

VEDA

PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

**SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES**

**CHIEF EDITOR**

**IVAN DOLEŽAL**

**EXECUTIVE EDITOR**

**JOZEF GENZOR**

**EDITORIAL BOARD**

**JOZEF BLAŠKOVICH**

**LADISLAV DROZDÍK**

**MARIÁN GÁLIK**

**VIKTOR KRUPA**

# ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES BRATISLAVA

XII

1976

1976

VEDA, PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY  
OF SCIENCES

BRATISLAVA

CURZON PRESS • LONDON

PUBLISHED OUTSIDE THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

SOLELY BY CURZON PRESS LTD • LONDON AND DUBLIN

SBN 7007 0101 X

© VEDA, VYDAVATEĽSTVO SLOVENSKEJ AKADEMIE VIED, 1976

# CONTENTS

## Articles

Kubeš, Zdeněk: <i>The Idea of Arab Unity During the Period of Egyptian Revolution and Its Aftermath (1952—1957)</i> . . . . .	11
Pawliková, Viera: <i>A Military Response to Colonial Occupation: The Baganda Against the British. A Reappraisal of an Afro-European Relationship</i> . . . . .	29
Steinhart, Edward I.: <i>The Nyangire Rebellion in Bunyoro, 1907: Anti-Colonial Resistance and Nationalism</i> . . . . .	43
Blaškovič, Jozef: <i>Zwei türkische Lieder über die Eroberung von Nové Zámky aus dem Jahre 1663</i> . . . . .	63
Kopčan, Vojtech: <i>Einige Anmerkungen zu Evliya Çelebis Seyahatname</i> . . . . .	71
Gálik, Marián: <i>Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: II. Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1915—1922)</i> . . . . .	85
Gálik, Marián: <i>Chao—The King of Hell and The Emperor Jones: Two Plays by Hung Shen and O'Neill</i> . . . . .	123
Múčka, Ján: <i>Une esquisse des problèmes idéologiques dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne pendant les années 1930—1935 (1<sup>e</sup> Partie)</i> . . . . .	135
Krupa, Viktor: <i>A Semantic Typology of Personal Pronouns</i> . . . . .	149
Drozdík, Ladislav: <i>The fa'āl- and fa'āla-Patterned Nouns of Instrument in Arabic</i> . . . . .	157

## Review Articles

Kopčan, Vojtech: <i>Two New Publications on Ottoman Defters in Hungary</i> . . . . .	173
Celnarová, Xénia: <i>On the Latest Editions of the Book of Dede Korkut</i> . . . . .	179

## Book Reviews

<i>Diachronic, Areal, and Typological Linguistics. Current Trends in Linguistics.</i> Ed. by T. A. Sebeok. By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	187
Melchuk, I. A.: <i>Opyt teorii lingvisticheskikh modelei smysl ↔ tekst.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	188
Shchur, G. S.: <i>Teorii polya v lingvistike.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	190
<i>Voprosy struktury yazyka.</i> Ed. by Y. K. Lekomtsev. By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	191
Carroll, V.—Soulik, T.: <i>Nukuoro Lexicon.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	193
Panganiban, José Villa: <i>Diksyunaryo-Tesauro Pilipino-Ingles.</i> By Jozef Genzor . . . . .	194
Ruzui, Septy: <i>A Survey of Relations Between Indonesian, Malay and Some Philippine Languages.</i> By Jozef Genzor . . . . .	197
Topping, Donald M.: <i>Chamorro Reference Grammar.</i> By Jozef Genzor . . . . .	199
Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung: <i>Twenty Years of Indonesian Foreign Policy 1945—1965.</i> By Štefan Fatura . . . . .	200

Haji Omar, Asmah—Subbiah, Rama: <i>An Introduction to Malay Grammar</i> . By Štefan Fatura . . . . .	201
Hassan, Abdullah: <i>The Morphology of Malay</i> . By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	204
Payne, E. M. F.: <i>Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay</i> . By Štefan Fatura . . . . .	205
Yazyki Kitaya i Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii. Ed. by Y. A. Gorgoniev. By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	210
<i>Anthologie de la littérature vietnamienne</i> . Par Ján Múčka . . . . .	211
<i>Aspects of Vietnamese History</i> . Ed. by Walter F. Vella. By Ján Múčka . . . . .	213
<i>Japanese Culture and Behavior</i> . Ed. by T. S. Lebra and W. P. Lebra. By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	215
<i>Japanese Research on Mass Communication: Selected Abstracts</i> . Ed. by Hidetoshi Kato. By Zdeňka Vasiljevová . . . . .	217
Kuroda, Yasumasa: <i>Reed Town, Japan</i> . By Zdeňka Vasiljevová . . . . .	218
<i>Sahoe kwahakwŏn ŏnhak yŏn'guso: Chosŏn munhwa-ŏ sajŏn</i> . By Vladimír Pucek . . . . .	220
<i>Chinese Literature. An Anthology from the Earliest Times to the Present Day</i> . Ed. by W. McNaughton. By Anna Doležalová . . . . .	223
Chang Hao: <i>Liang Ch'í-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890—1907</i> . By Josef Fass . . . . .	225
Lee, Leo Ou-fan: <i>The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	231
Ruh, Christel: <i>Das Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi—Ein Beispiel für den "Politischen Roman" der ausgehenden Ch'ing-Zeit</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	234
Töpelmann, Cornelia: <i>Shan-ko von Feng Meng-lung. Eine Volksliedersammlung aus der Ming-Zeit</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	235
Chen, Chi: <i>Die Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und China bis 1933</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	238
<i>China: A Handbook</i> . Ed. by Wu Yüan-li. By Marián Gálik . . . . .	240
<i>Essays on the Sources for Chinese History</i> . Ed. by Donald D. Leslie—Colin Mackerras—Wang Gungwu. By Marián Gálik . . . . .	241
<i>Perspectives of the T'ang</i> . Ed. by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett. By Marián Gálik . . . . .	244
Ch'en, Kenneth K. S.: <i>The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	246
Pak, Hyobom B.: <i>China and the West. Myths and Realities in History</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	248
Lind, Andrew W.: <i>Nanyang Perspectives: Chinese Students in Multiracial Singapore</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	250
<i>Women in China. Studies in Social Changes and Feminism</i> . Ed. by Marilyn B. Young. By Marián Gálik . . . . .	252
Shulman, Frank J.: <i>Japan and Korea. An Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations in Western Languages, 1877—1969</i> . By Marián Gálik . . . . .	255
Sedláček, Kamil: <i>Tibetan Newspaper Reader</i> . Von Eberhardt Richter . . . . .	256
<i>Jawaharlal Nehru, A Political Leader</i> . Ed. by M. Krása. By Anna Rácová . . . . .	258
Komarov, E. N. (Ed.): <i>Indiya: sovremennost i istoriya</i> . By Anna Rácová . . . . .	260
Chekki, Danesh A.: <i>Modernization and Kin Network</i> . By Anna Rácová . . . . .	262
Gupta, G. R.: <i>Marriage, Religion and Society</i> . By Anna Rácová . . . . .	264
O'Malley, L. S. S.: <i>Indian Caste Custom</i> . By Anna Rácová . . . . .	266
Wilkins, W. J.: <i>Modern Hinduism: An Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus in Northern India</i> . By Anna Rácová . . . . .	267
Shulman, Frank J.: <i>Doctoral Dissertations on South Asia, 1966—1970: An Annotated Bibliography Covering North America, Europe, and Australia</i> . By Anna Rácová . . . . .	267
Korson, J. H. (Ed.): <i>Contemporary Problems of Pakistan</i> . By Anna Rácová . . . . .	269
Heinz, Wilhelm: <i>Der indische Stil in der persischen Literatur</i> . Von Kamil Baňák . . . . .	270
Kessel, Lev Mikhailovich: <i>Gete i "Zapadno-vostochnyi Divan"</i> . By Kamil Baňák . . . . .	272
Fevzi Mostarac: <i>Bulbulistan</i> . By Kamil Baňák . . . . .	273
<i>Researches in Altaic Languages</i> . Ed. by Louis Ligeti. Von Jozef Blaškovič . . . . .	274

Atsız, Bedriye—Kissling, Hans-Joachim: <i>Sammlung türkischer Redensarten</i> . Von Georg Hazai . . . . .	276
<i>Ağacı Takılan Uçurtma</i> . Herausgegeben von Yüksel Pazarkaya. Von Xénia Celnarová . . . . .	278
Başgöz, I.—Tietze, A.: <i>Bilmece: A Corpus of Turkish Riddles</i> . By Xénia Celnarová . . . . .	279
Šabanović, Hazim: <i>Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	281
<i>Cronici turcești privind Țările Române</i> . Von Mihail Guboglu zusammengestellt. Von Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	284
<i>Österreich und die Türken</i> . Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 1969 in Mogersdorf. Von Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	288
<i>The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History</i> . Ed. by Kemal H. Karpat. By Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	291
Thomas, Lewis V.: <i>A Study of Naima</i> . By Vojtech Kopčan. . . . .	294
<i>Vostočnye istočniki po istorii narodov Jugo-Vostočnoj i Centralnoj Evropy III</i> . Unter der Red. von A. S. Tveritina. Von Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	295
<i>A Basic Bibliography for the Study of the Semitic Languages</i> . Ed. by J. H. Hospers. Vols I—II. By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	298
Blachère, R.—Chouémi, M.—Denizeau, C.: <i>Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	299
Knutsson, Bengt: <i>Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	301
Omar, Margaret K.: <i>The Acquisition of Egyptian Arabic as a Native Language</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	302
<i>The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage</i> . Ed. by N. S. Doniach. By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	303
Shebavy, Nabil: <i>The Propositional Logic of Avicenna. A Translation from al-Shifā' : al-Qiyās</i> . By Ján Letaši . . . . .	305
Rogerson, J. W.: <i>Myth in Old Testament Interpretation</i> . Von Ján Pauliny. . . . .	306
<i>Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960. Volume 5. A Bibliographical Guide to Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa</i> . Ed. by Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann. By Viera Pawliková . . . . .	308
Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P.: <i>Chronology of African History</i> . By Viera Pawliková . . . . .	311
Kiwanuka, M. S. M. Semakula: <i>A History of Buganda</i> . By Viera Pawliková . . . . .	313
Wright, Michael: <i>Buganda in the Heroic Age</i> . By Viera Pawliková . . . . .	316
BOOKS RECEIVED . . . . .	318

## ARTICLES



## THE IDEA OF ARAB UNITY DURING THE PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH (1952—1957)

ZDENĚK KUBEŠ, Prague

The article shows the developments of the idea of Arab unity during the period in which the first successful Arab anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution asserted itself, making the idea a substantial part of the policy of Egypt. At the same time, the idea of Arab unity took a very important place in the consciousness of Arab masses. The author depicts relevant developments in both the Arab East and the Arab West and also pays attention to the activities of the League of Arab States during this period.

The idea of Arab unity has been an indivisible part of the Arab emancipation and liberation movement since its early stages. It was present in the *nahḍa* which emerged during the later part of the 19th century in the Lebano-Syrian region, and before the end of the century the Pan-Arab aspect came to the fore in the Arab national movement, although it was confined to the Asian part of the Arab world.

The Arab uprising of 1916, which largely contributed to the final downfall of the Ottoman Empire, aimed at the constitution of an independent Arab state unifying virtually all the Arab territories in Asia (with the exception of Aden). This plan collided with the imperial interests of Great Britain and France and the united Arab state never came into existence. Between the First and the Second World Wars, the idea of Arab unity became an important subject in the works of Arab theoreticians formulating the ideology of Arab nationalism. And it was strong enough to attract British foreign policy seeking means to reinforce British influence in the region. Gradually the idea of Arab unity also acquired traits of universalism embracing the whole Arab world as we know it today.

British endeavours led in 1945 to the establishment of the League of Arab States — an organization which soon disengaged itself from the British influence and started to play a positive role in the process of Arab liberation and in the creation of concrete preconditions for the practical realization of Arab unity in various spheres.

At the time of the Egyptian revolution of 1952 the concept of Arab unity was firmly established in the consciousness of Arab masses in most Arab countries and

formed an inseparable part of the Arab national liberation movement. But the national liberation revolutions in the Arab world until the early 1960's had not yet brought about changes in the social character of the ruling classes. This was particularly evident in Egypt, where the strongholds of foreign bourgeoisie were gradually limited after 1952, but only to the advantage of the Egyptian bourgeoisie including its monopolistic elements.

\*

The Egyptian revolution of 1952 broke out in the midst of the cold war at a time when the American diplomacy was trying to create an anti-Soviet military bloc in the Middle East with the participation of the Eastern Arab countries, including Egypt. Under the growing popular pressure the foreign policy of Egypt had crystallized in a definite anti-British direction. In 1951 the Wafdist government led by Muṣṭafā Naḥḥās repudiated the British-Egyptian treaty of 1936 and asked the British government to evacuate the British military forces from the Suez Canal Zone. In the same year Egypt declared its policy of neutrality. Along with the repudiation of the treaty, the Egyptian government unilaterally proclaimed the unification of Egypt and the Sudan.

In an international situation sharpened after the outbreak of the Korean war and by the policy of pro-Western military pacts, the Egyptian government tried in the spring of 1951 to form a regional defence pact in the Middle East comprising the Arab states and Turkey. Egypt intended to organize a neutral bloc, predominantly Arab, but strengthened by the inclusion of Turkey. These efforts brought no results, as Turkey at that time already participated in preparations for the establishment of a pro-Western military bloc, sought admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and her pro-American government had no interest in the neutralizing proposals from Cairo.

Precisely to the contrary, in October 1951 Turkey acted as co-sponsor of the Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO). It was supposed that the Middle East Command with Egypt as the key partner should be the nucleus of this bloc. The project, submitted jointly by the three Western powers and Turkey,<sup>1</sup> reckoned with the use of the military bases on Egyptian soil. But this attempt to "unify" the Arab countries on the front of the cold war met with explicit mass resistance, mainly in Egypt and Syria, and the Egyptian government of Naḥḥās Pasha rejected it.

The so-called political vacuum in Egypt, which after the repudiation of the British-Egyptian treaty was a frequent subject for Western commentators, "was abruptly filled by a new dynamic force when, at dawn of July 23 a 'Committee

---

<sup>1</sup> Text of the documents: Hurewitz, J. C.: *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record*. Princeton, D. van Nostrand Company 1956, vol. II, pp. 329—332

of Free Officers', a secret group formed in 1947, overthrew the government".<sup>2</sup> It was not immediately clear who exactly filled it and who was behind the Egyptian coup of 1952. The Free Officers initiated certain democratic reforms, mainly the abolition of monarchy and the limitation of agricultural ownership, but at the same time their policy was strongly anti-communist. It seemed at the beginning that it might have been but another Middle East coup inspired from the United States; the favourable response in the State Department suggested that, too.

In matters of foreign policy, the Free Officers proceeded with extreme caution. As to the sensitive question of the "unity of the Nile Valley", in 1953 they signed an agreement with Great Britain. According to it the Sudan was supposed to pass a three-year period of transition after which the British-Egyptian occupation was to finish and a Sudanese Constituent Assembly to decide on the country's future. The pro-Egyptian National Unionist Party had good standing in the Sudan<sup>3</sup> and a future agreement about a union between the two countries seemed possible. But later on, this party switched towards the idea of independent Sudan. (Independence was proclaimed on January 1st, 1956.)

The Free Officers also succeeded in resolving the problem of the Suez Canal base through an agreement. The document was signed in 1954 and provided for the evacuation of the British forces.

The foreign policy line of the new Egyptian regime, which was later to influence so vigorously the development in the Arab world, took shape in 1954—1955. It was at a time when the American and British efforts to create a military bloc in the Middle East received a new impetus. These efforts again clashed with the policy of Egypt where the Free Officers, having succeeded in stabilizing their power, gradually started to pursue an active foreign policy based on two main principles: Pan-Arabism and positive neutrality.

In 1954, two unification policies clashed in the Arab world — the Egyptian line emanating from the principles of the League of Arab States and its Joint Defence Treaty, and the Iraqi policy, aiming at the Fertile Crescent Federation, or even a wider grouping, joined to a pro-Western military bloc. The antagonistic nature of the two trends became evident during the visit of the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance Ṣalāḥ Ṣālim in Baghdad in August 1954 and of Nūrī as-Saʿīd in Cairo the following month.

The problem of a common foreign policy of Arab states and the related question of Iraq's intended participation in a pro-Western military alliance was

---

<sup>2</sup> Lenczowski, G.: *The Middle East in World Affairs*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press 1957, p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> This was confirmed in November 1953, when in general elections the unionist parties headed by the Al-Ashiqqā' obtained an absolute majority in the Constituent Assembly (50 out of 97 seats).

discussed in Cairo by the Political Committee of the Arab League. Iraq, promoting its concept of participation in a military bloc, remained completely isolated. Nevertheless, the following year it undertook contractual obligations which enabled the United States and Great Britain to implement the "Northern tier" concept in the form of a pact named the Baghdad Pact after the capital city of its only Arab member. (The other Asian participants were Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.)

The decision of Iraq, whose regime was traditionally associated with the West, bore ponderous consequences for the cause of Arab unity. In all Arab countries this step met with mass resistance and activated nationalist and neutralist forces. Iraq remained the only Arab member of the pact in spite of the pressure exerted by the Western powers on other Arab countries in the Asian part of the Arab world. This isolation prevented the Iraqi regime from taking advantage of its membership in the pact and implementing its wider aims regarding the Fertile Crescent Federation.

The decision of Iraq was in contradiction to the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation among the states of the Arab League, signed in April 1950. According to Article 10 of this treaty, each of the contracting states "undertakes not to conclude any international agreement which may be inconsistent with this Treaty and not to adopt in its international relations any course which may be contrary to the aims of this Treaty".<sup>4</sup> The member states of the League held that the decision of Iraq was contradictory to the aims of the Joint Defence Treaty, and therefore the participation of Iraq in the Baghdad Pact was considered a de facto abolition of the treaty, although the treaty remained legally valid.<sup>5</sup> But the Egyptian-Iraqi antagonism resulting from this clash became one of the determinant factors of the following period of development in the Arab world, Cairo representing the course of positive neutrality and Baghdad the orientation on colonial powers.

The freezing of the Defence Treaty of the Arab League encouraged the Arab neighbours of Israel to search for other ways which would enable them to safeguard their security, outside the framework of the League, but not at variance with it. In addition to the purchases of arms in socialist countries (made by Egypt and Syria), bilateral defence treaties were concluded between individual Arab states, in particular the Mutual Defence Pact between Egypt and Syria of October 1955, and the Mutual Defence Pact between Egypt and Saudi Arabia signed the same month, and also the Military Pact of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen of April 1956.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Khalil, M.: *The Arab States and the Arab League. A Documentary Record*. Beirut, Khayats 1962, vol. II, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Novák, L.—Výhoda, K.: *Co je Liga arabských států?* Praha, SNPL 1960, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Text of the Pacts: Khalil, op. cit., vol. II.

In comparison with the treaty of 1950, these defence pacts contained an important change: whereas the former provided for a joint command of armed forces in case of war, the latter established a joint command as a permanent body. The joint supreme commander had an important integrating role to play even in time of peace, and the contracting parties pledged to put at the disposal of the joint command storm troops in time of peace and war.

Efficient solidarity was manifested by the treaty concluded in January 1957 by Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt on financial aid to Jordan. It was called the Treaty of Solidarity and engaged the governments of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt to pay to Jordan 12.5 million Egyptian pounds a year and thus compensate for the loss of British subsidies.<sup>7</sup> However, after the reactionary coup in Jordan later that year, the treaty became groundless.

These treaties considerably contributed to a strengthening of Arab solidarity at a time when Israel intensified her aggressiveness and the Western powers were intensively trying to involve other Arab countries in military blocs. Meanwhile, substantial changes took place in a number of Arab countries. The regime of Colonel Adīb ash-Shishakli in Syria fell in 1954 and during the election the same year, leftist forces scored important successes. In Jordan, progressive forces came temporarily to power in 1956, and the same year the independence of Morocco and Tunisia was proclaimed.

The consciousness of solidarity was gaining momentum among Arab masses and was seen as an important precondition and means of the struggle against imperialism. The mass movement in support of Egypt that arose in Arab countries at the time of the nationalization of the Suez Canal and during the tripartite aggression in 1956, was a clear manifestation of this consciousness. Extensive demonstrations and solidarity strikes were organized in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and other Arab countries. Many Arab governments were forced to sever diplomatic relations with the powers participating in the aggression.

That was not the only case. The efforts of the masses in one Arab country to realize economic, political and national demands always found active support in other Arab countries; this solidarity was manifested in various forms — by meetings, demonstrations, strikes, statements of governments and political parties.

The foreign policy of the Egyptian government headed by Jamāl 'Abd an-Nāṣir developed in 1954—1955 in two main directions — Arab nationalism of the Pan-Arab style on the one hand, fight against imperialism and rapprochement with socialist countries on the other. 'Abd an-Nāṣir's policy was deeply influenced by the Bandung conference of Asian and African states in April 1955, after which his policy turned definitively towards positive neutrality. 'Abd an-Nāṣir even became one of the main representatives of this anti-imperialist political trend.

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 287—289.

ʿAbd an-Nāṣir's policy aimed at liquidating the remnants of imperialist domination over Egypt and other Arab countries, but not always did his programme mean genuine emancipation of Arab countries. At this period, which culminated in the creation of the United Arab Republic (1958), ʿAbd an-Nāṣir's Pan-Arabism appeared as a sort of recurrence of the historical tendencies of the Egyptian state, applied again and again over the millennia of Egyptian history; Pan-Arabism was a new form of old expansionist ambitions.

Jamāl ʿAbd an-Nāṣir's policy served at that time the interests of the relatively advanced Egyptian bourgeoisie and in essence it followed up with the policy of the Wafd party adopted in the 1940's. Egypt badly needed capital to abate the population pressure by widening the area of arable land and by industrialization; the Egyptian bourgeoisie needed to expand markets for its goods and to find new sources of raw materials; ways were being sought to employ the Egyptian intelligentsia in the civil services of other Arab countries, as there were insufficient opportunities for it in Egypt. And so we may say with Marlowe that "the ghosts of all the Egyptian conquerors of the past, from the Pharaohs to the Fatimids, from the Mamluks to Muḥammre impeʿAad li, veriously beckoning ʿAbd an-Nāṣir towards the perilous prospects and glitgerin prizes which lay eastwards from Suez", whereas "Arab nationalists all over the Fertile Crescent, frustrated by corrupt, or tyrannized over by oppressive, rule were waiting in the shadows like 'characters in search of a hero'".<sup>8</sup> It was characteristic for the developments of the following years that the struggle against the domestic and foreign reaction in all Arab countries, intensively supported by Cairo, was mingled with the hegemonistic and expansive efforts of the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Although the Nāṣirian Pan-Arabism was one of the main trends in the Arab world during the 1950's and 1960's, it has never been comprehensively formulated as a political programme. Sometimes it is seen as contradicting the baʿthist brand of Arab unity, but it is difficult to discover substantial differences between the two, as far as the idea of Arab unity is concerned. It stems from the a priori principle of one Arab nation entitled to live in one state. "The Arab desire for unity is fundamentally a longing for normality, a determination to achieve a legitimate national right, a yearning for political health, and a desire for sounder economy and for greater stability and security in the Arab world... The idea of Arab unity reflects the awakeness of Arab society, after a long period of slumber, fragmentation, and foreign domination; it echoesthe Arab urge to cath upw ith themose advanced nations of the contemporary world."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Marlowe, J.: *Arab Nationalism and British Imperialism. A Study in Power Politics*. London, The Cresset Press 1961, p. 82

<sup>9</sup> Sayegh, F. A.: *Arab Unity. Hope and Fulfilment*. New York, The Devin Adair Co. 1958, p. 214.

But this political unity and health could not be attained because imperialism, in its own interest, split the Arab world into many separate states. Therefore, ʿAbd an-Nāṣir set the aim of overcoming this disunity and completing national unity by political unity, i.e. by unifying all the Arab countries in one state. As the existing separation was caused by imperialism, it is necessary to struggle resolutely against imperialism, if the road towards Arab unity is to be opened. And this unification is to be achieved under the leadership of Egypt, although it is doubtful — again according to Marlowe — whether ʿAbd an-Nāṣir “ever consciously formulated to himself the concept of replacing British by Egyptian hegemony in the Arab world”.<sup>10</sup>

ʿAbd an-Nāṣir’s views on the possibility of achieving Arab unity recorded intensive development in 1953—1955. Not until 1953 did ʿAbd an-Nāṣir state, speaking to journalists, that he did not consider it possible to realize one of many plans of Arab unification, “if only because of the rivalry of interest and prestige between two large governing families, the Saudites and the Hashemites”, and because “a number of Arab countries are still fully or partly under foreign domination”. He added: “This unification may start modestly by concluding economic and defence agreements...”<sup>11</sup>

In his “Philosophy of the Revolution”, ʿAbd an-Nāṣir develops his theory of three circles, the Arab, the African and the Muslim, into which Egypt had been put by destiny and “within which our activities inescapably must be confined”.<sup>12</sup> There can be no doubt, ʿAbd an-Nāṣir says, “that the Arab circle is the most important and the one with which we are most closely linked”.<sup>13</sup> He considers elements of this link common history, common religion and geographical framework. He says that after the Palestinian war, the Arab circle had become in his eyes a single entity; the developments in the Arab countries were matching — what happened in Cairo had its counterpart in Damascus the next day, and in Beirut, in Amman, in Baghdad and elsewhere. “It is a single region. The same circumstances, the same factors, even the same forces, united against all of it. And it was clear that the foremost of these forces was imperialism.”<sup>14</sup>

ʿAbd an-Nāṣir concludes that a common struggle is necessary, “unity in the common struggle”.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Marlowe, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>11</sup> Lacouture, J.: *Nasser*. Paris, Editions du Seuil 1971, p. 163.

<sup>12</sup> Nasser, G. A.: *Egypt's Liberation. The Philosophy of the Revolution*. Washington, Public Affairs Press 1955, p. 85.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 103—105.

The Egyptian Constitution of 1956 states in its first article that "the Egyptian people are an integral part of the Arab nation".<sup>16</sup>

It is incontestable that during this period the efforts to achieve Arab unity became one of the main components of the practical policy of Egypt in the Arab world. The first step towards applying a wider Arab mission, as proclaimed by the Egyptian revolution, was made already in May 1953 when the Voice of the Arabs (*Ṣawṭ al-ʿarab*) broadcasts were started; in later years these transmissions had a very important role to play.

The anti-imperialist and liberation trend of his policy brought to ʿAbd an-Nāṣir enormous popularity and prestige among the masses, the intelligentsia, officers and the national bourgeoisie of the whole Arab world. ʿAbd an-Nāṣir began to be considered the champion of Arab unity, "the incarnation of Arab self-assertion", in whom "age-old conceptions of salvation and redemption are revived and mix with modern ideas of progress and liberation".<sup>17</sup>

Approximately at the same time as the Nāṣirian Pan-Arabism, another important Pan-Arab current came to the fore of the political life in Arab countries, represented by the Socialist Party of Arab Resurrection, known under its shortened Arab name of Baʿth.<sup>18</sup> This party, founded in 1940 by Michel ʿAflaq and Ṣalāh ad-Dīn Bīṭār, outlined without any doubt the idea of Arab unity in a more consequent way than any other Arab political party. It also gave it a clean-cut social and anti-imperialist content. Michel ʿAflaq, who was the main ideologist of the party, took over some principles from Karl Marx, especially the principle of socialization of the means of production and the rejection of capitalism, as well as the need for revolutionary changes in society; on the contrary, he rejected the idea of class struggle and of proletarian internationalism. The American Professor G. E. Kirk calls the Baʿth party programme a "program of Arab unity and social-economic radicalism, directed especially against foreign concessionaries and the great landlords — a program that naturally appealed to those younger urban 'intellectuals', including some army officers, who saw no great prospects for themselves under a regime of conservative politicians".<sup>19</sup>

In fact, Michel ʿAflaq identifies Arab unity with socialism. He writes: "We do not think that it is possible to separate Arab unity from socialism. Arab unity stands higher on the scale of values, it precedes socialism. But the demand for Arab unity will remain an abstract and theological term, or in some cases a harmful deception, unless put into its real context, i.e. on popular level, because apart from the Arab

---

<sup>16</sup> Haim, S. G.: *Arab Nationalism. An Anthology*. Berkeley—Los Angeles, University of California Press 1964, p. 52.

<sup>17</sup> Tütsch, H. E.: *Facets of Arab Nationalism*. Detroit, Wayne State University Press 1965, p. 91.

<sup>18</sup> The full name of the party in Arabic is *Ḥizb al-baʿth al-ʿarabī al-ishtirākī*.

<sup>19</sup> Kirk, G. E.: *Contemporary Arab Politics*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger 1961, p. 92.



people there is no other force capable of realizing unity... Our identification of unity and socialism should therefore endue the idea of unity with a body. Socialism is the body and unity is the soul, if I may express it so.”<sup>20</sup>

The central motto of the Ba’th party is: “The Arab nation is one, its mission is eternal.” (*Ummatun ‘arabiyyatun wāḥidatun — dhātu risālatin khālidatin.*) The programme of the party puts the “unity and freedom of the Arab nation”<sup>21</sup> in the first place among the basic party principles. The programme says: “The Arabs form one nation. This nation has the natural right to live in a single state and to be free to direct its own destiny.

The Party of the Arab Ba’th therefore believes that:

1. The Arab fatherland constitutes an indivisible political and economic unity. No Arab country can live apart from the others.
2. The Arab nation constitutes a cultural unity. Any differences existing among its sons are accidental and unimportant. They will all disappear with the awakening of the Arab consciousness.
3. The Arab fatherland belongs to the Arabs. They alone have the right to administer its affairs, to dispose of its wealth, and to direct its destinies.”

The party further advocates basic democratic freedoms and emphasizes that the Arabs must fight against colonialism and collaborate with other nations.

In the following part, entitled “General principles”, the programme says that the Ba’th is “a universal (*shāmīl*) Arab party” having its branches in all Arab countries and not concerned with regional politics except “in relation to the higher interests of the Arab cause”.

Nationalism (*qawmīya*) is considered by the party “a living and eternal reality”. The programme continues: “The national idea to which the party appeals is the will of the Arab people to free themselves and to unite.”

The party asserts that it is a socialist party believing that socialism is a necessity which emanates from the depth of Arab nationalism and “the ideal social order which will allow the Arab people to realize its possibilities” and “will ensure for the nation constant progress in its material and moral output”.

The Ba’th declares itself a popular party which believes that sovereignty is the property of the people, which alone is the source of all authority. It says that it is a revolutionary party and that its main objectives for the realization of the renaissance of Arab nationalism or for the establishment of socialism cannot be achieved

<sup>20</sup> ‘Aflaq, Michel: *Ma‘rakat al-masir al-wāḥid*. Quoted from: Anouar Abdel-Malek: *La pensée politique arabe contemporaine*. Paris, Editions du Seuil 1970, pp. 219–220.

<sup>21</sup> The programme was published in the digest of party documents *Niḍāl al-ba’th fī sabīl al-waḥda, al-hurriyya, al-ishṭirākīyya*, vol. I, 1943–1949, Beirut, Dār at-ṭalī‘a 1963, pp. 172–181. (English translation e.g. Haim, op. cit., pp. 233–241; Khalil, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 663–670.) Between 1963 and 1965, seven volumes of the digest were published; they contain documents from 1943–1963.

except by means of revolution and struggle; it refuses to rely on "slow evolution" and on "partial and superficial reform".

The party therefore decides in favour of:

1. The struggle against foreign colonialism, in order to liberate the Arab fatherland completely and finally.
2. The struggle to gather all the Arabs in a single independent state.
3. The overthrow of the present faulty structure, an overthrow which will include all the sectors of intellectual, economic, social, and political life.

In the following article the party defines Arab fatherland as "that part of the globe inhabited by the Arab nation which stretches from the Taurus Mountains, the Poshte Kūh Mountains, the Gulf of Basra, the Arab Ocean, the Ethiopian Mountains, the Sahara, the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean". The only official language of the (united Arab) state, as well as that of its citizens, is Arabic. "The emblem of the Arab state is that of the Arab revolution begun in 1916 to liberate and unify the Arab nation."

According to the Ba'th party programme, "an Arab is he whose language is Arabic, who has lived on Arab soil, or who, after having been assimilated to Arab life; has faith in his belonging to the Arab nation".

In the following chapter the programme stipulates that the Arab state is to have a constitutional parliamentary regime, that "the national tie is the only tie that may exist in the Arab state", that this state is to be decentralized, that it has to guarantee absolute equality of all its citizens before the law, that it will have a single legal code etc.

The foreign policy of the Arab state will be guided by the interests of Arab nationalism and of "the eternal mission of the Arabs which seeks to establish in co-operation with other nations a free, harmonious and secure world, continuously advancing in progress". The Arabs will struggle with all their power to destroy the foundations of colonialism and of foreign occupation and to suppress all foreign political or economic influence in their country.

The other parts of the Ba'th party programme deal with the economic policy, the social policy, and the policy in education and teaching.

The programme has partly the form of constitution of the united Arab state for the creation of which the party strives. The programme is fairly comprehensive, it not only emphasizes the principle of unity of the Arab world, but stipulates in specific terms the policy which the united Arab state has to follow.

In contrast to the Naṣirian Pan-Arabism which created a sort of "model state" and a centre of unity by the very fact that its representatives were in power in one Arab country (Egypt), the Arab state as conceived by the Ba'th party is an "ideal state" that has not yet been formed. The cradle and the main stronghold of the Ba'th party lies in the Fertile Crescent, i.e. Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and Palestine; but the party does not stipulate any permanent centre and only says

in its programme that the seat of the party is "provisionally" in Damascus, but may be transferred to any other Arab city, "when the national interest so requires".

The Ba'th party policy linked up with the tradition of the struggle for a united state during the First World War; the cradle and the centre of this struggle was also in Syria. To make the principles of the Ba'th party concerning Arab unity clearer, we may quote from an essay of Michel 'Aflaq written in 1940: "The experience in which our struggle takes place is that of the Arab nation dismembered into different countries and statelets, artificial and counterfeit; we struggle until we can reunite these scattered members, until we may reach a wholesome and natural state in which no severed member can speak in the name of all, until we can get rid of this strange and anomalous state. Then will it be possible for the Arabs to unite..."<sup>22</sup>

The Ba'th party considerably strengthened its influence in Syria in the elections in 1954 and in Jordan in 1956. It gained many followers among the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and officers, and its ideas were becoming popular also among the vast masses of the people. The influence of the Ba'th party and of the Naṣirian Pan-Arabism intermingled in most Arab countries and operated in common in an anti-imperialist spirit, as both these currents strived for Arab political unity on the basis of anti-imperialism.

The composition of the Ba'th party has always been very heterogeneous. In different countries and at different periods, its policy was influenced by various groups. There were various wings ranging from sincere followers of socialism, reformists, petty-bourgeois radicals tending to terrorism, Pan-Arab bourgeoisie and officers, to open anti-communists. In the period that we are describing the Ba'th party predominantly turned against the foreign and local reaction (feudals, tribal forces and bourgeois circles connected with foreign capital) and its sections co-operated with the communist parties of Arab countries, unlike Egypt which was following an anti-communist internal line.

After the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956 had broken down and, as a result, the British and French influence in the Arab world had declined, the United States fully entered the Middle East political scene and took over the role of the leading imperialist state in the Middle East. In January 1957, President Eisenhower announced a programme for the Middle East and Northern Africa which became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine and had considerable repercussions also for Arab unity. In essence, the doctrine stated that a power vacuum resulted in this area from the defeat of Great Britain and France in Egypt; "international communism" was trying to fill this vacuum; it was therefore the task of the United States to take such measures as to preserve this area in the Western sphere of influence. The doctrine achieved some partial successes, especially it made possible

---

<sup>22</sup> Aflaq, M.: *Nationalism and Revolution*. Quoted from Haim, op. cit., p. 248.

the overthrow of the progressive government in Jordan and a re-establishment there of a regime led by feudals, and the suppression of the nationalist forces in Syria; there the United States acted under the pretext that Syria endangered the security of its well-armed neighbour, Turkey, whose regime was fully dominated by the U.S.A.

In this Syrian crisis it was again the Soviet Union which supported the menaced Arab country, as she had done before to stop the aggression against Egypt, and by granting Egypt a loan for the construction of the High Dam.

A French author sums up the response of the Arab world to the Eisenhower Doctrine in these words: "This new instrument of Western policy caused great suspicion in the Arab world. It offered protection against a communist aggression which the Arabs did not fear, and did not say a word about Israel, the enemy that was still occupying a part of Egyptian territory. By attempting to isolate Egypt and Syria, it leaned against the myth of Arab unity. By trying to win over the Arabs as partisans in the cold war, it ran against the principles of neutrality and non-alignment."<sup>23</sup>

But the Eisenhower Doctrine impaired the unity that formed in the Arab world in response to the threat to Egypt in the period from the nationalization of the Suez Canal till the unsuccessful aggression. As soon as this critical period was over, the two large fronts were again exposed, running through the whole Arab world and separated not by a territorial, but by a class line: On the one hand the forces of national liberation, comprising a large gamut of classes and groups ranging from the working class and poor peasants to the national bourgeoisie, on the other hand the feudal ruling clans, sheikhs and tribal chiefs, landlords, and the bourgeoisie connected with foreign capital.

Due to the developments of 1955—1957, the position of president Jamāl 'Abd an-Nāṣir of Egypt was extraordinarily strengthened. At this period he did not hesitate to break the Western monopoly on arms deliveries to Arab countries, to oppose colonialism and risk an armed clash with it, and in his struggle against colonialism to look for allies in the socialist countries which by resolute action supported the Arab efforts for the achievement of national independence. The president of Egypt thus gained the singular position of a universally recognized leader in the fight against colonialism, and objectively was playing a very progressive social role. 'Abd an-Nāṣir's Arabism obtained in this respect a real popular dimension.

In the middle of the 1950's, the Arab West, the Maghrib, also fully entered the Arab scene. In 1956, Morocco and Tunisia gained independence, and earlier, in 1952, independence of Libya had been proclaimed; in 1954, an armed struggle against French colonialism broke out in Algeria. These changes were of great significance for the future development of the Arab world and its internal relationships. Arab countries in the whole Arab area got rid of direct colonial rule (in 1956, also the

---

<sup>23</sup> Beyssade, P.: *La Lique arabe*. Paris, Planète 1968, p. 153.

Sudan won independence) and apart from the fighting Algeria, direct colonial rule was limited in the Arab world only to the fringe of politically less important sheikhdoms and sultanates along the coast of the Arabian Peninsula. The actual Arab world of independent states directly engaged in its political life was considerably widened by these developments, and Cairo took the position of the geographical centre.

This fact also largely influenced the Pan-Arab efforts, because the Arab policy was joined by such dynamic forces as the Istiqlāl party of Morocco and the Neo-Destour (*Ad-dustūr al-jadīd*) of Tunisia led by Al-Ḥabīb Abū Raqība (*Bourguiba*). Fighting Algeria gave a very strong impulse to Arab unity, the pressure of which was to play an important role in her fight for independence.

It was also true that the Arab scene was entered by countries historically very different from those of the Arab East which had been artificially dismembered after the First World War. The countries of the Maghrib are historically more stabilized state units and Pan-Arabism was not as attractive there as in the Arab East, the Mashriq.

This was particularly manifest in Tunisia. President Al-Ḥabīb Abū Raqība represented the counterpole of Nāṣirian and ba'ṭhist concepts in Arab policy, but it was a counterpole of a type completely different from the backward monarchic regimes. He sees the Arab future in a substantially different way from most of the Arab world. This concerns also Abū Raqība's concept of a nation which rejects the re-establishment of the Arab nation on the historical and pre-colonial basis, and recognizes the fact of colonialism and its influence on the Arabs. Abū Raqība emphasizes Tunisian individuality to the detriment of the general Arab individuality. His attitude towards the idea of Arab unity is determined by the basic principle of Tunisian sovereignty and conservation of the sovereignty of all Arab states. Arab unity is for him a very distant ideal and he does not recognize any qualitative difference in relationships towards the Arab and non-Arab world. He does not consider Arab unity the aim, but at the utmost the means of political efforts, and Tunisian nationalism is for him more important and superior to Arab nationalism.

In the struggle of the Arab world for emancipation and progress, this attitude has an equally retarding influence as the attitude of the Arab feudal reaction, although it rests upon a different basis. Abū Raqība strives to incorporate Tunisia in the Mediterranean area which is more a geographical than a historical term, and refrains from its incorporation in the Arab world. It means that Abū Raqība in a sense takes Tunisia out of the Arab world.

Towards the end of 1955, the Statement of Policy of the National Liberation Front of Algeria was published. In it the Front declared the idea of solidarity and common struggle of the Maghrib countries: "It is a delusion to imagine that Morocco and Tunisia can enjoy a real independence while Algeria remains under the colonial yoke." The Front expressed its conviction that "North Africa is an entity: geograph-

ically; historically; by its language, its civilization and its future", which must "express itself naturally in the creation of a Federation of the three North African States".<sup>24</sup>

The concept of Maghrib unity, which had been part and parcel of the national liberation movements of the three countries for some time already, was also advocated by Abū Raḡība, but he regarded it mainly as a way to strengthen the prestige of Tunisia and to enforce his own ideas more emphatically against the mashriqian concept of nationalism.

Later on, after the formation of the provisional government of the Republic of Algeria, this country adhered to the principle of Pan-Arab unity. The premier of the provisional government Farḡāt 'Abbās said on September 26, 1958, on the occasion of the declaration of the Republic of Algeria, that the Algerian people belonged to the Islamo-Arab civilization and constituted "a part of the Arab nation". "The Arab world is one, indivisible and whole", 'Abbās continued, "and any attempt to separate its various parts would be but a foolish political act. No one can claim to be a friend of the Arabs in Tunis, Rabat or Beirut, while he is simultaneously antagonizing the Arabs in Algiers, Cairo or Baghdad."<sup>25</sup>

In the Mashriq, the idea of Arab unity was assuming a new and more democratic shape after 1952, and it was borne to an increasing degree by the people's masses of the Arab countries. The masses connected the struggle for Arab unity with the struggle for independence and against colonialism, as was testified to by many manifestations of active solidarity whenever there was a confrontation with imperialism in any Arab country. The success of various political forces in the Arab world was proportional to their attitude towards Arab unity conceived in an anti-imperialist and independence-seeking way. The popularity of the Egyptian president Jamāl 'Abd an-Nāṣir among the popular masses in all Arab countries, including the remote and backward British Protectorates on the Arabian Peninsula, attained enormous dimensions, because people saw him as a champion of the Arab struggle against imperialism and for unity. The cause of Arab unity ceased to be confined exclusively to diplomatic parlours or the cabinets of scientists, journalists etc., and was espoused by the masses. This mass character of the movement also contributed to the fact that dynastic, class and other antagonisms among the ruling classes of various Arab countries were no more playing such an important role in the development of Arab unity, as they had during the 1940's.

At this period, some new concrete plans for Arab unity were drafted. At least in a certain measure they expressed the new, more democratic character of this idea. For instance, in February 1954, a group of Syrian politicians proposed a plan for an Arab federation, leaving intact the existing political regimes and borders of Arab

---

<sup>24</sup> Khalil: *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 443—468.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 471.

countries. According to the project, a supreme council of the federation was to be formed to direct mainly foreign policy; armed forces were supposed to have a unified command and a single general staff, the system of education was to be unified, a customs union established etc. Under the plan the members of the federation (or rather confederation) would not have been permitted to conclude military pacts with states outside the federation nor to grant them the right to establish military bases. The creation of the federation was to be decided by a referendum.

In July 1954, the Pan-Arab congress of graduates from the American University in Beirut was held. It formed a commission to draft the constitution of an Arab federation, and declared that it was the duty of the Arabs to create such a federation.

Another concrete plan was worked out at the initiative of the Permanent Congress of Arab University Alumni, which met in Jerusalem in September 1955 with nearly five hundred delegates representing various Arab countries attending. The Congress unanimously adopted a programme for a federated Arab world with a single citizenship, unified armed forces and foreign policy, but maintaining the sovereignty of the members of the federation in internal matters; mutual consultations in economic, social and cultural matters were planned. The following year, the Secretary General of this organization, Dr. 'Uthmān Khalil prepared a project of the federation based on this decision, according to which an all-Arab, bicameral parliament, an executive council and a supreme court were to be formed and federal citizenship established.

