problem of dating these documents, particularly with the use of the Julian and the Gregorian calendars, and with the problem of seals, but this, too, only at an informational plane. The published documents betray a certain familiarity which is not to be met with, for instance, in letters from the initial period of Ottoman domination¹ in Hungary (e.g., letters from the first half of the 1560's in the edition *A budai basák*), or in those written in Ottoman Turkish edited by L. Fekete (*Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy*. Budapest 1932) and in further unpublished documents. It should, however, be added here that the editor is right when maintaining that: "By sincerely attempting rapprochement with their neighbor they anticipated official Ottoman policy by several decades."

As regards contents, the documents most frequently bear on exaction of the annual tribute, on complaints about actions by the imperial armies against the Turks, or with an explanation of Turkish undertakings on the imperial territory. A frequently recurring item is the burning question of prisoners, whether in the hands of the Ottomans, or the imperial armies. Nor could we pass under silence the question of levying tithes and dues by Ottoman officials deep behind the line of Ottoman-Habsburg frontier forts. The greater majority of these settlements had promised obedience to the Ottomans on the basis of written injunctions back in the fifties and sixties of the 16th century, while in a deep state of uncertainty, when the incompetence and inefficiency of the imperial defence gave no guarantee of any safety. However, during the course of the sixties and until the end of that

century, a certain qualitative change did take place, particularly with the setting up of the system of captaincies along the entire Ottoman-Habsburg boundary line. We know that when registering taxpayers, Ottoman scribes rarely ventured into border territory, and similarly, their injunctions on the inhabitants behind the defence line of imperial forts proved to be unavailing and futile. They were counteracted not only by the threats of imperial garrisons, but also by the power of local feudal lords, for this particular region (here we have in mind communes registered in the Esztergom, Novigrad, Szécsény and Fiľakovo *sanjāq*) were subjected to a double taxing. In such cases, the Ottoman scribes simply copied data from earlier lists into a new one without verifying the facts. Káldy-Nagy, J.: *The Administration of the Sanjāq-Registrations in Hungary*. In: Acta Orientalia, XXI, Budapest 1968, p. 220). To levy tithes and dues from such communes was a difficult task (often they lay as far as 100 km from the seat of the *sanjāq* behind the defence line) hence, frontier Begs undertook punitive forays in order to "soften" by terror the "stubborn" inhabitants of subject villages. Such undertakings, however, had to be carried out by large detachments; for instance, in the assault of May 16, 1591, mentioned in the letters No. 42 and 47, on the village of Vlkanová (Farkasfalva), the Beg of Filek took about 100 people prisoners and still succeeded in driving off the attack by the garrison from Očová. It may therefore be presumed that the Turkish detachment was made up of several hundred soldiers and this could not have taken place without the knowledge of the Pasha of Budin.

The oft-reiterated requests to the archduke Ernest that he would prompt his captains to urge the villages to meet their obligation in the matter of their tribute, speaks for a certain impotence of the Ottoman rule which had to have recourse solely to military might, for it provided no guarantee whatever. It was incapable of protecting the people against both the Habsburg armies and its own plundering hordes (Martalos) or giving them security. During all the 150 years of Ottoman domination in Hungary the question of the so-called double taxation was never resolved, not even by peace pacts. The ceaseless skirmishes and retaliatory ravages of the territory by one side and the other proved more devastating than pitched battles.

Further material to many of the incidents referred to in the letters of the Pashas of Buda, is available from the Imperial side, particularly on the events in the north-Hungarian borderland. For example, the "Baka Ban'a incident" mentioned in letters Nos 20, 27, 30, 32, represents an interesting reflection of a border skirmish in diplomatic correspondence. As explanation we add that this concerned a combat between İbrahim, the Aga of riders from the Ottoman garrison in the frontier fort of Drégely-Palanka, and lieutenant Michal Bory from Pukanec, on May 12, 1590, which ended by an attack of the hussars from Nové Zámky on the Turks. A detailed report on the incident was written by Michal Matunák (*Drégely és Palánk, a katonai szerepe törökök alatt 1552—1593*. Krupina 1901, pp. 52—56). The sacking of the

village Michina mentioned in letter No. 27, refers to the pillage of the village Dolná Mičina (district of Banská Bystrica) on June 25, 1590, when 140 people were taken away, as recorded in the contemporary parish chronicle.

It may further be observed that interesting complementary material to the published documents is extant, such for instance, as the correspondence between Ottoman dignitaries and Nicholas Pálffy from the years 1588—1594, deposited under the heading *Turcorum Bassarum, Agarum, Begarum aliorumque Turcarum missiles litteras in Idiomate Hungarico, ad Illustrissimum D. L. B. Nicolaum Palffy expeditas*, in the Slovak State Archive in Bratislava. The entire collection comprises 38 letters, among them also letters by Ferhad Pasha, Sinan Pasha, Mehmed Pasha (see: Kopčan, V.: *Turecké listy a listiny k slovenským dejinám*. In: Historické štúdie, XII, 1967, p. 121, Note 46).

An item of interest implied in these letters is a certain disrespect towards Hungarian nobles at this time (e.g. N. Pálffy) who fought bravely against the Ottomans. Following the so-called fifteen years' war, such an attitude is not apparent any more — the Germans then became the "bad boys". This is important to an understanding of the Ottoman attitude towards the changing situation in Hungary.

The bibliography, mainly its part "Works containing documents written in Hungarian by Ottoman officials", could be supplemented with several references, e.g. J. Blaškovič, M. Matunák, J. Illésy and others.

Place names listed in the index can easily be localized: Farkasfalva (Vlkanová, distr. Banská Bystrica), Kakat (Štírovo), Michina (Dolná Mičina, distr. Banská Bystrica), Muran (Muran, distr. Rožňava), Gaspar Sibrik was a captain not of Levice but of Pukanec, Szölös Ardó (Ardovo, distr. Rožňava), Tardos (Tvrdošovce, distr. Nové Zámky). Neither is it a problem to localize the 76 villages in the Esztergom *sanjāq* listed in letter No. 68, but it would take up undue space.

Bayerle's edition of the letters from the Pashas of Buda constitutes a significant enrichment of the material basis for a knowledge of Ottoman rule in Hungary.

Vojtech Kopčan

Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Maria Matilda: *Nicolae Iorga — A Romanian Historian of the Ottoman Empire*. Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania 1972. 190 pp., 16 figs. *Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae*, Studies 40.