In the stormy upsurge of the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement in the Arab world during the 1950's, considerable successes were attained by Arab communists. In the Syrian elections of 1954, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon Khālid Bakdāsh was elected deputy. It was for the first time in the history of Arab countries, that communists gained legal representation in parliament. Marxist theoreticians, too, launched work on the problems of Arab unity in 1955, in connection with the upsurge of the national liberation movement.

The Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon discussed these problems at its Central Committee session in May 1956 and adopted a resolution concerning the question of Arab unity. It emphasized that the efforts of Arab countries for unity were "an expression of a real need and a result of an objective historical development". The resolution said that common territory, unity of language, common history and common psychic dispositions manifested in the community of culture, and mutually complementary economies were objective bases for Arab unity. Egyptian communists also appreciated the movement for Arab unity and expressed their conviction that the Arabs fulfil virtually all the preconditions for the rise of a single nation.

The prevailing conclusion among Arab Marxists at that time was that the struggle for Arab unity was a militant popular movement aimed against imperialism. From the social point of view it was a progressive movement, as by opposing impe-

rialism it struggled also against the allies of imperialism among the feudal lords and big bourgeoisie.

What was the position of the League of Arab States during that period? In the forefront of Arab political life were currents demanding political unity of the Arab world that would "submerge" the sovereignty of various Arab countries into the sovereignty of a wider political entity, whereas the Covenant of the League stipulated the principle of independence and sovereignty of the member states. Although the Covenant of the League contains the principle of sovereignty of the member countries and of their mutual non-interference into internal affairs, this principle is not the aim of the Covenant, but a pre-requisite for its fulfilment. The aim of the League "shall be to strengthen the ties between the participant states, to co-ordinate their political programmes in such a way as to effect real collaboration between them, to preserve their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in general the affairs and interests of the Arab countries" (Article 2).<sup>26</sup> Any decision to enter a union of states, duly adopted according to the constitution of the given country, is naturally an act of sovereignty. The aims of the Pan-Arab movement and the unification efforts of Arab states may therefore be considered as not contradicting the spirit or the letter of the Covenant of the League.

The League was very active during this period. At a number of sessions, the Council of the League expressed its support for various Arab countries in their struggle against colonialism. It was mainly during the Suez crisis when, in October 1956, the Council supported the decision of Egypt to nationalize the Suez Canal, and in March 1957 it reaffirmed its support for the policy of Egypt concerning the Canal question. In the resolution dated August 12, 1956, it said that "the Arab States declare their unity of feelings and purpose towards Egypt, as they also declare their solidarity with her regarding all the measures she had taken". They "call for the denunciation of the pressure and threats to which Egypt is being subjected, and consider that the best means for the settlement of international disputes is the peaceful means provided for in the United Nations Charter".<sup>27</sup> In another resolution the Council approved the decision of the League's Political Committee which "has unanimously agreed that the present crisis in connection with the Suez Canal concerns all of the Arab States and implies an attempt to seize the Canal by means of military pressure on Egypt and other Arab States, a course which threatens the peace, security and sovereignty of the Arab States".<sup>28</sup>

The Arab League demanded that independence be granted to those Arab countries which had not yet attained it by then. This concerned mainly the Maghrib countries — Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria; the question of support to fighting Algeria

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> Resolution 1199. Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>28</sup> Resolution 1201. Ibid., p. 152.



was an object of a series of resolutions (October 1955, March 1956, April 1956). In October 1958, the Council of the League approved the decision to assign 12 million pounds annually for aid to Algeria.<sup>29</sup>

In August 1957, the Council sharply denounced the British aggression against Oman and supported the position of the Yemen against the British aggression in 1954 and 1957; in November 1955, the Political Committee supported Saudi Arabia in her dispute with Great Britain concerning the Buraimi oasis.

Apart from this, the League regularly discussed problems connected with Israel and with the recognition of the legal rights of Arabs in Palestine.

In all these questions, concerning the most fundamental interests of Arab countries, the League acted as a unifying factor, strengthening the mutual solidarity of Arab countries in their struggle against imperialism. It is not therefore possible to agree with the negative evaluation of the League by some Western authors from the point of view of Arab unity.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from this activity in political matters, the League during this period concentrated on an intense effort to integrate Arab countries economically, culturally, socially etc. This resulted in various agreements, although often on partial issues: but on the whole these efforts were of great importance for Arab unity. A system of co-operation in various fields was being spun among Arab states, creating important preconditions for a political unification.

From 1953, the bodies of the League were engaged in the problem of economic co-operation and integration of Arab countries. Already before, a number of recommendations concerning questions of economic co-operation had been approved, e.g. the proposal for a single currency and the establishment of commercial preferences. In 1953, the Arab League approved two economic treaties — the Convention facilitating commercial exchange and regulating transit trade among the member states of the Arab League, and the Convention regulating payments for routine transactions and the movement of capital among the member states. The first convention stipulated that customs duties in inter-Arab trade should be reduced or removed, the other provided for most-favoured-nation treatment in transfers of payments and movements of capital. There were no coercive clauses in any of these conventions, on the contrary, they had vast "escape clauses". Nevertheless, they helped to widen and regulate trade inside the Arab area.

At the initiative of the League, often within its framework, a number of inter-Arab organizations came into existence, e.g. the Arab Lawyers Federation, Arab Postal Union, Arab Telecommunications Union, Arab Scientists Federation etc. The

---

<sup>29</sup> Resolution 1539. *Ibid.*, pp. 158—159.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. Fernau: "The League is structurally unfit to push somehow the Arab unification forward." (Fernau, F. W.: *Die Problematik der arabischen Einheit*. Politische Studien, vol. 8, part 85. Munich 1957, p. 22).

League organized specialized congresses, seminars etc. The International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, founded in 1956 in Damascus, is also closely connected with the League of Arab States.

This period was very important for the League, as the organization found its place within the general Arab efforts for independence and progress, and in its practical activities it began to search for fields of agreement among various Arab countries. The activities of the League were taking on new features, as in this period the character of some Arab governments changed (mainly in Egypt, Syria and the Yemen), new members were admitted, and inside the League changes were becoming manifest that reflected the general trend in the world and the Arab world in particular.

French Arabist Jacques Berque regards the League as "a sort of adjustment of the old *umma*" and says that the development in the League "strengthened the feeling of one Arab existence, superior to the nationalities of which it consists". "However paradoxical this may appear, the League was supporting simultaneously the progress of a universalistic Arabism with its background of Islamism, and of the modern concept of a nation or even a commonwealth of nations."<sup>31</sup>

Apart from this, the League intensified the awareness of official representatives of Arab countries that Arab states were mutually dependent. The Secretary General of the League was in a position to state in his speech on the occasion of the League's tenth anniversary, that the concept of unity "is stronger today and more deeply rooted than at any other epoch. In fact, it has become so deeply engraved on our minds that it has become an article of faith."<sup>32</sup>

On the whole, the League of Arab States was by no means an instrument of direct political unity, but nevertheless, it prevented the creation of such conditions of political diversification in the Arab world that would have been harmful to the prospects of Arab unity in the future. As was stated by the Syrian Marxist Zāhir 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, in particular cases the League played a patriotic role, but it was not in a position to realize the aspiration of the people of Arab countries to complete national liberation, democracy and social progress.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, we may recall the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement, concluded in March 1957 by Egypt, Syria and Jordan. It aimed at unifying educational methods and enhancing cultural co-operation. The agreement left the gate open for accession of other Arab countries and declared as its ultimate aim the achievement of "complete cultural unity in the Arab world".<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Berque, J.: *Les Arabes d'hier à demain*. Paris, Editions du Seuil 1960, p. 232.

<sup>32</sup> Sayegh: op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>33</sup> World Marxist Review, Praha, 7, 1964, p. 78.

<sup>34</sup> Sayegh: op. cit., pp. 174—175.

# A MILITARY RESPONSE TO COLONIAL OCCUPATION: THE BAGANDA AGAINST THE BRITISH. A REAPPRAISAL OF AN AFRO-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP

VIERA PAWLIKOVÁ, Bratislava

The Baganda of Uganda have been classed as a collaborating society and as such always contrasted with those African societies that chose to resist the European conquest by force of arms. This study calls for a reassessment of this stereotyped view by showing that the situation was far more complex and more characteristic was the existence of both these roles in this society at various stages of Baganda-European contact. Divergent attitudes adopted by different leadership groups within the society then reflected internal changes in its power structure.

The Baganda of Uganda have always been contrasted with such African societies that chose to resist the establishment of colonial régime by force of arms. Contrary to the resisting societies such as the neighbouring Banyoro who, it has been argued, "not only ran the risk of disintegration but of cutting themselves off from modernization, education and economic development",<sup>1</sup> the Baganda collaborators "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".<sup>2</sup>

Collaboration in the African context has been devoid of its overtones of opportunism, moral corruption and political selfseeking. Instead of stressing condemnatory attributes associated with this term, the leading collaborators were presented as the most educated, westernized and forward looking Baganda, committed to Christianity, literacy, education and technical progress associated with Christian teaching and with the British administration. It has been believed, that members of the leading collaborating societies "played a key role in the initial stages of this process of adaptation of Westernism and in so doing looked in important

<sup>1</sup> Ranger, T. O.: *African reactions to the imposition of colonial rule in East and Central Africa*. In: L. H. Gann and Duignan, Peter (Eds): *Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960*, vol. I. — *The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870–1914*, Cambridge University Press 1969, pp. 302–303.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

ways to the nationalist future".<sup>3</sup> Stressing the Baganda receptivity to change, the supposed Baganda "urge to excel" and "urge to innovate", i.e. come to terms with "modernity", it has been argued that in a so-called Christian revolution the key collaborators in Buganda and elsewhere "sought to solve some of the weaknesses of 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 or regional grouping. All this was to be done through an alliance with the missionary aspects of the colonial presence in particular".<sup>4</sup>

It has been also suggested that the so-called primary resistance movements, resistance and protest against the pressures of imperial invasion and early presence, "were inherently backward-looking and traditional, not only tribal but emphasizing the most 'reactionary' elements in tribal life". "Such movements", it has been held, "repudiated those within African societies who wished to come to terms with modernization and to accept education, the missionary influence, the new commercial and technical opportunities".<sup>5</sup> According to Robinson and Gallagher, such protest and resistance movements and rebellions to the establishment of colonial overrule were "romantic, reactionary struggles against the facts, the passionate protests of societies which were shocked by a new age of change and which would not be comforted".<sup>6</sup> Similarly, primary resistances for Professor Coleman were "impulsive, negative retorts striving vainly to recapture the past and looking in no sense to the future".<sup>7</sup> This view of African resistance and rebellion to the imposition of colonial rule as a gallant anachronism, essentially negative and backward-looking has been contrasted with "the defter nationalisms" of the men and societies that chose not to resist and through their initial acquiescence or co-operation gained privileged access to education and economic opportunity and, while reforming their personalities and regaining their powers by operating in the idiom of the Westernisers, thus learnt the new skills of opposition.<sup>8</sup>

The views strictly contrasting resistance to collaboration have been successfully challenged by Professor Ranger in his long generalizing article providing stimu-

<sup>3</sup> Ranger, T. O.: *Connections between "Primary Resistance" Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa*. The Journal of African History, vol. IX, 1968, Nos 3 and 4, pp. 437-453 and 631-641 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. See also Ranger, T. O.: *African reactions to ...*, op. cit., p. 311.

<sup>5</sup> Ranger, T. O.: *Connections ...*, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson, Ronald R.-Gallagher, John: *The partition of Africa*. In: F. H. Hinsley (Ed): *The New Cambridge modern history*, vol. XI, chapter 22, p. 640. Cambridge University Press 1962. Quoted also in Ranger: *African reactions ...*, op. cit., p. 303, and Ranger: *Connections ...*, op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Coleman: *Background to Nationalism: Nigeria*, p. 172. Quoted in Ranger: *Connections ...*, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

lating conclusions and buttressing his points by solid evidence.<sup>9</sup> Many of his conclusions can be effectively applied to two neighbouring societies of the Banyoro and the Baganda. This case from Uganda corroborates his thesis that the supposed “resisters” and “collaborators” were certainly not fundamentally distinct and though their situations and methods sometimes differed, there were similarities in motives and aims between the two societies.<sup>10</sup> The point is that neither of these two societies can be straightforwardly described as collaborative or resistant. 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 and, as Professor Ranger has 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”.<sup>11</sup> In both societies we can distinguish a whole variety of reactions and responses to the European presence at various stages of their mutual contact, ranging from open resistance and rebellion, through various pressures, manoeuvrings and shifts of attitudes to co-operation and collaboration, which was part and parcel of their Politics of Survival,<sup>12</sup> aimed to defend and further the people’s cause of national survival. To picture the Baganda as collaborators is to distort the complex nature of this Afro-European relationship at various points of their mutual contact and by overstressing certain historical facts and deliberately suppressing or ignoring others present only one facet of historical truth. The perpetuated assumption that the Banyoro had to be conquered by the force of arms, while the Baganda accommodated themselves very easily to the colonial rule is grossly one-sided and needs to be re-examined. Though superficially the distinction may seem clear, it leads to deliberate suppression of historical truth. To throw some light upon the

---

<sup>9</sup> I drew much of the inspiration from the ideas of Professor Ranger embodied in his two above-quoted articles. Ranger together with the Soviet Scholar A. B. Davidson, attempted to expose the difficulties and dilemmas of the study of resistance and collaboration to alien rule in the African context. They have provided a general theoretical pattern in relation to the various stages of African resistance to colonial rule. See also Davidson, A. B.: *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule*. In: Ranger, T. O. (Ed): *Emerging Themes of African History*, pp. 177–188. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968. This study is also heavily dependent on the inspiration provided by Professor Ajayi in his two studies. See Ajayi, J. F. Ade: *The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism*. In: *Emerging Themes of African History*, op. cit., and Ajayi, J. F. A.: *Colonialism, an Episode in African History*. In: *Colonialism in Africa*, vol. I, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> See my article *Resisters and Collaborators. Two Cases from Uganda*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, XI, pp. 161–175, Bratislava, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Curzon Press, London 1975.

<sup>11</sup> Ranger, T. O.: *African reactions to the impositions of colonial rule*, op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>12</sup> Ajayi, J. F. A.: *The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism*, op. cit., p. 199; and Ajayi: *Colonialism, an Episode in African History*, op. cit., p. 505. I am using here Professor Ajayi’s terminology.

nature of African initiatives and responses in the immediate pre-colonial era and the early colonial context, we will have to develop a far more subtle understanding of the nature of resistance and collaboration than is allowed if we see them in terms of imperial history as exclusively anti-colonial or pro-colonial phenomena. As soon as we see the phenomena of resistance and collaboration with the establishment of colonial overrule by African societies or their members in a diametrically opposite context, viz. that of earlier African history, we get a different picture. From such a perspective, from the bottom up, we might discover some subtle ingredients in the nature of African responses to colonial conquest. Seen from within the context of the whole dynamics of the late nineteenth century African societies, both the opposing assumptions of collaborating and resisting societies can be successfully challenged.

The failing old assumptions that strictly contrast resisting societies and those that chose to collaborate with the invaders, equating collaboration with modernization and "defter nationalism" and depicting resistance on the part of an African people as a romantic, reactionary rejection of "modernity", have been invariably attacked by historians of different political complexions.<sup>13</sup> However, neither can we incautiously use resistance to distinguish "the patriotic and courageous peoples willing to oppose aggression from the diffident and opportunist ones willing to collaborate with the invaders".<sup>14</sup> Rather the issue of collaboration with the colonial establishment or resistance depended on whether the particular people saw their cause of national survival immediately threatened by the imperial advance or whether they had temporarily managed to identify their interests with the invaders. In both types of societies in general, and Bunyoro and Buganda in particular, we can distinguish changes of attitudes, shifts from hostility to collaboration or vice versa due to the changing interests of the community or some of its members.

Both the Baganda and the Banyoro resisted the establishment of colonial rule when the portent of imperial advance was fully appreciated, or the extent of European encroachment discovered. The initial collaboration of an African people was bound to change into hostility and resistance as soon as these felt their sovereignty and national cause threatened.<sup>15</sup> When, at what stage they deemed it necessary to defend

---

<sup>13</sup> Ranger is already known for his views which he shares with Marxist historians (A. B. Davidson and others). See also e.g. Brunschwing, H.: *De la résistance africaine à l'impérialisme européen*. In: The Journal of African History, vol. XV, 1974, No. 1, pp. 47—64, for an opposite, traditional view of resistance. Cf. Rotberg, R. I. Mazrui, A. A. (Eds): *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. New York, Oxford University Press 1970.

<sup>14</sup> Ajayi, J. F. A.: *Colonialism, an Episode in African History*, op. cit., p. 506.

<sup>15</sup> Under "national cause" I mean an admixture of certain interests and values inherent to a people's own culture with claims to territory and freedom to settle matters without much foreign interference. See also a definition in Hargreaves, John D.: *West African States and the European Conquest*. In: *Colonialism in Africa*, op. cit., p. 206.

their national cause in battle depended on variables on both sides of the Afro-European relationship — on European intentions as well as on African statecraft.

In both societies, at one point or another, of their contact with the Europeans, there were factions or individuals ready to collaborate with the Europeans. These shifts of attitudes of representatives of political leadership groups influenced and conditioned by their personal ambitions and interests and the divergent attitudes adopted by factions and individuals in these societies at certain points of their contact with the invading European power, reflected internal changes in the power structure of the society. 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".<sup>16</sup> To understand how, in what manner and by what devices these particular African peoples survived is impossible unless the historian understands something of the societies themselves, of their life, mode of thought and behaviour, of the nature of local politics and organization. The outcome of their Politics of Survival depended on a multiplicity of internal and external factors which 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 these two particular Afro-European relationships at various points of their mutual contact.

\*

Suggesting such a framework, we can proceed to a case study of a particular Afro-European relationship, which can provide those subtler ingredients typical of motivations and intentions on the African side of this relationship. It attempts to depict the less known side of the Baganda-British relationship, those shifting attitudes and subtle manoeuvres of the Baganda which culminated in the anti-British and anti-colonial rebellion of 1897. Because of the transformation of a lesser part of Baganda population into a dependent ally of the colonial power, and the participation of Baganda collaborators in subjugation of the country to colonial rule, anti-colonial moods of the rest of the population were not given sufficient attention. The need for a reassessment of this neglected side of the Baganda-British relationship rests principally on the fact that there was overconcentration in the use of those

---

<sup>16</sup> Ajayi, J. F. A.: *The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism*, op. cit., p. 198

sources provided by colonial officials and missionaries<sup>17</sup> that supported the traditional assumption of the Baganda readiness to accept the white man's rule and evidence pertinent to the Baganda anticolonial manifestations was either ignored or dismissed as unimportant, without thorough examination. Likewise, pertinent comments on the behaviour of Kabaka Mwanga in the above-mentioned sources and also in the vernacular ones<sup>18</sup> were either not given sufficient weight when assessing the political role of Mwanga and his Baganda followers, or they were misinterpreted. Also there seems to have been an unawareness of many important documents kept in the White Fathers' Archives in Rome.<sup>19</sup> All this may justify an attempt to reveal those subtle ingredients in the nature of the Baganda-British relationship that may yield a deeper understanding of the forms of African anti-colonial protest.

This study is hardly more than an introduction to the subject, a summary of the main points of argument which, I hope, will be dealt with in more detail elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

\*

The traditional interpretation in the African context of collaboration and resistance, identifying the former with modernization, a zest for education, self-improvement and progress and attributing to the latter the very opposite qualities, have been applied to distinguish between two societies, in our case Buganda and Bunyoro, but also between collaborators and resisters within the same society. Those who in any way opposed the administration were invariably denoted by both colonial administrators and missionaries as drunkards, polygamists and criminals. Accordingly, when Kabaka Mwanga fled from his palace in July 1897 with a view to raise an

---

<sup>17</sup> Archival material for an early British administration is so rich, that it seems doubtful whether a comparable source can be found anywhere else in East or Central Africa, with one possible exception in Zanzibar. The most important series for use have been series A1—A7 in Entebbe Secretariat Archives. The series A33 and A34 in the Entebbe Secretariat Archives merely duplicate the Foreign Office Archives in London (F. O. Correspondence — Further Correspondence respecting East Africa, 1894—1905). There is also a wealth of information in the series G3/A5, the Eastern Equatorial mission series in the Church Missionary Society Archives, and especially the sources in White Fathers' Archives in Rome, almost until now unused such as Rubaga Diary, Les Missions Catholiques, and respective correspondence in Fonds Lavigerie and Livinhac.

<sup>18</sup> The most complete bibliography of Luganda sources is in Rowe, J. A.: *Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing 1893—1969*. In: The Uganda Journal, vol. 33, 1969, Part 1, pp. 17—40.

<sup>19</sup> The only scholars working on the history of Buganda known to have used these sources so far are Dr. M. S. M. Semakula Kiwanuka and Dr. John A. Rowe. They illuminate such aspects of the Baganda-British relationship much better than either C. M. S. or Government sources.

<sup>20</sup> The subject of Baganda and Banyoro relations to the imposition of colonial rule will be examined in greater detail in a study which is under preparation.



anti-British rebellion, "the ruling motive would seem to have been his wish to escape from the restraints imposed by the British power and by the Christian native chiefs on the gross excesses in vice and cruelty to which he was prone, and with this dislike of moral restraints the heathen portion of the community largely sympathized".<sup>21</sup> "With this view in his treacherous mind", the official mind had it, "he sent emissaries throughout the length and breadth of his dominions (for remember Mwanga is still a powerful king and the English Government has never interfered with his regal authority in any way Sic!) to stir them up to rebel against the English with the two-fold object of killing all the readers, and killing or driving out all the Europeans in the country, and then restoring the good old customs. Therefore Mwanga sent his emissaries throughout Busoga, the whole of Buganda, to Toro, and he invited Kabarega, king of Bunyoro, the bitter enemy of the English, to join him."<sup>22</sup>

The Protectorate Administration did not consider Mwanga's revolt a serious threat to the British position of dominance in the country. "There is no danger at present", Archdeacon Walker confidently wrote at the outbreak of the rebellion, "as the Christian chiefs are all faithful men, and being men of education and intelligence, they have a large influence and command respect. The king's party are the people who have no religion, but who wish to live openly evil lives. They can never form a very formidable party, I feel sure. Their first defeat will be the collapse of the whole thing."<sup>23</sup> Other reports were more apprehensive. "Nearly all the police force have deserted", continued Dr. Cook some days later, "and went off with the guns last night to join Mwanga. The Katikiro wrote rather a gloomy letter to Walker saying he does not realize how serious a matter is, and that the people hate and detest the conquerors. This is mainly a religious war, the Heathen and the Christians. Sic! The king hates the Europeans because they stopped his gross immoralities; the chiefs hate us because a Christian is expected to have one wife, and because no slaves are allowed; and the people hate us because they say they are obliged to carry loads and to make roads (measures adopted by the Government for the good of the country), and because the old heathen customs are dying away."<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> C. M. S. Report 1897-98, p. 113. This outdated view of Baganda resisters is also upheld by Professor Low in his recent book. Collaborators are here simultaneously modernizers who aptly managed to maintain the remaining autonomy of their country. See Low, D. A.: *Buganda in Modern History*. Berkeley-Los Angeles, University of California Press 1971. Especially Chapter 1. Conversion, Revolution and the New Regime in Buganda 1860-1900. Cf. with other Low's works quoted under Note 26.

<sup>22</sup> Extracts from Dr. A. R. Cook's Journal Letters, July 6th, 1897, Church Missionary Intelligencer and Report, Uganda, vol. III, 1895-1901, Nov. 1897, p. 813.

<sup>23</sup> Extracts from Archdeacon Walker's Letters, July 9th, 1897, C. M. I. and R., Uganda, vol. III, p. 813.

<sup>24</sup> Cook's letter, July 12th 1897, C. M. I. and R., Uganda, vol. III, p. 815.

Such statements amply prove how ill-founded and wrong were often European assumptions of the motivations and intentions on the side of their African counterparts. British officials hardly ever held any respect and esteem for Mwanga. The best words to describe him were: nervous, unstable, fickle, sensual and of a weak character. Such traits of Mwanga's character have been widely commented by other writers.<sup>25</sup> For this and for his domestic and foreign policies he was maligned by his contemporaries, even by his own people. The chief collaborators feared and hated his acts of disloyalty towards the colonial régime. The precipitous events in the years following Mwanga's accession to the throne after his father Muteesa's death which resulted in decisive shifts in the power structure of the society and the structure and personnel of the government, has been widely discussed by other scholars.<sup>26</sup> These shifts in the power structure of the society led to the collapse of royal authority and the concomitant accumulation of political power in the hands of the ruling hierarchy of *bakungu* chiefs. Though in the civil succession wars of 1888—1890 the Baganda were organized upon a religious basis, the main concern of each group was the control and exercise of political power using it to eliminate their rivals and maintain themselves in office. The bitterness of struggle among the three political factions — Protestants, Catholics and Muslims for the control of political hierarchy and of land is fully revealed in accounts of contemporaries and official documents.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> See e.g. Fletcher, T. B.: *Mwanga, the Man and His Times*. In: Uganda Journal, vol. 4, 1936—1937, pp. No. 2, 162—167. Baganda historians, Mwanga's contemporaries, also left vivid descriptions of his character: see Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka* (Buganda and the King), Kampala 1938; Kaggwa, Sir Apolo: *Ekitabo Kye Basekabaka be Buganda*. London 1927; Miti, Jemusi: *A Short History of Buganda*, both in Luganda and English. Translated into English by G. K. Rock. T. S. in Makerere College Library, 1938. It must be remembered, however, that they all collaborated with the British, neither of them supported Mwanga. The most recent description of Mwanga and his policies is given in Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda. From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*. London, Longman Group Ltd 1971, pp. 192—270.

<sup>26</sup> Rowe, J. A.: *The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court*. In: The Journal of African Studies, vol. V, 1964, No. 1; Low, D. A.: *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875—1900*. East African Studies No. 8, Nairobi 1957; Wrigley, C. C.: *The Christian Revolution in Buganda*. In: Comparative Studies in Society and History II, 1959, pp. 33—48; Low, D. A.: *Uganda and the British, 1862—1900*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Exeter College, Oxford 1957. Also Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda*, op. cit., chapter 9, The era of violence—I, 1885 to 1889.

<sup>27</sup> Gray, Sir John M.: *The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda-Mwanga, Kiwewa, Kalema, 1888—1889*. In: Uganda Journal, vol. 14, 1950, No. 1, pp. 15—33. Also respective chapters in Miti, J. K.: *A short history of Buganda*, op. cit.; Kaggwa, Sir Apolo: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, op. cit.; Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, op. cit.; and respective entries in Rubaga Diary and Chronique trimestrielle de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs). For the later period Perham, M. and Bull, M. (Eds): *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*. 3 volumes. London, Faber and Faber 1959; E. S. A. (Entebbe Secretariat Archives), A2.

The imperial approach and the establishment of the colonial rule must be seen in the context of this struggle for the control and exercise of political power. However the shifts and repercussions of Mwanga's domestic and foreign policies may be confusing, one point stands clear. As a ruler he was always suspicious and hostile towards whatever challenged his power and the sovereignty of his country. He did apply for European protection and assistance in time of a desperate need, but he was no less apprehensive of European colonial advance than the renowned resister — Kabarega of Bunyoro. Mwanga, like all African monarchs of that time, had to respond to European presence and face the problem of relations with foreigners. The advantages they sought to obtain at this period of Afro-European contact from collaboration with representatives of empire-building powers were short-termed and personal. Mwanga's policies towards the Europeans in the early period of contact, as had been his father Muteesa's before, were to a large measure determined by his desire to secure external support, to enlist powerful allies in external and internal disputes.

The Baganda, like any other African people, regarded the approach of foreign empire-builders from within their own terms of reference. When the colonial conquest became imminent, because of the recent political developments and changes in the power structure and personnel of the government, the Baganda were unable to present a common front to the European invaders. Instead, they attempted to use the incoming Europeans and make them play a role in their own politics. In fact, motivations and intentions on both sides of the Baganda-European relationship were very often misinterpreted, and the portent of imperial advance was hardly soon enough fully appreciated. This was particularly the case with the treaties of protection and "eternal friendship". The Baganda started by believing what they had been told by the missionaries, that the British came "to protect and educate them" and that their "protection" did not threaten their sovereignty and national cause. When in exile, Mwanga and the defeated Christian faction needed a powerful ally who would help them to regain the throne and the country.<sup>28</sup> The value of such assistance and protection, however, started to be doubted as soon as their other consequences were apprehended.

The British in Buganda from Lugard onwards needed allies who could control their own people, but who would be at the same time amenable to manipulation by the British in their own political interests. They found them in Apolo Kagwa and other collaborators. Overwhelmingly outnumbered, these welcomed European support as a means to strengthen their own position against the rival factions. The decisive factor that pushed the collaborators into accepting and advocating

---

<sup>28</sup> Gray, Sir John M.: *The Year of the Three Kings* ..., op. cit. Also Walker, R. H.: His letter of 15 March 1890 in C. M. S. *Intelligencer*, September 1890, pp. 625—626.

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.<sup>29</sup> Advocating the policies of accommodation and collaboration with the British, the strongest supporters of British "protection" from among the Baganda were making good use of their efficiency in the art of policy-making and mechanisms of power to pursue their own personal ambitions and interests. And since they were left ample room within the newly introduced system to manipulate the British in their own political interests, intentions of the collaborators for a long time to come coincided conveniently with those of their colonial "protectors".<sup>30</sup>

Naturally, the Kabaka resented his political subordination to the collaborators and the colonial administration.<sup>31</sup> It may well be argued, and the record of Mwanga's relations with Europeans prove it, that Mwanga was certainly not opposed to any co-operation with Europeans or adverse to modernization and education that this contact entailed provided that any changes were undertaken or accepted on bases that would safeguard certain fundamentals of his independence.<sup>32</sup> But his attitudes to "protection and education" were bound to be ambiguous as soon as the European contact entailed the loss of political sovereignty and political, economic, and cultural changes were imposed or undertaken in conditions that permitted little freedom of choice. Mwanga's resistance to the British colonial régime was not a politically mature opposition against European imperialism and colonialism. Also, as is clear from his appeals to the Pope and European monarchs, or his escapes to the Germans, for a long time he did not grasp the significance and nature of

---

<sup>29</sup> Lugard himself was surprised how quickly the treaty was made and signed despite the overtly hostile atmosphere. See *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 36—37. Also Rowe, J. A.: *Lugard at Kampala*. Makerere History Paper 3, Kampala, Longmans of Uganda Ltd. 1969.

<sup>30</sup> See Twaddle, M.: *The Bakungu Chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule, 1900—1930*. In: *The Journal of African History*, vol. X, 1969, No. 2, pp. 309—322, for a description of the first conflict between collaborating bakungu chiefs with the colonial administration.

<sup>31</sup> Miti, J. K.: *A Short History*, op. cit., pp. 466—468. Also Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda*, op. cit., pp. 242—248.

<sup>32</sup> Mwanga always maintained cordial relations with the White Fathers whom he always consulted on important matters. During the war of independence, 1897—1899, Mwanga and his supporters constantly wrote to the White Fathers and Baganda chiefs supporting the British. In all the correspondence extant one point is stressed that the rebellion was anti-colonial, directed against the British, not against the religion. See White Fathers' Archives, Fonds Livinhac, Dossier 89. For the letters no longer extant see Kaggwa, op. cit., pp. 243—265 and Miti, op. cit., pp. 553—618. White Fathers were even suspected to have been involved in the rebellion. See G. Wilson to Ternan, July 6, 1897, E. S. A., A4/8, also Sir A. Hardinge to Salisbury, Sept. 4, 1897, F. O./LI, and G. Wilson to Forster, July 6, 1897, E. S. A., A4/8.

European colonialism.<sup>33</sup> His main fault was that he never steered a clear course. Mwanga like Kabarega and most African monarchs of the time were concerned practically with governing and extending the empire they had inherited or conquered, with controlling its resources of agricultural produce, cattle, ivory, goods, guns and people, with exercising their political and judicial powers. Kabarega fought for his claims and for his kingdom, Mwanga rather vainly searched for a new kingdom and resorted to arms at the very last moment.<sup>34</sup>

From the very start Mwanga resented the usurpation of his authority and rights and challenged the occupying power and its sycophants. He and his Baganda supporters represented the vast majority of the Buganda population. However, the Baganda resisters lacked a leader. Mwanga was not the right person to lead the Baganda anti-colonial resistance. He was not a man of much bravery and military genius. Even more conspicuous are his opportune shifts from resistance to collaboration serving the immediate needs of the community displayed, e.g. in

---

<sup>33</sup> W. F. A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier 89. Mwanga aux Rois d'Europe, Octobre 1891. Most interesting is a letter by Mwanga addressed to Sire (most likely Pope) of October 1891 in W. F. A., C 13—521, Copy in C 15—33, originally enclosed in Hirth à Lavigerie C 13—463, Rubaga 15 Novembre 1891 from which I quote: "... Je suis maintenant dans l'affliction la plus grande; je suis devenu comme un esclave dans la terre de mon père, le grand Mtesa. L'année dernière, on nous a envoyé d'Europe des soldats (officiers) Anglais; j'ai traité bienveillamment avec eux parce qu'ils disaient; *nous sommes venus pour arranger le pays, pour porter la paix, et chasser les musulmans qui enlèvent toujours des esclaves, et j'ai dit: soit ...* Cependant, moi, Kabaka, j'ai commencé à me faire instruire de la religion chrétienne, et *je désire que les Grands d'Europe m'aident à bien gouverner mon pays. Les missionnaires qui sont venus nous ont appris à donner à chacun ce qui lui appartient; mais moi aussi je désire qu'on me laisse ce qui est à moi, qu'on ne donne pas mon pays aux musulmans et qu'on ne livre pas ma puissance à mes sujets révoltés ...* Je demande qu'on me laisse la royauté de mon père Mtesa, et qu'on me permette de garder et de défendre au moins ma propre vie. Si on ne peut pas nous accorder cela, tous les hommes de ces pays vont haïr les Européens, et se préparer à leur faire une guerre continuelle; car qu'un Kabaka soit traité comme je le suis, c'est une chose qui ne s'est pas encore vue.

*J'espère que Dieu vous enverra à notre secours; mais si vous ne pouvez répondre à notre demande, nous sommes prêts mon peuple et moi, à mourir tous, et l'Uganda périra avec nous. Que Dieu garde et protège ceux qui lui sont dévoués. Signé: Mwanga Kabaka du Buganda.*" (Italics are mine.)

<sup>34</sup> Mwanga always hoped to find somewhere a new kingdom of his own, in Buddu or in the German East Africa. He must have been terribly disappointed by the way the Germans treated him. It must have been there he had decided to fight till the end. See Herr von Wulffen to Major Ternan, Minsiro, July 22, 1897, enclosed in Ternan to Salisbury, July 23, 1897, F.O. 1897, L, p. 196. Also Précis of information relative to Sultan M'wanga of Uganda, given by Lieutenants Wulffen and Schlobach in the "Deutsches Kolonialblatt" of November 15, 1897, enclosed in Viscount Gough to Salisbury, Nov. 18, 1897, F.O. 1897, LI, p. 139.

his attitudes to Lugard.<sup>35</sup> The extent to which African peoples viewed the colonial occupation within their own terms of reference and their own political horizons is exemplified in Buganda's participation in the military subjugation of Bunyoro. Instead of making a common cause with their resisting neighbour, the Baganda used European campaigns against Kabarega to serve their own political and economic interests.<sup>36</sup> Only in the very last phase of their military resistances to colonialism did Kabarega and Mwanga manage to present a common front to the invaders.<sup>37</sup> Unlike the military resistance of Kabarega, who between 1891—1899 fought the British with remarkable tenacity and military skill, the Baganda anti-colonial protests were expressed in a variety of forms, from war-like tendencies and open resistance to fence-sitting opposition and silent defiance of alien rule.<sup>38</sup> Their resistance was doomed to failure because it lacked an organization and planning, military power and a leader that would have committed the masses and gathered a universal support to their cause. Without it, there was too much of fence-sitting opposition, convenient submission, defection and desertion in acceptance of defeat and recognition of a force majeure. In armed clashes resisters also lacked the military power of the imperialists. Though sometimes superior in numbers, the superiority of modern weapons and military drill usually made up for the lack of numbers. The success of the colonial offensive, which included nearly all the British officials in Buganda as well as all the collaborating Baganda chiefs, against those who had rallied to the anti-colonial banner in the battle of Kabuwoko, on July 15, 1897, and Mwanga's subsequent retreat to German East Africa, inflicted a heavy blow to their cause and affected the

---

<sup>35</sup> Zimbe: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, pp. 323—330. Also *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, op. cit., vol. II pp. 27—46. Another crucial factor in determining Mwanga's decision apart from the Muslim threat seems to have been Lugard's threat to go over to Kabarega unless the treaty was signed immediately.

<sup>36</sup> The Baganda willingly scoured the country of Bunyoro for food for the troops. They were anxious to carry the war against the Banyoro into their own country, see Wilson to Act. Commissioner Jackson, 3rd February, 1895, E.S.A., A4/1. Between 15,000 and 20,000 Baganda joined the military expedition against Bunyoro in December 1893. However, their numbers gradually dwindled as the men were homesick and anxious to get back to Buganda with their loot and men and women prisoners. In virtually every encounter a number of guns, cattle, sheep, goats and people were captured. Friendly Banyoro even complained that Baganda raided villages and carried off their women; see Ashburnham to Dunning, 8 February, 1895, E.S.A., A4/1. The military campaigns against Bunyoro brought Buganda also rich territorial gains, "the lost counties of Bunyoro", see e.g. Thruston to Colvile, December 16, 1894, E.S.A., A2/3.

<sup>37</sup> Martyr to Berkeley, August 15, 1898, E.S.A., A4/12 and Fowler to G. Wilson, May 20, 1898, E.S.A., A4/11.

<sup>38</sup> Such as the persistent refusal by Mwanga and Catholic Chiefs to accept Company's flag. See *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, op. cit., Zimbe, op. cit.

morale of the waverers.<sup>39</sup> Though deserted by their leader, Mwanga's followers under the former *mujasi* Gaburieli Kintu continued their fight. Seven expeditions had to be dispatched against them and their evasive leader.<sup>40</sup> Many fierce engagements were fought, such as that at Malongo in which, had it not been for the superiority in arms, the colonial forces would have been overwhelmed. The defeat of anti-colonial forces at Nyendo in September 1897 was in many ways decisive for their cause. In December 1897 Mwanga escaped from the German custody and some months later made a common cause with Kabarega.<sup>41</sup> Anti-colonial forces continued in their fight until 9 April 1899 when both rulers, betrayed by the Lango, among whom they took refuge, were rounded up and captured by military troops led by Lieut.-Colonel J. Evatt and eagerly assisted by the Baganda chiefs Semei Kakungulu and kimbugwe Andereya.<sup>42</sup> But following the battle of Nyendo they had to avoid pitched battles and resort more and more to guerilla tactics since they were not able to muster large enough numbers. After the final defeat the two rulers were deported first to Kisimayu and later to the Seychelles.<sup>43</sup>

A detailed and properly documented account of this aspect of the Baganda-British relationship will prove, that contrary to the prevailing assumptions of the Baganda readiness to accept alien rule and the peaceful establishment of British rule in Buganda, the opposite is true. In the last ten or fifteen years of the 19th century more wars were fought in Buganda, there was much more bloodshed, violence, looting, famine, disease and the loss of human lives than perhaps in the whole previous century. Many of the battles fought reflected the nature of local politics and organization and should be seen within the microcosm of the local political situation of the continuous struggle for survival, wealth and power. But many of the "religious" wars, Catholics against Protestants in January 1892, or Christians against the Muslims, and especially the anti-colonial rebellion of 1897—1899, though disguised and coloured by the domestic struggle

---

<sup>39</sup> It is impossible to quote all the references or to give a meaningful selection of them. Detailed accounts are in the above quoted Luganda sources (Miti, Kaggwa and Zimbe). Also see e.g. Ternan to Salisbury, July 20, 1897, F.O./L.

<sup>40</sup> There is much detailed information on the military expeditions against the rebels in the F.O. Correspondence. Once again it is impossible to give a meaningful selection of references, but see e.g. Ternan to Salisbury, July 29, 1897, F.O./LI and enclosures; G. Wilson to Salisbury, September 15, 1897, F.O./LI; G. Wilson to Salisbury, January 22, 1898, F.O./LIII, 1898 and Berkeley to Salisbury, April 19, 1899 and its enclosures, F.O./LVII.

<sup>41</sup> Lieut. Schlobach to Ternan, 24 December 1897, E.S.A., A6/4 and Fowler to G. Wilson, May 20, 1898, E.S.A., A4/11.

<sup>42</sup> Ternan to Salisbury, April 15, 1899, with enclosure, F.O./LVII.

<sup>43</sup> Ternan to Salisbury, May 11, 1899, F.O./LVIII; Johnston to Walker, March 15, 1900, E.S.A., A7/6; Cunningham to Marquess of Landsdowne, January 9, 1901, F.O./LXIV; Colonial Office to F.O., April 16, 1901 and Sir C. Eliot to Landsdowne, September 8, 1901, F.O./LXV.

for the control of the political system, were fought in the name of independence against representatives of alien rule.<sup>44</sup>

Resisters and collaborators alike influenced and helped to determine the pattern of European imperial penetration and colonial occupation of Buganda as well as the shape of British colonial administration. This is why this aspect of the history of Buganda must be re-established.

---

<sup>44</sup> Zimbe, op. cit., pp. 354—360, for an account of the battle of Mengo in January 1892, also see Kiwanuka, op. cit., pp. 224—236 and Rowe, J. A.: *Lugard at Kampala*, op. cit., for accounts of Lugard's war.



# THE NYANGIRE REBELLION IN BUNYORO, 1907: ANTI-COLONIAL RESISTANCE AND NATIONALISM<sup>1</sup>

EDWARD I. STEINHART, University of Texas at Austin

This essay examines the prevailing interpretation of early African resistance to colonial penetration and control, identified with the work of Dr. Terence Ranger and the University of Dar es Salaam, through the lens of a 1907 rebellion in Uganda. It finds the nationalist interpretation lacking and proposes a counter interpretation based on a non-nationalist anti-colonial sentiment among the Banyoro which moves their leaders to action. This sentiment can be described as both anti-foreign and anti-authoritarian, but not as nationalist.

The rise and triumph of African nationalism in virtually the whole of the African continent north of the Zambesi river was paralleled by the triumph of African nationalist historiography. Starting in the early 1960's an interpretation of the history of modern Africa, especially of 19th and 20th century Africa which stresses nationalism as a deeply-rooted and powerful force, became a major focus of historical writing about Africa. This interpretation concentrated on explaining the social and political changes which transformed African societies during the colonial era, placing heavy emphasis on continuity of certain pre-colonial African forms and the role of African initiative in the transformation. The culmination of the transformation and the basic point of departure of the nationalist school was the rush to African independence in the 1950's and 1960's led by professedly nationalist parties and movements. The climax of nationalism provided a vantage point from which the history of the colonial era was viewed by western scholarship.

However, after the first decade of independence there has been a period of stock-taking.<sup>2</sup> Africa south of the Zambesi remains colonial despite nationalist wars of liberation and speeches of denunciation. Independent African states have often fallen prey to the hawks of civil war, military coups and economic and social

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this essay was published as *The Nyangire Rebellion of 1907: Anti-colonial Protest and the Nationalist Myth* as part of an occasional paper of the Program of Eastern African Studies, Syracuse University. Eastern African Studies XII: Protest Movements in Colonial East Africa.

<sup>2</sup> Wallerstein, L.: *Looking Back at African Independence Ten Years Later*. Africa Today, 18, 1971, No. 2, pp. 2-5.

stagnation. African nationalism has proven a weak reed in face of the obstacles of entrenched settler regimes and neo-colonial economics. If nationalism is not the forceful creature carrying all before it which emerged in the 1950's, perhaps our interpretations of the roots of nationalism in Africa's colonial history need to be re-examined.

This is especially true of the history of early African resistance and protest movements, which have been a special concern of the nationalist school. The failure of the nationalist interpretation in the post-nationalist era threatens to leave an interpretative void in the scholarship on protest. Without the nationalist vigor of the era of independence cast back to explain resistance, rebellion and protest at the turn of the century, we must find some new explanation for anti-colonial protest as exhibited in such phenomena as the Nyangire rebellion of 1907 in Bunyoro, Uganda. First, let us examine the failing nationalist interpretation of African resistance.

\*

The announcement of the theme of resistance and protest as a major concern of African historians<sup>3</sup> came as no surprise and found an immediate audience and warm response among scholars and the general public. This past year in a sense saw the high water mark of the protest theme with the publication of a massive tome of protest studies edited by Dr. Mazrui and Dr. Rotberg.<sup>4</sup> This volume of diverse studies has collected both the nationalist and what we might call para-nationalist points of view in a collection which, as Mazrui has suggested, will be a "primary source of thought and illumination on protest as a social fact in Africa ..." <sup>5</sup> for some time to come. Nonetheless, even in this climactic event in the literature of protest, we can discern some discomfort with details of the interpretative apparatus of the nationalist school. But, such criticism as Mazrui and Rotberg raise are indirect and tangential, leaving the body of nationalist thought intact.

A direct challenge to the nationalist literature of protest has been aimed at the so-called Dar es Salaam school by two South African scholars, Dr. Denoon and Dr. Kuper. These authors have very forcefully argued against what they believe to be "ideological history", which "has adopted the political philosophy of current African nationalism, and has used it to inform the study of African history".<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to *Emerging Themes of African History*. Edited by T. O. Ranger. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968, pp. xvii—xviii.

<sup>4</sup> Rotberg, R. I.—Mazrui, A. A. (Eds): *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. New York, Oxford University Press 1970.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1195.

<sup>6</sup> Denoon, D.—Kuper, A.: *Nationalist Historians in Search of a Nation*. African Affairs, vol. 69, 1970, No. 277, pp. 329—349.

While I believe their criticism is well founded, if sometimes too narrowly directed against individual offenders, it leaves us asking how distorted is our view of African protest and what kind of corrective lens can we apply?

The attack on the Dar es Salaam school has been aimed at several representatives of that school who have worked on subjects other than anti-colonial protest, including archeologists and historians of pre-colonial Africa.<sup>7</sup> This has led to a diffusion of energy which could better be spent in correcting a major failing of the nationalist school: its misinterpretation of anti-colonial manifestations as nationalist or proto-nationalist in sentiment and its disregard of other sources of anti-colonial feeling and ideology.

What is the view of the nationalist school on African protest movements? The first point to be made is that the nationalist historians insist upon a continuity of early protest through the colonial period, a continuity which connects early protest forms with later forms of agitation that we generally accept as mass nationalism.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the origins of nationalism are placed far in the past at least coincidental with the first expressions of protest against colonial overrule. The emphasis is on the deepness of the roots of African nations and the growth of popular participation in movements of protest, which culminated in the organization and success of nationalist parties and movements.<sup>9</sup> Anti-colonial protest is thus equated with nascent feelings of nationhood and the creation of institutions of national scale and identification. It is this 'myth of nationalism' which has come under attack by both politicians and scholars, who have upheld the ultimate utility of objective scholarship.<sup>10</sup> While objective scholarship is readily applauded, it is not a substitute for an interpretation of the nature of protest which can accommodate the diverse empirical data without theoretical banality.

There are two basic pitfalls of the nationalist interpretation of protest. One has already been anticipated by Dr. Ranger when he briefly recognized that "African resistance, in the sense of movements similar to those categorized as 'primary resistance' movements, has taken the form of protest against dominance or sub-imperialism by other African peoples".<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Ranger also notes that

---

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the attack on Roberts, D. A. (Ed.): *Tanzania Before 1900*. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968 in *ibid*.

<sup>8</sup> Ranger, T. O.: *Connexions between "Primary Resistance." Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa*. *Journal of African History*, IX, 1968, Nos 3 and 4, pp. 437-453, 631-641.

<sup>9</sup> Lonsdale, J. M.: *Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa*. *Journal of African History*, IX, 1968, No. 1, pp. 119-146; *The Emergence of African Nations*. In: *Emerging Themes*, T. O. Ranger (Ed.), pp. 201-217.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Denoon-Kuper: *Nationalist Historians*, pp. 346-348.

<sup>11</sup> Ranger: *Connexions* II, p. 639.

"traditions of resistance can sometimes be used *against* nationalist movements as well as *by* them". However, this somewhat embarrassing fact is dismissed in a call for further investigation of "the whole question of African resistance to *African* pressures".<sup>12</sup> The whole question not only deserves investigation, but it may well require that we rethink the problem of resistance and protest and its implications for later social and political movements. If protest and "primary resistance" can and are directed against not only aliens who have come to dominate, but even against domestic forms of oppression, then perhaps protest must be viewed as something other than the expression of national aspirations for "self-government and self-expression as groups".<sup>13</sup> To interpret African resistance as proto-nationalism when it is recognized to include protest against non-aliens for reasons which are independently generated or even hostile to ideals of national solidarity are an exercise in hindsight and historically unjustifiable. In the case of the *Nyangire* rebellion, incipient Ugandan nationalism played no part in sparking or organizing opposition to colonial power.<sup>14</sup> Even the sub-nationalism (particularism) of Bunyoro, which was a potent force, hides the more subtle and profound motives contributing to the opposition to authority expressed by Nyoro chiefs and peasants.

A second pitfall of the Dar es Salaam school is the tendency to ignore or misrepresent responses to colonial intrusion which do not conform to the themes of resistance and protest. It has been suggested that the nationalist historians, in their enthusiasm for "the genuine importance and formidable energy"<sup>15</sup> of the nationalist movements, have tended to ignore the phenomena of collaboration with the establishment of colonial overrule.<sup>16</sup> This contention that nationalist historiography ignores primary collaboration, i.e., collaboration with the establishment of colonial regimes by members of African societies under the pressures of imperial invasion, must be somewhat refined. It is, I believe, largely true that the Dar es Salaam school has systematically avoided considering the roles of African collaboration in the establishment of colonial rule in East and Central Africa. This it might be contended stems from their legitimate concentration on the important movements of resistance and rebellion which have taken place, particularly the Maji-Maji uprising studied by Dr. Iliffe and Dr. Gwassa and the Shona-Ndebele revolt studied by

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 638.

<sup>13</sup> Rotberg—Mazrui, *Protest*, p. xvii.

<sup>14</sup> Contrast, the nationalist interpretation of Uzoigwe, G. N.: *The Kyanyangire, 1907*. In: *War and Society in Africa*. Edited by B. A. Ogot. London, Frank Cass 1972, pp. 179—214, which cites Ranger's ideas as inspiration.

<sup>15</sup> Ranger (Ed.): *Emerging Themes*, p. xxi.

<sup>16</sup> Steinhart, E.: *Primary Collaboration in Ankole*. University of East Africa Social Science Council Conference, 1968—1969, History Papers (Kampala, Makerere Institute of Social Research, n.d.), pp. 191—197.

Dr. Ranger.<sup>17</sup> Yet, even the treatment of defection and submission as aspects of these rebellions seems to have been minimized. Moreover, except for A. D. Roberts' early and singular article on Ganda sub-imperialism in Uganda,<sup>18</sup> and despite Ranger's call for the investigation of "African resistance to *African* pressure", there have been no studies of collaboration or the opposition to collaboration by affiliates of the Dar school.

But, the major reason that collaboration has appeared as an ignored or submerged theme among the nationalist historians has been a tendency to avoid the use of collaboration as a descriptive term and to completely eschew the term collaborators for characterizing Africans engaged in cooperative action with the colonial regimes. The highly colored and political origins of that term in the European context of cooperation with Fascist invasion in the 1930's and 40's can be used to justify this systematic avoidance. But, the complementary tendency to describe collaboration in the African context as accommodation or even modernization and to describe the African actors as modernizers or communicators has served to distort the nature of the response of collaboration by using terms loaded in an opposite direction. Instead of the condemnatory term of collaboration with its overtones of moral corruption and political self-seeking, we are confronted with essentially laudatory terms which emphasize (not coincidentally) the contribution of the collaborators to developing the conditions for the emergence of "nationalist movements". Dr. Lonsdale's communicators are explicitly the precursors of the later colonial communicators, the "nationalist *elite*".<sup>19</sup> And the modernizers of the journal, *Tarikh*, even when they are simultaneously resisters, are portrayed as prophets of national independence through selective adaptation.<sup>20</sup> Again, "African nationalism" and its triumph have cast a long shadow back, darkening our understanding of African behavior in both the colonial and immediate pre-colonial eras.

To let some light fall upon the nature of African initiatives and responses in the early colonial context, we will have to develop a far more subtle understanding of the nature of protest and collaboration than is allowed if we accept

---

<sup>17</sup> Iliffe, J.: *Tanganyika under German Rule 1905—1912*. Cambridge, University Press 1969; Iliffe, J.—Gwassa, G.: *Records of the Maji-Maji Uprising*. Historical Association of Tanzania Paper, No. 4, Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968; Iliffe, J.: *The Organization of the Maji-Maji Rebellion*. *Journal of African History*, VIII, 1957, No. 3, pp. 495—512; Gwassa, G.: *The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania*. In: Temu, A.—Kimambo, I.: *History of Tanzania*. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1969; Ranger, T.: *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896—1897*. London, Heinemann 1967.

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, A.: *The Sub-Imperialism of Buganda*. *Journal of African History*, III, 1962, pp. 435—450.

<sup>19</sup> Lonsdale: *Some Origins*, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Modernisers in Africa*. *Tarikh*, I, 1967, No. 4.

the nationalist contentions about protest as proto-nationalism and collaboration as modernization. But, before we can proceed to suggest a framework for such a new understanding of African responses, we must attempt to bury the wounded, but still dangerous, nationalist hypothesis. In aid of this, we move now to a case study of a rebellion which fits few of the nationalist criteria for African responses and which may provide a taste of some subtler ingredients in the nature of anti-colonial protest.

\*

"The conspiracy had been marked with such able organization and recusancy for a long period so quietly and persistently sustained as to stamp it with the suspicion of non-native guidance."<sup>21</sup> So wrote the British colonial administrator, George Wilson, shortly after the suppression of the *Nyangire* Rebellion and the arrest of 54 of its African leaders. Wilson's long experience of Nyoro and Uganda politics makes it difficult to dismiss his suspicions of "outside agitators" as mere racist and reactionary hallucinations. Yet there is no evidence whatsoever to sustain the suspicion that non-Banyoro organized or promoted the protest movement against colonial and Baganda overrule. What made Wilson suspicious and how in fact was this anti-colonial protest movement really generated?

In February, 1907, various Nyoro chiefs began to plan to evict their Ganda co-chiefs from the positions to which they had come in the previous half decade.<sup>22</sup> By March, a public refusal of cooperation drove the Baganda from the Nyoro villages to the protection of the British officials at Hoima, the capital. Confronted with direct orders to allow the Baganda chiefs to resettle, the Nyoro chiefs refused pointblank to reinstate the Baganda, *Nyangire Abaganda*, as the manifestation is remembered, means "I have refused the Baganda". The Nyoro chiefs and their followers gathered at the capital and persisted in refusing to allow the Baganda to return to their posts. Finally, on May 16, 1907, with police reinforcements on hand and prompted by fears for the safety of the Ganda chiefs, the decision was taken by Wilson himself to break up the 'frenzied' demonstrations and arrest those chiefs at the capital. No one was killed during the "rebellion", and violence against property was restricted to the outlying areas where the huts of Ganda chiefs were burned. An essentially constitutional agitation by means of civil disobedience aimed at the redress of specific grievances had pushed the colonial administration to the point of violence. What were the grievances of the Banyoro?

<sup>21</sup> Wilson to Elgin, 25 June 1907. E[ntebbe] S[ecretariat] A[rchives] SMP 710/07.

<sup>22</sup> For vernacular accounts of the events of the rebellion, see Nyakatura, J.: *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*. Canada, St. Justin's Press 1947, p. 219 and Katyanku, L. O.—Bulera, S.: *Obwomezi Bw' Omukama Duhaga II*. Kampala, Eagle Press 1950, cyclostyled translation by Andrew Kigere-Kavuma, pp. 18—20.

Bunyoro, unlike the three other kingdoms of the Uganda Protectorate, was a conquered province. No treaty or agreement regulated or formalized the relations between the government of Bunyoro and the Protectorate Government of British officials. The conquest of Bunyoro was begun in 1891 when Captain Frederick Lugard, acting for the Imperial British East Africa Company and in alliance with the ruling group in the Buganda kingdom, invaded western Uganda and succeeded in severing Bunyoro's southernmost counties and establishing a puppet regime in what became the Toro kingdom. In 1893 a major military campaign was launched against the Mukama Kabarega by the new Protectorate regime in Buganda. Acting in the interest of Buganda's security and with a view to gaining control of the Nile headwaters, Colonel Colville, the British commander, succeeded in capturing Kabarega's capital and establishing a military occupation. Kabarega was eventually driven from his kingdom to exile north of the Nile where he organized and led a guerrilla resistance which ended only with the Mukama's capture in 1899.<sup>23</sup>

From 1895 a new regime of collaboration emerged in the rump of the Bunyoro kingdom. The severance of Toro in 1891 was followed by the alienation of large tracts of central Bunyoro to Ganda chiefs as a reward for their participation in Bunyoro's conquest and in the hopes of settling Buganda's own turbulent religious situation.<sup>24</sup> Only the northernmost counties of the old kingdom were left to be administered by Nyoro chiefs. A young son of Kabarega's was proclaimed Mukama by the British authorities in 1898 in the hope of gaining a semblance of legitimacy for the regime of collaboration. With Kabarega's capture and exile in 1899 the path lay open for the *de facto* elaboration of a new regime under British guidance and protection, a regime which *de jure* was British by right of conquest only.

British conviction that the Banyoro were both hostile to progress and incapable of efficient government led to the introduction of Baganda chiefs as tutors to the regime of collaboration composed of Nyoro chiefs who had left off supporting Kabarega. Everywhere in Uganda 'progress' in administration and Christian religion was linked to the arrival of the agents of Buganda's sub-imperialism. But in Bunyoro it took a unique and particularly irritating form. Not only were vast areas of Bunyoro territory lying between the two kingdoms simply annexed to Buganda in the wake of the conquest, but even within the rump of territory left to the British-appointed Nyoro monarch, Ganda chiefs were set over Nyoro chiefs in order to teach them the arts of administration, *à la Buganda*.

In 1901, upon petition from the Nyoro chiefs charged with running the local

---

<sup>23</sup> See Steinhart, E.: *Transition in Western Uganda: 1891—1901*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, pp. 116—173.

<sup>24</sup> Roberts, A. D.: *The 'Lost Counties' of Bunyoro*. Uganda Journal, XXVI, 1962, No. 2, pp. 194—199.

administration, the Ganda chief, James Miti, was established as a chief in Bunyoro.<sup>25</sup> Miti and his following had a profound impact on Nyoro government. At first, it would appear that these men, particularly Miti, were well received by the Banyoro, or at least by the Nyoro political elite. Miti assisted in drafting a new territorial arrangement which regularized the chiefly hierarchy and confirmed various Nyoro chiefs and sub-chiefs in their titles and positions. This arrangement very much resembled the division of responsibility enacted by the formal agreements with Bunyoro's lacustrine neighbors, Ankole and Toro, except for the granting of landed estates to the title holders. Bunyoro as a conquered territory was not privileged to have chiefly freehold tenure introduced at this point.<sup>26</sup>

However, the chiefs had little room for complaint as it was clear that they governed at the sufferance of the colonial authorities. This was even true of the Mukama, Kitahimbwa, the son of Kabarega who was enthroned by British fiat in 1898.<sup>27</sup> Both Miti and the collaborating chiefs, led by the Nyoro chief of Bugahya county, Paulo Byabacwezi, found Kitahimbwa difficult to work with in the governing council. In 1902 the chiefs petitioned the colonial regime for his removal and were obliged by the appointment of a new Mukama, an older son of Kabarega's named Andereya Duhaga II. Miti especially was quick to gain the confidence of the new monarch and become effective ruler of the council and the country. This in turn led to increasing numbers of Ganda agents entering service in Bunyoro hoping by that means to advance their careers as colonial administrators.<sup>28</sup>

As early as June, 1902, the district officer noted "the very bad feeling that exists between the Unyoro chiefs, and those who have been brought from Uganda and elsewhere, and put in charge of some of the counties".<sup>29</sup> While the eruption was still five years away, the roots of the disturbance in the fears among the Banyoro that their kingdom would be taken from them by piecemeal annexation or expropriation by Baganda chiefs "as was the case in Bugangaidzi and Bayaga", the 'Lost Counties', was already evident. Moreover, the treatment of the peasantry in the 'lost counties' had even in 1902 become the source of real grievance, with Nyoro cultivators attempting to move from under the Ganda chiefs to escape harsh

---

<sup>25</sup> Lwanga, P.: *Obulamu Bw'omutaka J. K. Miti Kabazzi*. Kampala, Friends Press, n. d. and Wilson to Jackson 14 Aug. 1901, ESA, A12/1. Manuscript translation by William Mukasa, pp. 1-11.

<sup>26</sup> See Steinhart: Thesis, pp. 192-208.

<sup>27</sup> G. Wilson to Salisbury, 16 March 1898, *Parliamentary Papers* C8941 and Bagnall to Commissioner, 3 April 1898, ESA A4/10.

<sup>28</sup> Tomkins to Commissioner, 16 Oct. 1902, ESA A12/2 and Interviews B/34, Princess Alexandria Komukyea, 11 November 1968, and B/3, Martin Mukidi, 13 October 1968.

<sup>29</sup> Tomkins to Commissioner, 16 June 1902, ESA A12/2. The U prefix from Kiswahili was formerly used to indicate the kingdoms, e.g. Uganda = Buganda, Unyoro = Bunyoro.



treatment.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the basic grievance over the presence of the Ganda chiefs and the treatment they gave their Nyoro underlings was present virtually from the onset of Ganda sub-imperialism.

This grievance was intensified by the fears that the Ganda would eventually take over full authority in Bunyoro. And the notion was not as far fetched as it might appear. As late as December, 1904, the local colonial official recommended to his superiors "the employment of carefully selected Waganda" as chiefs. It was his contention that in matters of the cultivation of cash crops in particular that these Baganda would "give more favourable results than are at present obtained by the apathetic, unreliable and untrustworthy Wanyoro".<sup>31</sup> In this fear it is safe to recognize a certain community of interest between the Nyoro chiefs and the Nyoro cultivators. Thus, while the inarticulate *bakopi* (common man) was not in the forefront of protest, his opposition to Ganda overrule can be seen in the attempted migration from the "lost counties" and in a curious crisis which developed in 1904.

At that time, a new district officer took it on his own authority to cancel the labor services owed to the chiefs by the *bakopi* as he felt it interfered with the *bakopi* cultivation of their own gardens. There was an immediate outcry from among the chiefs, including the Mukama Duhaga. Administrative action was necessary, argued the district officer, as the 'peasantry', who had "become little more than slaves ready to work for the chiefs when ordered", feared that their complaints would be cause for further prestations when they came before the governing council dominated as it was by Miti. Despite the humanitarian impulse and the recognition of the legitimacy of some of the *bakopi* grievances, the labor services were quickly restored.<sup>32</sup> It was decided to uphold the "properly constituted authority" of the chiefs, who although they were lacking in education, "the peasantry require discipline in even greater degree".<sup>33</sup> Some adjustments were suggested such as the keeping of labor rolls by chiefs and the right of appeal from the council to the local colonial officer, but I think it can be argued that peasant grievances against chiefly authority, particularly the authority of the alien chiefs, was a constant factor underlying the rebellion of 1907.

At the time of the dispute over labor services, the chiefs had intended to petition the colonial authority for salaries and estates like those obtained by the chiefs

---

<sup>30</sup> Bagge to Commissioner 16 May 1902, ESA A12/2 and Interview B/10, Metushera Katuramu, 21 October 1968.

<sup>31</sup> Fowler to Wilson, 31 December 1904, ESA A12/5. Kiswahili prefix *Wa* for people, e.g. Wanyoro = Banyoro.

<sup>32</sup> Prendergast to Commissioner, n. d., 10 January 1904 and 8 February 1904, ESA A12/5.

<sup>33</sup> Wilson to Commissioner, 10 March 1904, ESA A12/5. These events are described as "rebellion" by Katyanku and Bulera, *Obwomezi*, p. 18.

of Buganda. The dispute over labor prestations temporarily delayed their appeal.<sup>34</sup> However, by 1905 new arrangements on the rights and responsibilities of chiefs were being made and were promulgated in 1906 as the *System of Chieftaincy in Unyoro, 1906*.<sup>35</sup> While the Nyoro chiefs seem to have been satisfied with the arrangements at the time, the latter contained the seeds of some discord. First, no private estates were allotted under the new system. By this time the Nyoro chiefs were well aware of the differences between themselves and the chiefs of the neighboring kingdoms, but that did little to soften the resentment. By late 1906 the Nyoro chiefs had petitioned unsuccessfully for private lands.<sup>36</sup>

Secondly, there was a marked increase in the territorial authority of both James Miti and Mika Fataki. Fataki, a Musoga by birth, was allied to Ganda influence in Bunyoro. The increase in their authority seems to have exacerbated the fears of the Nyoro chiefs and possibly heightened the incipient rivalry within the governing council between Byabacwezi, the leading Nyoro chief, and Miti, the acknowledged leader of the alien chiefs.

Indeed, the growth of James Miti's direct territorial authority and his strong influence with the young Nyoro monarch, Duhaga, seem to be the main sources of grievance among the Nyoro ruling elite. It is this last phenomenon which, in addition to producing the rivalry between Miti and Byabacwezi as arch-collaborator, seems to have alienated a large number of the royal Bito dynasty from the rule of Duhaga. Criticism of Duhaga for allowing the Ganda to gain a foothold (although Miti himself had been invited to Bunyoro before Duhaga was installed as Mukama) and for granting too much power to his Ganda advisors was a prevalent complaint among Duhaga's numerous and important Bito kinsmen. How much was sincere objection to Duhaga's failure to exercise royal authority and how much self-seeking opportunism among potential candidates for Duhaga's throne is difficult to say. But there is evidence from the Banyoro side to indicate that both forces were at work among the Bito clansmen.<sup>37</sup> British and Ganda suspicion of Bito attempts to have Kabarega returned from exile and restored cannot be completely discounted either.<sup>38</sup>

To this list of injuries must be added the insult of Ganda cultural imperialism. The use of Luganda as the official language of state and church may have rankled from the onset of Ganda influence. However, when the C. M. S. missionary in Bunyoro, A. B. Fisher, wrote a letter to the missionary in Toro, Henry Maddox, on

---

<sup>34</sup> Wilson to Commissioner, 10 May 1904, ESA A12/5.

<sup>35</sup> Unyoro Chiefs, Grant of Estates to, ESA SMP 1019/06, includes the correspondence of land grants and the text of the "System of Chieftaincy in Unyoro, 1906".

<sup>36</sup> Minute by H. Bell, 31 October 1906, ESA SMP 1019/06.

<sup>37</sup> Interviews B/3, Martin Mukidi, 13 October 1968, and B/24, Z. K. Winyi and Z. K. Mugenyi, 2 November 1968.

<sup>38</sup> Uzoigwe: *Kyanyangire, 1907*, pp. 193, 196.

the subject of encouraging the use of Luganda, he triggered off more than he knew. The letter in arguing for the retention of Luganda in church affairs pointed up the growth of Ganda influence sponsored by the Ganda chiefs in Bunyoro.<sup>39</sup> Maddox, a proponent of local language use, particularly in translating the Bible to make it as widely available as possible to the agricultural classes, read the letter aloud to the Toro Church Council. The council composed of many of the important Toro chiefs had direct connections to the Nyoro chiefly hierarchy. We can assume that word passed very quickly from the Toro chiefs, who had fought a considerable struggle to secure both their political and cultural independence from Buganda, to the Nyoro chiefs, who were prompted to begin their own struggle to rid themselves of Ganda influence.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, at every level of Bunyoro's political hierarchy — from the *bakopi* peasant cultivators suffering under the sting of new taxes and labor prestations, through the Nyoro sub-chiefs and chiefs jealous of the growing influence of their Ganda co-chiefs to the royal dynasty itself — grievances against the colonial system which had introduced the Baganda to Nyoro politics were rampant. In February, 1907, the rebellion began when the Nyoro chiefs came forward to express their protest at the unhappy state of affairs in the kingdom.

\*

The rebellion itself can be said to begin in early February, 1907, when in the absence of James Miti from the Lukiko or governing council, a new spirit of protest and defiance arose. Miti, through his "undue influence over the Mukama and thus over the Lukiko generally"<sup>41</sup> had come to dominate the political life of the court. It is of some significance the voice of protest was first raised while he was away in Buganda. Suspicion that Miti was recruiting more Baganda for service in Bunyoro may lie behind the talk of a Baganda conspiracy to oust the Nyoro title holders.<sup>42</sup> In any case, Miti's absence provided "a much desired opportunity to speak out". At this stage, the protest remained strictly verbal and confined to the Lukiko, but the major themes of the rebellion were closely articulated: anti-alien and anti-authoritarian feelings began to be voiced.

According to the British officer, Cubitt:<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Fisher to Maddox, Christmas 1905, Fisher Correspondence, Microfilm, Makerere Library.

<sup>40</sup> Thanks to Dr. Louise Pirouet for suggesting this interpretation based on her work in mission history, for the Department of Religions, Makerere University.

<sup>41</sup> Cubitt to Deputy Commissioner, 21 February 1907, ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>42</sup> Nyakatura: *Abakama*, p. 219.

<sup>43</sup> Cubitt to Deputy Commissioner, 21 February 1907, SEA SMP 267/07. Cf. interview B/3, Martin Mukidi, 13 October 1968.

... the chief reason for this burst of feeling against the Waganda lies in the fact that the Mukama and chiefs asked H. E. the Commissioner if they could be given official and private miles (estates) and the Wanyoro are afraid that a lot of their land will be handed over to the Waganda.

While Cubitt tended to dismiss such fears as groundless, the fact that the leading chiefs, including the alien chiefs led by Miti, had petitioned the government for extensive grants of freehold land late in 1906 provided a major threat to the Nyoro cultivators and minor chiefs. It would be well to note that Cubitt's report speaks of the protestors as "Batongole", a Ganda term referring not only to the senior chiefs on the Lukiko, but to lesser chiefs who, while they were Lukiko councilors, would not have shared in the distribution of land grants. If freehold tenure had been introduced at this time as it had been earlier in Buganda, it might well have created a class of landed oligarchs whose economic control of land and political power reinforced each other. This would have created a monopoly of power from which the Nyoro populace and the minor chiefs would suffer. Thus, an anti-authoritarian element can be seen in the attempts to thwart the senior chiefs, especially the alien chiefs, from gaining a permanent foothold in Bunyoro and vastly increasing their power by becoming landlords as well as chiefs.

But, it was the anti-alien theme which came to predominate in Nyoro motivation. Miti's position as both a Muganda and a top chief focused their anti-authoritarian complaints. Originally, he had been invited to Bunyoro to teach the Nyoro chiefs how to rule. In his wake had come an influx of Baganda into the country, who as friends and followers of Miti had found themselves comfortable and often lucrative positions in the conquered province. They came as petty traders, evangelists, and eventually as minor chiefs and headmen, bringing with them a cultural arrogance, commercial and religious attitudes, and a desire for authority which was not calculated to win friends among the Nyoro population. They began turning out the "rightful landholders" and assuming power at a grassroots level. Another complaint was "that the Waganda have brought nothing into the country, and that all the profits that they get then send over to Uganda, thus impoverishing Unyoro and enriching Uganda..."<sup>44</sup> It is not difficult to see the formation of stereotyping of the alien exploiters which preceded the outburst of feeling against them. Both elements of anti-Ganda and anti-authoritarian protest were symbolically united in the protest against the twenty or so Baganda chiefs and in this Miti himself provided a perfect target.

But, the groundswell of resentment against the chiefs was quickly channeled. The chief reason for the protest, the fear of land grants, was reduced to the fear of alienation of land and loss of authority to the alien intruders. In this the Nyoro senior chiefs were able to join. While the minor chiefs started the manifestations, it was

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

the senior chiefs, Paulo Byabacwezi, Leo Kaboha and Katalikawa, who began to organize the protest to bring it to the next stage: the expulsion of the Ganda chiefs.<sup>45</sup> By siding with the dissidents, the senior chiefs were able to channel the anti-authoritarian resentment into more narrowly anti-alien protest, which still struck a responsive cord among the Nyoro populace. By early March, 1907, the Baganda were being driven out of the countryside by the threat of violence from the Nyoro "peasantry" and were seeking refuge at Hoima, the capital.<sup>46</sup>

The British response to the expulsion of the Baganda was remarkably unimaginative. While Cubitt initially felt that the protest might be viewed as an opportunity for allowing the Nyoro chiefs to govern under threat that any "regressive movement" would be handled by bringing the Baganda back,<sup>47</sup> Wilson, as Deputy Commissioner, insisted on upholding the letter of the law. He advised the district officer "to nip in the bud any attempt to interfere with the scheme of chieftainships proposed by the Lukiko and confirmed by the Commissioner according to the book published..." in 1906.<sup>48</sup> Unhappy with the way Cubitt was handling the situation, Wilson dispatched another officer, Tomkins, who arrived in early April.<sup>49</sup> But, Tomkins arrived bearing instructions to strictly enforce the system of chieftaincy 'according to the book'. Despite the statements of Byabacwezi that he and Kaboha had only "signed as they feared to do otherwise, and the Mukama did what Jamusi [Miti] told him", Tomkins was unable to retreat to a flexible solution to the crisis.<sup>50</sup>

Tomkins called a Baraza of all the senior chiefs and reminded them of the system of chieftaincy which had been agreed to by the chiefs and the Protectorate government. To the Nyoro chiefs' pleas of duress in their signing the agreement were added the catalogue of complaints against the Ganda chiefs and Miti in particular. Tomkins reported that the "great point with the Bunyoro chiefs is that they should be allowed to rule their own country as the chiefs of Toro, Uganda, Ankole, etc. are allowed to do".<sup>51</sup> While this was not the great point of the Nyoro populace or of the lesser chiefs, it was a point which seems to have convinced Tomkins of the justice of the Nyoro case.

By May there was no longer any time for continued protest. The Ganda chiefs had been thoroughly driven out of the country and were waiting in Hoima to be reinstated. Some huts had been burned, but no violence against persons had taken place. Still Wilson insisted on a hard line and Eden, the new district officer, called

---

<sup>45</sup> Nakiwafu to Jemusi (Miti) Kago, 6 February 1907, ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>46</sup> Fataki to Apolo Kagwa Katikiro, 7 March 1907 (trans.) ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>47</sup> Cubitt to Deputy Commissioner, 21 February 1907, ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>48</sup> Wilson to Collector, Hoima, (telegram) 13 March 1907, ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>49</sup> Tomkins to Deputy Commissioner, (telegram) 7 April 1907, ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>50</sup> Tomkins to Deputy Commissioner, 15 April 1907, ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

a Baraza and put it to the chiefs: they must reinstate the Baganda or risk losing their own positions. Even if the reinstatement was only temporary subject to the government's review of the Nyoro grievances, it was the only terms the Protectorate government would consider. On May 7 the order to reinstate the Baganda was read to the assembled chiefs, who refused to cooperate, contending that even if they were willing the *bakopi* or "peasants" could not be persuaded and wanted the Baganda expelled.<sup>52</sup> This the government considered an excuse. Apparently the absence of personal violence had convinced them already that this was a well organized and controlled demonstration out of keeping with European stereotypes of African emotionalism and violent tendencies.<sup>53</sup>

Two more *barazas* on the 8th and 9th of May saw the Nyoro chiefs remain adamant, but calm, in their refusal to allow the Baganda to return to their villages even on a temporary basis. On the 9th Eden announced a four day ultimatum after which if the Nyoro chiefs persisted in refusing they would jeopardize their positions. But, when Wilson's hard line was reiterated after the four day grace, the Nyoro chiefs who had been assembled at the Post Office in Hoima not only refused but did so in loud and "passionate" terms. Two days later, May 16, the chiefs were again assembled, again refused, and this time, following the orders of Deputy Governor Wilson, fifty-four of the assembled rebels were arrested. This number includes the names of senior and minor chiefs and important personages including many members of the royal Bito clan.<sup>54</sup>

Throughout the disturbances, the Mukama hewed to a neutral line. He insisted that he personally did not want the Baganda to leave, but that his chiefs were the motive force for expulsion. His failure to assume leadership in the protest has been laid to a weakness of character and the influence of his Baganda and missionary advisors. A more charitable view sees him in full support of the rebellion, but shrewdly avoiding the situation which would jeopardize his authority and his throne.<sup>55</sup> In support of this contention, it is not unlikely that the Baganda leadership in Kampala coveted an even more direct subjugation of Bunyoro and might well have aimed at placing a member of the Ganda royal family on the Nyoro throne. In that light, Duhaga's neutrality may well have served to preserve not only his own position, but it may have saved the Nyoro dynasty and the peace of the country as well.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Eden to Wilson, 11 May 1907, ESA SMP 710/07, and Lwanga: *Miti*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>53</sup> Wilson to Spires, 28 May 1907, and Wilson to Elgin, 25 June 1907, ESA SMP 710/07.

<sup>54</sup> Lwanga: *Miti*, pp. 51–52, and Eden to Wilson, 11 May 1907, and Wilson to Elgin, 25 June 1907, ESA SMP 710/07. Cf. Interview B/19, Isaya Bikundi, 30 October 1968.

<sup>55</sup> Interviews B/3, Martin Mukidi, 13 October 1968, and B/34, Princess Alexandria Komukyeya 11 November 1968.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, and Katyanku—Bulera: *Duhaga*, pp. 19–20.

Of the senior chiefs, Byabacwezi, who was considered by Eden as the ringleader, managed to escape arrest. In fact, Byabacwezi appears to have wavered and to have been pushed into a hard line position by his co-chief, Leo Kaboha, and particularly by his own sub-chiefs. Byabacwezi was prepared to surrender to British pressure were it not for fear of loss of popular support. It was reported that Byabacwezi had verbally agreed to the ultimatum on the 14th of May, but on telling his sub-chiefs was derided into continued resistance. It was "better to suffer with the rest and have the good opinion of others. Byabacwezi is said to have cried and to have decided to be a martyr rather than a turn-coat..."<sup>57</sup>

It is the crucial role of the sub-chiefs that is deserving of note. Ibrahim Talyeba, the deputy (*mumyoka*) sub-chief under Miti, played a very prominent part in organizing the disturbances and in persuading Byabacwezi to persist. Daudi Bitatuli, the deputy to Byabacwezi, was also among the leaders arrested.<sup>58</sup> Pressure from the leading sub-chiefs may well have been motivated by jealousy at the growth of Baganda titleholding which excluded them from the senior positions. The large number of Babito among the sub-chiefs raises the question of the role of dynastic intrigue, possibly against Duhaga and favoring a restoration of Kabarega, then in his eighth year of exile. In any case, it was believed by the district officer, Eden,<sup>59</sup> and would appear from the numbers of sub-chiefs arrested that it was the second rank of Nyoro chiefs who initiated, organized and sustained the constitutional agitation and protest which Wilson could not believe was of local African authorship. While the British officials discounted the allegation by the chiefs that the *bakopi* were hostile to the Baganda and would kill them if they returned to the villages, the role of both Bito and commoner sub-chiefs in the agitation lends credence to the contention that popular discontent with the growth of alien influence and the resulting social uncertainty was a powerful force in sustaining the "rebellion" by the chiefs.

As a side note, the highly politically conscious nature of the rebellion as a constitutional protest can be illustrated by a unique maneuver by the Nyoro chiefs. During the disturbances envoys were sent to the neighboring kingdoms of Toro and Ankole and to Busoga and the lost counties in the hopes of finding allies there who might extend the anti-Ganda rebellion throughout the Ganda dominated provinces.<sup>60</sup> Such an attempt to increase the pressure on the British to remove the Baganda chiefs by seeking a multi-tribal, albeit single issue, organization

---

<sup>57</sup> Haddon to Collector, Unyoro, 19 May 1907, ESA SMP 267/07.

<sup>58</sup> Interviews B/44, Yesse T. Kinimi, 3 December 1968, and B/12, Nebayosi Tibangwa, 22 October 1968. These men are the sons of Talyeba and Bitatuli respectively.

<sup>59</sup> Eden to Wilson, 11 May 1907, ESA SMP 710/07.

<sup>60</sup> Isemonger to Wilson, 18 June 1907, ESA SMP 267/07. Cf. Haddon to Collector, Unyoro, 19 May 1907, ESA SMP 267/07, and Uzoigwe: *Kyanyangire, 1907*, pp. 194–195.

shows a political wisdom which we tend to identify with only the more modern or "nationalist" of the African protest movements. Moreover, the agitation for the return of the "lost counties", which Wilson for one believed was the object of the entire exercise, spread to that district and required the presence of a police force under Apolo Kagwa, the Prime Minister of Buganda, to insure the "Pax Britannica".<sup>61</sup> This too is reminiscent of more modern acts of protest.

Deputy Commissioner George Wilson arrived at Hoima on May 22, 1907, with police and military reinforcements. Unhappy at the handling of the disturbances by the local officers, he felt that prolonged confrontation even after the arrest of over 50 agitators might well lead to violence against the Baganda still at Hoima. It was his purpose to put a quick finish to the spirit of rebellion. A new round of *barazas* was begun with Wilson presiding.<sup>62</sup>

On the 27th of May judgment was handed down by Wilson. His awards reflect his prejudices and the element of necessity in colonial efforts to secure peaceful collaboration. The four Nyoro senior chiefs implicated in the rebellion were most unevenly punished. Leo Kaboha was deposed from his chieftaincy and exiled to Buganda.<sup>63</sup> Katalikawe was deposed and forfeited one third of his land holdings. Daudi Katongole lost one third of his estates and two years of tax revenues.<sup>64</sup> Byabacwezi, whom most British still believed was the prime mover in the rebellion, lost a third of his estates and was fined £ 500 to be paid within two years. The fine was later reduced. Moreover, whatever debts were due to him from the Protectorate government for a decade of service in establishing the regime of collaboration were considered as wiped out.<sup>65</sup> All in all, these penalties were not harsh. One wonders if leniency flowed from Wilson's merciful qualities and the recognition of past services, or if they resulted from a calculated realization of the importance of Byabacwezi to the functioning of any system of indirect rule and collaboration in Bunyoro.

All those arrested on May 16 when the *baraza* threatened to erupt into violence were to be removed to Buganda.<sup>66</sup> Twelve of these fifty-four were eventually deported from Uganda entirely. This number included one county chief, Leo Kaboha, but was made up essentially of the most vocal agitators among the sub-chiefs. It was on these men that the penalties fell heaviest. Complaints were later received that their

---

<sup>61</sup> Lwanga: *Miti*, p. 53. Kagwa before being diverted to the 'lost counties' had been en route to Bunyoro in the company of a Ganda prince lending credibility to the suspicion of a Ganda conspiracy to undermine Nyoro "sovereignty". Cf. Katyanku-Bulera, *Duhaga*, p. 19.

<sup>62</sup> Lwanga: *Miti*, pp. 53-54, and Wilson to Elgin, 25 June 1907, ESA SMP 710/07.

<sup>63</sup> Wilson: "Award", 27 May 1907, ESA SMP 710/07 and Interviews B/41, Pancras Kaboha, 25 November 1968 and B/42, William Kaboha, 26 November 1968.

<sup>64</sup> Wilson: "Award", 27 May 1907, ESA SMP 710/07 and Interview B/19, Isaya Bikundi, 30 October 1968.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, and Manara to Wilson, 7 June 1907, ESA SMP 710/07.



property was being confiscated and their wives and children were being driven off their estates.<sup>67</sup>

A word of sympathy was appended to the *Award* for the *bakopi*, whom Wilson felt had "not been deeply implicated". Even after the events, a realistic assessment of the role of popular support for the anti-Ganda and anti-authoritarian movement was not possible for the architect of British colonial overrule in Uganda. The myth of a quiescent peasantry had to be preserved.<sup>68</sup> The last section of the award read:<sup>69</sup>

The Unyoro chiefs, who are Baganda, are to be at once installed by a Government Office with proper impressiveness and with a fitting force. They will not be installed as Baganda but as Unyoro chiefs, who were removed from their posts in violation of the law.

The Baganda were indeed restored and in the sense the rebellion was a failure and the losses to the Nyoro organizers were suffered for naught. The huts of two Ganda chiefs were burned the following year and tensions continued to be high for several years. As a result, no additional Ganda chiefs were appointed to positions in Bunyoro and those in office were eventually retired in favor of Nyoro successors.<sup>70</sup> Thus, a delayed and disguised success did attend this early protest movement against colonial overrule. *Nyangire*, along with Kabarega's struggle of the previous decade, became a focus of Nyoro pride in the courage and defiance of their leaders. But, the pride of later generations cannot explain the motives of early resisters and protestors. We must establish their motives without the dubious benefits of nationalist hindsight.

\*

That the *Nyangire* Rebellion was not nationalist in its motivation or organization seems evident from the events described. While the anti-Ganda strain, which came to dominate the protest movement, can be seen as particularist or "tribalist", that too would be an oversimplification. Traditional antipathies were certainly present, but to emphasize them at the price of ignoring the real and pressing grievances against the facts of colonial oppression is to flatten the texture of Nyoro society in transition. The fear of Ganda expropriation of land by the sub-chiefs, the resentment against Ganda office holding by the senior chiefs, and the beginnings of hostility by the agricultural population against the agents of "modernization" (i.e., against

---

<sup>67</sup> Various entries in "Deportation of Unyoro Chiefs". ESA SMP 1367/07.

<sup>68</sup> M. Weisser, personal communication, 24 March 1971, regarding the idea of peasant quiescence in 17th century Spain.

<sup>69</sup> Wilson: "Award", 27 May 1907, ESA SMP 710/07, and Lwanga: *Miti*, pp. 54–56.

<sup>70</sup> Leakey to Deputy Commissioner, 31 January 1908 and 24 April 1908, ESA SMP C10/08; and Eden, "Annual Report for 1911–1912", p. 56, USA SMP 2135.

bureaucratic and capitalist intervention into "traditional" social and political life) all fed the protest movement. Anti-authoritarianism and fear of social disruption fused with the protest against alien domination to propel the Nyoro people toward rebellion.

But, how can a rebellion by the Nyoro chiefs be called anti-authoritarian? Here we see the peculiar contradiction of the collaborating chiefs writ large. They were under pressure from below to champion the anti-colonial struggle and countervailing pressure to administer the colonial state. These cross pressures were most evident in the arch-collaborator Byabacwezi's ambivalence toward the struggle. But, the contradiction is also evidenced by the efforts of the collaborating Nyoro leadership to organize and direct the protest not against alien authority in general but against the Baganda aliens in particular. By identifying the exercise of illegitimate authority with the Ganda chiefs, the Nyoro chiefs were able to appear as the champions of anti-colonial sentiment without stirring anti-authoritarian feelings against themselves as colonial agents. They were thus able to harness popular revolutionary impulses to self-seeking and particularist programs which at base contradicted the impulses which propelled them.

If this is our interpretation of *Nyangire*, how can we relate it to other movements of anti-colonial protest or resistance? The answer, I believe, is that we must reinterpret the entire tradition of anti-colonial protest from a perspective which allows us to see beyond the "nationalist" flowering of later anti-colonial movements to a profounder understanding of the roots of revolt in African societies, both colonial and indigenous.