Several commemorative studies appeared on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of the great Romanian historian and statesman Nicolae Iorga (1871—1940), dealing with his scientific activity. These comprise in particular the collection *Nicolae Iorga, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Ed. D. M. Pippidi, Bucharest 1972), special studies

such as *Nicolae Iorga, istoric al Bizanțului* (*Nicolae Iorga, Historian of Byzantium*. Ed. Eugen Stănescu, Bucharest 1971), and the work under review, by M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca.

The many-sided activity of N. Iorga, who, according to Josef Macůrek, "still remains a phenomenal figure with hardly a competitor as regards literary production in the rest of the civilized world",¹ was extensive both in the temporal and the geographic frame of reference, although essentially based on Romanian history. Consequently, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca's study had to encompass all of Iorga's works, not merely his monumental *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches I—V* (Gotha 1909—1913, even though from the aspect of Ottoman history this undeniably constitutes his dominant work.

The study *Nicolae Iorga — A Romanian Historian of the Ottoman Empire* is divided into two parts: I. Nicolae Iorga's Documentation, Historical Conception and Method Regarding the History of the Ottoman Empire (p. 11—69) and part II, Fundamental Theses of Nicolae Iorga Regarding the History of the Ottoman Empire (p. 70—143). As already implied in the title, the first part is meant to show Iorga's preparation, the extent of his heuristic work and also the question of a novel interpretation of Ottoman history.

The first chapter, devoted to the sources of Iorga's works on Ottoman history and their publications, provides a glimpse on the many-sided activity of the Romanian historian who, while collecting sources to the Romanian history, discovered the most diverse materials to the history of the Ottoman empire. N. Iorga published the sources gradually as he collected them on his research travels, whether these led him to German, French, Italian or Austrian libraries and archives. This involves primarily sources published in *Revue de l'Orient latin* under the title *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, and others that appeared in *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor* (Bucharest 1895—1897) and *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* (Bucharest 1901—1913). In the second chapter M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca follows up Iorga's conception of Ottoman history, and in the light of more recent research, points to certain positive aspects and some drawbacks in this conception. In the first place she underlines Iorga's assigning Ottoman history into the framework of the history of Turkish nations and his refusal of a priori anti-Turkish views and prejudices. Nevertheless, the exposition of Iorga's theoretical views on examples of Ottoman history and closer assignment into the framework of European historiography does not always seem to be satisfactory.

The second part of the book is devoted to an analysis of Iorga's fundamental theses on Ottoman history. Similarly as in the first part, here too, the authoress confronts Iorga's views with modern research and details out which of them have

¹ *Dějepisectví evropského Východu (Historiography of the European East)*. Prague 1946, p. 241.

been confirmed and which refuted. However, not always are the considerations on Iorga's merits for bringing to light Ottoman history adequate to reality, and the confrontation with modern research is not complete. Many of the views expressed in the first part of the book are repeated. However, the Glossary (pp. 150—154), Bibliography (pp. 155—173) and Index (pp. 175—190) are welcome supplements.

Vojtech Kopčan

Al-Khatib, Ahmed Sh.: *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms. English-Arabic. (Mu'jam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-‘ilmīyya wal-fannīyya wal-handasiyya. Inklīzi-'arabī)*. Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971. XV + 751 pp.

After a protracted use of foreign languages as a medium of higher education and scientific research, the Arab world, to put it in Al-Khatib's words, "begins to restore the confidence in its own language". The recent unprecedented activity in publishing terminological dictionaries throughout the Arab world, especially in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, which began in the early sixties, has chiefly been stimulated by the pioneer work of several Arab Academies pursued in this field of language development. Nevertheless, the terminological dictionaries, glossaries and lists of various nomenclatures, issued at regular intervals by the Academies of the Arabic language, especially in Cairo and Damascus, did not fully succeed in meeting the tremendous needs of modern science and technology. The present dictionary is an attempt to contribute to the terminological maturation of Arabic in a way largely independent of the somewhat lengthy term-coining and approving schedule of the Academies. The work is based on the author's scholarly experience as a terminologist, lexicographer, highly qualified and competent translator and, recently, as the head of a team of lexicographers in the Publication Department of the Librairie du Liban.

The urgent need of comprehensive terminological dictionaries is beyond discussion. In the linguistic domain of Arabic, however, more than anywhere else, any work of this orientation has to fulfil a certain normative function as well. The latter consists in incorporating all previously coined terms which have gained a sufficiently wide acceptance and in reducing alternative coinages to a workable minimum. Despite the fact that the present dictionary favourably compares in this respect with the best terminological dictionaries so far produced in the linguistic domain of Arabic and, more than that, it largely surpasses most of them both in the number of items included and in the reliability of their lexicographical presentation, the unificative contribution of the work is still not fully satisfactory. The following remarks have to draw the reader's attention to an untenably high rate of alternative coinages

leading to a pathological “terminological synonymy” which is observable in various terminological fields included in the dictionary, and to a number of other inconsistencies.

One of the most outstanding examples of a terminologically unworkable rate of variation coincides with various ways in expressing potentiality. It must be recognized, however, that the task of the lexicographer, let alone terminologist, who has to devise a suitable covering of the distinction between, say, “seen” and “visible”, “eaten (up)” and “edible”, “compressed” and merely “compressible”, etc., is not altogether easy. The distinction between ‘real’ and ‘potential’ has no explicit derivational rendering in Arabic, a fact which does not seem to do much harm in the everyday speech owing to the explicative power of the context. In the language of science, however, the latter distinction may be of importance and has to be terminologically treated. Some examples:

p. 666: “visible” *mar'i*, *manzūr*: “visibility” *ru'ya* (implicit potentiality possibly alternating with reality, viz., “seen”, “vision” respectively);

p. 660: “variable” *mutaqayyir* (possibly “varying”); “variability” *tagayyuriyya* (potentiality, as against the preceding example, marked by the abstract noun suffix *-iyya*: possibly “variation rate”); “variation” *tagayyur*; that is:

adjectival item: ‘real’/‘potential’

substantival item I: ‘real’

substantival item II: ‘potential’;

p. 111: “compressible” *qābil lid-daqṭ* (syntactic periphrasis, literally “susceptible, liable etc. to compression”); *mundaqṭ* (the latter equally well interpretable in the real sense as “compressed”, as a participle of the passive (-reflexive) *n*-stem); “compressibility” *qāibiliyyat al-indiqāṭ* (instead of the expected *qāibiliyyat ad-daqṭ* as a structural parallel to the adjectival *qābil lid-daqṭ*, as quoted above; it should be noted, however, that *qābil lil-indiqāṭ* would equally be possible and fully compatible with the general word-formational patterns of Arabic) or *indiqāṭiyya* (potentiality based on the *n*-stem passiveness of the verbal noun as combined with the feature of abstractness conveyed by the suffix *-iyya*) or *madqūtiyya* (potentiality stemming from the pattern-marked passiveness of the participial stem in combination with the *-iyya* abstractness; it should be noted that the latter term has no parallel at the adjectival level in the *Dictionary*, although an implicitly potential/real *madqūṭ* “compressible”/“compressed” would substantially be possible, too), etc.