Let me illustrate what must be done with an example from late colonial history in Kenya. Two reinterpretations of the Mau Mau movement were published in the mid 1960's. By far the most influential is that of Rosberg and Nottingham in their *Myth of "Mau Mau"*, subtitled *Nationalism in Kenya*.<sup>71</sup> Here we have made explicit the nationalist interpretation of anti-colonial uprisings. Mau Mau is related to the development of nationalism in Kenya right back to the first resistance wars against the British invaders.<sup>72</sup> Thwarted politically, nationalist sentiment turns violent, but remains fundamentally nationalist. This view, which is infinitely preferable to the previous view of Mau Mau as tribal atavism and savage frenzy, was quickly applauded by the nationalist historians of the Dar es Salaam school.<sup>73</sup>

But, nationalism is not the only interpretation possible, nor, to my mind, the most useful. The same year which saw the publication of *Myth of Mau Mau* also

---

<sup>71</sup> Rosberg, C.—Nottingham, J.: *The Myth of "Mau Mau"*. New York, Praeger 1966. For a broader, but still fundamentally "nationalist" view of Mau Mau, cf. Venyš, L.: *A History of the Mau Mau Movement in Kenya*. Prague, Charles University 1970.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7—16.

<sup>73</sup> Lonsdale, J.: *New Perspectives in Kenya History*. *African Affairs*, 66, No. 265, pp. 348—353.

saw the release of Barnett and Njama's *Mau Mau from Within*.<sup>74</sup> As the title indicates, the perspective is what matters. For Barnett's interpretation of Njama's autobiography emphasized another element in the rebellion. Instead of the nationalist 'communicators' as the focus of the rebellion, Barnett emphasizes the peasant partisans, the actual militants of the forests and mountains. From that perspective, i.e., from the bottom up, the roots of Mau Mau lie not in nationalist organization but in the revolutionary, anti-authoritarian impulses of the African "peasantry".<sup>75</sup> Such a view accords far better with the interpretation of the *Nyangire* Rebellion presented here.

Instead of examining anti-colonial resistance, protest and liberation movements through the distorting lens of nationalist mythology, we must develop an interpretation which pierces beyond the shadows cast by the triumph of nationalism, one better suited to explaining the popular and persistent bases of African protest. The meaning of nationalism must be stretched too far to accommodate such protests as Nyangire or Mau Mau.<sup>76</sup> By focusing on the leadership, the communicators, be they colonial chiefs or political party leaders, we are forced to accept an interpretation of anti-colonial movements as African nationalism by default. Anti-colonialism becomes synonymous with movements to expel the aliens and restore "national" independence even before a concept of the nation exists in the minds of the movement's members. If instead we look within the protest movements, at leaders and followers alike, we are apt to discover that the impulses which the leaders organize and interpret are often profoundly anti-authoritarian and revolutionary rather than anti-foreign and 'nationalist'. We begin to see behind the curtain dropped by colonial overrule into the tensions and conflicts of African societies before alien control was imposed. Understanding the continuity of African protest, resistance and revolutionary potential may lead us further and deeper in our understanding of 20th century movements of protest and liberation than the failing "myth of nationalism" has brought us.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Barnett, D.—Njama, K.: *Mau Mau from Within*. London, Mac Gibbon and Kee 1966.

<sup>75</sup> A recent examination of Mau Mau's urban support strengthens a revolutionary interpretation. Cf. Furedi, F.: *The African Crowd in Nairobi, Popular Movements and Elite Politics*. Journal of African History, XIV, 1973, No. 2, pp. 275—290.

<sup>76</sup> Even Thomas Hodgkin's flexible definition seems too broad to be of much use, as it covers too many non-national sources of anti-colonial sentiment. Cf. Hodgkin, T.: *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. New York, New York University Press 1957, p. 23.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Davidson, A. B.: *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule*. In: *Emerging Themes*, T. O. Ranger, (Ed.), for statements which emphasized both the importance of the role of the people and the place of anti-colonial resistance in the context of a broader historical development of African society.

## ZWEI TÜRKISCHE LIEDER ÜBER DIE EROBERUNG VON NOVÉ ZÁMKY AUS DEM JAHRE 1663

JOZEF BLAŠKOVIČ, Prag

Im Jahre 1663 eroberte die osmanisch-türkische Armee im Verlaufe des grossen Feldzuges gegen Wien die Festung Uyvar (Neuhäusel, Nové Zámky). Ahmed Üsküdarî, ein Volksdichter, der als Soldat an diesem Feldzug teilnahm, verfasste zwei Lieder über die Eroberung der Festung, die wir in diesem Artikel vorlegen. Diese Schöpfungen der türkischen Volksdichtung waren — ebenso wie ihr Autor Ahmed Üsküdarî — bisher nicht bekannt.

Anlässlich des dreihundertjährigen Jahrestages der osmanisch-türkischen Herrschaft (1663—1685) über Nové Zámky und die südliche Slowakei, erwachte das Interesse über diese schwere Zeitspanne, die in der Geschichte von Mitteleuropa tiefe Spuren hinterliess. Die Feldzüge der osmanischen Türken (*Uyvar seferi*) und die Eroberung von Nové Zámky sind in der einheimischen<sup>1</sup> und in der türkischen<sup>2</sup> Historiographie bekannt und wurden gut und ziemlich ausführlich beschrieben. Es erschien eine grosse Anzahl von historischen Arbeiten, die sich mit diesem Zeitabschnitt befassten, in denen nicht nur die einheimischen Quellen, sondern auch die wichtigsten türkischen Quellen bearbeitet wurden. Turkologen und Historiker haben bereits am Ende des vorigen und anfangs des 20. Jahrhunderts eine grosse Anzahl von seinerzeitigen türkischen Chroniken und narrativen historischen Werken übersetzt und kommentiert. Seit dieser Zeit verfloss jedoch mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert, in dessen Verlauf die Forschertätigkeit erstarrte; die Historiker begnügten sich mit der Wiederholung und Kommentierung von bereits bekannten türkischen Quellen.

<sup>1</sup> Acsády, I.: *Magyarország története I. Lipót és I. József korában*, Budapest 1898; Matunák, M.: *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom*, Slov. Pohľady, XVIII, Turč. Sv. Martin 1898; Fabián, J.: *Az esztergomi érsekség új Vára 1545—1580*, Esztergom 1896; *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus II*, Frankfurt 1665; Blaškovič, J.: *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmanskotureckého panstva*, Bratislava 1974; hier ist eine ausführliche Literatur angeführt.

<sup>2</sup> Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı: *Osmanlı Tarihi III.*, İstanbul 1951; *Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi I.—VI.*, İstanbul 1955—1963; Çelebi, Evliya: *Seyahatname VI.—VII.*, 1318; *Tarih-i Raşid I*; Karácson, I.: *Az 1663-i török hadjárat*, Hadtört. Közl., 1896; Thury, J.: *Az 1663—64. évi török hadjárat*, Hadtört. Közl., 1890; usw. Siehe Blaškovič, J.: *Die Stiftungsgüter (evkaf) des Grosswesirs Köprülüade Ahmed Pascha im Gebiet von Neuhäusel*. (Im Druck.)

Inzwischen hat sich jedoch gezeigt, dass die türkischen Quellen bei weitem nicht erschöpft sind. Die wichtigsten und inhaltsreichsten Handschriften und ein reiches Archivmaterial harren ihre Entdecker.<sup>3</sup> Die Forscher- und Entdeckertätigkeit entfaltete sich erst in den letzten zwanzig Jahren und ergab auch für uns unerwartete und wertvolle Ergebnisse.<sup>4</sup>

Ausser unschätzbaren türkischen historischen Quellen wurden zwei interessante Volkslieder über die Eroberung von Nové Zámky (tür. Uyvar, deutsch Neuhäusel, ung. Érsekújvár) in einer alten Handschrift entdeckt, die Eigentum von Frau Fevziye Abdullah<sup>5</sup> ist. Autor dieser Lieder ist der türkische Volksdichter (*sazsairi*) Ahmed Üsküdarî. Wie sein Name verrät, entstammte er dem Istanbuler Viertel Üsküdar. Von seinem Leben wissen wir bloss das, was er selbst in seinen Gedichten angab. Er war Soldat in der osmanischen Armee und diente wahrscheinlich im Janitscharenkorps unter dem Befehlshaber Ibrahim Pascha, den er in einem seiner Gedichte erwähnt.<sup>6</sup>

Wie aus seinen weiteren Gedichten in der erwähnten Handschrift hervorgeht, nahm er auch noch bei der Eroberung von Kreta im Jahre 1669 teil. Über seine literarische Persönlichkeit gibt die Form und die Sprache seiner Gedichte Aufschluss. Darnach gehörte er zu den Volksdichtern, die in den traditionellen Volksformen in rein türkischer Sprache sangen, die das einfache türkische Volk verstand. Die Schöpfung der Volksdichter unterschied sich in Form und Sprache von der klassischen Literatur (der sog. Divanliteratur) und der Sprache (osmanischen Sprache). Um die Sprache, die Form und die Ideologie des türkischen Volksdichters Ahmed Üsküdarî richtig beurteilen zu können, müssen wir uns in Kürze damit befassen, unter welchen Umständen die Schöpfung von Volksdichtern (*halk edebiyatı*) entstand.

Die Türkvölker hatten schon in vorislamischer Zeit (von den ältesten Zeiten an bis ins 10. Jahrhundert unserer Ära) eine auf hoher Stufe stehende mündliche

---

<sup>3</sup> Grosse Verdienste erwarb sich Prof. L. Fekete, der eine ganze Reihe von ausgezeichneten Werken verfasste: *Einführung in die türkisch-osmanische Diplomatie*, Budapest 1926; *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archiv des Palatins N. Eszterházy*, Budapest 1932; *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása*, Budapest 1943; *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung I–II*, Budapest 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Blaškovič, J.: *Some Notes on the History of the Turkish Occupation of Slovakia*, Orientalia Pragensia, I, 1960, S. 41–57; ich entdeckte und besorgte Mikrofilme von 5 Neuhäusler Konsignations-defter, ausserdem ein historisches Werk: Zühdi, Mustafa: *Tarih-i Uyvar* und Necati, Mehmed: *Uyvar seferi*. Siehe noch mein Werk in Anm. 1 angeführt.

<sup>5</sup> Abdullah, F.: *XVII inci asır sazşairlerinden Üsküdarî*. In: *Ülkü*, VIII, Nr. 44, Istanbul 1936, S. 119–122, wo alle 9 bekannte Gedichte Üsküdarîs veröffentlicht wurden.

<sup>6</sup> Ibrahim Pascha: Befehlshaber der Janitscharen beim Kriegszug i. J. 1663. Siehe *Tarih-i Raşid I*, S. 266–282; Hammer, J. von: *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Arad, Tome XI, S. 140.

und schriftliche Literatur, die auf rein folkloristischer Grundlage<sup>7</sup> entstand. Diese volksliterarische Schöpfung war sehr reich und anmutig; sie war originell und einfach und besass dadurch einen hohen poetischen Wert, besonders die dichterische Schöpfung (Volkslieder, Destans und Epen).<sup>8</sup>

Die türkische Volksliteratur fusst auf einem Silben-Akzentmetrum (*hece vezni* — Silbenharmonie). Das heisst, dass ihre wichtigste Eigenschaft die Silbenanzahl (*parmak hesabi*) ist und der Rhythmus, der auf der Wiederholung von betonten und unbetonten Silben beruht. Je nach der Silbenanzahl gibt es fünf-, sechs-, sieben-, acht- und elfsilbige Zeilen, die sich in zwei oder drei rhythmische Komplexe teilen: 3 + 2 oder 2 + 3; 3 + 3; 3 + 4 oder 4 + 3; 4 + 4; 4 + 4 + 3 oder 6 + 5. Da alle Volkslieder und Gedichte eine Melodie besitzen, musste sich der Text ihr anpassen. Wenn aus irgendeinem Grunde die Silbenanzahl mit der Melodie nicht im Einklang stand, wurde die fehlende Silbe mit einem Empfindungswort (*aman, hay* u. ä.) ergänzt oder mit Einschlebung eines Vokals gemäss der Vokalharmonie. (Siehe in *Uyvar türküsü*; das Wort *güldi* hat nur zwei Silben, der Vers verlangt drei, deshalb wird ein „ü“ eingeschoben: *güliidi*.) Überzählige Silben werden durch Einschlebung eines Vokals ausgemerzt.

Die Gedichte werden aus Strophen gebildet, die meistens vier- oder dreizeilig sind. (In diesem Falle wird die Strophe durch einen Refrain ergänzt.)

Die Enden der Reihen reimen sich, aber als Reim werden auch die sogenannten Halbreime (*yarım kafiye*) gerechnet, bei denen nur die Konsonanten wiederholt werden. (Siehe in *koşma: girince — kırınca — görünce, başının — düşenin*.) Reichlich wird der Stabreim angewendet, der oft wichtiger ist als der Reim.

Die verbreitetsten dichterischen Formen der Nationalliteratur (Volksliteratur) sind: *manî, koşma, türkü* und *destan*. *Koşma* und *türkü* haben 3—6 vierreihige Strophen. (Bei *türkü* bildet die vierte Reihe den Refrain.) Die Teilung der Reihen in rhythmische Komplexe ist: 4 + 4 + 3. Die erste Strophe reimt auf abab, in den übrigen Strophen haben drei Reihen denselben Reim und die letzten Strophenreihen haben einen gemeinsamen Reim.

Mit der Übernahme des Islams haben die Türken jedoch auch die Genres und Formen der arabisch-persischen klassischen Versifizierung (*aruz*) übernommen, die auf einem quantitativen Metrum fusst, d. h. auf einer regelmässigen Ablösung von langen und kurzen Silben. Diese Methode war den Türken vollkommen fremd und entsprach auch nicht der türkischen Sprache, in der ein grosser Mangel an langen Silben herrscht. Es war also notwendig, mit der Übernahme des *aruz* nicht nur eine ungeheuere Anzahl von arabischen und persischen Wörtern zu

<sup>7</sup> Gabain, A.: *Die türkische Literatur der älteren Zeit*. In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, II, S. 171—211, Wiesbaden 1964.

<sup>8</sup> Boratav, P. N.: *L'épopée et la „hikâye“*. *La poésie folkloristique*. In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, II, S. 11—44, 90—128, Wiesbaden 1964.

übernehmen, sondern auch einige Nachsilben und grammatische Bindungen (*izafet*). So entstand eine neue, „gemischte“ literarische Sprache (Osmanisch), die dem einfachen Volke unverständlich war. Die so entstandene neue Literatur diente nur einer schwachen Schichte der herrschenden Klasse und Gebildeten. Diese Klasse verachtete alles, was das einfache Volk schuf, verachtete auch die Sprache, derer sich das Volk bediente und die es sprach und nannte sie „*kaba türkçe*“ (grobes Türkisch). Aus diesen Gründen wurde die türkische Volksliteratur in den Hintergrund gedrängt und zur Stagnation und zum Untergang verurteilt. Deshalb war sie bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts vollkommen unbekannt, es kannten sie weder die türkischen noch die europäischen Fachleute. Sie verbreitete sich nur mündlich, weshalb sich nur wenig Schriftliches erhielt.

Der erste europäische Fachmann, der bemerkte, dass die türkische Volksliteratur und Folklore einen hohen künstlerischen Wert durch ihre Originalität besitzen, war unser Landsmann Hermann Vámbéry.<sup>9</sup> Er beauftragte seinen jungen talentierten Schüler, Ignaz Kúnos, eine Reise auf den Balkan und in die Türkei zu unternehmen, um sich vor allem dem Sammeln der Früchte der türkischen Volksliteratur und Folklore, zu widmen. Kúnos, den die Türken als „Vater der türkischen Folklore“ ehren, veröffentlichte in den Jahren 1886—1926 in zahlreichen Bänden die Ergebnisse seiner Arbeit.<sup>10</sup>

Nach Kúnos befassten sich G. Jacob und Th. Menzel<sup>11</sup> mit der türkischen Volksliteratur. In der Türkei selbst erwachte das Interesse für die Volksliteratur und Folklore erst nach Gründung der Türkischen Republik. Das grösste Verdienst erwarb sich Fuad Köprülü,<sup>12</sup> der Begründer des *Türkiyat Enstitüsü*, der bekannte Literaturhistoriker.

Mit dem Sammeln und der Ausgabe von Früchten der türkischen Literatur und Folklore befassen sich Dutzende von Institutionen und Zeitschriften.<sup>13</sup> Um die theoretische und wissenschaftliche Erziehung kümmern sich zwei folkloristische Katheder. Auf diesem Gebiete erwarben sich grosse Verdienste Prof. Ahmed

<sup>9</sup> Geboren 1832 in Dunajská Streda. Hier und in Bratislava verlebte er seine Kindheit. Gestorben 1913. Ein hervorragender Orientalist im 19. Jh. Sein Werk ist bis heute nicht genügend gewürdigt worden.

<sup>10</sup> Einige wichtige Werke: Kúnos, I.: *Oszmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény I—II*, Budapest 1887—1889; *Über die Volkspoesie der Osmanischen Türken*, Petersburg 1899; *Török népmesék*, Budapest 1889; *Kis-ázsiai török népregények*, Budapest 1892; *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, Leiden 1905 usw.

<sup>11</sup> Menzel, Th.: *Meddah, Schattentheater und Orta Oyunu*, Prag 1941.

<sup>12</sup> Köprülü, M. Fuad: *Türk sazsaırları I—III*, İstanbul 1940; *Türk sazsaırlarına ait metinler ve tetkikler I—VI*, İstanbul 1929—1930 usw.

<sup>13</sup> Halkevleri; Halk Bilgisi Haberleri, Halk Bilgisi Mecmuası, Ankara Halkevi Neşriyatı; Adana Halkevi Neşriyatı; İstanbul Konservatuvarı Neşriyatı; Halk Türküleri, 1928—1930 usw. Weitere Literaturangaben siehe in Fundamenta II und in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, V. Band, Turkologie, Köln 1963.

Caferoğlu,<sup>14</sup> Direktor des Türkiyat Enstitüsü und Prof. der Instanbuler Universität und Prof. Pertev Naili Boratav, der an der Pariser Universität wirkt.

Ausser einem Dutzend von wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften, die sich mit der türkischen Folklore beschäftigen, erscheint eine folkloristische Monatszeitschrift: Türk Folklor Araştırmaları seit 1949. Chefredakteur und Herausgeber ist İhsan Hinger. Im Januar 1975 erschien bereits die 306. Nummer dieser angenehmen und inhaltsreichen Zeitschrift.

Zuletzt muss ich noch die Sprache des Üsküdarî erwähnen. Es ist ein verhältnismässig reines Türkisch; er verwendet wenig arabische Wörter, da er für die Soldaten und das Volk schrieb. Aber beachtenswert ist seine Weltanschauung, die wohl allgemein beim „islamischen Volk“ gewesen war. Ausser religiösen Motiven ist in seinen Gedichten jener Gedanke ausgedrückt, wie die osmanischen Türken Europa, ihren Staat und Kriegszüge, sahen. Sie sahen die Welt nicht als Türken an, sondern als „islamisches Volk“, ein gläubiges Volk, ohne sprachliche oder nationale Unterschiede. Sie bekämpften kein fremdes untertäniges Volk, keine „armseligen Rajahs“, sondern den „verdammten deutschen Kaiser“ und die Ungläubigen. Auf Grund dieser Weltanschauung bekämpften einander zwei Religionssysteme und zwei mächtige feudale Reiche.

#### Koşma

<i>Görünüz kudretin Perverdigârın,</i>	6 + 5	a
<i>Cümleden üst etti âl-i Osmani,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Müyesser eyleyüp fethin Uyvar'ın,</i>	6 + 5	a
<i>Şâd ü handân etti Muhammed Han'ı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Koç yiğitler hâbta idi uyandı,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	c
<i>Cenge göğüs gerüp hakka dayandı,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	c
<i>Şehit düşen kızıl kana boyandı,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	c
<i>Mesken edindi gâji cenanı.</i>	6 + 5	b
<i>Ehl-i iman bir araya geldiler,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	d
<i>Bir vechile fetih olmaz bildiler,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	d
<i>Tedbir ile toprak sürüp aldılar,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	d
<i>Handü lillah fethettiler düşmanı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Serden geçüp hâ eyleyüp girince,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	e
<i>Kâfirleri din aşkına kırınca,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	e
<i>Din düşmanı böyle cengi görünce</i>	4 + 4 +	e
<i>Sağ kalanlar istediler amanı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Üsküdarî der ki bağı başının</i>	4 + 4 + 3	f
<i>Daim elin alır yere düşenin,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	f
<i>Zamanında merd İbrahim Paşanın</i>	4 + 4 + 3	f
<i>Zeynettiler tahtı Yusuf Kenanı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b

<sup>14</sup> Caferoğlu, A.: *Anadolu ağızlarından toplamalar*, Bd. I—X, İstanbul 1942—1950.



## Koşma

Sehet wie der Allmächtige (wörtl. Fürsorger), mächtig ist:  
Über alle erhob er die Familie Osman,  
Er verhalf ihr erfolgreich zur Eroberung Uyvars,  
Er erfreute Muhammed Chan (d. i. Sultan Mehmed).

Heldenhafte Jünglinge erwachten aus dem Traum,  
Sie spannten ihre Brust, sich an den Gerechten lehndend,  
Gefallene Märtyrer vergossen rotes Blut,  
Die himmlischen Gärten waren ihnen zum Aufenthalt gesichert.

Die Bekenner des (wahren) Glaubens versammelten sich  
Sie meinten, dass die Eroberung auf keine Weise möglich wäre.  
Durch kluges Bemühen trieben sie Minen (bzw. Laufgräben?) vor und nahmen (die Festung) ein,  
Lob sei Allah, die besiegten den Feind.

Sobald sie ihr Leben aufs Spiel setzten, mit dem Schlachtruf  
„Hû“ (=Er, i.e. Allah) in (die Festung) eindringen  
Und die Ungläubigen zu Ehren des (wahren) Glaubens erschlugen,  
Und sobald die Feinde des (wahren) Glaubens einen solchen Kampf sahen,  
Baten, die am Leben blieben, um Gnade.

Üsküdarî sagt, da er (=Ibrahim Pascha) den, dessen Brust verwundet ist,  
Und den, der zu Boden gestürzt ist, bei seiner Hand fasst.  
In der Zeit des mannhaften Ibrahim Pascha  
Schmückte man den Thron des Yusuf aus Kanaan (i.e. der biblische Josef—Sinn?)

## Uyvar türküsü

<i>Müjde gelüp ehli islâm gül(ü)di,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	a
<i>Gazi Vezir fetheyledi Uyvar'ı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Nemçe lâin kalesinden yad oldı,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	a
<i>Gazi Vezir fetheyledi Uyvar'ı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Alaylar bağlayıp safların düzüp,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	c
<i>Nemçe kuralının bağrını üzüp,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	c
<i>Cenge ikdam edüp, çadırın bozup,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	c
<i>Gazi Vezir fetheyledi Uyvar'ı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Serhoş olan kâfirler de ayıldı,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	d
<i>Cenketmeden harfeyleyüp bayıldı,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	d
<i>Yedi iklim dört köşeye yayıldı,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	d
<i>Gazi Vezir fetheyledi Uyvar'ı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Münadiler ağız edüp nidâya,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	e
<i>Safa bahşeyledi bay ü gedâya,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	e
<i>Sad hezaran şükür olsun Hudâya,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	e
<i>Gazi Vezir fetheyledi Uyvar'ı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b
<i>Üsküdarî hamdet vahidi ferde,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	f
<i>Kuluma destgir olur her yerde,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	f
<i>Yetmiş dört tarihde mahı saferde,</i>	4 + 4 + 3	f
<i>Gazi Vezir fetheyledi Uyvar'ı.</i>	4 + 4 + 3	b

## Türkü über Uyvar

Eine Freudenbotschaft kam, das muslimische Volk freute sich,  
Der siegreiche Wesir eroberte Uyvar.  
Die verfluchten Deutschen wurden aus ihrer Festung vertrieben,  
Der siegreiche Wesir eroberte Uyvar.

Er versammelte Scharen und stellte sie in Reihen auf,  
Er betrübe das Herz des deutschen Königs,  
Er zerstörte ihre Zelte und stürmte in den Kampf,  
Der siegreiche Wesir eroberte Uyvar.

Die betäubten Ungläubigen wurden ernüchtert,  
Sie erschranken vom Kampf (so), dass sie ohnmächtig wurden,  
Sie nahmen Reissaus nach allen vier Weltteilen,  
Der siegreiche Wesir eroberte Uyvar.

Ausrufer beginnet (diesen erfreulichen Bericht) auszurufen,  
Erfreut mit ihm Reiche und Arme,  
Es erschalle tausendfacher Dank an Allah,  
Der siegreiche Wesir eroberte Uyvar.

Üsküdarî danke dem einzigen Gotte (d. i. Allah),  
Dass er überall deinem Arm geholfen habe.  
Im Jahre Eintausendvierundsiebzig, im Monate Safer  
Eroberte der siegreiche Wesir Uyvar.

# EINIGE ANMERKUNGEN ZU EVLIYA ÇELEBİS SEYAHATNAME

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

Der Autor analysiert die Schilderung des Feldzuges des osmanischen Heeres gegen Nové Zámky im Jahre 1663 im Werk Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (VI, S. 278—391). Er vergleicht Evliyas Beschreibung mit weiteren osmanischen und zeitgenössischen europäischen Quellen zu diesem Feldzug, wie z. B. *Silahdar Tarihi*, *Tarih-i Raşid*, *Cevahir el-tevarih*, bzw. *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus*, *Theatrum Europaeum*, *Neue Beschreibung des Königreiches Ungarn*, etc.

In den letzten Jahren wurde ein grosser Aufschwung in der Erkenntnis und der Bewertung des Werkes des osmanischen Reisenden Evliya Çelebi erreicht. Ausser den Übersetzungen verschiedener Teile von Evliyas 10 Bände umfassenden Werkes in europäische Sprachen,<sup>1</sup> entstanden auch selbständige Studien, die verschiedenen Fragen seines Werkes gewidmet sind.<sup>2</sup> Ein Fortschritt wurde auch in der Erkenntnis der Persönlichkeit Evliyas erzielt. In den letzten zwanzig Jahren wurden in verschiedenen Teilen des ehemaligen Osmanischen Reiches drei mit der sog. dipinto-Technik von Evliya hergestellte Inschriften entdeckt, in Übereinstimmung mit dem Itinerar seiner Reisen.<sup>3</sup> Die charakteristischen Merkmale von Evliyas Schrift in diesen Inschriften benützte R. F. Kreutel zur Identifizierung des Autographs

<sup>1</sup> Šabanović, H.: *Evlija Čelebija Putopis I—II. Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*. Sarajevo 1954—1957, 1967<sup>2</sup>, 1973<sup>3</sup>. Kreutel, R. F.: *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*. Graz—Wien—Köln 1957, 1963<sup>2</sup>. *Evlija Čelebi, Kniga putešestvija*. Perevod i komentarii. Vypusk 1. Pod red. A. S. Tveritinovoj. Moskva 1961. Turková, H.: *Die Reisen und Streifzüge Evliya Çelebis in Dalmatien und Bosnien in den Jahren 1659/61*. Prag 1965. *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego*. Wybór. Red. Z. Abrahamowicz. Warszawa 1969. Wolfart, U.: *Die Reisen des Evliya Çelebi durch die Morea*. Frankfurt am M. 1970. *Evlija Čelebi, Pätepis*. Red. St. Dimitrov. Sofia 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Kissling, H. J.: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden 1956. Eren, M.: *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi birinci cildinin kaynakları üzerinde bir araştırma*. İstanbul 1960. Hidiroğlu, P.: *Das religiöse Leben auf Kreta nach Evliya Çelebi*. Leiden 1969. Grigoriev, A. P.—Florova, O. B.: *O dostovernosti kulturno-istoričeskikh detalej v „Knige putešestvija“ Evlii Čelebi*. Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta 23. Serija istorii, jazyka i literatury, 1—2, 1968, S. 151—153.

<sup>3</sup> Die Fotografien aller drei Inschriften brachte Kreutel, R. F.: *Neues zu Evliya-Çelebi-Forschung*. Der Islam, 48, 1972, Taf. A.

der *Seyahatname*.<sup>4</sup> Mit Hilfe der paläographischen Analyse stellte er fest, dass die im Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Bağdat Köşkü 304 hinterlegte Handschrift als Autograph anzusehen ist. Das ist ein bedeutender Schritt vorwärts bei der Vorbereitung der kritischen Ausgabe des Werkes.

Kürzlich wurde Evliyas Anwesenheit in Wien mit der türkischen Botschaft im Jahre 1665 von K. Teply festgestellt, der in der Eintragung im Hofkammerarchiv (Reichsakten, Fasc. 187) den Namen „Ewlia efendi“ fand.<sup>5</sup>

In unserer Arbeit über die osmanischen Quellen zum Kriegszug gegen Nové Zámky haben wir uns auch mit einem Teil von *Seyahatname* (VI, S. 278—391) der Istanbul Ausgabe (1318 h./1900), als einem organischen Bestandteil der osmanischen Quellenbasis zu den Ereignissen von 1663—1664 befasst.<sup>6</sup>

Die betreffenden Teile wurden ins Ungarische von Imre Karácson übersetzt.<sup>7</sup> Die Kapitel „Unsere Reise mit 40 000 Tataren von der Festung Nové Zámky nach Deutschland, Holland und Schweden“ und „Unsere Rückkehr aus Holland“ (S. 364—378) übersetzte Z. Abrahamowicz ins Polnische.<sup>8</sup> Den Teil über die letzten Tage der Belagerung und die Kapitulation von Nové Zámky übersetzte vor kurzem H. Turková ins Deutsche.<sup>9</sup>

Evliya Çelebi unternahm viele Reisen als Teilnehmer an Kriegszügen. Einer davon war auch der Kriegszug gegen Ungarn 1663—1664, der eine Folge der verschärften habsburgisch-osmanischen Beziehungen in Siebenbürgen und in Ungarn war.<sup>10</sup> Evliya begegnete der Armee bereits in Edirne, setzte jedoch seine Reise mit dem Heer nicht auf dem alten Kriegsweg nach Plowdiw, Sofia und Belgrad fort, sondern trennte sich bei Chaskowo und kam über Stara Zagora, Kasanlák, Plewen und Orjachowo nach Widin. Hier schloss er sich den Armee-Einheiten des Nikopoler Sandschaks unter Kadızade Ibrahim Pascha an. Aus Widin gingen sie nach Belgrad und von dort nach Osijek (Esseg), wo sie sich dem Hauptarmeeteil anschlossen. Aber auch bei weiteren Zügen begleitete Evliya die Armee nicht mmer. Nach der Ankunft in Buda (Ofen) und der Besichtigung der Stadt, ging Evliya mit einer militärischen Vorhut, der auch Einheiten des Nikopoler Sand-

---

<sup>4</sup> Kreutel, R. F.: op. cit., S. 273—279.

<sup>5</sup> Teply, K.: *Evliya Çelebi in Wien*. Der Islam, 52, 1975, S. 125—131.

<sup>6</sup> Kopčan, V.: *Ottoman Narrative Sources to the Uyvar Expedition 1663*. Asian and African Studies, 7, 1971 (1973), S. 89—100.

<sup>7</sup> *Evliya Çelebi török világotató magyarországi utazásai 1660—1664*. Budapest 1904, S. 285—386.

<sup>8</sup> *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego*. Warszawa 1969, S. 193—208.

<sup>9</sup> *Über die Belagerung von Uyvár (Neuhäusel, Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663 durch die Türken*. Archiv orientální, 41, 1973, No. 4, S. 325—339.

<sup>10</sup> Siehe Hammer, J. von: *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* 6. Pesth 1830, S. 106 ff.; Huber, A.: *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen zur Pforte 1658—1664*. Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, 85, 1898, S. 511—587. Eickhoff, E.: *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645—1700*. München 1970, S. 179—227.

schaks angegliedert wurden, nach Esztergom, wo eine Brücke über die Donau errichtet werden musste. Evliya geriet auf das andere Ufer der Donau mit Booten zusammen mit den Einheiten des Wesirs Kaplan Mustafa Pascha und Kadızade Ibrahim Pascha, die die Pontons und die Vorbereitungsarbeiten von Seiten des Feindes zu schützen hatten.

Wir vergleichen die Beschreibung der nachfolgenden Ereignisse, so wie sie von Evliya festgehalten wurden, mit zeitgenössischen osmanischen Quellen, die über diese Ereignisse berichten. Es sind dies *Silahdar Tarihi* von Findıklılı Mehmed Ağa Silahdar,<sup>11</sup> *Tarih-i Raşid* von Mehmed Raşid,<sup>12</sup> *Tarihi Gulmanı* von Mehmed Halife,<sup>13</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih* von Hasan Ağa,<sup>14</sup> und *Seferi Uyvar* von Mehmed Necati.<sup>15</sup> In Betracht ziehen wir auch zeitgenössische heimatliche Quellen zu diesen Ereignissen.

Um Evliyas Beschreibung der Ereignisse oder seine Behauptungen besser begreifen zu können, wäre es angebracht, auch den Verlauf des Feldzuges des osmanischen Heeres, vor allem jedoch den Verlauf der Belagerung von Nové Zámky und der Besetzung der Städte Nitra, Levice und Novohrad anzuführen. Der beschränkte Raum jedoch gestattet uns lediglich einige Behauptungen Evliyas zu kommentieren.

„Die Burg Ciğerdelen“ (S. 278—279). Evliya behauptet, dass der erste Erbauer von Ciğerdelen (Ciğerdelen Parkanı, ung. Parkan, heute Štúrovo — eine türkische Palanke auf dem linken Donauufer gegenüber von Esztergom) der siebenbürgische König Gabriel Bethlen (1613—1629) gewesen sei, wobei er anschliessend sagt, dass zu Beginn des *muharrem* des Jahres 905 h./8. Juli 1499, als Sultan Süleyman Esztergom besetzte (!), er diese Burg erbauen liess und sie Ciğerdelen benannte. Die Zeitangabe ist ungenau, da die Osmanen Esztergom am 10. August 1543 eroberten und die Palanke erst nachher errichteten.

„Die Form und die Lage der Palanke von Ciğerdelen“ (S. 279—280). Evliya beschreibt eine viereckige, mit einem Zaun und einem Graben umgebene Palanke, was den zeitgenössischen europäischen Abbildungen entspricht. Weiter sagt er, dass in der Palanke ein eigener Befehlshaber, 250 Soldaten, 80 Häuser mit Strohdächern, eine kleine Dschami mit einem Bretterminaret und einem Schindeldach seien. Auf Grund der Soldlisten (*defter-i mevacic*) aus dem Jahre 995 h./1586—87 von Esztergom und Ciğerdelen (Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Türkische Handschriften, Mxt. 607) waren in der Palanke der *Müezzín* Mehmed Davud, der *Muarraf* Ismail Hasan und der *Kayyum* Kurd Mustafa, wodurch die Existenz einer

<sup>11</sup> *Silahdar Tarihi I.* Istanbul 1928, S. 235—300.

<sup>12</sup> *Tarih-i Raşid I.* Istanbul 1282 h./1865, S. 25—55.

<sup>13</sup> Istanbul 1340 h./1921, S. 74—92.

<sup>14</sup> Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Türkische Handschriften, H. O. 84a. Bibliothèque National, Paris, Suppl. turc 506. (Im Text Wien (W), Paris (P).)

<sup>15</sup> Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul. Revan Kütüphanesi, No. 1308.

Dschami in der Palanke bestätigt wird. Auch die Schätzung der Soldatenzahl in der Palanke ist real, weil die Soldlisten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert in der Palanke eine Garnison von 150—350 Mann angeben. Weiter schreibt Evliya von einem naheliegenden Lager (*tabur*) mit einem Umfang von 20 000 Schritt. Als ein auf dieses Lager sich beziehendes Ereignis erwähnt Evliya die Kämpfe im Jahre 1008 h./1599, als der *Serdar* Ibrahim Pascha und der Tatarenchan den Feind zweimal in dieses Lager verdrängten von wo er nach Esztergom entfloh, das ihm zu jener Zeit gehörte. Diese Angabe stammt evident aus Peçevî.<sup>16</sup> Dazu hat Evliya jedoch eigenwillig hinzugefügt, dass hier über 40 000 Feinde durch Artilleriefeuer getötet wurden.

„Der wundersam gute Traum“ (S. 280—281). Die Einleitung dieses Teiles gehört zu den fiktiven Bestandteilen von Evliyas Werk. Des weiteren jedoch erzählt er davon, wie der Grosswesir eine Brücke bauen liess, die kurz vor ihrer Fertigstellung von den Donaufluten beschädigt wurde, was auch europäische Quellen behaupten.<sup>17</sup>

„Die Ursache der Schlacht bei Cigerdelen“ (S. 281—293). Hierbei geht es um die Schlacht eines auf das linke Donauufer verlagerten Teiles der osmanischen Armee mit der verstärkten Garnison von Nové Zámky unter A. Forgach am 6. August 1663. Evliya liefert eine eigenartige Version dieser Schlacht, die von der Schilderung anderer osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber, vor allem Hasan Ağa und Silahdar, abweicht. Evliya verfolgte den Verlauf dieser Schlacht vom Standort der Vorhut der osmanischen Armee, bei der er sich befand. Evliya zufolge wurde Forgach die Nachricht von der Überschreitung des Flusses durch die osmanische Armee von einem ungarischen Jüngling und einem türkischen Recken überbracht, die ihm mitteilten, dass die Brücke durch eine Überschwemmung vernichtet wurde.<sup>18</sup> Weiter informiert Evliya über das kaiserliche Heer, das versammelt wurde um Nové Zámky zur Hilfe zu kommen und über Forgachs Vorbereitungen zum Überfall des osmanischen Heeres, und behauptet, dass der Grosswesir über alles Bescheid gewusst habe.<sup>19</sup> Dann führt er die Überschreitung der gerade fertiggestellten Brücke durch die osmanischen Abteile an, welche die Vorhut verstärken sollten •

---

<sup>16</sup> *Tarih II*, Istanbul 1283 h./1865, S. 154.

<sup>17</sup> *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus... II*. Frankfurt 1665, S. 262. *Theatrum Europaeum IX*. Frankfurt 1699, S. 929.

<sup>18</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 18a, W 22a. *Silahdar I*, S. 258. *Raşid I*, S. 38. *Necatî*, 8b berichten von der Flucht zweier ungarischer Diener aus dem osmanischen Lager nach Nové Zámky, wo sie Forgach die Nachricht über die vernichtete Brücke und über die Möglichkeit eines Angriffs auf die Türken überbrachten. Evliyas Angabe scheint vom Bericht des Teilnehmers an der Schlacht J. F. Auer bestätigt zu werden: *Auer János Ferdinánd pozsonyi nemes polgárnak héttoronyi fogságában írt naplója 1664*. Ed. I. Lukinich. Budapest 1923, S. 63—64. Zeitgenössische europäische Quellen informieren, dass Forgach die Nachricht von irgendeinem Untertan überbracht wurde. *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 262. *Theatrum Europaeum IX*, S. 929.

<sup>19</sup> Ähnlich auch *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus II*, S. 263 „...der Feind aber allen Anschlag den Christen aus dem vorher schon verkundschaftet...“

In Übereinstimmung mit anderen osmanischen Quellen führt er unter den Befehlshabern den Wesir Köse Ali Pascha, den Wesir Gürcü Mehmed Pascha und den anatolischen Statthalter Yusuf Pascha an.<sup>20</sup> Interessant ist, dass Evliya zwei Lokalitäten aus der Umgebung von Ciğerdelen angibt, und zwar den Berg Lan (S. 281, 283) und die Hügel Velak als Position des Heeres von Kadızade Ibrahim Pascha. Von den osmanischen Historikern kennt lediglich Silahdar (I, S. 258) den Berg Belan am Ende der grossen Ebene, wo an der anderen Seite des Bergfusses Forgachs Armee lagerte.<sup>21</sup> Einer weiteren interessanten Information zufolge erfuhr das osmanische Heer auf dem linken Donauufer von den vorausgesandten Truppen die Nachricht über die Ankunft von Forgachs Heer zu Ciğerdelen, und sie unterrichteten davon auch den Grosswesir, was im Widerspruch zu den Behauptungen anderer osmanischer Historiker steht, die von einem plötzlichen und unerwarteten Überfall sprechen.<sup>22</sup> Die Schilderung der Schlacht ist gehörig farbenprächtig, wenn auch zu unübersichtlich, um sie mit den Angaben in anderen Quellen konfrontieren zu können. Evliya wendete sich besonders der Tätigkeit der Truppen des Nikopoler Sandschaks und deren Befehlshaber zu.

„Das Ende der Arbeit und das Ergebnis der Schlacht“ (S. 293—300). Nach dem Rückzug der osmanischen Vorhut zum Hauptlager der osmanischen Armee auf dem linken Ufer, schildert Evliya weitere Kämpfe. Einige seiner Behauptungen stimmen mit den Berichten anderer osmanischer Historiker überein — z. B. das dem osmanischen Heer erteilte Verbot über die Brücke auf die andere Seite zu gehen,<sup>23</sup> das Aufscheuchen der Kamele im türkischen Lager durch Forgachs Armee<sup>24</sup> und andere Einzelheiten. Weiter berichtet er über die Flucht Forgachs vom Schlachtfeld, über die Anzahl der Gefangenen und die Beute, die er nach den einzelnen Truppen berechnet. Die Verluste des Feindes gibt Evliya mit 30 000 Toten, 2000 Gefangenen und 2000 in den Flüssen Hron und Ipel, sowie im See Pataka (?) Ertrunkenen an.<sup>25</sup> Interessant ist der Abschluss dieses Teiles, wo Evliya sagt, dass die Schlacht von mehreren Geschichtsschreibern geschildert worden sei und für die vielen Fehler, die ihm bei der Schilderung unterlaufen sind

<sup>20</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 18a, W 22a. *Silahdar I*, S. 258. *Raşid I*, S. 38.

<sup>21</sup> Die Übereinstimmung Belan und Lan ist evident. Es geht wahrscheinlich um den Hügel Bela nördlich des heutigen Štúrovo und um den Wald Lak.

<sup>22</sup> *Silahdar I*, S. 258—259. *Raşid I*, S. 39.

<sup>23</sup> *Silahdar I*, S. 259. *Raşid I*, S. 39.

<sup>24</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 18b, W 22a. *Silahdar I*, S. 259.

<sup>25</sup> Glaubwürdigen Quellen, wie Auer, op. cit., S. 69, *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus II*, S. 262 zufolge, erreichte die Zahl des heimischen Heeres, das bei Ciğerdelen kämpfte, nicht einmal 6000 Mann, von denen die Hälfte gefallen war oder gefangenommen wurde. Auch andere osmanische Quellen sind nüchterner, obwohl sie auch übertreiben: *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 19b, W 23b und ähnlich auch *Raşid I*, S. 39 berichten von 5000 Toten und 100 Gefangenen, *Necatî*, 10a von 5400 Toten und 600 vor dem Grosswesir Enthaupteten, *Mehmed Halife*, S. 82 von 5520 Toten und 300 Gefangenen.

um Vergebung ersucht, „denn wir nach so vielem Reisen und Anstrengungen nicht alles im Gedächtnis behalten haben...“ (S. 300).

„Die Feierlichkeiten, die auf Befehl des Grosswesirs veranstaltet wurden“ (S. 300–303). Hier beschreibt Evliya die Feier zu Ehren des Sieges, führt die Anzahl des gefallenen Türken mit der Zahl 1060 (einer seiner Lieblingszahlen)<sup>26</sup> an und veröffentlicht seine Kasside zu Ehren des Sieges bei Ciğerdelen.

„Unser Marsch von der Ciğerdelener Ebene zur Eroberung der Festung Nové Zámky“ (S. 303–304). Dieses bescheidene Kapitel berichtet über die Plünderung des Gebietes unterwegs nach Nové Zámky und beschreibt den Fluss Nitra.

„Die Belagerung der Festung Nové Zámky“ (S. 304–364).

„Die Burg Nové Zámky“ (S. 304–318). Als Erbauer der Festung bezeichnet Evliya den dritten Ahnen Forgachs, genannt Holando ban, der die Festung im Jahre 1453 errichten liess; was erdacht ist. Von den historischen Begebenheiten erwähnt er, dass im Jahre 1009 h./1600-1 die *Serdars* Ibrahim und Ciğala Sinan Pascha Nové Zámky 70 Tage lang belagerten. Obwohl die Angabe über das Jahr der Begebenheit und über Sinan Pascha falsch ist, kann die Nachricht von Peçevi (*Tarih* II, S. 227–228) übernommen sein. Weiter erwähnt er die erfolglose Belagerung von Nové Zámky im Jahre 1035 h./1625–26 durch G. Bethlen und den Statthalter von Ofen Murteza Pascha. Es ist jedoch ein unbelegbares Ereignis.