As evident from these quotations, the distinction between ‘real’ and ‘potential’ is highly arbitrary and ad-hoc coined, with no perceptible effort to maintain, at the very least, a structural commensurability of the adjectival and substantival levels. It must be emphasized once again that the present high rate of terminological variation is not specifically connected with Al-Khatib’s *Dictionary*, it rather reflects the general situation in various Arabic terminologies and nomenclatures, as may become obvious from the following examples quoted from the terminological lists

published by the Cairo Academy of the Arabic language (see *Majmū‘at al-muṣṭalahāt al-‘ilmīyya wal-fanniyya allatī ‘aqarrahā al-majmā‘*, *Majmā‘ al-luġa al-‘arabiyya*, Vols. I—V, Cairo 1957—1963), e.g.,

- I, 254 (1957): “compressibility” *maḍgūṭiyya*:
II, 11 (1960): “compressibility coefficient” *mu‘āmil al-indigātiyya*:
I, 256 (1957): “extensibility” *mamdu‘iyya*: as against Al-Khatib’s *imtidādiyya*, *mamdu‘iyya*, *qābiliyyat al-imtidād* (*ND*, 130);
II, 20 (1960): “solubility” *dawabāniyya*, *dā‘ibiyya*: as against Al-Khatib’s *dawabāniyya*, *qābiliyyat ad-dawabān* (*ND*, 560), etc.

The feature of potentiality, as reflected in Al-Khatib’s *New Dictionary*, clearly shows an unnecessarily high rate of variation which could have been reduced considerably, were the term-coining and term-recording work more closely paralleled by term-codifying activities.

The English-Arabic terminological correspondences, as stated in the *New Dictionary*, are maximally close and adequate, and they mirror a wide interdisciplinary collaboration. Nevertheless, as in any dictionary of similar size, one may always find a number of items which are not fully satisfactory. The following terms, related to the technological field of photography, motion picture and projection techniques, may serve as illustrative examples:

- p. 202: “epidiascope” *fānūs ‘isqāt*, *fānūs sihrī* (lit. “projection lantern”, “magic lantern” resp.);
p. 467: “projection lantern” (generally used as a synonym of “slide projector” which is missing in the *New Dictionary*) *fānūs ‘isqāt*;
p. 467: “projector” *jihāz ‘isqāt*, *‘ālat ‘ard sīnmā’ī* (lit. “projecting apparatus; apparatus for motion picture projection” resp.).
p. 467: “projector, motion picture” *‘ālat ‘ard aṣ-ṣuwar al-mutaharrika* (lit. “apparatus for projecting moving pictures”);
p. 387: “motion picture projector” *jihāz ‘isqāt sīnmā’ī* (lit. “apparatus for motion picture projection”), etc.

As evident, the Arabic equivalents of “epidiascope” and “projection lantern” are to a considerable extent questionable. The lack of a terminologically marked distinction between “epidiascope” as a device serving for the projection of both transparent and non-transparent pictures, and “projection lantern” (= slide projector), as a device serving for the projection of transparent pictures only, is largely unacceptable. Further, it is somewhat difficult to understand Al-Khatib’s reasons for giving three different terms for “motion picture projector” (see above). A similar variation may be stated in a number of other terms as well, e.g.,

- p. 341: “lens, zoom” *‘adasa wāsi‘at al-madā* (lit. “wide-range lens”), disturbingly contrasting with
p. 693: “zoom lens” *‘adasat tazwīm* (lit. “zooming lens”, *tazwīm* being a borrowing of the English “zoom”, adapted to the Arabic triliteral pattern), etc.

Some other terminological units pertaining to this domain, due to the loan translation, are problematic as well, e.g.,

p. 407: "objective (= object glass)" (*aš-*) *šay'iyya*, calqued from "object" *šay'* (in combination with the abstract suffix *-iyya*).

It must be recognized, however, that Arabic has so far made no difference between "lens" *adasa* and "objective" (= system of lenses) *adasa*. Despite this, Al-Khatib's proposal, not being generally understandable, seems to have a very meagre chance to survive.

Al-Khatib's *Dictionary* is, at any rate, an important contribution to the terminological growth and elaborateness of Arabic and will be of invaluable help to the recent generation of Arab scholars and technicians.

Ladislav Drozdík

Pantke, Mechthild: *Der arabische Bahrām-Roman. Untersuchungen zur Quellen- und Stoffgeschichte.* (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, Neue Folge, Band 6.) Berlin, Walter de Gruyter 1974. 230 S.

Beinahe alle Nationalliteraturen unterscheiden zwischen der künstlichen oder sog. „hohen“ Literatur und der Volksliteratur. In den islamischen Literaturen realisiert sich dieser Widerspruch sehr ausdrucksvooll hauptsächlich auf der Ebene der Zielsetzung: die „hohe“ Literatur verfolgt insbesondere die Bildungsabsicht (die arabische Literatur und das ganze islamische Schrifttum überhaupt, sind gekennzeichnet durch ihre Zielsetzung zur Verknüpfung des Ästhetischen mit dem Belehrenden, d. h. durch das Pflegen der sog. Adab-Literatur), während die Volksliteratur die Unterhaltung zur Aufgabe hat. Auch wenn der Grossteil der Genregebilde der Volksliteratur durch mündliche Überlieferung verbreitet wurde, bildet der Analphabetismus des einfachen Volkes ohne Zweifel den bedeutendsten Faktor, in späteren Zeiten kam es dann zur schriftlichen Aufzeichnung. So benützten z. B. manche persische Berufserzähler eine eigenhändig geschriebene Zusammenfassung der Begebenheiten aus Firdausi's *Šāh-nāma*, die nachher auch gedruckt erschienen. Die Volksdrucke solcher Begebenheiten erfreuten sich beim einfachen Volk einer grossen Beliebtheit.

Das rezensierte Werk, *Der arabische Bahrām-Roman*, ist einem solchen Volksdruck (auch Bazardruck genannt) gewidmet. Seine Verfasserin wählte zum Thema ihrer Dissertation den arabischen Bazardruck *Qiṣṣat Bahrām-Šāh* mit dem Ziel durch vergleichende Analyse die ursprüngliche Quelle, von der die *Qiṣṣa* hervorgeht, zu ermitteln.

Wie die Benennung *Qiṣṣat Bahrām-Šāh* verrät, sind das Thema die Erlebnisse des Sasanidenkönigs Bahrām V., genannt Bahrām Gör. In der Einleitung (S. 1—8) beschreibt die Verfasserin die *Qiṣṣa*, die — wie es ihr festzustellen gelungen ist — in

Kairo im Jahre 1947 erschienen war, näher. Damals stellte sie gleichzeitig fest, dass der Herausgeber die persische Sprache nicht beherrschte. Diese Feststellung wurde zum Ausgangspunkt bei der Quellenanalyse der *Qissa*, bei der die Verfasserin ein umfassendes Quellenmaterial aus dem Bereich der schönen Literatur und der Historiographie benutzte. Ihre Hauptquellen waren Nizāmī's Epos *Haft Paikar*, Firdausī's *Šāh-nāma*, ein undatierter persischer Bazardruck, den die Verfasserin als den persischen *Bahrām-Roman* bezeichnete, sowie arabischen und persischen Chroniken, die die Epoche der Sasaniden behandeln.

Das Werk hat drei Teile: die Einleitung (S. 1—8), die darauf folgende Quellenanalyse der *Qissa* (S. 9—209) und die Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse der Quellenanalyse (S. 210—214). Dazu kommt eine umfangreiche Bibliographie (S. 215—221), ein Namen- und Sachregister (S. 222—228), sowie ein Themen- und Motivregister (S. 229—230).

Die Quellenanalyse der *Qissa* besteht aus drei Kapiteln: I. Inhaltsangabe der Rahmenerzählung (S. 9—32), II. Kommentar zur Rahmenerzählung (S. 33—197) und III. Die Geschichte der drei Söhne des Königs von Ceylon (S. 198—209).

Nach der Inhaltswiedergabe der *Qissa* (d. h. das Kapitel I) widmet sich die Autorin der Analyse und vergleicht schrittweise den Text der *Qissa* mit weiteren Werken. Die Ergebnisse der Analyse bewiesen eine grosse formale und inhaltliche Übereinstimmung zwischen der arabischen *Qissa* und dem persischen *Bahrām-Roman*, bestätigten jedoch gleichzeitig, dass diese Bazardrucke nicht unmittelbar voneinander hervorgehen. Deswegen äusserte die Verfasserin die Hypothese, dass ein Muster hat vorliegen müssen, welches sie als die Quelle A bezeichnete. Diese hypothetische Vorlage A war, der Hypothese der Verfasserin zufolge, arabisch und von ihr gehen die *Qissa* (ihr Herausgeber beherrschte die persische Sprache nicht), als auch der persische *Bahrām-Roman* (der Text ist stilistisch modern, von der lexikalischen Seite her jedoch stark arabisierend) hervor. Die Verfasserin schliesst die Möglichkeit nicht aus, dass die hypothetische Quelle A die arabische Übersetzung eines älteren persischen Werkes sei. Sie vertritt lediglich die Hypothese, dass beide der erhaltenen Bazardrucke, d. h. die arabische *Qissa*, sowie der persische *Bahrām-Roman*, der arabischen Vorlage, also der Quelle A entstammen und zwar voneinander unabhängig. Die eigentliche hypothetische arabische Quelle A, bzw. ihr persischer Vorgänger mussten direkt aus dem Text von Nizāmī's Epos *Haft Paikar* hervorgehen, wie es die Analyse bewiesen hat.

Die Beweiskraft der Analyse, die auf einer grossen Menge von Quellenmaterial beruht, sowie die Tatsache, dass die Kenntnis des Arabischen bei den Persern nie eine Besonderheit gewesen war noch ist, während das Gegenteil äusserst selten vorkommt, rufen keinerlei grundlegenden Einwände gegen die Hypothese der Autorin hervor. Sie stellt bloss eine weitere Bestätigung der starken wechselseitigen Beeinflussung im Rahmen des islamischen Schrifttums dar.

Kamil Baňák

Aquilina, Joseph: *A Comparative Dictionary of the Maltese Proverbs*. The Royal University of Malta 1972. LIII + 694 pp.

Anyone attempting to classify Maltese proverbs and popular sayings may count with endless problems and difficulties. The arabization of the language spoken by the native population of Malta and Gozo is the most important legacy of the relatively short Arab domination (870—1090) and the subsequent linguistic influence of Arabic which lasted for another 200 years. This period accounts for the proverbs of Arabic origin. The substantially longer post-Arabic period of European, mostly Romance influences provides the historical basis for another layer of the Maltese proverbs. Nevertheless, this clear dichotomous presentation of facts is only an ideal one and is hardly more than a rough approximation. As a matter of fact, a good number of Maltese proverbs, although formally almost entirely Arabic, may reflect a disguised translation from Italian or, more frequently, Sicilian. Another layer is constituted by those Maltese proverbs which have their Arabic counterparts side by side with literal correspondences in one or more European languages.

M. A. Vassalli's book *Motti, Aforismi e Proverbi Maltesi* (Malta 1828) is the oldest published collection of Maltese proverbs, containing 864 proverbs translated into Italian. The present collection, compiled by Professor Aquilina, with its 4,630 proverbs carefully classified under 45 headings, contains more than five times as many proverbs as were collected by Vassalli. Aquilina's work is based on both oral and written sources. The oral sources should be identified with the living speech of the inhabitants of Malta and Gozo, the written sources are indicated in an extremely rich and instructive bibliography. The most important items of the latter part of sources are the following (only the most important direct sources are here mentioned, those related to the comparative background are not taken into account):

M. A. Vassalli, op. cit. above.

A. de Soldanis' unpublished dictionary, containing hundreds of proverbs and popular sayings, which is at the same time the most ancient extant dictionary of the Maltese language (adopting the time-honoured erroneous classification of Maltese as an offspring of the Carthaginian, viz., Punic language): *Damma tal-Kliem Kartaginis mscerred fel fom tal Maltin u Għaucin (Lexicon of the Carthaginian Language Compiled from the Oral Usage of the Inhabitants of Malta and Gozo)*, 1750.