Die Schilderung der Belagerung von Nové Zámky beginnt mit dem Bericht über die Arbeiten an den Schützengräben und dem Aufruf des Grosswesirs an Forgach, sich zu ergeben. Der Wortlaut des Schreibens, wie ihn Evliya festhält, ist erdacht, obwohl er den Parlamentär İbşirli Mehmed Ağa richtig, mit anderen Quellen übereinstimmend, anführt.<sup>27</sup> Von anderen osmanischen Quellen weicht weiter die Behauptung ab, dass Çatrapatra Ali Pascha vom Grosswesir mit der Entwässerung des Burggrabens um die Festung beauftragt wurde (S. 306), obwohl anderen Quellen zufolge diese Arbeit Can Arslan Pascha leitete.<sup>28</sup> Evliya behauptet weiter, dass Biko Ali Pascha zu dieser Arbeit die Gefangenen aus der Festung Šurany herbeiholte, die mit dem System der Wasserzufuhr in den Burggraben vertraut gewesen sein sollten (S. 308). Eine ähnliche Behauptung von einem Renegaten, der in der Schlacht bei Ciğerdelen gefangengenommen wurde, enthalten auch andere osmanische Quellen.<sup>29</sup> Ausserdem bietet Evliya eine interessante Angabe über die Besetzung der Palanke Šurany durch Biko Ali Pascha (S. 307), was auch der minder informierte Necatî bestätigt.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Káldy-Nagy, Gy.: *A török hódoltság elbeszélése okleveles kútfőiről*. Századok, 106, 1972, S. 648.

<sup>27</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 23b–24a, W 28b–29a. *Silahdar I*, S. 267 führen den Text des Briefes und dessen deutsche Übersetzung *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus II*, S. 267 an.

<sup>28</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 26a–b, W 31b–32a. *Silahdar I*, S. 270–271. *Raşid I*, S. 43. *Necatî*, 15a. *Mehmed Halife*, S. 86.

<sup>29</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 26a, W 32a. *Silahdar I*, S. 270–271.

<sup>30</sup> *Uyvar seferi*, 11a.



Evliya reiht in seine Schilderung der Belagerung von Nové Zámky eine Reihe von Begebenheiten ein, die trotz der Kenntniss anderer osmanischer Quellen nicht zu beglaubigen sind. Es ist dies z. B. das Erzählen eines Gefangenen über die Stärke der Garnison von Nové Zámky, über Evliyas Raubzug mit 300 Dschigiten in die Umgebung von Nitra usw. Mit anderen osmanischen Quellen übereinstimmend bringt er den Bericht über die Mondfinsternis zu Beginn der Belagerung.<sup>31</sup> Eine ausserordentliche Aufmerksamkeit widmet er der Eroberung des Ravelins vor dem Wiener Tor der Festung von Nové Zámky, den er Yasi-Bastion nennt (S. 310—311, 314). Den Verlauf der Belagerung legte er bis ins einzelne dar. Evliya hielt sich nicht in der Nähe der höchsten Kommandantur auf, wie z. B. der Autor des *Cevahir el-tevarih*, daher gibt er eher die Lagerstimmungen wider, so das ungeduldige Warten auf die Tataren, den Hunger, die grausamen Massnahmen gegen die Flucht der Soldaten um Nahrung zu suchen usw.

Noch vor der Ankunft der Tataren in das Lager sagt er, dass der Grosswesir Kurd Pascha und weitere Würdenträger mit einem Armeekorps von 35 000 Mann entsandt hätte, die das Ufer des Alaman Meeres erreichen, und die Burgen *Bec*, *Prak*, *Loncat*, *Rubarent*, den *Vilayet Holandiya* und den *Vilayet Filemenk*, sowie die Städte *Amstirdam*, *Esizine* und *Brandenburg* angreifen und durch Feuer vernichten sollten. Dazu fügt Evliya hinzu: „Ich, Ärmster, war sehr traurig, dass ich nicht mitgehen konnte. Aber die Eroberung der Festung Nové Zámky habe ich auch nicht unvollendet lassen können, weil mir die Ehre und der Mut es nicht gestatteten fortzugehen“ (S. 313).

Da sich Evliya für die Krimtataren interessierte, widmete er der Ankunft des Sohnes des Chans von Krim Ahmed Geray und der anderen Hilfskorps in das osmanische Lager eine grosse Aufmerksamkeit (S. 319—332). Er gibt die Ankunft von 40 000 Tataren an, was mit Ausnahme von Necatî die niedrigste Angabe in den osmanischen Quellen ist.<sup>32</sup> Fälschlich behauptet er jedoch, dass mit den Tataren gleichzeitig auch die siebenbürgischen Truppenverbände mit dem Fürsten Michael Apaffy gekommen seien, dieser traf jedoch erst in der zweiten Oktoberhälfte 1663 ein.<sup>33</sup>

Verheerende Überfälle der tatarischen und osmanischen Truppen in die weite Umgebung der Festung, sowie in fernere Städte legt Evliya als Feldzüge in ferne Länder dar die er vom Hörensagen kennt. Auf S. 326—328 erwähnt er z. B. die Rückkehr Kurd Paschas und anderer Würdenträger in vier Zügen vom Meer

<sup>31</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 23a, W 28b. *Silahdar I*, S. 268. *Raşid I*, S. 42. *Mehmed Halife*, S. 85.

<sup>32</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 27a, W 32b und danach auch *Silahdar I*, S. 272 z. B. berichten von 150 000 Tataren, *Raşid I*, S. 44 von „einem Heer, das hunderttausend überschreitet“. *Mehmed Halife*, S. 91—80 000 Tataren. Einzig *Necatî*, 13b—14a gibt dieselbe Anzahl wie Evliya an.

<sup>33</sup> *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus II*, S. 289 spricht vom 15. Oktober, *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 43b, W 50a und ähnlich auch *Silahdar I*, S. 290 geben den 23. Oktober als Ankunftsdatum von Apaffy an.

*Filemenk* aus den Ländern *Holandiya*, *İsvec* und *Frengistan*, was zeitlich der ersten Plünderung in der Westslowakei und in Mähren entspricht.

Die letzten Tage der Belagerung gibt Evliya von allen osmanischen Quellen am genauesten wider, das Bild ist jedoch sehr mosaikenhaft und schwer zu konfrontieren. Er gibt den Misserfolg der Osmanen mit dem Untergraben und Unterminieren der Burgmauern zu, er beschreibt die Vorbereitung des Überganges durch den Schlamm im Burggraben, das Anhäufen von Erde bis in die Höhe der Festungsmauern, die Angriffe auf die Weisse (Fridrichin) Bastion und anderes.

Im *Seyahatname* wurde auch die Detonation auf der Fridrichin (türkisch Weisse) Bastion kurz vor der Kapitulation festgehalten, was Evliya einem rauchenden Soldaten zuschreibt (S. 340).<sup>34</sup>

Die Kapitulation von Nové Zámky beschrieb Evliya verhältnismässig kurz. Er führt nicht einmal die Bedingungen der Kapitulation an und erwähnt lediglich die Forderung des Feindes, ihm Schutz beim Abzug zu gewähren.

„Der Aufruhr der Burgen Nitra, Levice und Novohrad“ (S. 352—353). Dieser Teil berichtet von der Ernennung Kaplan Mustafa Paschas gegen Novohrad Sarı Hüseyin Pascha gegen Nitra und Köse Ali Pascha gegen Levice. Die Bestimmung der beiden ersten Würdenträger bestätigen so osmanische wie auch heimatliche Quellen, die Ernennung von Köse Ali Pascha gegen Levice jedoch ist nicht belegt.<sup>35</sup>

„Die Burg Nitra“ (S. 354—355). Ausser der erfundenen Berichte von der Entstehung der Stadt und deren Etymologie schildert Evliya die Ankunft des osmanischen Heeres und die Kapitulation der Garnison. Der Text des Aufrufes von Sarı Hüseyin Pascha an die Garnison, den er wiedergibt, ist allem Anschein nach erdacht. Richtig ist die Zeitangabe der Kapitulation Nitras den 11. *rebi I* 1074—13. Oktober 1663, anschliessend bringt er jedoch unbegründet die Nachricht, dass die Garnison in die Bergstädte abgezogen sei.

„Die Lage und die Gestalt der Burg Nitra“ (S. 355—356). Die Burg Nitra erinnert an die Burg Esztergom: was nicht nur Evliya sondern auch Hasan Ağa und laut diesem Silahdar feststellen.<sup>36</sup> Bei der Beschreibung der Stadt hält sich Evliya an seine Schemen: der Umfang der Stadt zähle dreissigtausend Schritte, im Stadttinneren seien dreitausend Steinbauten, die Stadt habe sieben Befestigungsanlagen, an jeder Seite sieben Basteien und im Inneren sieben Klöster.

„Der Beginn der wahren Abenteuer Evliyas“ (S. 358—364). Evliyas Streifzüge in die Umgebung von Komárno und Esztergom mit den türkischen Truppenver-

---

<sup>34</sup> Zeiller, M.: *Neue Beschreibung des Königreichs Ungarn*. Ulm 1664, S. 447 spricht lediglich von der Fahrlässigkeit des Soldaten, der die Entzündung des Schiesspulvers verursachte.

<sup>35</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 37b, W 43a. *Silahdar I*, S. 284. *Raşid I*, S. 48. *Necatî*, 17b.

<sup>36</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 38a, W 44a. *Silahdar I*, S. 285.

bänden von Gürcü Mehmed Pascha, der während der Instandsetzungsarbeiten an der Festung Nové Zámky, Futter und Nahrungsmittel für die Armee besorgte, werden beschrieben.

„Unsere Reise mit 40 000 Tataren von der Festung Nové Zámky nach Deutschland, Holland und Schweden“ (S. 364—370) und „Unsere Rückkehr aus Holland“ (S. 370—379). Der Übersetzer dieses Teiles ins Polnische, Z. Abrahamowicz<sup>37</sup> setzte voraus, dass Evliya mit den Tataren höchstens in die Mitte Mährens gelangen konnte, und hält die übrigen Reisen für erdachte Abenteuer. Unterziehen wir jedoch die Zeitfolge von Evliyas Tätigkeit während des Kriegszuges nach Nové Zámky einer näheren Betrachtung, stellt es sich heraus, dass Evliya nicht einmal an der Plünderung der Tataren in der Westslowakei und in Mähren, geschweige denn an einer Expedition nach Deutschland, Holland und Schweden hat teilnehmen können, so dass der Bericht aus Erfundenem und verschiedenen Nachrichten zusammengestellt ist. Die ganze Zeit seit dem 17. August bis zur Kapitulation am 25. September (S. 304—352) war Evliya bei der Belagerung der Festung anwesend, anschliessend war er wahrscheinlich mit Sarı Hüseyin bei der Besetzung von Nitra (S. 353—358), nach der Rückkehr von Nitra (um den 16. Oktober) beschreibt er seine Streifzüge mit den Truppenverbänden von Gürcü Mehmed Pascha in die Umgebung von Komárno (S. 358—364). Im nachfolgenden Teil widmet er seine Aufmerksamkeit Nové Zámky (der Festung nach ihrer Besetzung durch die Osmanen) und wahrscheinlich schon am 27. Oktober zog er mit der osmanischen Armee gegen Levice. Ausserdem muss bemerkt werden, dass die tatarischen Truppen die Westslowakei und Mähren in zwei Etappen plünderten, zuerst zwischen dem 3. und 11. September, und zum zweiten Mal nach dem 16. September 1663.<sup>38</sup>

„Die Eigenschaften der starken Festung, d. h. der starken Festung Nové Zámky“ (S. 379—382). In diesem Teil lenken wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit lediglich auf einige Angaben. Zuerst zwei Chronogramme, die Evliya über die Eroberung von Nové Zámky (S. 379) anführt: *Allaha* (sic!) *mu'in oldı feth eyledik Uyvarı 1074*.<sup>39</sup> Das weitere Chronogramm, so Evliya, stammt von Mezakî Efendi<sup>40</sup> und lautet:

<sup>37</sup> *Księga podróży*, S. 424.

<sup>38</sup> *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis in anno 1663*. Ed. E. Marečková-Štolcová. Graecolatina et orientalia I. Bratislava 1969, S. 131.

<sup>39</sup> In Evliyas Text (in der Ausgabe) ist ein Fehler, es soll nur Allah heissen. Das Chronogramm bedeutet in der Übersetzung Allah war behilflich, wir eroberten Uyvar. Die Zahlenwerte der einzelnen Wörter sind wie folgt:

66 170 51 488 65 234

*Allah mu'in oldı feth eyledik Uyvarı* = 1074. Dieses Chronogramm finden wir auch bei *Mehmed Necatî*, 17a.

<sup>40</sup> Süleyman Efendi Mezakî war Sekretär und Hofdichter bei Fazıl Ahmed Köprülü und nahm auch am Feldzug gegen Nové Zámky teil. Siehe Šabanović, H.: *Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*. Sarajevo 1973, S. 343—346.

*Sa'y Ahmed Paşa Uyvarı Macardan aldı — sene 1074.*<sup>41</sup> Dann beschreibt Evliya die Festung Nové Zámky und ihre innere Gliederung. Im Bericht über die Umwandlung der „ungarischen“ Kirche in die Dschami Sultan Mehmed IV., schreibt er wörtlich (S. 381): „Auf den *mihrab* schrieb Kuburizade Halil Efendi den Koranvers: *Kullamá dahal 'alajhá Zakarījá al-mihráb*<sup>42</sup> und auf das eiserne Tor auch die Inschrift: *Lá iláha illa-l-láhu*.<sup>43</sup> Ich, Ärmster, meisselte dies in Marmor

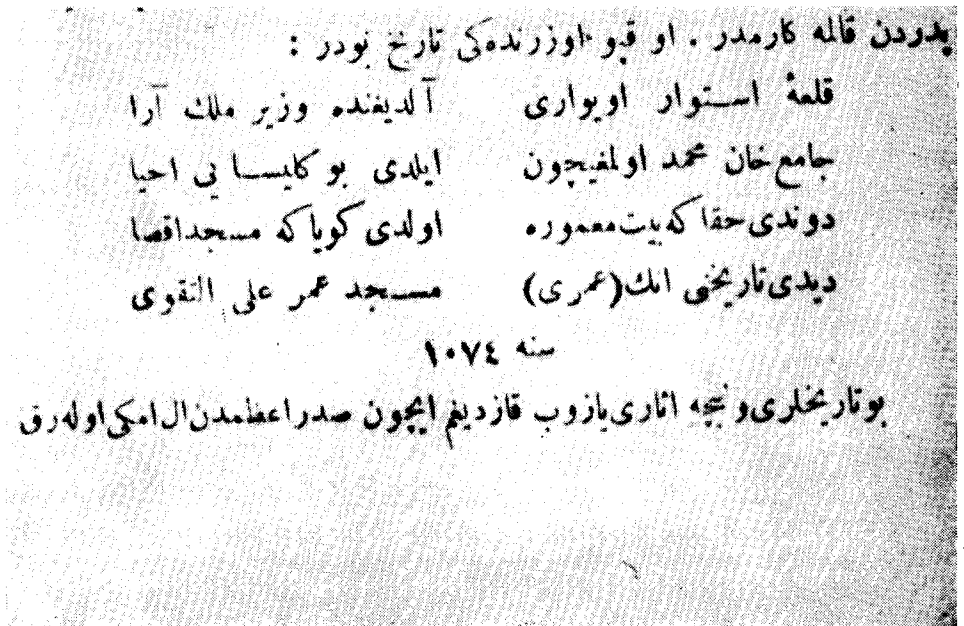


Abb. 1. Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname VI, Istanbul 1318h., S. 381.

und der Goldschmied Silovla malte es mit Goldfarbe aus. Den Text des Chronogrammes, der sich auf dem Südtor dieser Dschami befindet, schrieb der oberste *Nişancı* des Nasuh Pascha, Ömer Bey. Aber in den Marmor meisselte es wieder dieser Ärmste, Evliya, dem diese Kunst vom Vater überliefert wurde. Das

<sup>41</sup> In der Übersetzung bedeutet das Chronogramm: Der beflissene Ahmed Pascha nahm den Ungarn Uyvar. Die Zahlenwerte der einzelnen Wörter: 140 + 55 + 302 + 234 + 298 + 45 = 1074.

<sup>42</sup> *Der Koran*, Sure III, 32. Teil des Verses „...Sooft Zacharias zu ihr in die Zelle trat...“.

Hennings Übersetzung.

<sup>43</sup> „Es gibt keinen Gott ausser Allah.“

Chronogramm über dem Tor ist folgendes: (siehe Abb. 1).<sup>44</sup> Ich schrieb diese Chronogramme und einige andere Arbeiten um zu verdienen. Ich erhielt für diese Arbeit vom Grosswesir 100 Goldstücke.“

Zu diesem Text von Evliya führen wir nun den Bericht des holländischen Arztes und Reisenden Jakob Tollius (1640—1696) an, der Nové Zámky im Jahre 1687 besuchte. In seinen Reisebriefen schreibt er: „Ich untersuchte die Ruinen zweier Gotteshäuser, aus denen ich goldene Wandinschriften abschrieb; die eine war über dem Tor des Gotteshauses von aussen; die zweite im Inneren eines noch mehr ruinierten Gotteshauses, auf der erhaltenen Wand des Chors.“<sup>45</sup> Tollius zeichnete beide Inschriften ab und gibt sie in seinem Buch (siehe Abb. 2) wider. Vergleichen wir das türkische Chronogramm über dem Tor von Evliyas „ungarischer“ Kirche mit der Abschrift von J. Tollius, sehen wir, dass sie identisch sind. Tollius kannte die arabische Schrift nicht, deshalb notierte er die Inschrift sehr ungewandt und die Halbverse reihte er untereinander, anstatt ihrer wirklichen Stellung nebeneinander. Das durch Tollius erhaltene Chronogramm kann als Beweis von Evliyas Tätigkeit als Graveur und als Bestätigung seiner Behauptung angesehen werden.<sup>46</sup>

Was die zweite Inschrift betrifft, die J. Tollius auf dem Chor der zweiten Kirche (wahrscheinlich der Franziskaner-Kirche) oder auf dem *mihrab* derselben Kirche, wie es Evliya behauptet, festhielt, stimmt sie noch deutlicher mit dem Koranvers überein, den Evliya oben anführt, er erwähnt jedoch nicht die Namen der vier Kalifen, die in zwei Kreisen beiderseits des Verses ausgeführt sind: *Abú Bakr*, *‘Umar*, *‘Usmán*, *‘Alí*. Es besteht jedoch die Möglichkeit, dass die Namen der Kalifen später hinzugefügt wurden. Beide Inschriften wurden nach der Rückerobe-

---

<sup>44</sup> Wir legen die Fotografie aus der Ausgabe vor, da wir keine Möglichkeit haben in arabischer Schrift zu drucken. Die Verse der Inschrift sind folgendermassen frei zu übersetzen:

*Die mächtige Burg Uyvar, als sie der Wesir, die Zierde des Reiches, nahm,*

*damit sie zur Dschami des Chans Mehmed werde, liess er diese Kirche erneuern.*

*Sie verwandelte sich wirklich in ein prächtiges Haus und wurde zum entferntesten Mesdschid.*

*Omri sprach dieses Chronogramm: Sie möge für immer ein Mesdschid bleiben!*

*Das Jahr 1074.*

Der letzte Halbvers: *Sie möge für immer ein Mesdschid bleiben!* ist ein Chronogramm, dessen Buchstaben folgende Werte haben:  $107 + 310 + 110 + 547 = 1074$ .

<sup>45</sup> *Templorum duorum ruinas pervestigavi, ibidemque has inscriptiones, aureis litteris, parietibus inscriptas descripsi, quarum altera erat extus supra januam unius Templi; altera intus in parte quadam adhuc integra chori alterius Templi, caetera diruti... Jacobi Tolli Epistolae itinerariae.* Amsterdam 1714, S. 150.

<sup>46</sup> Ähnliche Inschriften zeichnete Tollius auch in Buda (Ofen) ab. Siehe Fekete, L.: *Budapest törökkorban.* Budapest 1944, S. 259. Über Evliyas Steckenpferd Texte von Inschriften festzuhalten, siehe Mujezinović, M.: *Obnova natpisa na Sokolovićeve mostu u Višegradu.* Naše starine, I, 1953, S. 183—188 und weitere Beiträge dieses Autors. Siehe auch Zajaczkowski, A.: *Materiały do epigrafiki osmańsko-tureckiej w Bułgarii.* Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 26 1963, S. 7—47.



Abb. 2. Jacobi Tolli Epistolae itinerariae. Amsterdam 1714, S. 150.

rung von Nové Zámky durch die kaiserliche Armee bei Instandsetzungsarbeiten beseitigt.

„Unser Marsch im Monate rebi I des Jahres 1074 aus Nové Zámky um Levice und Novohrad zu erobern“ (S. 387—390). Von Nové Zámky nach Levice unterwegs

erwähnt Evliya zwei Lokalitäten — das Dorf *Selçat* und die Festung *Maden Süfli*. Keine von den beiden lässt sich identifizieren, obwohl uns der Weg des osmanischen Heeres bekannt ist. Weiter erwähnt Evliya den Bericht von Ali Pascha an den Grosswesir, dass sich die Garnison von Levice geweigert hätte die Waffen zu strecken. Hier irrt sich Evliya, ähnlich wie auch bei der Angabe, dass die Garnison von Levice sich am 20. *rebi I* 1074 (22. Oktober 1663) ergeben habe, denn dazu kam es erst am 2. November.<sup>47</sup> Bei der Beschreibung der Vorstadt von Levice (S. 390 bis 391) erwähnt Evliya, dass hinter der Befestigung sich 500 mit Schindeldach bedeckte Häuser, 2 Kirchen und 40—50 Läden befänden. Interessant ist die Feststellung: „Auf den Hügeln und in den Weingärten, die östlicherseits der Festung liegen, gibt es viele Erhebungen, so dass wenn jemand im Weingarten spuckt, es in die Festung fällt.“ Ähnlich berichtet auch Hasan Ağa: „Die Umgebung ist sehr steil und wenn man mit der Hand einen Stein wirft, fällt dieser in das Innere der Festung.“<sup>48</sup> Unter den konkreten Angaben erwähnt Evliya die Ernennung von Çatrapatra Ali Pascha zum Befehlshaber der Festung,<sup>49</sup> Ramazan Efendi zum Kadı und Halil Ağa zum Muhafız. Vereinzelt tritt die Feststellung auf, dass die Festung Levice zum Sitz des Sandschakbeg wurde und zu Nové Zámky gehörte. Mit der Beschreibung der Reise nach Novohrad enden Evliyas Reisen durch unser Gebiet im Herbst 1663.

Das Erwähnte lässt einige Schlüsse zu. Die auffallendsten Mängel von Evliyas Werk sind die Angaben von Zahlen. Oft geht es um Erfindungen, die jeder Grundlage entbehren. Z. B. Evliyas beliebte Zahl 1060 finden wir als Angabe der Anzahl gefallener Moslems bei Cigërdelen (S. 301), sowie der Anzahl der *balyemez*-Kanonen bei Nové Zámky (S. 313).<sup>50</sup> Fehler in den Zahlen sind auch bei den chronologischen Angaben zu finden, die dadurch entstehen konnten, dass Evliya seine Erlebnisse erst nach Vollendung seiner Reisen auf Grund bruchstückartiger Notizen verfasste, im Werk finden wir auch schematische Datumsangaben — am häufigsten der Monatsbegin (*gurre*), der 10. *muharrem* u. a.<sup>51</sup>

Hinsichtlich der Quellen des von uns untersuchten Teiles, benutzte Evliya mit Gewissheit die Geschichte von İbrahim Peçevî, was auch von anderen Stellen her bekannt ist.<sup>52</sup> Ein weiteres Werk, das Evliya bekannt sein durfte, ist *Cevahir el-tevarih* von Hasan Ağa. Eindeutige Übereinstimmungen sind jedoch lediglich bei der

<sup>47</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 46a, W 52a. *Silahdar I*, S. 296. *Raşid I*, S. 53. Siehe auch den Artikel: Illésy, J.: *Adatok Léva 1663-évi ostromához*. *Történelmi Tár*, 25, 1903, S. 373—386.

<sup>48</sup> *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 46a, W 52b.

<sup>49</sup> Bestätigen auch *Cevahir el-tevarih*, P 46a, W 52a. *Silahdar I*, S. 297. *Raşid I*, S. 53. *Necatî*, 19a.

<sup>50</sup> Über die weitere Anwendung dieser Zahl siehe Káldy-Nagy, Gy.: op. cit., S. 648.

<sup>51</sup> Baysun, M. C.: *Evliya Çelebi*. 1A, 33. Cüz, 1947, S. 409.

<sup>52</sup> Turková, H.: *Die Reisen und Streifzüge*, S. 4. Duda, H. W.: *Ewliyâ Çelebi*. In: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* II, S. 718.

Charakterisierung der Burg Nitra und bei der Beschreibung der Festung Levice festzustellen. Da er das Chronogramm von Süleyman Mezakî, dem Hofdichter des Fazıl Ahmed Pascha, direkt zitiert, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass er auch dessen poetisches Werk, vor allem die Chronogramme (z. B. auch das zur Eroberung von Kandia) kannte. Gewisse Indizien gibt es auch zwischen dem Werk Mehmet Necatîs und dem *Seyahatname*, es wäre jedoch notwendig noch die Angaben aus dem Jahre 1664 zu untersuchen.

Der Vergleich der Angaben Evliyas mit den osmanischen und den europäischen Quellen zeigt, wenn auch in einem sehr beschränkten Umfang, dass Evliya eine Fülle konkreter, auch durch andere, ob nun osmanische oder europäische Berichte bestätigter Angaben bringt. Ausserdem bringt er genaue Informationen, die in keiner der anderen Quellen enthalten sind, die aber keinerlei Zweifel zulassen. Es sind dies genaue Informationen über den Verlauf der Belagerung von Nové Zámky, über die einzelnen Würdenträger des osmanischen Heeres, wobei sich Evliya nur selten irrt, oder er bringt Informationen, die von den offiziellen Chroniken verschwiegen werden: z. B. die Hungersnot im osmanischen Lager und während des Marsches, die Misserfolge mit den Untergrabungen bei Nové Zámky usw. Bewiesen ist, dass Evliya die epigraphischen Inschriften auf den Moscheen, Grabmalen in verschiedenen Teilen des Osmanischen Reiches relativ genau festhielt, und wir können es auch anhand des von uns untersuchten Textes, wo die von Evliya notierten Inschriften mit der Abschrift von J. Tollus übereinstimmen, beweisen.



# STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY:

## II. YOUNG CH'Ü CH'IU-PAI (1915—1922)

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

This is a study of the ideological and intellectual development of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1899—1935), a Chinese writer, publicist, communist and internationalist during the period 1915—1922, pointing out his transition from the Buddhist Consciousness-Only School (*Wei-shih*, *Yogācāra*) through philosophical realism to Marxism-Leninism.

1

The eventful life of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai [1] (1899—1935), a Chinese writer, publicist, communist theoretician and steadfast friend of the U.S.S.R., is relatively well-known and will not be taken up here in detail.<sup>1</sup> Hence, reference will be made to such episodes only as may be relevant to his intellectual and ideological development.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was the author of two remarkable travelogues entitled *O-hsiang chi-ch'eng* [4] A Journey to the Land of Hunger or *Hsin O-kuo yu-chi* [5] A Journey to the New Russia,<sup>2</sup> and *Ch'i-tu hsin shih* [7]<sup>3</sup> that has been translated into English as History of the Heart in the Red Capital (T. A. Hsia),<sup>4</sup> or Impressions of the Red Capital (Bernadette Li).<sup>5</sup> T. A. Hsia's rendering decidedly comes closer to the spirit of the original even though it does not seem to be quite exact. *Hsin*, not in the sense of "heart" but rather of "mind" (Sanskrit *citta*) together with *wo* [8], ego, self (Sanskrit *ātman*) and reality (*hsien-shih*) [9] are the fundamental concepts of Ch'ü's thought of the transitory period which forms the subject of investigation of

<sup>1</sup> Shneider, M. E.: *Tvorcheskii put Tsui Tsui-bo* (Creative Road of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai), Moscow 1964, 227 pp. Li, B. Yu-ning: *A Biography of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai: From Youth to Party Leadership (1899—1928)*, (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation), Columbia University 1967, 301 pp. Ts'ao Tzu-hsi [2], *Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai-ti wen-hsüeh huo-tung* [3] Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's Literary Activity, Shanghai 1958, 144 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted in *Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai wen-chi* [6] The Collected Works of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, vol. 1. Peking 1954, pp. 3—93. Hereafter only as CCPWC, I.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted *ibid.*, pp. 95—196.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hsia, T. A.: *The Gate of Darkness*, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press 1968, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Li, B.: *op. cit.*, p. 73.

the present study. In our case *shih* may have the meaning of *yeh shih* [10], i.e. the so-called private histories which in traditional China used to record descriptions of towns, families, etc.<sup>6</sup> *Hsin shih* is not a neologism as might appear at first glance. True, Chinese historiography seems not to know this term, however, it was used at least once in Chinese history to designate a poetic anthology, the author of which was Cheng Ssu-hsiao [11] (Suo-nan) [12] from the Sung Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> In the case of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, *hsin shih* probably means "history seen through the mind", though it does not imply history as such in the true sense of that word, but rather represents notes and jottings of an observer, journalist, student, teacher and a politically active man in one person. The term mind, too, has its own specific signification and content which we shall endeavour to elucidate and characterize in more detail in the present study. The Land of Hunger refers to Soviet Russia in the years 1920—1921 and the Red Capital stands for Moscow in the years 1921—1922.

The words the Land of Hunger will remind the sinologist of the episode of Po I [13] and Shu Ch'i [14], two brothers from the end of the Shang Dynasty [15] (12th cent. B.C.) who refused to eat "millet" of the Chou [16] Dynasty and to serve the King Wu [17].<sup>8</sup> When Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai received an offer from the newspaper Ch'en-pao [18] Morning News in Peking to go to Soviet Russia as the correspondent, he accepted it readily. It was a rather an alluring offer from the financial aspect, being 28 times higher than the salary he had been drawing a few years earlier as a teacher.<sup>9</sup> In addition (and this was the more important aspect to him) he could see the country of socialist revolution directly. Being on the spot he could describe the revolutionary events as an eye-witness. Friends and acquaintances tried to dissuade him from accepting the offer. They saw, however, the Land of Hunger in another light. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai tried to make them see that he was one of a handful of those who will never be — in the situation he was — understood by many. In the first of the above-mentioned books, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai likened himself to Kuan I-chih [19] of the Ch'ing Dynasty:

"Kuan T'ung [20] (i.e. Kuan I-chih) of the Ch'ing Dynasty identified the mount Shou-yang of Po-yi and Shu-ch'i as their Land of Hunger, where they were starved to death. Their real demands were psychological, far more powerful than their economic desire for subsistence, i.e. to eat the dishonourable rice of the Chou. I shall find in the Soviet Russia my Land of Hunger. Let us ignore the facts of hunger and cold, that there one will have nothing to eat, nothing to wear, and so forth, the

<sup>6</sup> Vyatkin, R. V.: *O traditsiyakh v kitaiskoi istoriografii* (On the Traditions in Chinese Historiography). In: *Rol traditsii v istorii i kulture Kitaya* (The Role of Traditions in Chinese History and Culture), Moscow 1972, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup> *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien* (Great Chinese Dictionary), vol. 12, p. 5181.

<sup>8</sup> Giles, H. A.: *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, Shanghai 1898, p. 631.

<sup>9</sup> In Wu-sih his monthly salary was only six Chinese dollars and the annual pay promise by Ch'en-pao was 2,000 Chinese dollars.

significant fact is that this is the first country that has realized socialist revolution, it is the centre of world revolution where the Western and Eastern cultures meet. I shall not be troubled by the means I take to make the trip possible.”<sup>10</sup>

T. A. Hsia correctly remarked that the young Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai saw the Promised Land in Soviet Russia.<sup>11</sup> It is, however, hardly likely that he would have believed in the “noble tradition of Confucian idealism”, that is, “to seek death by starvation” in the name of some higher ideals.<sup>12</sup> Rather the contrary. Ch’ü intended to look for “life” in that Land of Hunger. He wanted to see in it a “new universe”.<sup>13</sup>

Where is in reality the Promised Land of Kuan I-chih and Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai? According to Kuan I-chih, the Land of Hunger “is localized at the extremity of the Cosmos, separated from China by immeasurable distances”.<sup>14</sup> To Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai, it was clear that this land was the major part of contemporary Soviet Union. If we further note Kuan I-chih’s description of this country and of the means how to reach it, and compare this description with Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai’s notes, we find that Taoist tradition, as upheld by Kuan I-chih, was far removed from Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai. According to Kuan I-chih:

“Bare is the land where no rice, sorghum, wheat, bean, cow, sheep, chicken, pig, fish, turtle, melon, or fruit ever grows — nothing that nourishes the human being. Those who are desirous of attaining unto it must first rid themselves of appetite, in the same manner as the Taoists who practice breathing exercises and claim that they can thereby live without food.”<sup>15</sup>

Neither Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai, nor his friends who accompanied him to Moscow, had any intention of adhering to the Taoist practices, and during their stay at Harbin they made ample purchases of flour and other provisions and cooked their own meals in the train. It seems that they sold flour on their arrival to Moscow.<sup>16</sup> Seeing that Po I and Shu Ch’i had to subsist on leguminous plants while on Mount Shou-yang, and Taoists on breathing practices, it is clear that Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai had quite a different attitude towards the question of “nourishing the human being”, from what he wrote after having tasted black bread to which he had not been accustomed in his native country: “Its bitterness and sourness, with an odour of rotten grass mixed with mud, was something that no Chinese has ever tasted or imagined.”<sup>17</sup>

When the allusion connected with the Land of Hunger reminded us mainly of the

---

<sup>10</sup> I follow the translation by Hsia, T. A.: *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

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

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>16</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76. Hsia’s translation, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Taoist tradition in Chinese intellectual history, the one connected with *hsin* may bring to our mind the Confucian or the Buddhist tradition.

The term mind, as a matter of fact, is not without its own story in the long history of China. China had its own original concept of mind. But it also accepted another, a different concept of "Mind" (we shall designate it in this manner in the present study), which is associated with a country that was China's Promised Land in the Middle Ages — namely India, with its great literary traditions which influenced practically the whole medieval world, and a land of Buddhism — a religion and philosophy — that conquered Central and South-East Asia together with the Far East. The concept of mind influenced and pervaded by Indian philosophy, would have hardly succeeded in taking a hold had it not found a favourable soil in the ancient Chinese concept of mind.

The Chinese concept of mind has been excellently elucidated by Professor Werner Eichhorn's study *Das Herz im chinesischen Denken*. He starts with material from the latter period of the Shang and the beginning of the Chou Dynasty (12th cent. B.C.) and ends with the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming [21] (1472—1529). Probably because Professor Eichhorn published his study in a collection entitled *Das Herz im Umkreis des Denkens*, he makes use of the German term *Herz* for *hsin* which may lead to some misunderstanding.<sup>18</sup> We cannot but agree with Professor D. T. Suzuki when he wrote that the Chinese character *hsin* "has a much wider connotation than 'thought' or 'mind', for it also means the 'centre or reason of being' and is one of the most significant and comprehensive terms in Chinese philosophy as well as in conventional everyday Chinese."<sup>19</sup> *Das Herz* is of course one of these meanings, but there are others besides. Eichhorn draws our attention to the earliest Chinese anecdote in which the human heart (in reality the mind) plays a certain role: The last bad king Chou Hsin [22] of the Shang Dynasty had executed Pi Kan [23] because he had reproached him for his tyrannical way of ruling and his immoral life. "They say", Chou Hsin is reported to have remarked, "that a sage has seven orifices in his heart: let us see if this is the case with Pi Kan."<sup>20</sup> These "seven orifices" are indirectly expounded in the book *Chuang-tzu* [24] (3rd cent. B.C.) where in the seventh chapter we find that "all men have seven openings so they can see, hear, eat and breathe".<sup>21</sup> There we also note that the "Perfect Man (*jih-jen*) [26] uses his mind (*hsin*) like a mirror".<sup>22</sup> Then, as Eichhorn states, *Herz* (in our terminology mind)

---

<sup>18</sup> Published in Biberach an der Riss 1969, pp. 53—86.

<sup>19</sup> Suzuki, D. T.: *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Third Series, London 1970, p. 114.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Eichhorn, W.: op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Chuang-tzu yin-te* [25] *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*, Peking, Harvard-Yenching Institute 1947, p. 21 and B. Watson's translation in *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, New York and London, Columbia University Press 1968, p. 97.

<sup>22</sup> Loc. cit.

is something in which "all beings and things of the world entering through the openings, become reflected".<sup>23</sup>

The problem of thinking and of the mind related to it was an object of inquiry on the part of great Chinese philosophers of ancient times. Thus, for instance, in *Lun Yü* [27] *The Analects* of Confucius (551—479 B.C.), we find the statement: "The Master said, 'I have been the whole day without eating, and the whole night without sleeping — occupied with thinking. It was of no use. The better plan is to learn.'"<sup>24</sup> Confucius was more for concrete study than for thinking, meaning speculative or intuitive thinking. In this, his most orthodox disciple — the philosopher Mencius (ca 372—289 B.C.) was, at least up to a point, of a different opinion, laying a slightly greater stress on mind and thinking: "For a man to give full realization to his heart (*hsin*) is for him to understand his own nature (*hsing*) [28] and a man who knows his own nature, will know Heaven."<sup>25</sup> Or: "The heart of compassion is possessed by all men alike; likewise the heart of shame, the heart of respect, and the heart of right and wrong."<sup>26</sup> If in this translation we replace the term heart by mind, we express only what a philosopher, firmly embedded in European traditions, would probably say.

History has shown that the principal views of Mencius and Chuang-tzu were later followed by the Buddhist and the Neo-Confucian tradition insofar as "mind" and "nature" (in the sense of human nature) were concerned. At the same time, it should be observed that this contact was not direct nor was the comprehension consistent. This was accompanied by what we witness in cross-cultural taking-over: shifts in emphasis, misunderstandings, are evident here. Thus, for example, the Buddhist premise *ming hsin chien hsing* [30], correctly translated by Carsun Chang as "to know mind, to find the essence of reality", was understood by the Chinese in the Mencian sense, where the full realization of the mind was *conditio sine qua non* for an understanding of human nature.<sup>27</sup> To the Buddhists, however, *hsing* did not mean "human nature", rather the essence (*t'i*) [31], the essence of reality, or the cause (*yin*) [32], hence, something from which to start, or something that does not change (*pu kai*) [33], if anything like it is at all possible in Buddhism.<sup>28</sup> Reality, as we shall see later in this study, has special properties in Buddhism.

Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai does not seem to have devoted attention to the problem of human nature. The problem of the mind, on the other hand, was very much in the

<sup>23</sup> Eichorn, W.: op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> Legge, J.: op. cit., vol. 1 and 2, pp. 302—303.

<sup>25</sup> *Meng-tzu yin-te* [29] *A Concordance to Meng Tzu*, Taipei 1966, p. 50 and D. C. Lau's translation in *Mencius*, Penguin Books 1970, p. 182.

<sup>26</sup> *Meng-tzu yin-te*, p. 51 and *Mencius*, p. 163.

<sup>27</sup> Chang, Carsun: *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought*, vol. 1, New York, Bookman Associates 1957, p. 132.

<sup>28</sup> *Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien* [34] *Great Buddhist Dictionary*, vol. 2, Taipei 1969, p. 1478.

centre of his interest. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai had not divulged which among the ancient schools dealing with mind had fascinated him most. But his travelogues make it clear that it has been the Consciousness-Only School (*Wei-shih*) [35] or *Yogācāra*, introduced into China by Hsüan-tsang [36] (596—664), one of the greatest personalities in Chinese cultural history, a pilgrim to India and translator of Buddhist writings. In 629 Hsüan-tsang asked the authorities permission to leave the country, but was not allowed to. As the greatest emperor of the T'ang Dynasty, Li Shih-min [37] known as T'ai-tsung [38] "was at this time completing the process of consolidating the empire, his bureaucrats no doubt felt it risky to allow one of his subjects to travel to foreign lands for such a dubious purpose as collecting Buddhist scriptures".<sup>29</sup> Hsüan-tsang, nevertheless, left China for the Promised Land via Central Asia, through the deserts and mountains, experiencing numerous hardships and face to face with deadly dangers. He reached India in 633. After many years of wandering across India and studying in Nalanda under Śīlabhadra, he returned to China with 657 Buddhist texts, many of which he translated with the aid of numerous monks. T'ai-tsung received him very favourably and behaved towards him in a friendly manner for he wished to utilize his knowledge of foreign lands, their inhabitants, customs, economic and political situation, in the interests of his own empire.<sup>30</sup>

We shall now turn our attention to this part of the tradition. This will help us to elucidate a great deal in Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's intellectual development.

## 2

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai said nothing definite about his own conception of the ideal of *p'u-sa-hsing* [39] bodhisattvahood after which he strove. An ideal of "love and compassion" to all sentient beings, and certainly towards human beings, was typical for the entire Mahāyāna Buddhism.<sup>31</sup>

According to *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* or *Tao-hsing* [40] or The Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Lines, which probably comes from the first century B.C. and was translated into Chinese during the Han Dynasty in 172 A.D. by Chin-ch'an (Lokaraksha), the bodhisattva "is endowed with wisdom of a kind whereby he looks on all beings as though victims going to the slaughter. And immense compassion grips him... So he pours out his love and compassion upon all those beings, and attends to them, thinking, 'I shall become the saviour of all beings, and set them free from their sufferings'".<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Weinstein, S.: *Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism*. In: A. F. Wright and D. Twitchett (Eds), *Perspectives on the T'ang*, New York and London, Yale University Press 1973, p. 292.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294—295.

<sup>31</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> de Bary, Wm. Th. (Ed.): *The Buddhist Tradition in India, China and Japan*, New York, Vintage Books 1974, pp. 81—82.

He who will have read the following part of this study may return to this section and ask why we have selected precisely this *sūtra*, when Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai could have followed the thoughts associated with bodhisattvahood in works that were closest to him—in the teaching of Consciousness-Only.

That is true. But it seems that in the Consciousness-Only system, the role of bodhisattvas is dealt with solely at the intellectual plane, involving a process of transformation of a certain stratum of consciousness (*shih*) [41] into Perfect Wisdom (*bodhi*) (*chüeh*) [42], and this probably did not suffice to a zealot such as young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai evidently was. In addition, Hsüan-tsang himself felt that the teaching of Vasubandhu (4th or 5th cent. A.D.) and Dharmapāla (5th or 6th cent. A.D.), transplanted into Chinese soil and which "being more Indian than Chinese in spirit",<sup>33</sup> had to be supplemented with something that was likewise Indian, yet would not go counter to the Chinese spirit. Hsüan-tsang, that is to say, was also a translator of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*, which was an "encyclopaedic compilation including most sūtras pertaining to the Prajñāpāramitā group of the Mahāyāna sūtras".<sup>34</sup> Evidently, the ideals embodied in the Prajñāpāramitā group were close to him, yet, not so close as to be able to influence in any substantial manner his teaching which made it a point to revise certain statements in Mahāyāna. Influenced by the teachings of Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra, Hsüan-tsang felt that "Buddhahood was realizable only after a lengthy period of religious practice" and that "one group of sentient beings was to be permanently excluded from salvation",<sup>35</sup> and therefore, this part of his teaching ran counter to the Mahāyānean apprehension of the universal efficacy of bodhisattvahood.

Prajñā (*hui*) [43] or *chih-hui* [44], i.e. wisdom, is one of six perfections (*pāramitā*) of the bodhisattva. Bodhisattva was generally an accessible ideal to the adherents of Mahāyāna. According to D.T. Suzuki, the *prajñā* "is seeing into the essence of thing as they are (*yathābhūtam*); that the Prajñā is seeing things as in their nature empty; that the thus seeing things is to reach the limit of reality, i.e. to pass beyond the realm of the human understanding; that, therefore, the Prajñā is grasping the ungraspable, attaining the unattainable, comprehending the incomprehensible; that when this intellectual description of the working of the Prajñā is translated into psychological terms, it is not becoming attached to anything whether it is an idea of feeling".<sup>36</sup> And precisely because of "non-attachment we can say that Prajñā is able to see the world as it is, to see things in their aspect of suchness (*yathābhūtatā*)", or "when the Bodhisattva perceives the world as

<sup>33</sup> Fung Yu-lan: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1953, p. 299.

<sup>34</sup> Suzuki, D. T.: op. cit., pp. 239—242.

<sup>35</sup> Weinstein, S.: op. cit., p. 293.

<sup>36</sup> Suzuki, D. T.: op. cit., p. 250.

*yathābhūtam*, he also perceives human minds as they are; he is thus prepared to work out his skilful means (*upayā*),<sup>37</sup> how to help them, how to be a saviour of all beings. Love (*karuṇā*) as an important attribute of the bodhisattva will be spoken of later.

We do not know how long young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai studied Buddhism, but we do know fairly exactly that in 1915—i.e. when sixteen—he met his cousin Chou Chün-liang [45], who revived in him his “old interest in Buddhism”.<sup>38</sup> In 1916 Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai arrived in Peking, and about that time began to study “pessimistic philosophy” (*ya-shih-kuan-ti che-hsüeh*) [46]. He does not specify it in any detail, but he studied it diligently for three years, probably up to the May Fourth Movement in 1919.<sup>39</sup> From what follows this admission, we may judge it was Buddhist philosophy, for Ch'ü wanted to resolve vital issues, with the help of bodhisattvahood as interpreted by Buddhists.<sup>40</sup> Ch'ü's life in Peking, after his enrolling at the National Institute of Russian Language (Kuo-li O-wen chuan-hsiu-kuan) [47] was fully taken up with a study of the various school subjects and of philosophy, probably, predominantly Buddhist philosophy. He studied for eleven hours daily. Social life of any kind was outside the scope of his interests.<sup>41</sup>

The May Fourth Movement which, among other things, represented a revolution in the realm of thought, left a deep trace also on Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's ideological development. In analysing this movement, Ch'ü mentioned in the first place its democratic character and then the endeavour regarding *ch'ung hsin ku-ting chia-chih* [48] reevaluation of all values. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was gradually getting rid of his Buddhist views of man (*jen wo chien*) [49] and of *dharma* (*fa wo chien*) [50].<sup>42</sup> Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was likewise giving up his faith in the “unreal and imaginary essence of things (*dharma*s), began to have his doubts about emptiness (*śūnyatā*) as the principal attribute of reality, and about his faith in bodhisattvahood. This last, too, appeared to him in the light of modern social teachings as unsubstantial, unreal and barren of results in practical life.

### 3

By his statement that he had freed himself of prejudices relating to man and *dharma*, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai unconsciously and indirectly showed that he had given up faith in two fundamental premises of the teaching of Consciousness-Only:

“According to the teaching of this school,” writes Feng Yu-lan, “all sentient beings suffer from two erroneous beliefs: that in the subjective existence of an ego

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 251–252.

<sup>38</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 22.

<sup>39</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>41</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 26.



or *ātman*, and that in the objective existence of external things or *dharma*s. The purpose of the Mere Ideation (i.e. Consciousness-Only, M.G.) or Wei-shih school is to destroy these two beliefs by showing that both are equally unreal (empty or *śūnya*).<sup>43</sup>

With this in mind, we are not surprised at all by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's conclusion implied in his above statement that he had given up these prejudices: "... at that time I had already known something of Reality-Only (*wei-shih*) [52] view of life and world view".<sup>44</sup> Thus, Consciousness-Only gave way in him to Reality-Only; a subjective idealistic variety of Hsüan-tsang's philosophy was replaced by a certain kind of realistic philosophizing (for it could hardly be called philosophy in the true sense of the word). But more about this in its place.

First, a few words about the most important features in the teaching of Consciousness-Only. According to Wing-tsit Chan, it "is the most philosophical of Buddhist schools".<sup>45</sup> The fundamental premise of this unusually speculative philosophy is the conviction that "ego", i.e. subject, and "things", i.e. object, "have only a false basis and lack any real nature of their own"; their manifestations are 'all mental representations dependent upon the evolutions of consciousness'.<sup>46</sup> Feng Yu-lan reminds us that consciousness (*viññāna*) in the case of Consciousness-Only School embodies also that which modern psychologists call "unconscious".<sup>47</sup> Essentially, this means that the "as if" ego and the "as if" things are the products of consciousness. Up to a point, this statement resembles one of the basic premises in Berkeley's subjective-idealistic rationalism with the difference that in Berkeley's philosophy the ego was real and prepared conditions for solipsism. Solipsism is totally impossible in Hsüan-tsang's system.

Consciousness in the Consciousness-Only School is divided into eight types of mental and sensory activity, and these into three further categories. The first of these categories, to which the eight types just mentioned are subordinated, is called the maturing consciousness (*vipāka viññāna*) (*i-shu shih*) [53], the second has for role to carry out the process of intellection (*mananā*) (*ssu-liang*) [54], and the last discriminates external objects, this is the so-called perceptive consciousness (*viñapti*) (*liao-pieh*) [55]. As to their relation to the types, the first category corresponds to the so-called eighth function of consciousness, the second to the so-called

---

<sup>43</sup> Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 300. Clarence H. Hamilton speaks about Representation-Only; this Representation having the meaning of the German "Vorstellung". Cf. Hamilton, C. H.: *Wei Shih Er Shih Lun* [51] *Or The Treatise in Twenty Stanzas On Representation-Only*, American Oriental Society, New Haven 1938, p. 21.

<sup>44</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 26.

<sup>45</sup> Chan Wing-tsit: *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1963, p. 370.

<sup>46</sup> Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 300.

<sup>47</sup> Loc. cit.

seventh function and the third to the five senses (sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch) and to the so-called sixth consciousness which co-ordinates the five senses.

The highest in the hierarchy of these types is the so-called eighth consciousness which is that "subconsciousness" we have spoken about. "From it there evolve what seems to us to be external phenomena; but at the same time these phenomena act upon (and defile) the *ālaya* (storehouse, M.G.) consciousness in never ending cycle."<sup>48</sup>

This is rather more complex in Hsüan-tsang's theory but it will do as explanation for our purpose. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai makes no mention at all in any of his works of this "unconscious" part, but from what he writes it is evident that what Hsüan-tsang understood by *ālaya vijñana* (*tsang-shih*) [56] storehouse consciousness, that Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai fancied under *hsin* and some of its derivatives, as will be shown later. In his travelogues, Ch'ü explicitly mentions the seventh consciousness (*manas*) (*mona*) [57], i.e. consciousness of intellection. In the hierarchy of importance it comes after *ālaya*; it is not creative, but is constantly combining, considering and "perpetually thinks about the ego, to which it clings".<sup>49</sup> The first, which is unconscious, is not consciously linked with the ego. The second is directly and intimately linked with the ego which reflects through it.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai refers at least twice to the sixth consciousness<sup>50</sup> which in the system of Consciousness-Only "unifies and co-ordinates the ideas derived from the five senses",<sup>51</sup> hence, it is some sort of a channel of information from the senses to the *manas* consciousness. Consciousness-Only elevates the senses to the category of consciousness: the five senses are the first five consciousnesses.

The first seven consciousnesses in reality constitute the mind—a concept very similar to that held in ancient China. *Hsin* is the centre of thinking and thought, it processes impressions entering it from external world of things and people, and from the inner world of the thinking subject. Chinese philosophy antecedent to Buddhism, however, did not know the *ālaya*-consciousness, hence, it did not know the Mind, the demiurgic component of sentient beings. When reflecting on *hsin*, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai has very often in mind precisely this component of human beings, though by no means always; sometimes even those strata of the mind become involved that are hidden under the seventh or the sixth consciousness, or even under heart in the sense as understood by modern Europeans, i.e. as the seat of emotional life.

And now rather more concretely about Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai himself. By getting rid of prejudices characterized as *jen wo chien* and *fa wo chien*, he intended to imply that

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 304–305.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 312 and CCPWC, I, p. 50.

<sup>50</sup> CCPWC, I, pp. 70 and 85.

<sup>51</sup> Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 313.

"ego" and the world, people, sentient beings and things are real and not empty. He began to acquire the conviction that "the external world exists independently of perception and substantially as perceived by us".<sup>52</sup> This was quite a volte-face. But the birth-mark of Consciousness-Only stayed on with him. The concept of the Mind, demiurge of the world, persisted in his thinking. Demiurge of the world was this time that of the "new" world, characterized as a gigantic force hiding behind the so-called social psychology (*she-hui hsin-li*) [58]<sup>53</sup> or mass psychology (*ch'ün-chung hsin-li*) [59],<sup>54</sup> or the "Mind" of the real life (*shih-chi sheng-huo "hsin"*) [60].<sup>55</sup>

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai did not explain what he meant by "Mind" of the real life. However, we shall hardly be far from the truth by postulating that he saw in it a demiurgic, creative "storehouse consciousness" of the masses, when he wrote:

"Social revolution, Russian social revolution is not a violent growth of social thought (*ssu-hsiang*) [61], but a fata morgana that ensues from a union and a reflection (*ho-ho erh ying-ch'eng*) [62] of social psychology, of one of the aspects of the "Mind" of the real life, and of the economic life, of one of the aspects of material resources of the real life."<sup>56</sup>

While Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai writes the word "Mind" (*hsin*) between inverted commas, thereby underlining its significance or its peculiarity, he does not single out in any way the concept of *wu* [63], i.e. matter, material resources, conditions which even on the philosophical plane constitutes an antithesis to *hsin*. The term fata morgana (*ch'en-lou*) [64] Bernadette Li translates as "interplay"<sup>57</sup> and M. E. Shneider as "combination".<sup>58</sup> Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai understood fata morgana as a positive and wholly real phenomenon, not as a fictional reflection. Being still in some measure held by the bonds of Buddhist logic of the *Yogācāra* kind he failed to realize the unbalanced importance of the various components of his judgment.

At another place, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's belief in the demiurgic potentiality of the Mind was even stronger. Speaking of the "new Moscow under the red flag", he wrote:

"The history of social evolution is the record of psychological changes of society. It is a shadow (*yin-ying*) [65] indicating the fluctuations of emotions and feelings. It is not a learned record of social ideology and social teachings. It is not a general formula or a chart of the experiment which it would be possible with the aid of reason to discriminate and to discuss. Indeed, mass psychology is not something

<sup>52</sup> Durant, W.: *The Story of Philosophy*, New York 1963, p. 400.

<sup>53</sup> CCPWC, I, pp. 84 and 156.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 84—85.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>56</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>57</sup> Li, B.: op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>58</sup> Tsyui Tsyu-bo: *Ocherki i statyi* (Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai: Sketches and Articles), Moscow 1959, p. 58.

like the functional expressions—the sixth consciousness—of the psychology of the individual.”<sup>59</sup>

Several observations may be inferred from this and the preceding quotations. Perhaps the most important one caused Bernadette Li to flinch for in the latter she failed to translate the sentence dealing with social ideology (*she-hui ssu-hsiang*) [66] and social teachings (*she-hui hsiieh-shuo*) [67].<sup>60</sup> According to Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai, during the years 1920—1921, what was of importance were neither social teachings, doctrines, nor social ideology, but social or mass psychology, a creative energy accumulated in the working masses of which the latter were not even aware: it was hidden in their unconscious consciousness. The metamorphosis of this psychology is nothing else but that Mind, a force built up in their subconsciousness over centuries, stored and whipped up now into extreme and erupting like a volcano. The enthusiastic masses, even though living in the Land of Hunger are carrying out a revolution, transforming their country and making it into the Promised Land. Had not Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai seen those manifestations of the Mind of the masses, nothing would have held him back from returning to his country. When, for instance, the Mid-Autumn Festival of 1921 reminded him of his native Land of Black Sweetness (*Hei-t’ien-hsiang*) [68] and he decided to go home within a few days,<sup>61</sup> the manifestation with Lenin’s presence on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution induced him to change his mind and to stay on.<sup>62</sup> The reason was the enthusiasm of the working masses, undoubtedly an expression of the hidden Mind which to him was an immense hope.

A point of interest is the fact that Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai degraded social ideology and social teachings which in China generally occupies high ranks in the hierarchy of socio-political values, lowering them to the level of sensory perception or—in the better case—of information. That is why in this connection he mentioned the sixth consciousness which stands lowest in the hierarchy of Consciousness-Only. Ch’ü went even so far as to have doubts about the abilities of the consciousness of intellection. Evolution, revolution, changes in society “cannot be discriminated or discussed with the aid of reason”.<sup>63</sup> An entirely free way must be left to the Mind which expresses and even represents social, mass psychology. To put it more simply, the “Mind” of the real life, the hidden springs of the power of the masses, must be left to act.

However, to portray Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai’s mental metamorphosis as outlined here, would mean an oversimplification of his mental development. His “Siberian expe-

---

<sup>59</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 85.

<sup>60</sup> Li, B.: op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>61</sup> CCPWC, I, pp. 138—139.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 159—160.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

rience" (to be spoken of later), which influenced him greatly, had been preceded by the period of Hsin ch'ing-nien [69] New Youth, then the May Fourth Movement 1919 itself in which Ch'ü took personal part as the chief representative of the National Institute of Russian Language. In his work in the Student Union of the Middle Schools and Institutions of Higher Learning in Peking, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, as representative of this organization, met with Cheng Chen-to [70] (1898—1958), subsequently a well-known Chinese literary historian, with Hsü Ti-shan [71] (1893—1941), later a famous story-writer and essayist. There he also met his uncle Ch'ü Shih-ying [72], whom he had known before, and who later became professor of philosophy at Peking University. Thus was formed the nucleus of a working team that subsequently edited and published the journals Hsin she-hui [73] New Society and Jen-tao [74] L'Humanité.<sup>64</sup> Eighteen issues appeared from the former and only one from the latter. Later, towards the end of 1920, these young enthusiasts (with the exception of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai) helped to set up the most important Chinese literary society of the twenties, Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu hui [75] The Literary Association.<sup>65</sup> Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was not a member for, at the time of its foundation, he was on the territory of Soviet Russia, but on his return contributed several articles to its journals.<sup>66</sup> And both the travelogues on which we draw in the present study appeared in the Series of the Literary Association.

At the beginning of his career, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai published most often in the journal New Society. In his article *Ko-hsin-ti shih-chi tao-la* [81] The Time of Renewal Has Come, he advocated a fight against Confucianism, for popular education, development of science and the introduction of democracy.<sup>67</sup> In his other article, *Chung-kuo-ti lao-tung wen-t'i, shih-chieh-ti lao-tung wen-t'i?* [82] Labour Problem in China, Labour Problem in the World? Ch'ü claimed that in China labour and capital could be engaged in social struggle. He saw a way out in a spread of

<sup>64</sup> For literary and partly also the sociological value of these two journals see Shneider, M. E.: "Sin she-hui" i "Zhen-dao"—zhurnaly "Dvizheniya 4 maya" ("Hsin she-hui" and "Jen-tao"—Journals of the May Fourth Movement), in: *Dvizhenie "4 maya" v Kitae* (The May Fourth Movement in China), Moscow 1971, pp. 176—198.

<sup>65</sup> For more details see Gálík, M.: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 42—47.

<sup>66</sup> In Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [76] The Short Story Magazine, 14, 11 (November 1923) we can find his preface to Cheng Chen-to's translation of B. Savinkov-Ropshin's novel *The Pale Horse* under the title *Hui-se ma yü O-kuo she-hui yün-tung* [77] The Pale Horse and the Russian Social Movement, pp. 1—10. Also *Ch'i O hsin wen-i shih-tai-ti ti-i yen* [78] The First Swallow of the New Literature of Red Russia, *ibid.*, 15, 6 (June 1924), pp. 1—8. In Wen-hsüeh chou-pao [79] Literary Weekly he also published a few of his essays and one letter. See *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* [80] Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, vol. 10, Shanghai 1936, pp. 450—451.

<sup>67</sup> *Dvizhenie "4 maya" v Kitae*, p. 181.

scientific information.<sup>68</sup> In his article *Po-po-erh-chih fan-lao-tung-chu-i* [83] Bebel's Views on Pan-Labourism, he compares L. Tolstoy's and A. Bebel's views on this issue and agrees with the latter in his idea of social revolution and his prediction of a happy life under socialism.<sup>69</sup> In addition, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai also wrote on the question of women emancipation, a topic much in vogue in China at the beginning of the twenties.<sup>70</sup>

In his essay *She-hui yü tsui-o* [87] Society and Delicts, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai came up with an interesting even though naive idea. Reflecting on delicts (*tsui-o*) and merits (*kung-te*) and their relationship towards society, he claimed them to be caused by love or non-love (*pu-ai*) [88]. Love towards society results in merits, non-love in delicts.<sup>71</sup>

It is possible to agree with Bernadette Li that *tsui-o* and *kung-te* have Buddhist connotations, but *tsui-o* cannot be taken to mean sin, for it is not possible to sin against the society.<sup>72</sup> The idea of love as presented by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai has its origin in the Buddhist concept of *karuṇā* rather than in Tolstoy. He may have found an understanding in Tolstoy, his favourite writer of those years, because a similar altruism was at the base of their inner convictions. The Christian concept of love of one's neighbour much propagated by Tolstoy, especially in his later works, resembled in much the doctrine professed by Mahāyāna. But it was a concept related to bodhisattvahood after which young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was striving. Earlier, mention was made of the Mahāyānian concept of *prajñā* (wisdom) and *pāramitā* (perfection). The interrelationship between *prajñā* as the basis of the virtues of bodhisattva and *karuṇā* (love), may be seen from the abridged translation of *Fomu Prajñāpāramitā* by D. T. Suzuki which is as follows:

"When his mind (*citta* or *manasikāra*) (of bodhisattva, M. G.) is abiding in perfect conformity (*pratiyukta*) day and night with *Prajñāpāramitā*, he becomes the benefactor (*dakṣīṇiyata*) of all beings; for it is then a great compassionate heart (*maitrisahagatam cittaṃ*) is awakened in him towards all beings. With his penetrating insight into the nature of *Prajñā*, he perceives that all beings are held in leash and far from being free masters of themselves. He is seized with a great feeling of pity (*mahākaruṇā*). Being also endowed with a spiritual eyesight, he perceives beings suffering from the evil *karma* they have committed or entangling themselves in the net of falsehood. He is intensely agitated over these facts and firmly makes up

<sup>68</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Ting Ching-t'ang [84] and Wen Ts'ao [85], *Chü Ch'iu-pai chu i hsi-nien mu-lu* [86] A Chronological Bibliography of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's Writings and Translations, Shanghai 1959, pp. 2-4.

<sup>71</sup> Written originally for New Society, 13, 1st March, 1920, it was reprinted in Hsin Chung-kuo [89] New China, 2, 5, 15th May, 1920.

his mind to the effect that he will be a protector and refuge (*nātha*) for the world and release it from the bondage of ignorance and passion.”<sup>73</sup>

To characterize Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai of these years (1919—1920) as an eclectic would probably be rather strong, even though the material seems to offer itself to such a characteristic.<sup>74</sup> Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai was at this time close to a philosophical realism, but he himself never was a philosopher, rather a philosophizing essayist, writer and publicist.

In a certain sense, there is a considerable difference in Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai’s mental physiognomy before and after his “Siberian experience”. Asked why he was going to Soviet Russia, Ch’ü replied: “to fulfil the obligation concerning the renaissance of Chinese thought (*ssu-hsiang*).”<sup>75</sup> On the same occasion he stated: “Thought (*ssu-hsiang*) should not be allowed to remain in confusion.”<sup>76</sup> These were his views shortly before he left China. While still on Chinese territory in Manchuria, between Harbin and the frontiers of Soviet Russia, Ch’ü decided that in Moscow he would apply all his strength to a systematic study of the theory and practice (*li-lun shih-shih*) [90] relating to communism, the Russian Communist Party and Russian culture.<sup>77</sup> When already on Russian soil, shortly after leaving Chita, then the capital of the Far-Eastern Republic, he writes that his duty in Russia will be to “study communism and its value in the social organization of universal human culture, to study Russian literature — part of this universal human culture and the starting point for the new culture developing from the old one”.<sup>78</sup> Some days later at Omsk, having seen the post-revolutionary situation in Siberia, he changed his views. After the statement quoted earlier in this study, i.e. that “social revolution, Russian social revolution is not a violent growth of social thought”, there follows a short but meaningful reflection:

“Before coming to Russia, I thought contemporary Russia is a ‘laboratory of communism’, that Russian Bolsheviks are as if chemists experimenting in accordance with ‘formulas of a socialist theory’ with the ‘nations of Russia’, transforming them in the ‘test tubes of the Soviets’ and thus achieving ‘socialist compounds’. It was only my journey across Siberia that showed me that I was wrong.”<sup>79</sup>

And immediately after this he wrote:

“To learn is possible solely in practical life (*shih-chi sheng-huo*) [91], it alone may

---

<sup>72</sup> Li, B.: op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>73</sup> Suzuki, D. T.: op. cit., pp. 300—301.

<sup>74</sup> Li, B.: op. cit., pp. 35—43.

<sup>75</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

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

teach man, it alone engenders social thinking and social thought is but a side product, it is a very rough (*ts'u*) [92] phenomenon.”<sup>80</sup>

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's understanding of reality will be dealt with later. We shall now take up briefly the problems of thought or ideology (*ssu-hsiang*) and *hsin* as he grasped them immediately on coming to Soviet Russia. As will be seen in this study, he changed his views later.

The problem of relationship between *ssu-hsiang* and mind is an important one in Chinese intellectual history. This was pointed out in a striking manner by James C. Hsiung. *Ssu-hsiang* is an “absolutely indispensable link between theory and practice” in Chinese politico-ideological terminology.<sup>81</sup> It is not a theory. The theory is hierarchically on a higher plane. *Ssu-hsiang* is less philosophical and serves as a gear-lever between theory and social reality which has to be transformed. As such, it was much valued by Chinese communists who considered it to be an extremely important factor in the revolutionary development. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's relation to *ssu-hsiang* immediately on his arrival to Soviet Russia is startling to say the least.

As is known to us there has been as yet no opportunity in sinology to point out the relationship between *ssu-hsiang* and what we have here called Mind. Mr. Hsiung did not consider the Buddhist tradition in his work. Certain facts that help to illustrate this relationship have been pointed out earlier in this study. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai illustrates the tremendous force of the Mind also in other cases, when, for example, he compares the Mind to the sea and its waves. Or rather, it is not a comparison but a Buddhist usage. A noteworthy fact is that Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai made use of the expressions *hsin-hai* [93] Mind's sea and *hsin-p'o* [94] Mind's waves for the first time when, on January 25, 1921 at 11.00 p.m. he and his friends finally reached Moscow:

“The capital of the red land is the same just as is the old czarist palace from the times of Russian Muscovy of four centuries earlier. Being placed for over three years in the waves of the ‘Mind's sea’ of the European proletariat which are high like the crests of mountains, it (i.e. Moscow, M.G.) is gushing forth the hot blood from the heart of Russian workers. It is like an island tossed and shaken by capitalist winds and typhoons.”<sup>82</sup>

The first sentence of the text quoted evidently points to Kremlin and to Moscow of the 15th century, when startled Europe at the beginning of Ivan III's domination noted with a shock the existence of Muscovy, wedged in between the Golden Horde and Lithuanians, and was dumbfounded at the unexpected appearance of a great state on its eastern frontiers. The rest of the text creates an analogy to the first sentence, but is shifted in its idea. While in the first sentence the Kremlin is

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 79—80.

<sup>81</sup> Hsiung, James C.: *Ideology and Practice: The Evolution of Chinese Communism*, New York, Praeger 1970, p. 132.

<sup>82</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 84.



*pars pro toto* of Moscow, and the picture is wholly historic, in the second, Moscow is at the same time a trope for proletarian Russia and Europe, but the picture is also philosophical. And again it is set into a Buddhist context. The most important term here is "Mind's sea" which in the Buddhist world is a similitude of thought (or of consciousness) of all sentient beings; the external world being like the wind (*wai-chih ching-chieh ju feng*) [95] and the *ālaya*-consciousness, unceasingly generated, like the waves.<sup>83</sup> The external world in this case is the capitalist world which acts on the proletarian sea and the latter defends itself (by its own waves), and also creates. It creates a new world by means of the hot blood gushing forth from the veins of Russian labourers.

The following text will explain us the nature of this creation:

"The rising and falling waves of their Mind (*hsin-p'o*) are the facts from the history of the new Russian social evolution, and the hidden strength (*han-liang*) [96] of their Mind's sea is the manner of organization of the new Russian society."<sup>84</sup>

*Hsin-p'o* in Buddhist terminology signifies a stream of ideas, that unceasingly stems forth, thus creating a certain continuum (*hsiang-hsü*) [97].<sup>85</sup> Hence, the Russian evolution (but also revolution) may, according to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, be explained in terms of a continuum which has its origin in the creative strength accumulated in the working masses; and their social organization, as a possible way of this strength being harnessed and utilized, is then a visible manifestation of that strength. Mind's sea is evidently a basic concept, Mind's waves a derived one, but simultaneously a more active factor.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was not a herald of voluntarism. The will is a superfluous faculty in his system of thought. The only decisive strength is the Mind, a certain analogy of *ālaya*-consciousness.

In the Epilogue (*Fa*) [98] to the first book analysed here, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai carried on his reflections on Mind's sea and Mind's waves:

"The strength of the Mind's sea and Mind's waves shapes, as if on the stage (*yen-ch'eng*) [99], all phenomena, thus creating delusory, dreamy shadows. The nearer we are awakening, the truer the visionary phenomena are; perhaps, the dreamy scenes, too, are uglier."<sup>86</sup>

*Yen-ch'eng* in Chinese means rehearsal of a theatre piece or entertainment programme, or a military drill, preceding the show or attack. This, however, does not mean that he would have abandoned his views on the Mind as a "demiurge" of the new social reality. When he calls out: "We who have the same dreams must awaken at the same time," he refers to the rejecting of wrong, distorted views on ambient reality.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien*, vol. I, p. 707.

<sup>84</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 84.

<sup>85</sup> *Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien*, vol. I, p. 705.

<sup>86</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 91.

<sup>87</sup> Loc. cit.

A dreamy interpretation of reality has its traditions in Chinese philosophy. It usually calls for a certain type of awakening. Thus, for instance, in *Chuang-tzu* we may read:

"Those who dream of the banquet wake to lamentation and sorrow. Those who dream of lamentation and sorrow wake to join the hunt. While they dream, they do not know that they dream. Some will even interpret the very dream they are dreaming; and only when they awake do they know it was a dream. By and by comes the Great Awakening (*ta chüeh*) [100], and then we find out that this life is really a great dream. Fools think they are awake now, and flatter themselves they know if they are really princes or peasants. Confucius and you are both dreams; and I who say you are dreams—I am but a dream myself."<sup>88</sup>

Chuang-tzu called for such an awakening after which people would understand his philosophy of "equality of things and opinions" in which he saw the only correct gnoseologic and ontologic way out.

In *Ch'eng wei-shih-lun* we read likewise:

"Until we have awakened from the dream, we are incapable of realizing that it is a dream. It is only after we have awakened that we can catch up in our understanding. The same is true of our knowledge regarding the material world of our waking period. Until we have truly awakened, we cannot ourselves know it. It is only when we reach the genuine awakening (*chen chüeh*) [101] that we can catch up in our understanding. Before this genuine awakening is achieved, we perpetually remain as in a dream. It is because of the failure to comprehend that the material world is Mere Ideation..."<sup>89</sup>

Hsüan-tsang was for an awakening after which people would realize that everything, the whole world, is Consciousness-Only.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai desired just the opposite awakening and simultaneously, an awakening socially and politically profitable for the world of his times:

"I looked for my own dim ideal (*yin-ying*) [65]. But as the rays mutually destroyed one another in the dark valley, I groped blind for twenty years and was at a loss. My long sleeves flapped in a chaotic dance, but this only made my confused situation more difficult. Now, I am happy for I have seen the lighthouse of the Mind's sea. Even though it is but a single red ray, weak and indistinct, it is possible to see in it the approaching, infinite progress. I have left my distant native village and came lonely and abandoned into this country cut off from the world, where the rough food sticks in the throat. My soft muscles have been tempered into steel in this 'hungry' Land of Hunger. In addition, my parents, brothers, sisters, all the human relations have remained in the "land" outside this

---

<sup>88</sup> *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*, p. 6 and Giles, L.: *Musing of a Chinese Mystic*, London 1911, pp. 48—49.

<sup>89</sup> Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 325.

Land of Hunger. It seems that thus abandoned and lonely, I have come far away from the 'realm of reality' (*shih-chi*) [102] and turned my back to my own principles. But there is yet the 'realm of reality' of the Land of Hunger and the magnetic needle of my boat is set towards it. One day it will circumnavigate the Mind's sea of the universe and return to its true native land."<sup>90</sup>

At this time Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai in his "realm of reality" was not concerned with *bhūtakoti* of Consciousness-Only,<sup>91</sup> nor was he much concerned with the reality that he saw about him, but primarily with the new reality which was then being born and tested. He was concerned with a reality that would transform the old Russia, and his native China. The dreamy character of the reality, was according to him, only apparent. If one had to awaken from anything, then first of all from wrong views on the surrounding world which is very real.

4

In our view, there was no plausible reason for translating the term realistic theory (*wei-shih-ti li-tun*) [103] as materialistic theory.<sup>92</sup> Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai also wrote, with regard to himself, about the so-called wordly materialism (*shih-chien-ti wei-wu-chu-i*) [104], but he certainly had not in mind dialectical materialism.<sup>93</sup> Since he put it into the same plane with his own realistic view of life and the world (*yü-chou-kuan*) [105], we may presume he was concerned with the purely material aspect of the issue, with something earthly, as the opposite of anything transcendental (*ch'u shih-chien-ti*) [106].

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai expressed his conviction about the realistic theory as a philosophical system that "laid the universal foundations during a very long period in the life of mankind" in connection with his colleagues from the New Society and L'Humanité. At that time, John Dewey and Bertrand Russell were in vogue in China, and alongside pragmatism and Marxism, philosophical realism was also winning, or endeavouring to win over adherents. Already in the programme issue of Ch'ing-nien tsa-chih [107] *La Jeunesse* from the year 1915, Ch'en Tu-hsiu [108] (1879—1942), later Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party during the years 1921—1927, "suggested a utilitarian and realistic approach to the problems of life".<sup>94</sup> Yün Tai-ying [109] (1895—1931), also a prominent communist and a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, introduced various theories of philosophical realism in the article entitled *Wu-chih shih-tsai lun*

<sup>90</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 26.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 332.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. CCPWC, I, p. 27 and Shneider, M. E.: *Ocherki i statyi*, p. 45.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>94</sup> Chow Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1967, p. 294.

[110] On the Reality of the Material World.<sup>95</sup> We have no means of knowing whether Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai read this essay from the year 1917, but Yün Tai-ying seems to have decided to deal with the problems which Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai had before his eyes. Both were concerned with solving the essence of reality and the character of its existence.

When and on what basis Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai did acquire the conviction that philosophical realism is "perennial"?<sup>96</sup>

In October of 1920, B. Russell, an adherent of philosophical realism, visited China where he had a considerable impact and probably also influence. When he arrived in China through Soviet Russia, he was not quite a stranger in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>97</sup> Prior to his arrival the Chinese seem to have taken note especially of his political and sociological views. Russell's work *Principles of Social Reconstruction* had been translated twice into Chinese: once by Yü Chia-chü [112], one of the members of the Shao-nien Chung-kuo hsüeh-hui [113] Young China Association and published in installments in Ch'en-pao fu-k'an [114] Supplement to the Morning News from April 5th to August 13th, 1920. Even before this, a translation of this work appeared in the journal Hsin Chung-kuo [115] New China, between December 1919 and May 1920. Attention to the significance of Russell's work in the then philosophical world was drawn by J. Dewey in his lectures which appeared in Chinese under the title *Hsien-tai-ti san ko che-hsüeh-chia* [116] Three Contemporary Philosophers, including besides Russell, also W. James and H. Bergson. Chinese readers had occasion to become familiar with the section dealing with B. Russell in Hsüeh-teng [117] The Lantern of Study which was a much read supplement of the paper Shih-shih hsin-pao [118] The China News (Shanghai). It appeared in installments between March 26th and 31st, 1920.

A decidedly important role in the propagation of philosophical realism was played by vol. 1, No. 11 of Shao-nien Chung-kuo [119] Young China, from May 1920, which carried a few contributions, mainly translations, concerned with the so-called philosophical neorealism. Young China, vol. 2, No. 1, from July 1920, published an article on Russell's philosophy.

Russell's teaching had made an impression on some of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's contemporaries even before the philosopher's visit to China, as may be judged, for instance, from Chou Fo-hai's [120] case (1897—1948), then a disciple of the Japanese Marxist and translator of Marx' *Das Kapital* into Japanese, Kawakami Hajime [121].<sup>98</sup> In the magazine Chieh-fang yü kai-tsao [122] Emancipation and

<sup>95</sup> Originally published in New Youth, 3, 1 (March 1917), pp. 1—9 and reprinted in *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* [111] Material for the Study of Modern Chinese Literature, vol. 1, Peking 1959, pp. 8—16.

<sup>96</sup> In CCPWC, I, we read: "The realistic theory has laid the universal foundations during a very long period in the life of mankind" (p. 27).

<sup>97</sup> For more details about the journey, see *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell (1914—1941)*, vol. 2, London 1968, pp. 124—149.

Reconstruction Semimonthly, Chou published an article, *Ching-shen sheng-huo-ti kai-tsao* [123]. The Reconstruction of the Spiritual Life, in which he drew on some of Russell's works, such as his *Principles of Social Reconstruction* or *Political Ideals* and *Roads to Freedom*.<sup>99</sup> He starts from Russell's concept of creative and possessive impulses and states that it is necessary to promote everything that is creative, namely, the spiritual side of life (morale, mutual assistance, freedom and equality). That is the only possible way to build up socialism as the hope of China.

It is probable that alongside Dewey's lecture, the most important role in making Russell's realism accessible prior to his arrival in China—and prior to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's temporary absence from the country—was played by articles and translations in the October issue of *New Youth* from the year 1920.

The most active propagator of Russell's teaching in China was Chang Sun-nien [124] (Shen-fu) [125] (born in 1893). He was the author of the article entitled *Lo-su* [126] Bertrand Russell in which he briefly familiarized his readers with Russell's life and work, endeavouring to assign him to the then prevailing English philosophical situation.<sup>100</sup> It should be noted that while Chang devoted more space to Russell's socio-political thought than to the philosophical issues as such, the only item he notes in some detail is the noteworthy conception expressed in Russell's essay *The Ultimate Constituents of Matter*, from the year 1915, which in his explication is relevant also to our present study.<sup>101</sup> In this essay Russell mentions, among other things, also the so-called "impermanence of physical entities". Making use of Bergson's argument according to which "the mathematician conceives the world after analogy of cinematograph",<sup>102</sup> Russell claims that Bergson's insight may be applied not only when speaking of the characteristic of a mathematical view of the world, but also in philosophy generally:

"When, in a picture palace", Russell writes, "we see a man rolling down hill, or running away from the police, or falling into a river, or doing any of those other things to which men in such places are addicted, we know that there is not really only one man moving, but a succession of films, each with a different momentary man. The illusion of persistence arises only through the approach to continuity in the series of momentary men. Now what I wish to suggest is that in this respect the cinema is a better metaphysician than common sense, physics, or philosophy. This real man too, I believe, however the police may swear to his identity, is really

---

<sup>98</sup> His biography — see Boorman, H. L. (Ed.): *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, vol. 1, New York—London, Columbia University Press 1967, pp. 405—409.

<sup>99</sup> 2, 7 (1st April, 1920), pp. 6—17. Emancipation and Reconstruction Semimonthly published also digests from *Political Ideals* and *Roads to Freedom*, in 3, 2 (Oct. 1920).

<sup>100</sup> *New Youth*, 8, 2 (1st Oct. 1920), pp. 1—6.

<sup>101</sup> Published originally in *The Monist*, 25, 3 (July 1915), pp. 399—417 and reprinted in *Mysticism and Logic*, London 1921, pp. 125—144.

<sup>102</sup> *Mysticism and Logic*, p. 128.

a series of momentary men, each different one from the other, and bound together not by a numerical identity, but by a continuity and certain intrinsic causal laws. And what applies to men, applies equally to tables and chairs, the sun, moon and stars. Each of these is to be regarded, not as one single persistent entity, but as a series of entities succeeding each other in time, each lasting for a very brief period, though probably not for a mere mathematical instant.”<sup>103</sup>

From the passage just quoted, Chang Sun-nien infers that the world is *hsiang-hsü-t'i* [127] a continuum.<sup>104</sup> This view comes very close to what Consciousness-Only claims about *ālaya*-consciousness, i.e. that it is in a state of permanent flux, that it is “permanent and impermanent (*wei tuan wei ch'ang*) [128]” and simultaneously “it is neither permanent nor impermanent (*fei tuan fei ch'ang*) [129]”.<sup>105</sup> *Hsiang-hsü* (*saṃtāna*) is something like many streams of consciousness that derive from all possible *ālaya*-consciousnesses, and all things are created in this fashion.<sup>106</sup>

The same issue of New Youth carried also Chang Sun-nien's translation of B. Russell's *Dream and Facts* (*Meng yü shih-shih*) [135]. He had evidently picked it out for translation because as a Chinese, he found the problem of life and dream to be close to him. In this essay Mr. Russell writes of dreams not in the proper meaning of the term. Speaking of S. Freud's formulation according to which a dream “is the (disguised) fulfilment of a (suppressed, repressed) wish”, Russell claims that it holds also outside sleep, hence, in the normal, everyday life.<sup>107</sup> The dream fallacy which was generally typical for Russell's gnoseology and ontology, is reminiscent of Chuang-tzu's philosophy and it is quite possible that he had read the passage cited above from Chuang-tzu when writing these lines:

“In one sense, it must be admitted that we can never prove the existence of things other than ourselves and our experiences. No logical absurdity results from the hypothesis that the world consists of myself and my thoughts and feelings and sen-

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. 128—129.

<sup>104</sup> Chang Sun-nien: *Bertrand Russell*, p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. loc. cit. and Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., pp. 310—311 together with the original edition of Fung Yu-lan's *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih* [130], vol. 2, 6th ed., Ch'ang-sha 1941, p. 713.

<sup>106</sup> According to Hamilton, C. H., op. cit., continuity (*saṃtāna*) “is the self conceived as a stream or series, in this system a mental series. James's ‘stream of consciousness’ gives a near Western equivalent, and I make use of it in preference to the less immediately intelligible technical expression” (p. 21). Paramārtha (Chen-ti) [131], a famous translator of Buddhist scriptures who came to China in 546, used the term *jen* [132], i.e. men for *saṃtāna*. According to K'ui Chi [133] (632—682 A.D.), Hsüan-tsang's most famous disciple, *hsiang-hsü* “is a different name for *yu-ch'ing* [134], i.e. ‘sentient beings’” (loc. cit.).

<sup>107</sup> B. Russell's essay, p. 3. — see *The Athenaeum* (London), No. 4642 (18th April, 1919), pp. 198—199 and No. 4643 (25th April, 1919), pp. 232—233. A quotation from Freud, see Freud, S.: *The Interpretation of Dreams*. In: *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York, The Modern Library 1938, p. 235.

sations, and that everything else is mere fancy. In dreams a very complicated world may seem to be present, and yet on waking we find it was a delusion; that is to say, we find that the sense-data in the dream do not appear to have corresponded with such physical objects as we should naturally infer from our sense-data... There is no logical impossibility in the supposition that the whole of life is a dream, in which we ourselves create all objects before us.”<sup>108</sup> Or: “Thus, for example, it is possible that life is one long dream, and that the outer world has only that degree of reality that the objects of dreams have; but although such a view does not seem inconsistent with known fact, there is no reason to prefer it to the common sense view, according to which other people and things do really exist.”<sup>109</sup>

A comparison with the above quotation from Chuang-tzu reveals certain concordance, though G. E. Moore and G. Berkeley, besides Chuang-tzu, may be sensed in Russell.

At the time when Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was leaving China and B. Russell was preparing to go there, a certain “preeminence” of the latter could be felt in the Chinese intellectual world. Was perhaps a more philosophical realism to oust and supplant the more practical pragmatism? Between April and October 1920, Russell's name often figured on the pages of Chinese newspapers and journals.<sup>110</sup>

The semblance of the “perenniality” of philosophical realism may have been induced by the fact that even Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were considered to have been realists at the beginning of this century and later.<sup>111</sup> Possibly, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai also read about it somewhere.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai made use of the term *wei-shih* [52] for philosophical realism. Perhaps there was a bit influence of *wei-shih* [35] Consciousness-Only, but probably

<sup>108</sup> B. Russell: *The Problems of Philosophy*, London 1918, pp. 34—35.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 191—192.

<sup>110</sup> Except for those we mentioned, the essays on or the translations from B. Russell could be found in Min-to tsa-chih [136] People's Bell, Shao-nien shih-chieh [137] Young World, Kuo-min [138] Nation, and in the two newspaper supplements: Ch'ieh-wu [139] Consciousness and Hsüeh-teng.

<sup>111</sup> Baldwin, M.: *Dictionary of Philosophy*, vol. 2, New York 1918, pp. 421—422. It is of interest to note that not because of its perenniality but because of its very “progressive” features, realism has been chosen as the most appropriate for the young Chinese generation by Cheng Po-ch'i [140]: “...New realism is the most progressive contemporary philosophy... Hence, we, the new, emancipated philosophers of China, should enter the ranks of New realists to know what the New realism teaches.” (See Cheng Po-ch'i: *Hsin shih-tsai-lun-ti che-hsüeh* [141] The Philosophy of New Realism, Young China, 1, 11 (May 1920), p. 45. Yün Tai-ying in an open letter to the members of Young China Association recommended for study and translation besides the works of K. Marx (mentioned as the first), P. Kropotkin, R. Tagore, J. Dewey, W. James, Ch. Darwin, Fr. Nietzsche and I. Kant, also two philosophical realists: B. Russell and G. S. Fullerton (1859—1925) whose book *System of Metaphysics* (1904) was used as the chief source of Yün's article mentioned at the beginning of section 4 of this study. (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 63—65.)

far more powerful were the articles in the above-mentioned Young China. But any concrete influence of modern realists or new realists on him could hardly be spoken of.

How did Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai look at the reality around him? How did it appear to him through the prism of the philosopher? It might be of interest to read his lines in the Foreword (*Hsü*) [142] to A History of the Red Capital Seen Through the Mind.

"The course of human life is a reflection (*fan-ying*) [143] of an immensely diversified change of the surrounding phenomena that are projected in a complex, confused, shimmering and wonderful manner in the clear mirror (*ming ching*) [144] of the mind (*hsin-ling*) [145], strike against the sacred bell (*shen chung*) [146] of the mind and (emit) sounds resounding around, waxing and waning. But the meaning of life is usually laid in an objective plane: one may see in it film shots (*ying-hsiang*) [147] succeeding one another, in reality it is one continuous film (*ying-p'ien*) [148]."<sup>112</sup>

There is no need specifically to underline that these views strongly resemble those contained in the passage quoted above from Russell and inspired by Bergson. However, this is perhaps the only point of contact between the two propounders of philosophical realism and still, it is not certain whether it involves a direct impact or not. Not only the resemblance with Consciousness-Only should be pointed out, but also that with the teaching of Hua-yen [149] school which come close to the former. A "clear mirror", mentioned above, entered directly into that teaching. In *Hua-yen i-hai pai men* we may read: "The leaping waves (of the phenomenal world), boiling as in a cauldron, are the functioning of the complete and genuine substance. This substance is a mirror of pure and limpid water, which follows causation, yet remains ever still. It is like the diffused radiance of the sun, which, without deliberate purpose, illumines the ten directions. It is like the upright figure of a clear mirror (*ming ching*) which motionless itself, presents all forms."<sup>113</sup> Feng Yu-lan adds to this: "In other words, each and every event and thing (*shih wu*) [150] of the phenomenal world is a representation of this absolute mind (*chen hsin*) [151] in its totality (*ch'üan-t'i*) [152]."<sup>114</sup>

A compact, continuous film is to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai a picture characterizing his epistemology in its expanded form. Ch'ü, however, operates also with the concepts of *ying* [153], which he understands as a phenomenon of visual nature, and *hsiang* [154], as a phenomenon of an auditory nature. These phenomena constitute the entire universe and simultaneously also life itself. We do not know the origin of the term *hsiang*, but the term *ying* is derived from the epistemology of Consciousness-Only, where *ying* stands in fact for the aperceptive ability of the mind in the stage of sensation (*hsien-liang*) [155]. The modern Chinese philosopher Liang Sou-ming [156] (born in 1893), mentions as an example, a white screen: its

---

<sup>112</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 95.