A. de Soldanis, *Apoftegmi e Proverbi Maltesi*, lately published by G. Curmi in *Malta Letteraria*, 5, 1928. Unlike Vassalli, de Soldanis gives only a literal translation of the proverbs collected into Italian with no explanation of the figurative meaning of their social context.

Professor Aquilina's approach to the classification of Maltese proverbs is made possible by the wide-embracing scholarly work pursued by the author not only in the field of Maltese linguistics, but also in the domain of literature, folklore and Maltese culture in general.

The book is divided into 45 thematic headings, such as God and Religion; Death; Remedies; Life; Troubles, Worries and Anxieties; Man and Woman; Love, Sex and Marriage; Money and Wealth; Trade and Business; etc.

At the end of the book the reader will find two Addenda, Etymological Index, Subject-Matter Index and Chief Word Index.

Aquilina's work, being the most comprehensive collection of Maltese proverbs which are analysed in an extremely wide comparative context, is truly indispensable for Arabicists, students of Maltese, ethnographers and all those interested in the Maltese cultural scene.

Ladislav Drozdík

Aquilina, Joseph: *Nomi Maltesi di pesci, molluschi e crostacei del Mediterraneo. Studio basato sul Questionario dell' "Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo" ed altro materiale. (Maltese Names of Fishes, Molluscs and Crustaceans of the Mediterranean. A linguistic study based on the Questionnaire of the "Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo" and other material)*. Malta U. P. 1969. 180 pp.

The present monograph has been published on the occasion of the Third Congress of the Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo (ALM) held in Malta from March 30 to April 5, 1969. The Questionnaire of the ALM, on which the present work is primarily based, proved to be an excellent instrument not only for a current linguistic field research but a reliable starting point for the evaluation of the Maltese technical lexicon, too. The analysis of various marine nomenclatures, especially those connected with fishing and sea biology, is, from the point of view of the prevailing socio-cultural conditions of Malta, a highly efficient working device in every attempt at identifying the cultural contribution of various ethnic constituents of the Maltese population over centuries.

The title of the monograph may appear somewhat misleading, when compared with the actual contents. Maltese names of fishes, molluscs and crustaceans, even if forming the crucial part of the book, do not constitute its unique topic. In accordance with the general design of the Questionnaire, the book includes the following nomenclatures: 1. Mare (Sea: *Bahar*); 2. Geomorfologia (Geomorphology: *Tifsil—Art*); 3. Meteorologia (Meteorology: *Kliem it-Temp u r-Rjieh*); 4. Astri (Stars: *Kwiekel*); 5. Navigazione e Manovre (Navigation and Manoeuvres: *Tbahhir u Manuvri*); 6. Imbarcazioni (Embarkations: *Imbark*); 7. Vita di Bordo (Life on Board: *Hajja Abbord*); 8. Commercio (Commerce: *Kummerċ*); 9. Pesca (Fishery: *is-Sajd*); 10. Fauna (Fauna: *Fawna*), and 11. Flora (Flora: *Hxejjex tal-Bahar*).

The rich comparative material, carefully classified by Professor Aquilina, is an

invaluable source of lexical and phraseological data relevant to the study of the Maltese-Arabic linguistic relationship.

Four alphabetical indexes (Italian, French, English and Maltese) make every terminological item, occurring in the book, readily available.

The work will be of interest not only to the terminologist and narrowly specialized lexicographer of Maltese, it will be found useful by the ethnographer and sociologist interested in the socio-cultural stratification and ethnical patterning of the Maltese people.

Ladislav Drozdík

Journal of Maltese Studies (Published under the Auspices of the Chair of Maltese Faculty of Arts, Royal University of Malta; Professor J. Aquilina, Editor), No. 8, 98 pp. No. 9, 101 pp. Valletta 1973.

Journal of Maltese Studies is a scholarly journal designed for the advancement of Maltese linguistics and philology. Through more than a decade of its existence, a large number of valuable articles have been published on various aspects of the Maltese language and culture. The short survey of the contents of both numbers under review, which may be found representative of the editorial orientation of the Journal in general, gives an idea about the main lines of scholarly activities pursued by the contributors to the Journal in the general field of Maltese humanities.

Number Eight:

J. Aquilina, *Maltese Etymological Glossary* (pp. 1—65). A highly meritorious collection of Maltese words of Arabic and Romance origin which are not etymologically identifiable at first sight. The list does not claim to be exhaustive. The missing etymologies are expected to be included in Aquilina's Maltese-English dictionary which is now under preparation.

J. Aquilina, *Maltese Plant Names* (pp. 63—92). The study is based on Guido Lanfranco's book *Field Guide to the Wild Flowers of Malta*, 1969. The Maltese wild plants are classified under two headings: those which are of Semitic origin and those which are etymologically traceable to Sicilian or Italian. On the ground of this comparative study it is possible to say that the bulk of terms denoting wild plants are of Arabic origin, even if some of them are local formations from existing roots, while the part of them are etymologically related to Italian or Sicilian.

J. Aquilina, *Verbs* (pp. 93—98). The paper is an attempt at classifying verb of foreign origin which are paradigmatically adapted to the pattern of the final weak verbs. Such verbs are mostly borrowed from old Sicilian and old Italian, as well as from modern Italian and English.

Number Nine:

In the editorial note "An Institute of Maltese Studies" (i—ii) Professor Aquilina calls for the establishment of a National Cultural Institute which would promote the study of the Maltese ancestral heritage, Maltese craftsmanship and the encouragement of the long-neglected local talent.

David R. Marshall's paper *A Comparative Study of Some Semantic Differences Between Maltese and Koranic Arabic* (pp. 1—44) analyses some of the most interesting semantic changes in Maltese on the contrasting background of the Arabic-Maltese linguistic relationship. Despite the fact that Maltese is a living offspring of the Semitic language family, it is not altogether easy to establish a Maltese-Arabic etymology in all particular cases. Marshall fully succeeded in overcoming many serious difficulties in tracing these etymologies, and his paper is a valuable contribution to furthering our knowledge of the lexical and semantic aspects of the Maltese-Arabic relationship.

The commemorative note by J. A. Buttigieg *E. F. Sutcliffe S. J. — A postscript* (pp. 45—58) is devoted to Sutcliffe's person and his contribution to the Maltese linguistics.

In the following paper *Some Linguistic Comments on Religious Terms in Maltese* (pp. 59—67) L. P. Trimble examines Maltesizing processes observable in the religious terminology which is, owing to its relative conservativeness, particularly well suited to a diachronic study of Maltese. The author posits four layers of religious terms: (1) the pre-Arabic, including Greek and Latin words as well as some terms which Maltese shares with Syriac; (2) the Arabic, reflecting the period in which the basic language of the islands (viz. Malta and Gozo) was established; (3) the post-Norman, which is the period of greatest borrowing from Sicilian and Italian; and (4) the modern, which is influenced by the Italian religious terminology despite the strong influence of English on the secular language.

The author of this interesting study comes to the conclusion that this terminological domain is the last refuge for the syntactic pattern of annexation (construct state) which is, in Maltese, normally replaced by periphrases of various structure. Further, whether a word is a heritage from the pre-Arabic or the Arabic layers of the language, or whether it has been borrowed from modern Arabic, Romance languages or English, Maltese treats all alike in Maltesizing them phonetically and morphologically.

In another contribution, Alfred L. Tennyson's poem *Ulisses* (pp. 68—71) is translated into Maltese by W. Ph. Gulia.

The closing paper of the number analyses the social organization at Gozo, viz., Marie-Odile Henriet, *L'organisation sociale villageoise à Gozo* (pp. 72—95).

Ladislav Drozdík

Ohly, Rajmund: *Języki Afryki* (Languages of Africa). Warsaw, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1974. 204 pp.

This popular booklet is neither an attempt to draw up an inventory of the languages of Africa, nor one to describe them. The author stresses right at the beginning that the growing importance of Africa among the broadest Polish reading and writing community has not yet been fully matched by an appropriate, scientifically sound, but also fully understandable manual in this field. In this respect his words are fully valid for most other European communities. In fact, apart from two valuable originally French-written manuals (I have in mind *Aperçu sur les structures grammaticales des langues négro-africaines*, published in Lyons in 1967 by Maurice Houis, and Pierre Alexandre's *Introduction to Languages and Language in Africa*, published originally also in 1967 — a recent English version appeared in 1972), there are only the booklets by C. Meinhof and D. Westermann, rather outdated by now, and the most valuable, but in Europe almost inaccessible American contributions by Wm. E. Welmers and R. G. Armstrong.

Rajmund Ohly's contribution intends to destroy three — as he puts it — "myths": the myth of a decreasing social importance of African languages, the myth of limited capabilities of their systems and that on the chaos of 'thousand' African dialects (p. 42). Actually, the book is subsequently divided into three parts. The first deals with the social functions of African languages (*Funkcje społeczne języków Afryki*), the second with African language systems (*Tworzywo językowe*), and the third with their classification and grouping (*Klasyfikacja języków Afryki*).

In general, we may say that the book will undoubtedly serve its main purpose fairly well and one may only regret that it is not yet accessible to the broader public of relevant specialists. A sort of an adaptation in one of the "vehicular" languages should perhaps be envisaged.

The three above-mentioned basic parts are obviously of unequal length, as their topic and content may have dictated. Part III (on the classification of African languages) must, by its very nature, be basically second-hand, as it presents a good survey of the main attempts at classification of the African languages, from Müller to Greenberg. Moreover, its specific feature is represented by a critical analysis of certain Polish classificatory contributions, notably that presented by the well-known Polish scholar Roman Stópa. Part II (on language systems) and especially Part I (on social functions of languages) offered the author much more opportunity to express his own opinions and to formulate his conclusions. As a result, these two parts present a much more interesting subject, which will certainly be read with attention by any specialist in the field. Whereas in Part II the author's main concern is an illustrative arrangement of descriptive data and their creative interpretation (and this part can be fully compared to certain sections of M. Houis' *Aperçu...*),

Part I must be considered entirely original and new. This section clearly surpasses the value of a popular series volume, as it attempts to draw the basic outlines of the language-society correspondence in Africa.

We may agree or disagree with particular conclusions, ideas or individual facts. Thus, we would reduce the 'defensive' tone of the book; in our opinion, African languages do not need, at the present stage, so much direct argumentation. The language-society correlations in Africa also do not appear, at least to us, as direct as the author puts it in some instances. When quoting material from secondary sources, we would always prefer to relate them to their primary sources and evaluate their correct position. Thus, for example, the text illustrating neologisms in Hausa (pp. 121—122) is taken over from Kirk-Green's summary of a paper delivered at the Dakar WALC, without indicating either the author's name or pointing out that it is, in fact, not a typical standard Hausa text, but rather a stylistic extreme. Several of the neologisms used in this text must be considered as not yet fully integrated into Standard Hausa and the reader should have been informed about this fact. Sometimes we would prefer a less enthusiastic style of approach in general: Can we speak about the genius of language in sober linguistic manuals? Occasional misprints and minor errors do occur (e.g. the SP in relative constructions of Hausa is not *dà naa ganii*, but rather *dà na ganii*, p. 116), but they do not lessen the value of the material. In fact, nobody could have totally avoided them when dealing with such an inventory of data from so many different languages of the whole continent.

But apart from such questions of opinion or detail, which are always subject to personal taste and style, the matter dealt with in the first part of the book would be certainly worth further consideration, especially as — apart from some contributions from both parts of Germany, France, U.S.S.R. and also certain Czechoslovak contributions — this effort represents one of the first continental attempts to deal with the sociolinguistic problems of Africa south of the Sahara. We can only hope that the author will continue in this direction and present us with a further contribution in this academically fascinating and socially important field.

Petr Zima

Lukas, Johannes: *Studien zur Sprache der Gisiga* (Studies on the Gisiga Language). Afrikanistische Forschungen, begründet und herausgegeben von J. Lukas. Band IV. Hamburg 1970. 155 pp.

The name of Professor Johannes Lukas became identified with intensive research into the languages of the Chad area as far back as the early 1930's. In fact, he is to be considered the main sponsor of Hausa and Chadic Studies in the Hamburg School

and — together with his former pupils and younger colleagues, H. Jungraithmayr and C. Hoffmann — he is the author of the most serious studies to have appeared in this area until quite recently, whether descriptive or comparative in character.

The work under discussion presents an outline of a descriptive grammar of Gisiga, a relatively small language community of Northern Cameroon (Maroua region). Most of the material collected by the author during the two successive field trips to Africa in 1952 and 1958 originate from the Dogba dialect of this language, although material from other dialects is occasionally also taken into consideration. The Gisigas, together with other smaller communities of Northeastern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon, are one of those peoples who are occasionally labelled with the Kanuri term Kir Di (meaning 'wild'), denoting those language communities which have more or less consistently refused to accept Islam.