"whiteness" is *yīng*.<sup>115</sup> When Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai inserted into his conception which presumed change, the factor of movement in its complex variations amounting to tens of millions, he comes to the conclusion that there is nothing that could be termed being (*yüan wu suo yu*) [158].<sup>116</sup> He is saved from nihilism by common sense. An analysis of reality ad infinitum (*chi ch'u*) [159] may lead to confusion.<sup>117</sup> It will suffice to dip into one's own experience. People living in the same milieu have different impressions at different periods and places. Therefore, real life exists and never ends, life phenomena exist and have their historical course.

Elsewhere, too, Ch'ü draws on from the experience and the vocabulary of the Consciousness-Only:

"I shall return (*hui-hsiang*) [160] into real life."<sup>118</sup>

He wrote these words at Harbin. *Hui-hsiang* is a Buddhist term and signifies "to turn about one's own merits and head then on to what one hopes in".<sup>119</sup> He evidently meant by this that he would put all his knowledge, feelings and personal abilities at the service of real life.

At about this time he also wrote one of his remarkable poems entitled Limitless (*Wu-ya*) [162]:

Life is indistinct,  
A momentary sweeping light or fleeting shadow.  
The morning is cool and cold dew freezes.  
The tepid sun spreads like a disease  
And the dew melts—the wonderful mystery of life.  
But the stream of inexhaustible treasury of meanings is not seen  
And also the least particle in the mighty whirl.  
Will you come to grasp, through the cracks, the meaning of all that?

The "ego" is limitless. The "others" are limitless, too.  
Laughter and wrath, sorrow and joy will not end.  
Who thinks of days filled with suffering?  
When will come the time of deliverance from the miseries?

<sup>113</sup> Quoted from Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 348. See the original text in his *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih*, vol. 2, p. 741.

<sup>114</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>115</sup> Liang Sou-ming: *Tung-hsi wen-hua chi ch'i che-hsüeh* [157] Oriental and Western Culture and their Philosophies, Shanghai 1922, p. 70.

<sup>116</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 95.

<sup>117</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>119</sup> Instead of [160] it should probably be [161]. Cf. *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien*, vol. 7, p. 2860.

Are you aware that (the world) is to be delivered?

To save oneself means also to save others.

For the sake of a thorough enlightenment I am going to the Land of Hunger.

The Land of Hunger will be limitless.<sup>120</sup>

This is a programme poem of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai. In the first half he speaks of life, in the second of delivering "oneself" and the world. Life to him is indistinct (*meng-mei*) [163]. The stream (*ch'i-liu*) [164] which, according to him, represents an embodiment of life, is something like the "violent current" (*pao-liu*) [165]. Hsüan-tsang used to illustrate *ālaya*-consciousness as a demiurge of everything objective and subjective, of Being and Non-being.<sup>121</sup> Inexhaustible treasury (*wu-chin-tsang*) [166] is likewise a Buddhist term, though in Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's context it loses its original meaning.<sup>122</sup> "Ego" will be spoken of in a subsequent part. For deliverance, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai makes use of the term *tao-hsien* [167], a homonym for *yi-lan-p'en* [168], and transcription for *ullambana* or *ullumpāna*.<sup>123</sup> *Tao-hsien* in reality signifies "to hang upside down". This is intended to mean that deceased ancestors "if guilty of some offence and with no descendants to sacrifice them, would suffer the misery of hanging upside down among the hungry ghosts".<sup>124</sup> *Wu* [169] enlightenment is a Buddhist key term, but Buddhism knows only two kinds of enlightenment: *tun-wu* [170] sudden enlightenment, and *chien-wu* [171] gradual enlightenment, but not *ch'e-wu* [172] thorough enlightenment which Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai intended to seek in Soviet Russia.

Life to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was truly indistinct. It seems that the reality (as understood by him) appeared to him as a much clearer concept. Reality, according to him, was a substratum forming a basis for both material and spiritual life.<sup>125</sup> The aim of his hopes and endeavours was an ideal country in which there would not be hungry ghosts hanging upside down and one that would be a holy land of the workers (*lao-kung shen-sheng*) [173]. It will be created solely with the aid of the "real life of the working classes". "True inner strength" (*shih-chi nei-li*) [174] of the mankind was, in his view, the originator of mental satisfaction, material and

<sup>120</sup> CCPWC, I, pp. 6—7.

<sup>121</sup> Fu ng Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 311. See the original term in his *Chung-kuo che-hsieh shih*, vol. 2, p. 713.

<sup>122</sup> For more details on this term, see Ch'en, Kenneth K. S.: *Buddhism in China*, pp. 126, 264—267.

<sup>123</sup> For a detailed explanation of this term, see Ch'en, Kenneth K. S.: *Appendix to Chapter II*. In: *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1973, pp. 61—64.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>125</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 44.

spiritual harmony, and on it depends even the rate of movements in the universe (*yü-chou tung-shuai*) [175].<sup>126</sup>

Life, according to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, is also *hsing-ch'eng* [176] process.<sup>127</sup> This is reminiscent of Liang Sou-ming's conviction that life is *samtāna*.<sup>128</sup> This applies equally to society and to the nature. Yet despite his earlier assertion that the "ego" is limitless, at another place he states that the "social phenomena swallowed up the individual".<sup>129</sup> The most important in the life "process" is the great flux of life (*sheng-ming-ti ta-liu*) [177], whose principal component is *tung* [178] movement, which, by the way, is likewise indistinct.<sup>130</sup> In his ardour, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai goes so far in his view as to consider social phenomena as part of the universal reality, not to be cognizable.<sup>131</sup> He is again saved by the experience. Philosophy alone is inadequate, just as it is inadequate to investigate things according to their reflection in the mirror. "The reflection that we see in the mirror is not real... But where then is reality?"<sup>132</sup> Here again the reminiscences from Consciousness-Only come into play. There "all things" were considered as "images in the mirror", hence, as unreal, apparent, empty.

5

His initial conviction about the "ego" which is "limitless", Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai never reiterated. Life experience evidently convinced him about the contrary being true.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai had been led to the concept of the "unlimitedness" of the ego by his renunciation of the teaching of Consciousness-Only about *ātman*. At one place in his first book he speaks about *ātma-grāha* (*wo-chih*) [179] ego-clinging.<sup>133</sup> The so-called ego-clinging is nothing more than a belief in the realness of the ego which runs counter to the teachings of Consciousness-Only claiming that ego, like all other things (*dharma*s) is unreal, empty. Hence, when Consciousness-Only denied the existence of the real ego and considerably narrowed down the possibilities of its self-realization (only a comprehension and admission of the unrealness of ego permitted its self-realization being achieved in the process of *karma*), Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai affirmed something diametrically opposite: "ego" is real and the possibilities of its self-realization are limitless. "Ego", we think, is in fact real as any other manifesta-

---

<sup>126</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>128</sup> Liang Sou-ming: op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>129</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 11.

<sup>130</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>132</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>133</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 50 and Fung Yu-lan: op. cit., p. 315.

tion and a part of objective, existent reality, but its possibilities are limited, socially and otherwise determined.

In connection with the "unlimitedness" of the ego, we are dumbfounded by the apparently contradictory statement about the social phenomena which have swallowed up the individual (*ko-hsing*) [180]. This has already been mentioned earlier. A striking and perhaps unique form of "demiurgism" in Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai concerned the masses, the working masses at large, but not the individual. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai pronounced no judgments similar to those of Kuo Mo-jo,<sup>134</sup> Ch'eng Fang-wu [181] (born in 1897),<sup>135</sup> or Li Shih-ch'en [182] (1892—1935).<sup>136</sup> These three theoreticians discussed self-expression and its intensity before they came to be entangled in the violent social maelstrom of revolutionary events (chiefly two former are meant). Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai became conscious of social dependence and thereby also of the limitedness of the individual sooner than many of his contemporaries from the period of the May Fourth Movement 1919. It was namely because he became involved sooner than many others in the social and political whirlpools and thus had opportunity of seeing and recognizing of the determinism in politics and social life.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's short-lived conviction about the unlimitedness of the ego has to be judged then as a reaction not only to the teaching of Consciousness-Only, but also to the then fashionable self-expressive tendencies in modern Chinese literature. His relation to the latter is borne out also by his repeatedly used term *nei-ti yao-ch'iu* [183] inner demands that were characteristic for the members of the subsequently-founded Creation Society (Ch'uang-tsao she) [184] and implied their belief in self-expression as a way of self-realization in literature and art.<sup>137</sup>

During the years with which the present study is concerned, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai apprehended "ego" within the range of the two determinants expressed above. He abandoned very soon the former, as it was an unjustified absolutization of the opposite to what was taught by Consciousness-Only, or an unfounded boasting of self-expressionists. As to the latter apprehension, i.e. an enforced powerlessness of the individual, within the society, Ch'ü tried to revolt against this. His reflections on the ego in the second book under analysis were motivated by his revolt against this powerlessness.

In his essay entitled *Wo* [8] Ego, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai declared that he was no more the

---

<sup>134</sup> Gálik, M.: *Über die kritische Auseinandersetzung Chinas mit dem deutschen Expressionismus*, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 103, 1968, p. 44.

<sup>135</sup> Gálik, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Criticism: V. The Socio-aesthetic Criticism of Ch'eng Fang-wu*, Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), VII, 1971, pp. 53—54.

<sup>136</sup> Gálik, M.: *Nietzsche in China (1918—1925)*, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 110, 1971, pp. 25—26.

<sup>137</sup> CCPWC, I, pp. 13, 14 and 24. Ch'eng Fang-wu wrote about *nei-hsin-ti yao-ch'iu* [185] inner demands; see the article under No. 135, p. 47 and Kuo Mo-jo about the same in Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an [186] Creation Quarterly, 1, 2 (1922), p. 21.

“loving son and obedient nephew” (*hsiao tzu hsün sun*) [187].<sup>138</sup> He, of course, did not mean it literally. We know that he always respected his parents, particularly his mother whom an unenviable social situation and family circumstances drove to suicide. He meant thereby that he was no longer the traditional Chinese intellectual, for “the influence of European culture, like a powerful tide, has broken through the Great Wall and penetrated Chinese life”.<sup>139</sup>

In this essay Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai stated with good reasons that young Chinese people of his generation could not have a purely Chinese national character. They must, however, educate themselves, that is, their ego, in a certain manner and in certain direction. According to Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai, man, his intellectual ego, is the resultant of three forces: an impact coming from outside, from abroad, his own effort and the direction he follows, and society.

Ch’ü devoted most attention to the second of these elements and referred to an “inner nature” (*nei-hsing*) [188] of an individual.<sup>140</sup> In this respect, ego in Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai’s view was an expression of three types of this inner nature. The first was an active and creative individual who succeeded in overcoming every obstacle and in keeping free in his dealings. The second was an active individual who, however, was unable to create. The third type allowed himself to be “swallowed up” by the society and consequently could not even manifest himself as an individual.

These three types of the individuals are then decisive also in their application to the first of the components of the intellectual ego just mentioned. Man is a part of a nation, the latter again part of a culture which in turn is the resultant of mutually complementing or excluding elements. Man, in relation to this culture, may stand up as an active agent, exploit it for his own self-realization and thus promote the rise of universal culture (*jen-lei-ti wen-hua*) [189].<sup>141</sup> He may, however, also “blindly adhere to the culture of a single nation”, refuse to adjust himself and make of his own individuality a “victim of old, dead times”. Or he may display his own ignorance and throw himself like a fly on carcass and thereby bury the character of his own nation and do it harm.<sup>142</sup>

Ch’ü Ch’iu-pai decided to become the nucleus of a new culture, derived from a symbiosis of Western and Oriental cultures. He simultaneously stated, however, that the modern culture faced two dangerous diseases: bourgeois spirit and an even death-like immobility of the Oriental culture.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 164.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. 164—165.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>141</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>142</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>143</sup> Loc. cit.

Ch'ü acknowledged and appreciated the legacy of ancient Chinese culture, but with certain qualifications. The same held also for Western culture. He wanted to remain a private person taking part in the avant-garde of the world cultural movement. The new universal culture would renovate (*kuang-fu*) [190] the more than four-thousand-years-old Chinese culture.<sup>144</sup>

A one-sided hyperbolization of the individual gave place in Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai to a sober consideration. Man, the ego, is powerless without society, he exists solely as a part of it. On the other hand, society could not exist without the individual, without the ego, and without an active ego society could not be what it is. Ego (*ātman*) (of course in contradistinction to the interpretation of Consciousness-Only) means then “an individual with regard to the society”.<sup>145</sup>

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai considered himself to be a romantic. He evidently had not in mind a literary and artistic, but rather a human, eventually a political bipolarity of this ideal.

“I was born as a romantic”, he wrote in his essay *The Chinese “Superfluous Man”* (*Chung-kuo-chih “tuo-yü-ti jen”*) [191], “from time to time I wish to go beyond the given framework, I suddenly rush forth and as if I discovered extraordinary wonders. The motion of my feelings is unrestricted. But since my childhood I have in me a strength that heads towards reality and that one too is powerful, intent to have its own way. Therefore, I observe, I investigate, I want to see real life and do everything consistently.”<sup>146</sup>

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was probably the first in Chinese intellectual history to have tried to define a concept of “superfluous man” in Chinese society. He defined it as one aspect of the “ego” of the revolutionary Chinese individual.

The essay on Chinese “superfluous man” opens with two mottoes. The first and the longer one is from *Rudin*, a novel by I. S. Turgenev,<sup>147</sup> the second comes from Mo-tzu [192] (around 479—381 B.C.).<sup>148</sup> *Rudin*, the principal hero in the novel, was, as admitted by Turgenev, to have portrayed his friend and well-known Russian anarchist — M. A. Bakunin. *Rudin* belonged to the group of superfluous men, superfluous in the sense that they just did not manage to help their country, found no occasion to make use of their talent. The theme of the “superfluous man” was a frequently-recurring topic in Russian literature of the last century. Among the heroes of this type created by Pushkin, Lermontov, Gerzen, Nekrasov,

---

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>145</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>147</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 169 and Turgenev, I. S.: *Rudin* (in Russian), Moscow 1965, p. 135.

<sup>148</sup> The quotation in CCPWC, I, p. 169 is not exact. Instead of *Sheng-jen pu huan k'u-nan, er huan chi-ping* [193], i.e. the sage is not afraid of difficulties but of serious disease, it should read *Sheng-jen o chi-ping, pu o wei-nan* [194], i.e. the sage is afraid of serious disease but not of dangers and hardships.

Goncharov and others, Rudin occupies a special place. He is poor, just as his parents had been, desires to serve society, promote social progress, but lacks the know-how. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai spending then the days in the TBC Sanatorium at Vysokie gory (High Hills) near Moscow, began to consider himself a superfluous Chinese not that he was ill and without strength, but was unable and perhaps did not even know how to help his Chinese society.

It is quite probable that the essay analysed here should be examined in connection with the preceding one entitled *Sheng-ts'un* [195] Survival. The motto to this essay comes from the pen of F. M. Dostoyevsky.<sup>149</sup> Survival was probably written in the pension Knyazhy dvor where Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai stayed on his arrival in Moscow.

The hero of this essay is a tom-cat that speaks to Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai in his sleep. "Man" is characterized in it as an animal that does not know how to live properly, he is only concerned with the survival. Man in the interpretation of this tom-cat in Ch'ü's dream is interested only in obtaining a profitable job *p'ien-li-chih ch'u* [196], in material advantages. In a certain sense, such a man is worse than an animal, for in his efforts after material well-being, he is not too fastidious about the means. The tom-cat too, kills mice and sees in it no transgression, but does not kill more than it needs to live. It acts on the basis of *t'ien-jan-ti pen-neng* [197] a natural instinct, while man always wants something more (*tsai tuo te i hsieh*) [198].<sup>150</sup>

The Chinese superfluous man was to be at least partially the counterpole to the "little man" (*hsiao-jen*) [199], as he was characterized by Confucian philosophers. This, of course, was by no means the ideal of the new "superior man" (*chün-tzu*) [200], for he was nothing more positive than the respectable, but impractical old revolutionaries from Russian literary works from the times referred to above.

The last of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's considerations on the ego was Nature (*Tzu-jan*) [201]. At its conclusion, he shows his own positive ideal of man, of the ego:

"When ego and non-ego (subject and object, M. G.) are united, there is harmony. When ego and non-ego are placed in opposition, there is an awareness of the uniqueness of individuality. There must be a way to unite the two, and that is love. It is true that a child likes to play. But if he does not know that there is mother's bosom to return to, he will feel lost in his play and become frightened. Our prideful nature, if not improved by love, will become likewise our curse."<sup>151</sup>

Hence, a certain form of *karuṇā* even at the end of 1921, after less than a year's stay in Soviet Russia, still represented a way out. But these words are, however, a culmination of Ch'ü's development of the period which forms the principal focus of the present study.

<sup>149</sup> The quotation is taken from the novel *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (Crime and Punishment).

<sup>150</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 168.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

In his further development, which will be only lightly sketched here, those accents will primarily be stressed which Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai himself outlined in his first but failed to develop in his second book. On leaving the High Hills Sanatorium at the end of March or beginning of April, 1922, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai threw himself into the whirlpool of political life in which he had formerly taken part sporadically only. On March 24, 1922 he wrote temporarily the last but spatially the one before last essay of the second book entitled *Hsin-ti hsien-shih* [202] The New Reality. In it he attempted to analyse the ideological face of contemporary China and the "new" which carried a tang of irony, was also meant to indicate the truly "new", after which Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai strove. As if he had awakened from a "dream", roused himself from the frequent component of his reflections and perhaps also his being, from the illusions on the gigantic strength of the Mind and turned to *ssu-hsiang*, sociology, Marxism, hence, to those topics for the sake of which he had come to the Land of Hunger. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai observed the weak and rather superficial impact of the most diverse teachings which wanted to subjugate *ssu-hsiang* of his countrymen. He agreed with Professor Chiang Meng-lin [203], according to whom in China "the sky is full of question marks".<sup>152</sup> In Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's view, China at the beginning of the twenties had no "contemporary sociology", meaning that China lacked Marxist sociology without which it was not possible to resolve social questions. He regretted that the majority of the young threw themselves into the study of questions of the type of *K'ung-tzu chu Shao-cheng Mao* [204] Confucius Killed Shao-cheng Mao, hence, of problems around the so-called *cheng-li kuo-ku* [205] reorganization of the national heritage, or the so-called "jails" which represented the Western teachings of Aristotle and others.<sup>153</sup> Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was against neither the one nor the other, but in none of them did he see the task that was on the order of the day. He began diligently to study social ideology and Marxist sociology — two subjects which he at least partially underestimated following his "Siberian experience". The result of this study were at least three following works: The first of them *O-lo-ssu ko-ming lun* [206] On the Russian Revolution, could not be published owing to censorship regulations at the Commercial Press, Shanghai, and was destroyed during the Japanese bombing in January 1932. One chapter of it is available in New Youth Quarterly, I, 15th June, 1923, pp. 129—143 under the title *Shih-chieh she-hui yün-tung chung kung-ch'an-chu-i p'ai-chih fa-chan shih* [207]. The History of the Development of the Communist Faction in World Socialist Movement.<sup>154</sup> The second and the third Ch'ü wrote and edited in

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>153</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>154</sup> Ting Ching-t'ang and Wen Ts'ao: op. cit., p. 15.



1923—1924 shortly after his return from the Soviet Union: *Hsien-tai she-hui hsüeh* [208] Contemporary Sociology<sup>155</sup> and *She-hui k'o-hsüeh kai-lun* [209] An Outline of Sociology.<sup>156</sup> In these and other works, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai achieved what he had set before him when leaving China for the Land of Hunger: to study the theory and facts relating to communism.

Questions dealing with the Mind and the ego ceased to interest him. In their stead came questions of an ideological and social character having a greater impact on and importance in socio-political events.

\*

The present study has shown, in greater or lesser detail, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's ideological and intellectual development over the years 1915—1922. It has pointed out his enthusiasm for Buddhism, for the idea of bodhisattvahood and *karunā*. *Wei-shih* or Consciousness-Only set up a firm hot-bed for his philosophical views and orientation at a time when he sympathized greatly with the Western culture and philosophical realism, though the latter, as had been shown, failed to crystallize in him into any salient pattern. Even while in Soviet Russia, during much of his stay there, he looked on reality through the prism of Consciousness-Only, though he grasped the most essential philosophical categories of this extremely idealistic teaching, i.e. Mind, reality and ego in a very different sense.

When the "Siberian experience" had unconsciously driven Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai into his differently understood Consciousness-Only, the "Moscow experience", his study at the University of the Toilers of the East, his meeting with prominent personalities of Russia of those days (Lenin among others), also exerted considerable influence on the soul of this young man, who did not want to be a Chinese superfluous man, even though he felt to be one.

His twenty-third birthday, January 29, 1922, symbolized his transformation. On that day he wrote the following words about "Red" Moscow in his notes:

"Moscow suddenly moved closer to East Asia. The convening of the Congress of the Toilers of the East needed me — the Child from the East. Thus, I left the High Hills and suddenly I felt refreshed, as if I had climbed atop a high mountain looking at the glory of early dawn during a long summer."<sup>157</sup>

These sentences imply a play on the words *kao-shan* [210], standing alternately for the High Hills Sanatorium and a high mountain as a symbol of hope, a panorama of the future. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai saw it in the unity of the world proletariat as the future of Mankind.

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., pp. 72—73.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., pp. 73—76.

<sup>157</sup> CCPWC, I, p. 178.

1. 瞿秋白 2. 曹子西 3. 瞿秋白的文學活動
4. 餓鄉紀程 5. 新俄國遊記
6. 瞿秋白文集 7. 赤都心史 8. 我 9. 現實
10. 野史 11. 鄭思肖 12. 所南 13. 伯夷 14. 叔齊
15. 商 16. 周 17. 武 18. 晨報 19. 管異之
20. 管同 21. 王陽明 22. 紂辛 23. 比干
24. 莊子 25. 莊子引得 26. 至人 27. 論語
28. 性 29. 孟子引得 30. 明心見性 31. 骨豐
32. 因 33. 不改 34. 佛學大辭典 35. 唯識
36. 玄奘 37. 李世民 38. 太宗 39. 菩薩性
40. 道行 41. 識 42. 覺 43. 慧 44. 至慧
45. 周均量 46. 厭世觀的哲學 47. 國立俄文專修館
48. 重新估定價值 49. 人我見 50. 法我見
51. 唯識二十論 52. 唯實 53. 異熟識
54. 思量 55. 了別 56. 藏識 57. 末那
58. 社會心理 59. 羣象心理 60. 實際生心<sup>7</sup>
61. 思想 62. 和合而映成 63. 物 64. 塵樓
65. 陰影 66. 社會思想

67. 社會學說 68. 黑甜鄉 69. 新青年 70. 鄧振鐸 71. 許地山 72. 瞿世英 73. 新社會 74. 人道 75. 文學研究會 76. 小說月報 77. 灰色馬'與俄國社會運動 78. 赤俄新文藝時代的第一燕 79. 文學週報 80. 中國新文學大家 81. 革新的時機到了 82. 中國的勞動問題？世界的勞動問題？ 83. 伯伯兒之汎勞動主義 84. 丁景唐 85. 文採 86. 瞿秋白著譯全年目錄 87. 社會學罪惡 88. 不愛 89. 新中國 90. 理論事實 91. 實際生活 92. 粗 93. 心海 94. 心波 95. 外之境界如風 96. 涵量 97. 相續 98. 跋 99. 演成 100. 大覺 101. 真覺 102. 實際 103. 唯實的理想 104. 世間的'唯物主義' 105. 宇宙薈見 106. 出世間的 107. 青年雜誌 108. 陳獨秀 109. 憚代英 110. 物質實在論 111. 中國現代文學史參考資料 112. 余寄菊 113. 少年中國學會 114. 晨報副刊 115. 新

中國 116. 現代的三個哲學家 117. 學燈  
118. 時事新報 119. 少年中國 120. 周佛海  
121. 河上肇 122. 解放與改造 123. 精神  
生活的改造 124. 張松年 125. 申府 126. 羅  
素 127. 相續骨體 128. 爲斷爲常 129. 非  
斷非常 130. 中國哲學史 131. 真諦 132. 人  
133. 會稽 134. 有情 135. 夢與事實 136. 民  
鐸雜誌 137. 少年世界 138. 國民 139. 覺悟  
140. 鄭伯奇 141. 新實在論的哲學 142. 序  
143. 反映 144. 明鏡 145. 心靈 146. 聖鐘  
147. 音響 148. 影片 149. 華嚴 150. 事物  
151. 真心 152. 全骨體 153. 影 154. 鄉 155. 現量  
156. 深淵 157. 東西文化及其哲學  
158. 原無所有 159. 極處 160. 迴鄉  
161. 回向 162. 無涯 163. 蒙昧 164. 溪流  
165. 暴流 166. 無墨藏 167. 倒懸 168. 孟  
蘭盆 169. 悟 170. 頓悟 171. 漸悟  
172. 澈悟 173. 勞工神聖 174. 實際力

175. 宇宙動靜 176. 行程 177. 生命的大流  
178. 動 179. 我執 180. 個性 181. 成仿吾  
182. 李石岑 183. 內心的要求 184. 創造社 185. 內  
心的要求 186. 創造季刊 187. 老子順張  
188. 內性 189. 人類的文化 190. 光復 191. 中  
國之「多餘的人」 192. 墨子 193. 聖人不患苦  
難，而患疾病 194. 聖人惡疾病，不惡  
危難 195. 生存 196. 便利之處 197. 天然的  
本能 198. 再多得一些 199. 小人 200. 君子  
201. 自然 202. 新的現實 203. 蔣夢麟  
204. 孔子誅少正卯 205. 整理國故  
206. 俄羅斯革命論 207. 世界社會  
運動中共產主義派之發展史 208. 現  
代社會學 209. 社會科學概論  
210. 高山

# CHAO—THE KING OF HELL AND THE EMPEROR JONES: TWO PLAYS BY HUNG SHEN AND O'NEILL

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

This is a comparative study of two noteworthy works of the American and Chinese dramatic literature from the twenties of the present century. While *The Emperor Jones* was a "paragon of literary Expressionism" in the U.S.A., *Chao—The King of Hell* shows deviation from the expressionist creative style and method towards realism typical for modern Chinese literature.

An affinity between E. G. O'Neill's play *The Emperor Jones* and Ts'ao Yü's [1] (Wan Chia-pao) [2] (born in 1905) play *The Wilderness* (*Yüan-yeh*) [3] has been demonstrated by Joseph S. M. Lau (Liu Shao-ming) [4] in his book *Ts'ao Yü: The Reluctant Disciple of Chekhov and O'Neill*.<sup>1</sup> This demonstration is all the more commendable as Mr. Lau was probably unaware of the relationship between Ts'ao Yü and O'Neill. His book does not make it clear whether he knew the authentic material from the interview with Ts'ao Yü which appeared in *Wen-i-pao* [5] *Literary Journal* in April of 1957.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the expressionist tendencies in Chinese drama which Mr. Lau has revealed concretely for the first time in his booklet, had a wider impact. The American scholar David T. Roy speaks of Kuo Mo-jo's [8] (born in 1892) experiments with drama from the beginning of the twenties as of those which conform to

<sup>1</sup> Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press 1970, pp. 51—56.

<sup>2</sup> In an interview with Chang Pao-hsin [6], Ts'ao Yü said the following: "I have discovered that good examples from which it is possible to learn, are works of great teachers written with the heart and blood: works old and new, Chinese and foreign. Before settling down to write plays, I had read a relatively large number of theatre pieces. I liked Aeschylus, his heroic, rich feelings. From Euripides I endeavoured to learn how to observe reality and become familiar with his realistic creative method. I am very fond of his '*Medea*'. When I was at high school, one of my teachers went abroad and left me the English edition of Ibsen's '*Complete Works*'. Then I loved to read his works and slowly read them all. I became familiar with Shakespeare later, at the University. Then I met E. G. O'Neill; the dramatic quality of his works is very strong. I came to like his early works, these are very realistic works." See Chang Pao-hsin: *Ts'ao Yü t'ung-chih t'an chü-tso* [7] *Comrade Ts'ao Yü on His Plays*, *Wen-i-pao*, 2, 1957, p. 2.

S. H. Steinberg's definition of expressionist drama.<sup>3</sup> If D. T. Roy is right, then it would be possible to prove primarily on Kuo Mo-jo a reception (or influence) of German expressionist drama. Kuo admired G. Kaiser's *Die Bürger von Calais* and E. Toller's *Die Wandlung*.<sup>4</sup> But probably he did not know O'Neill.

O'Neill's works, however, were carefully studied by the foremost Chinese playwright Hung Shen [9] (1893—1955), author of over 20 plays, educator and theoretician. He came closer to O'Neill through the school environment. Both studied at Harvard with Professor George Pierce Baker, the author of *Dramatic Technique*, with the difference that O'Neill attended Baker's circle in the school year 1914—1915, while Hung Shen came to Harvard in 1919 and left in 1920. Hung Shen's school-fellow was the well-known American dramatist Philip Barry.<sup>5</sup>

O'Neill wrote the play *The Emperor Jones* in 1920. Hung Shen very probably had seen it on the stage in the States where he himself was active for some time as an actor.<sup>6</sup> *The Emperor Jones* meant also a theatre success for O'Neill, for in the words of one of its sensitive spectators "even during *entr'actes* the audience continued to feel its dramatic quality" and that a "realisation of tragedy kept one in one's seat awaiting the further unfolding of the story".<sup>7</sup>

In the spring of 1922 Hung Shen returned to China and soon after left for the North where earlier the first war had been fought between the Feng-tien clique of Northern warlords led by Chang Tso-lin [12] and the Chih-li clique headed by Wu P'ei-fu [13], to collect material for his plays. On the train he learnt from soldiers that the victorious Wu P'ei-fu's mercenaries, otherwise maintained by Anglo-American capital, used to bury alive the defeated adherents of Chang Tso-lin, who in turn were supported by the Japanese. The aim was to silence them and take possession of the money they had about them. On the basis of the emotions elicited by the soldiers' talk, Hung Shen decided to write a play. He finished it after some months of work in winter of that same year.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Roy, David T.: *Kuo Mo-jo: The Early Years*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1971, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 94—95.

<sup>5</sup> *Ou-ni-erh yü Hung Shen* [10] O'Neill and Hung Shen. In: *Hung Shen hsi-ch'ü chi* [11] The Plays by Hung Shen, n. p. 1937, p. II. Hung Shen's reference to O'Neill's study under Professor Baker is wrong. The difference between O'Neill and Hung Shen was of four, not two years. Cf. Hung Shen's assertion in this work and Sheaffer, L.: *O'Neill: Son and Playwright*. Boston—Toronto, Little, Brown and Company 1968, p. 295 or Gelb, Arthur and Barbara: *O'Neill*, New York, Dell Publishing Co., Inc. 1965, pp. 156—161.

<sup>6</sup> Maltseva, E.: "Teatralnaya assotsiatsiya" i Hung Shen ("Theatre Association" and Hung Shen). In: *Literatura i folklor narodov Vostoka* (Literature and Folklore of Oriental Peoples), Moscow, Nauka 1967, p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> Bechhofer, C. E.: *Introduction*. In: O'Neill, E.: *The Emperor Jones, The Straw and Diff'rent*. London, Jonathan Cape 1968, p. VII.

<sup>8</sup> Hung Shen: *Shu-yü i-ko shih-tai-ti hsi-chü* [14] On the Plays of the Age. In: *Hung Shen hsi-ch'ü chi*, p. XI.

From one of Hung Shen's admissions it ensues that for eight scenes in *Chao Yen-wang* [15] Chao — The King of Hell he utilized "the background and the facts" from O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* and only the first scene, according to him, "is essential, its style is cohesive and selective, the dialogue is impressive", hence, only this part of the drama is really original.<sup>9</sup> Nobody can prove with certainty whether Hung Shen had before his eyes *The Emperor Jones* when writing the first extensive scene of his play, though it is very probable, for Chao Ta [19], the principal hero, has his counterpart in Brutus Jones, the principal character in O'Neill's play; the Old Li (Lao Li) [20] in turn has his opposite in Mr. Smithers and Little Ma (Hsiao Ma) [21] in "dat murderin' nigger ole Lem".<sup>10</sup> No corresponding partner in the other play is to be found for the unnamed Commander of Battalion (Ying-chang) [21] figuring in Hung Shen's, nor for the unnamed old black woman in O'Neill's drama.

The setting of the two plays is different. *The Emperor Jones* "takes place on an island in the West Indies as yet not self-determined by White Mariners. The form of native government is, for the time being, an Empire".<sup>11</sup> Similarly as in the plays of "*Sturm und Drang*" period, or expressionist plays in modern Germany, that of *The Emperor Jones* also involves "ein fanatisches Unterstreichen der Idee";<sup>12</sup> this time it is the ideal of "primitive" in man finding its expression primarily in fear and superstition. The plot of Hung Shen's play is set into the cold scenery of northern China in times of a deep crisis of the Chinese Republic during the factual domination of various warlords whose aim was to control the whole of China and eventually to restore the empire. The reality portrayed in Hung Shen's play has its strong political and social colouring. Chao Ta (Great Chao), an aide-de-camp to the Commander of Battalion, is adept at lying, stealing, robbing, killing, burying people alive, he is not *zeitlos*, nor primitive as his counterpart in O'Neill's play, he has his individual shell,<sup>13</sup> even though being in reality a collective type. Out of Chao — The King of Hell Hung Shen made a play that may be called more or less expressionist, although it is so by its form rather than its content. The latter is more realistic, completely so in the first scene. Subsequently, however, the famous and fashionable pattern, O'Neill's glowing model, triumphed. Thereby, this promising play of a socio-political conflict turned into a drama of fear, but did not become one

---

<sup>9</sup> Hung Shen: *Hsien-tai hsi-chü tao-lun* [16] An Introductory Study on Modern Drama. In: Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei [17] et al.: *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi tao-lun chi* [18] Introductory Studies in the Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature. Shanghai 1945, p. 309.

<sup>10</sup> *The Emperor Jones*, p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>12</sup> Schneider, M.: *Der Expressionismus in Drama*. Stuttgart, Verlag Julius Hoffmann 1920, p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Weisstein, U.: *Introduction*. In: *Expressionism as an International Literary Phenomenon*. Budapest—Paris, Akadémiai Kiadó—Didier 1973, p. 25.



of superstition and primitive wilderness. Despite its expressionist form, Chao Ta, nicknamed Yen-wang [23] (the King of Hell) became a social type: a man with *Hemmungen*; misery, powerlessness became extravertly reflected in his dealings in vices that were referred to above.

Brutus Jones personifies an idea. His principal antagonist, the moving force of his actions in the major part of this drama are the masses of the exploited "niggers" as he, one of them, chooses to call them. These do not appear in the play at all. O'Neill showed himself to be a more acute observer of social reality than Hung Shen, even though he did not introduce social reality on the stage in this play, for through the staging of *The Emperor Jones*, the theatre "ceased for a moment to be a social function and became again a temple of mystery and fate".<sup>14</sup> Chao Ta is a collective type, he is partly a realistic character, however, set into an expressionist stage similar to the one which admirers or critics of *The Emperor Jones* were accustomed to see. Yen-wang, Chao's nickname, like Brutus, a patricide, a traitor of certain ideals, has a pejorative undercolouring in China, similarly as Pluto in the Greek, or even more prominently Lucifer or Beelzebub in the Christian world. The main antagonist, the moving force of Chao's undertakings was the Commander of Battalion who trusted him, but required of him unconditional obedience. At that time Hung Shen did not realize that soldiers and officers of Wu P'ei-fu's army were hiding behind the Commander of Battalion, together with those who supported it financially and materially. In his commander, the King of Hell saw solely the avenging force. He did not run before the masses as Brutus Jones, but only before the individual. Hung Shen endeavoured to introduce social reality on the stage, although he did not know it thoroughly. Similarly as O'Neill, he too failed to introduce it consistently, for he made use of O'Neill's devices of mystery and fate.

The sounds of tom-tom coming in at the end of the first scene in *The Emperor Jones* and announcing that the "blacks is 'oldin' a bloody meetin', 'avin' a war dance, gettin' their courage worked up" before they set out to get hold of and kill the hated Emperor, are heard sporadically throughout the entire play, growing louder as the end comes nearer.<sup>15</sup> In Chao — The King of Hell, similar sounds are initiated by "iron flutes and copper drums" (*t'ieh-ti t'ung-ku*) [24] in the second scene.<sup>16</sup> Similarly as in the first, so also in the second play the subsequent scenes take place in the Great Forest (*ta shu-lin*) [25]. This forest is a "wall of darkness dividing the world" in O'Neill, and "*i-tso che-t'ien ko-ti-ti*" [26] "*hei k'uai*" [27] in Hung Shen, where the "level ground" is "dotted by a few stones and clumps of stunted bushes" (in O'Neill), "*i-ken i-ken shu-t'ing-cho-ti lao-shu, i-t'ui i-t'ui cheng-chü-cho-ti chieh-shih*"

<sup>14</sup> Bechhofer, C. E.: op. cit., p. VII.

<sup>15</sup> *The Emperor Jones*, p. 163.

<sup>16</sup> *Chao Yen-wang*. In: *Hung Shen hsi-ch'ü chi*, p. 128.

[28] (in Hung Shen). The difference here lies between trees and bushes: pines are typical for northern China. Otherwise, O'Neill emphasizes in this mysterious forest the "relentless immobility" and "implacable silence", while Hung Shen stresses *hsiung-o* [29] wilderness and *ch'ing leng* [30] bright cold.<sup>17</sup> If the space in which "action" of both plays takes place is markedly similar, the time sequence follows a different pattern. Jones witnesses his own phantasms, hallucinations during one night: from nightfall till dawn. Chao is a witness of his own reminiscences which begin with the present (winter 1922) and terminate with the year 1900, the beginning of the so-called Boxer Movement. The time follows an inverse course. Chao's neurotic brain always draws on more remote memories and evokes them despite his own will.

No attempt will be made here to follow up in such a detailed manner all the actions taking place in the Great Forest, of which there are seven in *The Emperor Jones* and eight in Chao — The King of Hell. We shall present a comparison of the second and third scenes, scene eight in O'Neill's and scene nine in Hung Shen's play. The "reality" described in scenes four to seven in O'Neill be only briefly sketched here, but the same scenes will be analysed in greater detail in Hung Shen's play. The reason behind this is that readers of these lines will probably find it easier to become acquainted with O'Neill's than with Hung Shen's work.

Characteristic for the second scene of O'Neill's play are the Little Formless Fears, a residuum of symbolism, that "creep out from the deeper blackness of the forest".<sup>18</sup> Something similar is to be found also in the second scene of Hung Shen's drama, but the vision of fear is embodied there first in the squirrel and then in the bulging eyes and the blood-stained face of the Commander of Battalion whom Chao Ta shot when he had taken part of his comrades' pay and run out of the camp. Hung Shen's portraying of the mental states of the principal hero, or we might say with a certain reserve, the only hero of this drama, is almost realistic. Something similar may be seen in Hung Shen's entire play. Apart from this, however, when writing this play, Hung Shen had constantly before his eyes O'Neill's work and it is certain that occasionally he peeped even into the text, for in the various scenes we witness the same or similar motifs. Thus, for instance, in this particular scene, Jones strikes a match to find the place where the food should be. Chao does the same in order to find a mark allegedly made on the bark of a tree, indicating the cardinal points. Both are then afraid that they might be a target to enemy shots.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> *The Emperor Jones*, p. 167 and *Chao Yen-wang*, pp. 127—128. The translation of Chinese words in the passage into English is as follows: "a piece of darkness", "dividing the world" and "vertically standing old trees and squatting stones".

<sup>18</sup> *The Emperor Jones*, p. 170.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 169 and *Chao Yen-wang*, p. 131.

In scene three of O'Neill's play, the negro Jeff whom Brutus had killed, makes his appearance. This time, he "kills" his phantasm which stands in his way. In the third scene of Hung Shen's play, Chao Ta meets a dead soldier, Second Elder Brother Erh-ko [31] whom he himself had buried alive. This scene, too, is more realistic than one with Jeff. Many such scenes had taken place at Ch'ang-hsin-tien [32] not far from Peking, following the defeat of Chang Tso-lin's army. And the only reason was that Wu P'ei-fu's officers wished to enrich themselves at the expense of their own soldiers, failing to pay them for months on end.

In subsequent scenes of O'Neill's play the spectator or the reader will encounter the Negro Convicts and the Prison Guard, for Brutus Jones had also been in his time a criminal (scene four), then with the Planters and Auctioneer, for in his time he had worked on plantations (scene five), with the Slaves, for he had been one of them, or else they had worked for him (scene six) and finally with the Congo Witch-Doctor and the Crocodile god, who are the representations, visible and concrete shapes of that "primitive" in man (scene seven).

Before writing *The Emperor Jones*, O'Neill had read the well-known play *Von morgens bis mitternachts* by G. Kaiser. The fact that O'Neill denied any influence of this drama on his own play is not important, but "the fable and the form of *The Emperor Jones* closely resemble" Kaiser's play, as has been shown by O'Neill's scholars.<sup>20</sup> The new in O'Neill's drama, the Great Forest, is an expressionist projection of his stay in Honduras (in the search of gold) and the memories "of itching all over from flies, fleas, ticks, gnats and mosquitoes..." in the Latin American jungle.<sup>21</sup> Edschmid's words: "Die Welt ist da. Es wäre sinnlos, sie zu wiederholen", may be fully applied to O'Neill's play.<sup>22</sup> O'Neill had no intention to present a "*Wiedergabe*" (H. Walden) of reality that fascinated him by its magic beauty, but which, in view of his life experiences, he strongly detested.<sup>23</sup> The expressionist rejection of the "mimetic approach" was not only evident in O'Neill, but in the case of *The Emperor Jones* even justified.

It was something different in Hung Shen. Edschmid's words can be applied to him only partly, only thanks to his production *à la* O'Neill; a mimetic approach was part of his programme. Hung Shen wrote in one of his articles that in Chao — The King of Hell, he had delineated what he had experienced in life, had narrated what he had been provoked to by life and what he had extracted from life.<sup>24</sup> Chao — The King of Hell involves a certain form of *trahison créatrice*. The author

<sup>20</sup> Valgema, M.: *Expressionism in the American Theater*. In: *Expressionism as an International Literary Phenomenon*, p. 194.

<sup>21</sup> Sheaffer, L.: op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>22</sup> Edschmid, K.: *Über den Expressionismus in der Literatur und die neue Dichtung*. Berlin 1921, p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> Landsberger, F.: *Impressionismus und Expressionismus*. Leipzig 1920, p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Hung Shen, *On the Plays of the Age*, p. XII.

made use in the play of a form less suitable to the goal he had set himself to achieve. Nevertheless, this was warranted by the situation in which he found himself and proved to be a reasonable solution. Hung Shen's example shows how complex was the systemo-structural reality in Chinese literature in its contact with world literature.

But to return to an analysis of Hung Shen's play!

In writing scene four, Hung Shen again peeped into the matrix. As a matter of fact, both the fourth scenes open with the taking off of boots!<sup>25</sup> After that, Hung Shen goes on to describe Chao Ta's meeting with Dog Wang (Wang Kou-tzu) [33]. Kou-tzu is a term of contempt in Chinese. Wang acted as a spy for the revolutionaries and was shot dead by the Commander. This happened in the spring of 1916.