Apart from purely descriptive aims, this work also presents a basic comparison between the Gisiga language (i.e. its phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon) and the most closely related languages within this group (i.e. mainly the languages of the Matakam area — the Matakam and the Mandara), and also with other language systems as known today (i. e. Bade, Bolanci, Margi, Bura and — last but not least — also Hausa). The book is therefore also an important source of comparison. A systematic comparison, based upon a 100-item list of lexemes of Gisiga and Bade-Bolanci, Margi, Hitkala, Glavda, Mandara, Matakam, Kotoko/Logone/Ms  r and Masa, as well as an occasional comparison throughout its descriptive chapters, shows that the Gisiga language is closest to Matakam, but that it is comparable — at least in some respects — also to the languages of the Bura-Margi group in Nigeria. Typologically, it belongs to those language systems of the Chad area which do not manifest the gender classification of nouns.

After a short but systematic description of the consonantal and vocalic systems (stressing the relevant difference of the pausal and non-pausal syllables), the author presents preliminary remarks about the suprasegmental features of Gisiga. The main importance of this volume (apart from the richness of texts, transcribed and edited by the author as an inherent part of the study) is undoubtedly its analysis of the Gisiga morphology, word derivation and syntax.

In morphology, the plural formation of nouns does not present great difficulties, most nouns forming their plurals by a *-hay* suffix; The 'close' constructions of two nouns (or nominals), genitive-like in their character are marked by *-a*, suffixed to the first of them: Example: *kus-a mudlay* (meaning 'Menge des Volkes', p. 27). The personal pronouns are also interesting, both with regard to their 'independent' form (*ya, ka, nan, miya, kom, tan*, p. 30) and their prefix-forms. It should be noted that their plural forms are usually not obligatory, as the verbal complex uses a special plural exponent *am,   m, m*, and *ak*. A very thorough and concise analysis of the system of pronouns is given on pp. 29—44, which is highly useful both for descriptive and comparative purposes. The chapter on prepositions (the author calls them Pr  posizioni)

sitionelle funktionelle Morpheme, p. 45 ff.) and on prepositional nouns (Präpositionnelle Nomina, p. 46) also present many features of broad importance, perhaps even exceeding the limits of the Chadic group. A very good and rather detailed survey of the inventory of the basic verbal roots (Grundstämme, p. 48 ff.) presents the roots analysed according to:

1. number of their syllables,
2. structure of their syllables,
3. the principle of the 'pausal' syllables.

As far as the verbal complex and especially its aspect markers are concerned, the author has refrained from distinguishing tense, aspect (in its original, i.e. classical sense) and mood. He insists that such a simplification is imposed by his present-day Gisiga material which did not allow him to go into the details of this classical trichotomy of categories (p. 61). One may consider, however, that after all, close ties between such categories as tense, aspect and mood exist in most language systems, occasionally even to an extent that an exact delimitation appears frequently hardly possible. As for Gisiga, Lukas distinguishes a basic aspect (Grundaspekt), a future, and a progressive one (pp. 62—63).

Word-derivation (in its classical sense) is scattered throughout the chapters dealing with nouns and verbs. To someone who has not been very much involved in comparative work within the Chadic group, the description of this language, which is otherwise not too close to Hausa, might appear amazing in this respect: practically the most productive forms of affixation bear either direct resemblances to the Hausa types, or at least distant similarities: the prefixation of *m* plus vowel deriving nouns and participles, the prefix *musi/mɔsi/mashi/misi* deriving possessors, the *-owa/awa/oo* 'Entfernungsmorpheme' of verbs, the causative *de/dɔ* and various other forms on the borderlines between morphology and word-derivation display eloquent features of the ties linking together these languages.

The author is also to be praised for having introduced the reader to the basic features of the Gisiga syntax: the main types of predicative constructions (Prädikatives Syntagma) and detailed descriptions of their subsequent constituents are outlined and richly illustrated by Gisiga material in an objective, tranquil and 'classical' tone and style.

Briefly, this is a most valuable contribution, offering the fruits of a rich experience and the deep insight of a learned scholar.

Petr Zima

Matsushita, Shuji: *An Outline of Gwandara Phonemics and Gwandara-English Vocabulary*. Tokyo, Studies of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa Series, No. 3, published by the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa 1972. 127 pp. + 1 map.

Together with Shimizu Kiyoshi's contributions on Hausa, the volume under review represents the most recent fruits of the intensive study of West African languages in Japan. While Shimizu Kiyoshi's work has been mainly focussed on Standard Hausa itself and its synchronic grammatical analysis, Shuji Matsushita's interests have turned towards the most intriguing problem of the language spoken by one of the 'pagan' language communities in Nigeria, which is closely related to Hausa. In fact, as the author points out, the Gwandarawa represent — according to their traditions — a group of Kano Hausas who followed their leader (his name is reported to have been 'Karshi') when he fled from Kano, because he refused to accept Islam. Even the folk etymological explanation of their tribal denomination indirectly indicates this main cultural feature: *gwàndà rawaa dà sallà*, i.e. rather dance than pray to God. Linguistically, therefore, these people are thought to be Hausas who have separated themselves from the main bulk of the central areas of their language community. For a historically unidentifiable period of time they have led a more or less isolated life, their refusal to accept the new religion and its culture constituting a serious gap between them and their original community.

The contemporary Gwandarawa live at the southern limits of the Hausa language territory, i.e. mainly in the Keffi—Abuja—Nasarawa L. A., south of Zaria. They have conquered this area from the neighbouring Gwari, Bassa and other peoples. Only quite recently has the religious barrier ceased to exist and isolate them from other Hausas, as most Gwandaras had been converted to Islam (but some of them also to Christianity).

According to the author of the present volume, this as yet not fully identified time period of separated life has influenced the Gwandara language to such an extent that — though it is the language most closely related to Hausa within the entire Chadic group — it must be classified as a different language. The two systems are no longer mutually intelligible. The author has studied the language not in the Karshi area where the Gwandarawa live. Rather he had an opportunity to work with migrant Gwandarawa workers in the larger towns of northern Nigeria, especially at the Arewa textiles in Kaduna where three of his main language informants were employed. He frankly admits that: "... Nowadays, most of the Gwandarawa people speak Hausa, too, and mix Hausa words with their speech freely. There arises a special difficulty. Since Gwandara is closely related to Hausa, it is very difficult to determine whether a certain word is inherited from the common proto-language or is a loan from Hausa..." (p. 3).

Having conducted a methodically related research in the speech of originally non-Islamic Hausas in the Republic of Niger, I fully agree with the present author that this overall difficulty arises in most cases of such language communities which, during some longer historical periods, may have led a separated existence from the central Hausa areas. On the other hand, however, although the intensive language pressure by the present-day Hausa standard is felt throughout the whole of West

Africa, there is no doubt that it is precisely among the migrant workers that this pressure is most intensive. Hence, one might presume that if the author had overcome the practical difficulties of field research (the nature of which I am well acquainted with) and if he had conducted at least a control-phase of his research in the Gwandara area itself, he might have eliminated at least some of the above problems.

This volume under discussion consists of a short phonological introduction (pp. 3—12) and a very valuable Gwandara-English vocabulary (pp. 15—127). Although comparisons with the Hausa system appear in several instances, this is still essentially a synchronic description of a single language system, i.e. Gwandara, a systematic comparison being left aside — at least at the present stage. Although occasionally appearing here and there in the phonological and the lexical material, morphological data are practically omitted, perhaps they are being prepared for another volume. This separation is to some extent to be regretted, as the whole of the present volume offers a very rich and stimulating basis for thought and comparison, and the absence of an at least introductory outline of the morphology reduces automatically its value in this sense.

In phonology, one must note the dividing line, drawn by the author, between the so-called basic and elegant phoneines, the latter being most probably only those appearing exclusively in the loan-elements from Hausa (cf. p. 6). However, an exact and explicit definition of this rather far-reaching concept is not given. The equivalence of the 'elegant' non-palatalised consonants *z*, *ts* in Hausa with palatalised consonants *j* and *c* in Gwandara seems most interesting to this reviewer, along with the fact that a certain *s* → *š* alternation also exists in Gwandara. The latter is not, however, indicated in the phonological charts, but can be established from the lexical data. One may only regret that the author did not establish the exact rules of its operation, especially in the light of the fact that palatalization features in Gwandara seem comparable to certain similar tendencies in the Dongondutchi dialect of Hausa, as investigated by the present reviewer in the Republic of Niger. (Cf. our contributions: *Quelques remarques sur le vocalisme d'un parler Haoussa*. Acta Univ. Carolinae, Phon. Pragensia, II, 1970, pp. 72—82; *A Contribution to the Analysis of Verbal Forms in a WNW Hausa Dialect*. Archiv orientální, 37, 1969, pp. 199—213; *Remarques sur le consonantisme d'un parler Haoussa du Niger*, to appear in Acta Univ. Carol., Phon. Pragensia IV, 1975). Moreover, many other points of comparison appear, throughout the lexicon and phonology, between these two distant dialects of two previously non-Islamic areas of Hausa, in spite of their geographical separation. This may, in fact, speak in favour of our previously formulated opinion that Hausa dialects may be classified not only in the North-South or East-West Belts, but also in terms of the centre and periphery of the Hausa speaking territory, some of the peripheral and hence marginal Hausa dialects manifesting comparable features, despite their geographical and cultural remoteness.

Various other details might have been discussed in this volume (including i.e.

the problem of the so-called Compound-Tones, many of them being perhaps analysable as basic tones plus intonational syntactic features), but in general, we must stress that the author has done a good piece of work. Moreover, the recent wave of interest in the so-called 'pagan' areas of Hausas and their culture or language may well open a new period in Hausa dialectology and — together with research in comparative Chadic — assist us in an effort toward diachronical research into this language system.

Petr Zima

Boni, Nazi: *Histoire synthétique de l'Afrique résistante. Les réactions des peuples africains face aux influences extérieures* (A Comprehensive History of Resistance in Africa. The Reactions of African People to External Influences). Paris, Présence Africaine 1971. 310 pp.

It is rather difficult to conceive the rationale of this book. Despite what its misleading title may suggest, *Histoire synthétique de l'Afrique résistante* is certainly not a comprehensive history of resistance in Africa. Neither does it provide a comprehensive survey of reactions of African peoples to external influences and colonial conquest. Geographically the book covers mostly the western part of the African continent¹ and makes us ask: What about the rest of the continent? Does this imply that there was no resistance there or what resistance there was, was not worth studying? Certainly we get very little from what we might expect to find in this publication. Why the vast regions of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa were skipped and for what reasons only this particular part of Africa was covered, we are nowhere told.

The book under review is divided into nine chapters with a Preface written by a well-known French Africanist J. Suret-Canale. Represented between its two covers are rather heterogeneous accounts ranging chronologically from the ancient relations of Africa with the outside world, through mediaeval to the post-mediaeval relations dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The first chapter attempting to provide a historical survey of Africa faced with external influences ends with short histories of great African discoveries and life stories of famous African explorers. Chapter Two is devoted to some resistance movements in Senegal and Mauretania, Al Haj 'Umar's included. Chapter Three deals with Reactions to French Attempts at Penetration of Western Sudan 1863—1883. Chapter Four

¹ With the exception of certain sections of the first chapter.

discusses the situation in the Tukulor empire after the death of Al Haj 'Umar and the resistance of Ahmadu Seku. Chapter Five covers the history of the Fulani kingdom of Masina. Once again (sic!) we go through the stories of Al Haj 'Umar and Ahmadu Seku. Chapter Six deals with Reactions of Nomads in the Western Sudan to European invasion. Chapter Seven with Voltaic peoples faced with Colonial Penetration, Chapter Eight provides the story of Samori's resistance and in Chapter Nine we may find the history of anti-European resistance in Kénédugu.

No attempt was made to set these resistance movements in a wider comparative context or relate them to the earlier history of the peoples in question. The late author satisfied himself with presenting certain historical facts in a way which strongly reminds us of similar works of African scholarship by de Graft-Johnson and Cheikh Anta Diop.² However, the years since the International Congress of African Historians had been held in Dar and resistance and reactions of African peoples to European conquest had been established as one of the emerging themes of African history, have seen a significant development of research on this theme.³ *Histoire synthétique de l'Afrique résistante* is therefore just a modest contribution of African scholarship to this field of African historiography.

Viera E. Pawliková

² See de Graft-Johnson, J. C.: *African Glory*. London, Watts and Co. Ltd. 1954, and Diop, Cheikh Anta: *Nations nègres et culture*. Paris 1955; *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique Noire*. Paris 1959 and *L'Afrique Noire précoloniale*. Paris 1960.

³ See Ranger, T. O. (Ed.): *Emerging Themes of African History*. Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians held at University College, Dar es Salaam, October 1965. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968.

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