In the fifth scene Chao Ta returns to Nanking, in 1911, shortly before the foundation of Republic of China. On the dark canvass of the cold pines, his *état d'âme* projects scenes of a mass rape of a young revolutionary maiden who fought against the foreign Manchu dynasty. Further pictures in this scene are not less drastic: the murder of a young virgin seen through the eyes of her mother, plundering of houses of the poor, fire devouring their miserable cottages, the murder of a young man hiding from the soldiers. All this lies — at least partly — on Chao Ta's conscience.

In scene six also, Hung Shen has recourse to O'Neill. Like Brutus Jones who "was member in good standin' o' de Baptist Church", Chao Ta also, an embodiment of the prince of devils turns to the Lord God (*Lao t'ien-yeh*) [34] with a prayer to save him, to help him, for he had allowed evil to be perpetrated. To all that he had been forced by orders or comrades.<sup>26</sup>

In scene seven, images from the year 1900, from the times of *I-ho-t'uan* [35] Movement, are evoked in Chao's mind. At that time he lived with his mother in the country. One day a "foreign devil" (*yang kui-tzu*) [36] came to preach the religion of the foreign devils stating that all will get into the embrace of the king of hell if they go on honouring their ancestors and the way of the gods (*shen-tao*) [37].<sup>27</sup> The Old Tiger Wang (Wang Lao-hu) [38] took a plot of their land, sold it to the foreign devil in order that he might build a church for his devilish faith. Chao's mother and then his fiancée died and he was forced to become already on this earth the dreaded King of Hell.

A similar contempt and hate felt by Brutus Jones towards his kinsmen as their Emperor and their class rival, was also felt by the Great Chao towards foreign devils: the difference was that though unconsciously, he served them. He was the executant of their interests, although he identified himself with the motto of the

<sup>25</sup> *The Emperor Jones*, pp. 175—176 and *Chao Yen-wang*, p. 139.

<sup>26</sup> *The Emperor Jones*, p. 164 and *Chao Yen-wang*, pp. 149—150.

<sup>27</sup> *Chao Yen-wang*, p. 152.

Boxers: "Death to the foreigners, death to Chinese Christians, death to their helpers." Fear was common to both Jones and Chao, for the plays in which they were the principal representatives were dramas of fear.

The eighth scene in Hung Shen's play is entirely original. Except for the Great Forest and the sound of copper drums! People in shabby clothes file past Chao's eyes, the characters from Chinese operas, such as Erh-lang shen [39], San t'ai-tzu [40], Sun Wu-k'ung [41], Chu Pa-chieh [42], Wu Sung [43], Huang T'ien-pa [44],<sup>28</sup> and streamers from the times of the I-ho-t'uan Movement.

In the closing scene, Hung Shen returns completely to O'Neill. Chao corresponds to Jones: just as we noted in our analysis of the first scene. Nemesis looks out for its victims. Smithers and Lem on the one hand, and Old Li and Little Ma on the other, are the executors of her fateful decisions. The Emperor and the King of Hell already died. The principal characters are no more; and the rest, coming on the stage at the beginning and at the end are "fulfilling only the function of choruses to their tragedies".<sup>29</sup>

\*

If *The Emperor Jones* was a "paragon of literary Expressionism" in America,<sup>30</sup> nothing similar can be said of Chao — The King of Hell in China. The theatre in the modern China vehemently took sides with the social function,<sup>31</sup> hence, it is fairly natural that an effort at a realistic solution of the plot, even despite an expressionist form and setting, was very strong and took the upper hand in Hung Shen. In a certain measure, even the original expressionist form became distorted here: the sounds of tom-tom fitted in well in O'Neill's play, but the sounds of iron flutes and copper drums sounded unnatural in Hung Shen's.

The contemporary critics did not accord a favourable reception to Hung Shen's play. The newspaper Ching-pao [50] from 8th February, 1923 wrote: "Last night during the performance, the spectators were very disconcerted. They even said

<sup>28</sup> E.g. masks of Erh-lang shen and Sun Wu-k'ung see in Chou I-pai [45]: *Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih ch'ang-p'ien* [46] *Comprehensive History of Chinese Theatre*. Peking 1960, nonpaginated picture section.

<sup>29</sup> Bechhofer, C. E.: op. cit., p. VII.

<sup>30</sup> Weisstein, U.: op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Chih Fei [47]: *Chin-tai wen-hsüeh shang hsi-chü-chih wei-chih* [48] *The Place of Drama in Modern Literature*, Hsin ch'ing-nien [49] *New Youth*, 6, 1 (January 1919), pp. 21—29. Also *Min-chung hsi-chü she hsüan-yen* [51] *A Manifesto of People's Theatre Association*, originally published in Hsi-chü [52] *Drama*, 1, 1 (31st May, 1921) and reprinted in Chao Chia-pi [53] (Ed.): *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* [54] *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, Shanghai 1936, vol. 10, pp. 132—133. The members of this association were outstanding Chinese playwrights, critics and men of letters, like Mao Tun [55], Cheng Chen-to [56], Ch'en Ta-pei [57], Ou-yang Yü-ch'ien [58] and others.

that the man (the author, M. G.) is mentally ill."<sup>32</sup> Hung Shen himself acknowledged his failure and in his subsequent plays avoided using expressionist means.

In the context of modern Chinese literature this is nothing to wonder at. In the twenties, plays written in the European style, were for many spectators something entirely new, as yet unseen. They were not familiar with European classicism, romanticism, realism. They had not seen symbolistic plays and could not understand altogether expressionist plays.

Hung Shen had written a significant piece of work of art even if it failed as a theatre piece and as the beginning of a new possible tradition in the evolution of modern Chinese drama.

Hung Shen tried in vain to bring the "known" O'Neill closer to those for whom he was "unknown" and very probably also unintelligible. He found himself in a similar Great Forest as did the Emperor Jones, or the King of Hell. Nobody understood him correctly. Consequently, he decided to take contact only with the realistic part of his work which by its comprehensible component could better be able to interest the spectator — and to develop it. The expressionist tendencies had in him only an ephemeral duration.

---

<sup>32</sup> Quoted according to Hung Shen: *An Introductory Study on Modern Drama*, p. 298.

1. 曹禺 2. 萬家寶 3. 原野 4. 劉紹銘  
5. 文藝報 6. 張葆華 7. 曹禺同志談劇  
作 8. 郭沫若 9. 洪深 10. 歐尼爾與  
洪深 11. 洪深戲曲集 12. 張作霖  
13. 吳佩孚 14. 屬於一個時代的戲劇  
15. 趙閣王 16. 現代戲劇導論  
17. 蔡元培 18. 中國新文學大系導論集  
19. 趙大 20. 老李 21. 小馬 22. 營長 23. 閣  
王 24. 鐵笛銅鼓 25. 大樹林 26. 一座  
遮天隔地的 27. 黑塊 28. 一根一根豎  
挺着的老樹，一堆一堆蹲踞着的礫  
石 29. 兇惡 30. 清冷 31. 二哥 32. 長辛店  
33. 王狗子 34. 老天爺 35. 義和團 36. 洋鬼子  
37. 神道 38. 王老虎 39. 二郎神 40. 三太子  
41. 孫悟空 42. 豬八戒 43. 武松 44. 黃天  
霸 45. 周貽白 46. 中國戲劇史長編  
47. 知非 48. 近代文學上戲劇之位置  
49. 新青年 50. 晶報 51. 民衆戲劇社

宣言 52. 戲劇 53. 趙家璧 54. 中國新  
文學大系 55. 茅盾 56. 鄭振鐸 57. 陳  
大悲 58. 歐陽予倩



## UNE ESQUISSE DES PROBLÈMES IDÉOLOGIQUES DANS LA VIE LITTÉRAIRE VIETNAMIENNE PENDANT LES ANNÉES 1930—1935 (1<sup>re</sup> PARTIE)

JÁN MÚČKA, Bratislava

Cette étude s'entend comme une contribution à l'explication de la situation idéologique-artistique, d'ailleurs très complexe, dans la littérature vietnamienne de ces années. L'attention est ici dirigée surtout vers la polémique s'attachant à l'Épopée Kieu, ce qui cependant n'était qu'un décor à la solution des problèmes pressants de la littérature vietnamienne d'alors et de l'idéologie nationale en général.

Un des traits caractéristiques des discussions portant sur l'art et la littérature est qu'elles sont conditionnées par l'existence dans la société de groupes divers, même opposés. Les vues divergeantes sur l'art et la littérature deviennent alors une base théorique de divers mouvements artistiques, de courants et de tendances qui, cependant, vu dans le cadre de la structure sociale et, en fin de compte, dans celui de leur essence idéologique, ne peuvent pas éviter d'être les porteurs d'un certain caractère de classe. De même, la lutte sur le front vietnamien littéraire au cours de 1930—1935 était une partie essentielle de la lutte de classe compliquée dans toute la société du Viet-Nam. Par conséquent, si l'on veut comprendre à fond tout ce qui prit place dans la vie littéraire à cette époque, on doit tenir compte aussi de la situation sociale, politique et économique du pays. Bien entendu, il n'y a aucunement intention d'effacer le caractère spécifique des problèmes littéraires, ni d'offrir une généralisation idéologique-économique quelconque. Nous ne voulons que faire remarquer qu'à partir de la crise de 1929—1933 jusqu'au moment où le fascisme japonais uni au colonialisme français fut vaincu en 1945, que depuis l'établissement du Parti Communiste de l'Indochine en 1930 jusqu'en 1945 quand, à l'issue de la Révolution d'Août, il s'empara du pouvoir, la société vietnamienne passa par des péripéties complexes de développement au cours duquel les conditions pour la littérature changeaient sans cesse et en quelque sorte la déterminaient. Aussi il n'est guère facile d'examiner ces conditions qui ont influé sur l'origine et le développement des divers mouvements ou groupes littéraires qui s'entrelaçaient mutuellement, se croisaient, se fusionnaient, et cela demandera encore beaucoup de travail de recherche et d'efforts soutenus. Cet article-ci n'est qu'un essai à esquisser en grande lignes quelques une de ces conditions.

De prime abord, il y a lieu de noter qu'il y existaient dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne des mouvements supportant directement ou indirectement le régime colonial et les membres de la monarchie féodale au Viet-Nam. La politique culturelle de ce régime était toujours une à réprimer ou à restreindre la pensée littéraire progressive. Néanmoins, au Viet-Nam il n'existait jamais de mouvement littéraire qui aurait soutenu la politique impérialiste de l'agresseur. La science littéraire vietnamienne affirme à juste titre que si dans la littérature volumineuse française il existe un certain genre de littérature dite coloniale, la littérature vietnamienne certainement n'y figure pas. Les colonialistes français au Viet-Nam y ravivaient et stimulaient à leur façon l'idéologie chrétienne, publiaient des livres et journaux à caractère antinationaliste du point de vue vietnamien, aidaient les intellectuels tels que Pham Quynh, Nguyen Van Vinh, Ton That Binh et autres qui fabriquaient des théories «patriotiques» fausses. C'étaient des gens bien éduqués, érudits au point de vue la pensée et la littérature, mais qui, en fin de compte, par leurs travaux propageaient une idéologie réactionnaire; ils déclaraient que la nation vietnamienne était faible, qu'elle devait se soumettre à l'étatisme français et qu'elle pouvait réaliser du progrès uniquement en union avec la civilisation et la culture française. En outre, il y avait là le groupe trotskiste qui semait la dissidence parmi les forces progressives et provoquait des doutes sur l'idéologie marxiste. De même, les impérialistes japonais eux aussi, pendant l'occupation du Viet-Nam, avaient recours à tous les stratagèmes pour disséminer leur propre propagande au nom de la théorie de «la Grande Asie de l'Orient» et l'idéologie «d'une culture et d'une race», gagnant ainsi plusieurs écrivains et intellectuels. Un rôle a été jouée ici aussi par la politique «de la porte ouverte» à tous les mouvements décadents littéraires, qui a remporté un succès extraordinaire. La critique légale officielle ne les supportait pas en aucune manière, mais leur laissait un champs libre d'action et de développement. Ce genre de littérature s'identifiait avec le mouvement dit de talent pure.

La bourgeoisie vietnamienne était très faible au point de vue économique et politique et de ce fait cherchait pour la plupart une sortie dans la collaboration avec les colonialistes. Malgré cela, dans la littérature légale d'après les ans 1930 il y existait vraiment un mouvement patriotique de caractère bourgeois. C'était le mouvement du réformisme national représenté par Huynh Thuc Khang (1876—1947) et son journal *Tieng dan* (La Voix du Peuple, 1927). Le patriote vietnamien bien connu Phan Boi Chau (1867—1940), lors même qu'il n'appartenait point au réformisme, donnait son support en ce temps au groupe autour du journal *Tieng dan*. Ces hommes de lettres confucianistes avaient beaucoup de l'idéologie féodale classique dans le domaine de la morale, mais essentiellement c'étaient des gens à manière de penser patriotique et démocratique. Après la mort de Phan Boi Chau et quand le journal *Tieng dan* avait été supprimé (1943), ce mouvement disparut presque totalement. Plus tard, Huynh Thuc Khang écrivait: «Depuis sa mort jusqu'à

la suppression du journal *Tieng dan* je me sentais comme une pierre refoulée au bord du chemin, poussé quelque part dans un recoin afin que d'autres ne se heurtent contre moi.<sup>1</sup>

La direction de la littérature révolutionnaire se formait déjà avant 1930, son initiateur était Ho Chi Minh (1890—1969), mais il prit un essor seulement après l'an 1930 en rapport avec le mouvement des soviets *Nghe Tinh* et cela principalement dans la poésie. Cette poésie révolutionnaire se développait dans l'illégalité, mais en 1933 elle pouvait en sortir et ouvertement participer à la lutte idéologique.

L'orientation du réalisme critique prit un grand essor dans la période de 1930—1945, en particulier au temps du Front démocratique (*Mat tran dan chu*, 1936—1939). Les représentants typiques en étaient: Ngo Tat To (1892—1954), Nguyen Cong Hoan (1903—), Nguyen Hong (1918—), Nam Cao (1914—1951) et Tu Mo (1900—1976). Dans son essence, c'était un mouvement qui censurait la société contemporaine, se tenait contre les demandes du mandarinat et les dignitaires locaux de l'administration féodale et il avait partiellement aussi une orientation anti-coloniale. Le développement de ce mouvement était incontestablement avancé par les conditions économiques catastrophales après l'an 1929. Son essence idéologique ne parvint pas à franchir le cadre de l'individualisme de petite bourgeoisie, mais sa critique de la société était tranchante. Les hommes de lettres au sens révolutionnaire supportaient ce mouvement et il y avaient même des cas où des écrivains réalistes venaient sous l'influence directe de la révolution et écrivaient des œuvres qui méritent d'être hautement appréciées de ce point de vue. Par contre, on y sent des influences de l'idéologie féodale arriérée.

Le mouvement naturalistique c'est brusquement développé jusqu'en 1935 comme un rejet du romantisme et en outre d'une grande quantité d'œuvres contenant beaucoup d'éléments réalistiques, il a produit beaucoup de travaux littéraires pour la plupart d'un caractère pornographique. La critique littéraire contemporaine au Viet-Nam considère comme représentant typique de ce mouvement Vu Trong Phung (1912—1939), et on en peut convenir sans réserve, car précisément son œuvre comprend nombre d'éléments d'une réalité profonde.

Quant au romantisme, celui-ci renfermait beaucoup de mouvements différents qui, néanmoins, partaient d'une base commune. Il avait sa base sociale surtout dans la bourgeoisie et la petite bourgeoisie des villes. Son fondement idéologique était l'individualisme. La conscience patriotique et démocratique des ses représentants était relativement faible, car à la suite de la répression du mouvement révolutionnaire en 1930—1931, la majorité d'entre eux joignit le parti du régime colo-

---

<sup>1</sup> Huynh Thuc Khang: *Buc thu tra loi chung... 1945* (Réponse commune), cité selon Vu Duc Phuc, *Ban ve nhung cuoc dau tranh tu tuong trong lich su van hoc Viet-nam hien dai* (Sur les luttes idéologiques dans l'histoire de la littérature vietnamienne moderne). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban khoa hoc xa hoi 1971, p. 14.

nial-féodal. Leur critique de l'ancienne société consistait principalement dans leur demande de mettre à bas le système des grandes familles, la liberté en matières du mariage y compris le droit libre de choisir son partenaire etc. C'étaient sans doute leurs actifs idéologiques, mais ils étaient peu nombreux. Du côté opposé, ils étaient manifestement inclinés vers le nihilisme ou la religiosité. Dans le domaine des méthodes artistiques et des approches, maints d'entre eux imitaient le modernisme français.

Pour les années de 1930 et suivantes, le trait le plus caractéristique pour la vie littéraire vietnamienne était la discussion polémique entre le mouvement littéraire patriotique représenté par Huynh Thuc Khang, et le mouvement littéraire soi-disant «aussi patriotique» mené par Pham Quynh (1892—1945), sur l'évaluation de l'Épopée Kieu, actuellement connue dans le monde entier, de Nguyen Du (1765—1820). La discussion était en fait la deuxième étape, une continuation du conflit qui avait débuté déjà dans la seconde de notre siècle entre Pham Quynh d'un côté, et Ngo Duc Ke (1878—1929) de l'autre. Puisqu'il s'agissait d'une discussion portant sur un grand nombre de problèmes à caractère général, nous nous en occuperons en plus de détails.

En 1929 Huynh Thuc Khang avait écrit un article contre le mouvement croissant communiste. Il ne critiquait pas le contenu du communisme, mais il était contre l'activité révolutionnaire affirmant que l'éparpillement des feuilles volantes et des soulèvements n'ont aucun sens, car ils résultent en la mort de beaucoup de gens.<sup>2</sup> Huynh Thuc Khang était un réformiste très populaire de sorte que son attitude anticomuniste causa grand tort au mouvement révolutionnaire vietnamien. Cependant, il était un grand patriote et humaniste. Son réformisme était vraiment national et en opposition directe au réformisme réactionnaire-national du groupe de Pham Quynh. Son grand mérite était sa défense de Ngo Duc Ke qui s'opposait à Pham Quynh dans la polémique sur l'Épopée Kieu.

Pham Quynh et son groupe autour du journal Nam Phong (Vent du Sud, 1917—1934) exagérait la signification de l'Épopée Kieu pour raisons de leur politique culturelle générale qui avait une influence incontestable sur la littérature légale. Ngo Duc Ke et Huynh Thuc Khang n'étaient pas opposés aux vues de Pham Quynh pour la seule raison qu'ils avaient une opinion différente sur l'Épopée Kieu, mais à cause de sa compréhension générale de la culture vietnamienne dans le cadre de laquelle il utilisait précisément le caractère hyperbolique de cette œuvre très populaire.

Pham Quynh affirmait: «Le meilleur est d'utiliser l'idéologie nationale et de la mener dans une direction commune. Il ne faut plus en douter, l'idéologie du nationalisme est la seule idéologie qui soit capable de réaliser l'unification des plus hauts

---

<sup>2</sup> *Cai hoa cong san bang giay* (Le mal communiste sur papier). *Tieng dan* (Voix du peuple), 16. 11. 1929.

éléments intellectuels de la société.»<sup>3</sup> Quel était le contenu propre à cette idéologie «nationale»? Il faut «préserver l'esprit national», accepter l'idéologie européenne sur la «base ferme» de la philosophie orientale classique, propager «la culture nouvelle» parmi le peuple afin que le Viet-Nam graduellement avance. Il faut accentuer l'érudition dans la langue et l'écriture nationale (*chu quoc ngu*) et par ce moyen propager la culture mentionnée plus haut. Il parlait de la culture chinoise comme d'une culture morte (*tu hoc*), langue morte (*tu van*), relevant la langue nationale: «Le journal Nam Phong, dès son lancement, suivait constamment ce but: légaliser la prosodie de la langue vietnamienne et la faire ensuite la base pour l'éducation nationale, car tant que nous n'aurons pas une littérature nationale, nous n'aurons pas une éducation nationale; tant que nous n'aurons pas une éducation nationale, nous ne serons pas spirituellement indépendants; si nous ne sommes pas spirituellement indépendants, nous ne pourrions pas atteindre une indépendance politique non plus.»<sup>4</sup> D'autre part, cependant, il considérait comme l'essence «d'une idéologie nationale», «l'ancienne philosophie traditionnelle», qui consistait en partie du confucianisme périmé, le taoïsme et le bouddhisme. «Préserver l'ordre social et la paix de l'humanité sur la base d'une réalisation d'humanisme, de justice, de respect, c'est la morale confucianiste, si, cependant nous en ôtons toutes les autres idées qui en relèvent, cela resultera en ce que la doctrine confucianiste perdra son caractère pur. Le contenu de la nouvelle culture vietnamienne doit se puiser à partir des sources de l'idéologie de l'Asie orientale: le confucianisme, le taoïsme, le bouddhisme... il faut organiser l'étude de ces doctrines d'une manière méthodique.»<sup>5</sup>

A propos de la culture européenne, il tenait qu'il faut l'accepter afin que «la forme» de la culture vietnamienne change: «la forme de la culture sera la science européenne avec tout le caractère de sa discipline et sa méthodologie, ses lois fixes, sans exclusion de l'intuition riche et des notions de l'Orient qui sont simultanément la science et l'éthique de gens bien intentionnés et sages».<sup>6</sup> C'est-à-dire, accepter la science européenne sous l'aspect formel et ensuit la changer de force à l'aide de «l'intuition riche» en une gnoséologie de l'Orient. Quant à la libre pensée et l'individualisme dans la culture européenne, il affirmait qu'on pouvait les accepter en partie afin que se ramollisse le caractère cruel du système patriarcal, mais il faut savoir rapprocher l'Europe de l'Asie sur le «fondement ferme» dont on a parlé plus haut, car l'individualisme et la libre pensée sont capables de détruire l'ordre social. Il prédit que «a partir de 1930 au cours d'une cinquantaine d'années (jusque 1980)

<sup>3</sup> *Cai cach tri duc va duc duc* (Réforme du développement intellectuel et de l'éducation morale). 1930, article réimprimé dans le livre *Essais franco-annamites*, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> Pham Quynh: *Quoc hoc voi quoc van* (Education nationale et littérature nationale). Nam Phong (Vent du Sud), Tome XXVI, N° 164, 1931, pp. 1—6.

<sup>5</sup> *Mot nen van hoa dan toc* (Culture nationale), 1931, *Essais franco-annamites*, 1937, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

le Viet-Nam deviendra, grâce à la civilisation et culture française, un état libre selon le modèle de la France».<sup>7</sup>

Les écrits de Pham Quynh sont évidemment pleins de contradictions. L'esprit national qu'il défendait si passionnément, d'autres fois il le réprimait afin de renforcer une autre idée — «quant à l'art, la littérature, la religion et la philosophie, Annam s'appuyait toujours sur les concepts de base et l'idéologie qui venaient directement de la Chine», — «la littérature et la philosophie (vietnamiennes — J. M.) ne se débarrasseront jamais de la trace qu'y a laissée la roue ancienne de la Chine».<sup>8</sup> Par contre, quand il fallait défendre la nationalité, il écrivait: «Quant à ceux qui nous censurent, nous les Annamites, avec dédain de ne posséder pas notre littérature à nous, lisez leurs vers de Nguyen Du».<sup>9</sup>

Il commença à s'occuper de l'Epopée Kieu et de sa haute appréciation dès 1919, mais surtout en 1924, quand il organisa en collaboration avec Tran Trong Kim (1882—1953) une célébration commémorative en l'honneur de Nguyen Du. Pham Quynh présenta une communication dans laquelle il évaluait d'une manière fort exagérée surtout le côté formel-artistique et idéologique de l'ouvrage. D'où viennent aussi ses fameuses formulations au coloris sophistiqué: «Parce qu'il existe l'Epopée Kieu, il existe aussi notre langue; tant qu'existe notre langue, notre pays existe. Si l'on réfléchit sur notre société et cela profondément, alors seulement comprendra-t-on que l'Epopée Kieu a dans son destin quelque chose d'infiniment précieux. L'Etat ne peut pas ne pas avoir son sens national, l'Epopée Kieu est notre sens national; l'Etat ne peut pas ne pas avoir son esprit national, l'Epopée Kieu est notre esprit national».<sup>10</sup> Parlant de ces thèses, Vu Duc Phuc dit «qu'en réalité elles ne sont pas la création propre de Pham Quynh. C'est une idée développée de François Miomandre, un des écrivains français moyens».<sup>11</sup> Dans son article *Tien toi mot hoc thuyet dan toc* (En avant vers une éducation nationale)<sup>12</sup> Pham Quynh devient de nouveau hyperbolique: «Si une nation subjuguée veut se libérer, il ne lui faut qu'avoir une langue légalisée par une norme, et de par ce fait, une œuvre littéraire hors ligne — un chef-d'œuvre.»

Une appréciation très haute de la langue vietnamienne et de l'écriture nationale était essentiellement et en elle-même juste, bonne et progressive. On peut constater que presque tous les différents groupes littéraires avaient dans leur programmes de rendre appui à l'éducation dans la langue et l'écriture vietnamienne mais avec des buts plus ou moins différents. Déjà vers la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle l'administration

<sup>7</sup> *Nam muoi nam nua nuoc An-nam se the nao* (Quel sera Annam dans cinquante ans), 1930.

<sup>8</sup> *Mot nen van hoa dan toc*, op. cit., p. 203.

<sup>9</sup> *Nouveaux essais franco-annamites*, 1938.

<sup>10</sup> Nam Phong (Vent du Sud), 9. 1924.

<sup>11</sup> Vu Duc Phuc, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> *Nouveaux...*, op. cit.

française au Viet-Nam du Sud s'efforçait de stimuler l'éducation à base de l'alphabet latin, ce qui, certes, était progressif, mais en même temps comportait en soi l'aspect de réprimer l'influence des érudits confucianistes au sens patriotique et de créer des conditions meilleures pour propager plus aisément sa propre idéologie colonialiste. Les érudits du type de Huynh Thuc Khang étaient aussi au commencement du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle pour éliminer l'écriture chinoise et pour une éducation dans leur propre langue et écriture. Le Parti Communiste d'Indochine favorisait aussi dès son commencement la diffusion de l'écriture nationale vietnamienne afin d'être à même de répandre la culture parmi les gens ordinaires. Et, en fin de compte, après la Révolution d'Août, 1945, la République Démocratique du Viet-Nam, nouvellement établie, avait réussi à liquider l'analphabétisme grâce précisément à l'existence de l'écriture nationale basée sur la forme latinisée. Cependant, Pham Quynh échangeait par forfait la langue et l'écriture pour le patriotisme. A vrai dire, il contribua par là à l'avancement d'une politique d'obscurantisme envers la nation vietnamienne. Ce nonobstant, ses articles à caractère de slogans sur l'Epopée Kieu étaient très proches aux vues de certains intellectuels qui, lors même qu'ils ne s'accordaient pas avec le régime colonial et l'administration du mandarinat féodal, n'osaient pas se ranger avec le mouvement plus radical.<sup>13</sup>

En 1943, quand l'Edition Alexandre de Rhodes avait publié les travaux de Pham Quynh et la traduction française de l'Epopée Kieu (traduit par Nguyen Van Vinh), Huynh Thuc Khang écrivit quelques articles critiques sur cette Epopée, mais la Censure ne permit pas leur publication. Alors il accepta un compromis et écrivit un article qui était en même temps laudatif et critique. La Censure, cependant, raya la partie critique et écrivit à la rédaction du journal *Tieng dan* (Voix du peuple) d'accepter leur intervention. Huynh Thuc Khang cependant, décida de ne pas publier l'article ainsi tronqué ce qui avait pour effet que le journal était suspendu.

Les raisons pour lesquelles Pham Quynh comblait Kieu d'éloges exagérées étaient évidemment claires à Ngo Duc Ke et alors il écrivit l'article *Luan ve chinh hoc cung ta thuyet* (Critique d'apprentissage et d'apprentissage en mensonge),<sup>14</sup> par lequel il exprima ses protestations. Quant à l'évaluation de diverses théories, Ngo Duc Ke a fait quelques constatations erronées et des conclusions précipitées (par exemple, par rapport à la doctrine de Mo-tseu),<sup>15</sup> mais l'essence de son point de vue fondamental consistait en ce qu'il prouvait que la langue et l'écriture peuvent être considérées comme le contenu de l'apprentissage et de la connaissance. Il opposait les vues de Pham Quynh sur l'érudition chinoise dans le

<sup>13</sup> Ceci avait rapport à la mission du gouverneur général Alexandre Varenne venu en Indochine pour provoquer l'illusion parmi les intellectuels vietnamiens sur les efforts de réforme de la France vis-à-vis les colonies.

<sup>14</sup> Huu Thanh (Voix amicale). N° 21, 1. 9. 1924.

<sup>15</sup> Philosophe chinois, pour ainsi dire contemporain de Meng-tseu (Mencius, 372—289 av. J. C.).

sens que les ancêtres des Vietnamiens acceptaient la culture chinoise comme la quintessence (*tinh tuy*) et cependant ils avaient préservé leur propre étatisme; de même, il faut à présent examiner à fond la culture européenne de la même manière. Son attitude par rapport à la tradition classique dans l'idéologie et l'acceptance de la culture européenne reflète un caractère national vrai, complètement différent de l'attitude de Pham Quynh. Il ne s'opposait pas à la nécessité d'élever la langue vietnamienne et l'écriture nationale, mais il insistait que tout ce qu'on doit apprendre, doit être utile à la nation, à son idéologie nationale, sa morale et à tous les aspects de l'activité vitale de l'homme. Il admettait que le niveau formel-artistique de l'Epopée Kieu est haut et l'art poétique de Nguyen Du inimitable, mais s'opposait à ce que l'Epopée Kieu devienne la source principale de la culture nationale et que rien que la forme et l'art littéraire de l'œuvre soient mis en valeur sans égard à son contenu idéologique. Un défaut de Ngo Duc Ke était qu'il allait à l'autre extrême sans voir les éléments idéologiques progressifs dans le contenu de l'Epopée Kieu.

Un grand nombre des savants confucianistes au sens patriotique soutenaient Ngo Duc Ke, mais il y en avait beaucoup de ceux qui suivaient Pham Quynh: Tran Trong Kim, Vu Dinh Long, Nguyen Trieu Luat, Nguyen Tuong Tam. Tous publiaient leurs articles surtout dans le journal Nam Phong (Vent du Sud).

En 1930, Phan Khoi (1887—1959) renouvela la vieille discussion sur l'Epopée Kieu par son article *Canh cao cac nha hoc phiet* (Avertissement aux savants) dans le journal Phu nu tan van (Revue féminine). En ce temps-là, Ngo Duc Ke était déjà mort. De fait, il y toucha le problème qu'il n'était pas tout à fait clair, si Pham Quynh avait accepté les vues et constatations de Ngo Duc Ke, ou bien s'il le méprisait, car il dédaigna de lui répondre. Selon les mots de l'historien littéraire Vu Duc Phuc «on ne sait pas s'il y avait entre Phan Khoi et Pham Quynh des sympathies dissimulées, mais l'article de Phan Khoi ouvrit le chin pour Pham Quynh pour répondre et diffamer l'âme du savant mort».<sup>16</sup> Pham Quynh a naturellement saisi cette occasion favorable. Cependant, il laissa de côté le contenu concret de l'article de Ngo Duc Ke et écrivait seulement de ses mauvais motifs avec l'intention d'affaiblir son influence. Il ne toucha même pas à ses arguments et ses pensées concrètes, il ne voulait que donner l'impression que Ngo Duc Ke avait surtout un intérêt «commercial» dans tout ce conflit: «En ce temps il travaillait (Ngo Duc Ke — J. M.) comme rédacteur-en-chef du magazine Huu Thanh (Voix amicale), qu'il avait récemment lancé. C'était un journal. Ma lettre Nam Phong (Vent du Sud) est aussi un journal. La Voix amicale était fondée plus tard. Mon journal avait déjà existé auparavant. La jalousie est une habitude parmi les commerçants».<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Vu Duc Phuc, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>17</sup> Pham Quynh, *Tra loi bai Canh cao cac nha hoc phiet cua Phan Khoi* (Réponse à l'article de Phan Khoi Avertissement aux savants). Trung lap (Neutralité), 29. 3. 1930.



Cet article a de nouveau provoqué une riposte de Huynh Thuc Khang qui défendait Ngo Duc Ke.<sup>18</sup>

Réitérant et appuyant de nouveau l'attitude dans l'article de Ngo Duc Ke, Huynh Thuc Khang accentuait que le point de vue exprimé par Pham Quynh est faux, qu'il ne correspond en aucune manière à la réalité et il se laissait une fois de plus emporter en critiquant l'Épopée Kieu: «Quelle valeur a en fait cette prostituée Kieu? Quels sont les mérites propres de l'écrivain qui en a tracé l'image pour qu'il soit glorifié?» C'étaient tout de même des mots un peu forts, sans égards aux desseins pour quels ils étaient écrits.

Pham Quynh écrit que Ngo Duc Ke était un homme à moralité de surface, Huynh Thuc Khang lui donna réplique et la polémique prit un caractère personnel, ce qui est toujours au détriment de la chose dont on discute. L'article de Huynh Thuc Khang, lors même que rédigé en un ton plutôt belligérant, n'avait pas le même effet que celui de Ngo Duc Ke, mais tous les deux représentent une certaine contribution pour une évaluation objective de l'Épopée Kieu. Cependant, de plus grande valeur sont les passages où ils traitent des questions et des chemins touchant à la culture nationale, l'éducation nationale, où ils prennent une attitude tranchante improbatrice envers l'idéologie de la subjection et où ils critiquent les intellectuels compradores. Leurs vues très nettes, sans compromis, exagérées même dans le domaine de la morale par rapport à l'Épopée Kieu, étaient justifiées en une certaine mesure. Le roman populaire en vers contient vraiment certains éléments qui, hyperbolisés, auraient pu avoir un effet négatif dans la société contemporaine surtout parmi les jeunes (passages où sont décrits les amusements, les jeux d'amour, l'institution du concubinage). Naturellement, du point de vue historique Nguyen Du avait des opinions tout à fait progressives au sujet de l'amour. Ce que les deux savants opposaient c'était que l'amour ne devienne un but en lui-même, et qu'on n'oublie pas l'aspect historique en acceptant les valeurs de la littérature ancienne. Car, comme le dit l'historien littéraire contemporain «dans les villes de cette période, des hommes tels que Thuc Sinh (un des héros de l'Épopée Kieu — J. M.), qui prenaient des concubines, n'étaient pas rares».<sup>19</sup> Par contre, tous les deux connaissaient bien les éléments positifs de l'Épopée Kieu au point de vue artistique. Ils ont commis l'erreur d'avoir critiqué tout le contenu — on ne saurait sanctionner une telle manière d'agir en aucun cas. S'ils avaient analysé plus conséquemment et soumis à la critique seulement certains détails, leurs vues auraient été plus acceptables. Ils étaient assez bornés par un fait dont ils ne se rendaient même pas compte, à savoir, ils n'étaient que des érudits confucianistes avec un sens patriotique et des

---

<sup>18</sup> *Chanh hoc cung ta thuyet co phai la van de quan he chung khong* (Si l'apprentissage et l'apprentissage en mensonge sont des problèmes de relations communes). *Tieng dan* (Voix du peuple), 17. 9. 1930.

<sup>19</sup> Vu Duc Phuc, op. cit., p. 34.

sentiments démocratiques, mais leur conception du monde ou Weltanschauung en devait beaucoup aux principes et normes féodales. Cependant, en dépit de tout, prises d'un aspect objectif, la défense de Ngo Duc Ke par Huynh Thuc Khang et la critique par Pham Quynh étaient utiles dans le mouvement révolutionnaire de 1930—1931.

Cette fois-ci, Pham Quynh ne répondait pas à Huynh Thuc Khang. Pour raisons probablement semblables à celles pour lesquelles auparavant il n'avait pas donné réponse à Ngo Duc Ke et en outre, pour raisons politiques il ne voulait pas se faire des ennemis dans les cercles littéraires. Il semble qu'il évitait un conflit ouvert avec les érudits confucianistes orientés patriotiquement.

Huynh Thuc Khang écrivait par endroits d'une manière provoquante et quand Pham Quynh ne répondait pas, il s'en trouvait d'autres qui se firent entendre — en premier lieu Phan Khoi, qui s'y prit d'un autre côté: «Si nous voulons justement évaluer l'Epopée Kieu et la perfection littéraire de Nguyen Du, très haute par endroit, plus faible ici et là, nous devons avant tout comprendre que dans la littérature du monde contemporain il existe deux directions réciproquement opposées d'une force vitale égale: c'est la direction qui dévoue un intérêt spécifique à la vie et la direction qui s'intéresse à l'art (...). Toutes les deux ont leur propres théories fondamentales et aucune ne le cède à l'autre (...). Si nous en tenons à ce phénomène et admettons que l'art littéraire de l'Epopée Kieu est beau, alors celui qui est pour une écriture nationale (*quoc ngu*) mais fait de la propagande à l'Epopée Kieu et à Nguyen Du, ne fait pas nécessairement quelque chose d'absurde. Car si nous agissons de cette manière, nous défendons l'art, faisons ressortir seulement la beauté, mais cela ne signifie pas que cette beauté peut avoir une influence néfaste sur la société (...). Le point m'échappe si Pham Quynh avait auparavant recommandé l'Epopée Kieu comme un manuel, ou s'il ne l'a même appelé un manuel. S'il en est ainsi, alors une critique est bien en place, mais si l'on ne fait qu'employer le terme littérature par rapport au mouvement «l'art pour l'art» qui fait de la propagande à l'Epopée Kieu et à Nguyen Du, alors je n'y trouve rien qui vaille la critique et à mon avis c'est une affaire à laquelle chacun a le droit et je n'y vois aucun mal».<sup>20</sup>

Il ressort clairement de cet article que Phan Khoi est du côté de Pham Quynh sans toutefois oser critiquer directement Huynh Thuc Khang. Il savait bien que Pham Quynh n'avait pas explicitement appelé l'Epopée Kieu un manuel, mais quand il en exagérait les louanges et demandait que la nation en soit enthousiasmée à l'extrême, il simplement proposait son étude. Conséquemment, il n'est pas surprenant que Ngo Duc Ke et Huynh Thuc Khang lui aient reproché cette manière d'agir. Un point d'intérêt est que Phan Khoi avait comme le premier au Viet-Nam,

---

<sup>20</sup> Phan Khoi, *Doc bai Chieu tuyet cho mot nha chi si cua Huynh Thuc Khang* (Sur l'article de Huynh Thuc Khang se tournant vers un érudit). Trung lap (Neutralité), 10. 1930.

employé dans cet article l'expression «l'art pour l'art» qui plus tard a tellement troublé la surface de la vie littéraire vietnamienne.

Pham Quynh louait l'Epopée Kieu en vers à cause de la perfection du langage vietnamien. En même temps il affirmait que l'époque de la poésie était passée et que celle de la prose, devant servir à l'idéologie et la politique, lui a succédé. Il était donc contre la poésie, ce qui est un autre désaccord dans son évaluation de l'Epopée Kieu. Sa conception de la prose artistique servant l'idéologie coloniale et en partie aussi féodale, attirait en 1935 la critique de Thieu Son.<sup>21</sup> Pham Quynh avait provoqué une discussion sur l'Epopée Kieu, comme on l'a remarqué, avant tout, avec des desseins politiques; le dessein artistique n'y était que secondaire. Ce dernier d'ailleurs, était essentiellement partagé par Thieu Son (1908), Hoai Thanh (1909) et Luu Trong Lu (1912). Lors même qu'en 1935 Thieu Son ait théoriquement justifié la thèse de «l'art pour l'art», sa première attaque avait été dirigée sur Pham Quynh. Les choses étaient devenues très compliquées, de sorte qu'il n'est pas surprenant que Hoai Thanh, le poète le plus éminent du groupe «l'art pour l'art» ait employé dans l'introduction de son anthologie *Thi nhan Viet-nam* (Les Poètes Vietnamiens, 1942) les mots de Pham Quynh sur l'Epopée Kieu. Par la suite, Hoai Thanh dans une auto-critique admit que c'était sa plus grande erreur en rédigeant *Thi nhan Viet-nam*.<sup>22</sup>

La critique tranchante et sévère de Huynh Thuc Khang au sujet de Kieu provoqua une réaction aussi de la part des écrivains-romantiques. Luu Trong Lu lui reprochait d'être trop cruel vers la héroïne principale Kieu.<sup>23</sup> Huynh Thuc Khang répliquait par une nouvelle critique de l'Epopée Kieu comme étant un roman amoureux, par endroit d'une décadence pornographique: «Si dans notre société future on reconnaîtra parmi les femmes que la prostitution est une activité gentille, juste, alors *Vuong Thuy Kieu* est une œuvre parfaite et alors tout le monde aura assez de temps pour me critiquer et pour choisir des mots cruels. Mais les choses n'en sont pas encore là; notre société n'a pas encore atteint un tel «degré suprême»; et puis, Lu lui-même admet que c'est une chose honteuse. Quelque soit la perfection d'une œuvre littéraire, elle ne doit pas laisser derrière elle des traces aussi dépravées.»<sup>24</sup> Cette opinion était vraiment très près de dédain, ce qui ne pouvait être nullement justifié. Les érudits confucianistes orientés patriotiquement, étaient en général assez forts pour tenir bon dans une discussion avec Pham Quynh, mais

---

<sup>21</sup> Thieu Son avait cependant refusé la conception littéraire patriotique de Huynh Thuc Khang et s'opposa au mouvement «l'art pour la vie».

<sup>22</sup> *Phe binh va tieu luan*, tap II (Critique et petite discussion, Volume II), Hanoi 1965.

<sup>23</sup> *Chieu tuyet Vuong Thuy Kieu* (Sur *Vuong Thuy Kieu*). Phu nu thoi dan (Causerie féminine), 10. 12. 1933.

<sup>24</sup> *Me nguoi trong tieu thuyet cung me nguoi trong tuong hat* (L'homme dans le roman et l'homme dans la pièce classique tuong). Tieng dan (Voix du peuple), 24. 1. 1934.

en matières éthiques, leurs raisons n'atteignaient pas l'hauteur théorique et leurs forces s'épuisèrent dans la polémique avec les romantiques. Mais la discussion sur l'Épopée Kieu continuait. Beaucoup d'intellectuels y prenaient part, ceux qui n'appartenaient pas à Pham Quynh, mais ne s'accordaient pas non plus avec Huynh Thuc Khang après qu'il avait publié sa critique tranchante et réprochante sans équivoque. Ses articles aussi sont souvent contradictoires et parfois manquent un caractère logique dans les idées.

Le mouvement romantique dans la littérature vietnamienne de cette époque ne représentait pas non plus un constituant ennemi pour le mouvement national révolutionnaire. Il n'y avait que quelques individus qui représentaient une fraction réactionnaire. Autrement, ce n'était qu'un élément dans la structure de la littérature nationale, mais non pas de grande signification. «La bourgeoisie et la petite bourgeoisie intellectuelle vietnamienne trouvaient dans le romantisme une haleine lourde, dirigée contre le régime colonial.»<sup>25</sup> Quelques unes des premières œuvres du groupe Tu luc van doan (Par ses propres forces), fondé en 1932, avaient un caractère anti-féodal. De même, le mouvement Tho moi (Nouvelle poésie) avait aussi des éléments progressifs en ce sens. Afin de mieux comprendre la polémique entre le mouvement romantique Tho moi (Nouvelle poésie) et le mouvement Tho cu (Ancienne poésie) qui défendait les canons classiques dans la poésie (la polémique commença en 1933 et dura jusqu'en 1939), il faut examiner brièvement la situation autour de son origine et ses relations envers les discussions qui avaient actuellement lieu dans la vie littéraire.

La conscience bourgeoise commença à se former au Viet-Nam, parlant au figuré, à partir du temps où Phan Chu Trinh (1872—1926) appela le roi «un bandit national» (1904). Cependant, il ne reconnaissait pas la violence révolutionnaire. Phan Boi Chau (1867—1940) se fiait au commencement aux dignitaires mandarins, n'était pas d'accord avec Phan Chu Trinh au sujet du droit de la nation; plus tard, cependant, il était obligé de s'accorder avec la démocratie. «La conscience vietnamienne bourgeoise n'était jamais parfaite, car depuis Phan Chu Trinh jusqu'à Nguyen Thai Hoc, depuis 1904 jusqu'en 1930, la bourgeoisie ne prêtait aucune attention au problème de la terre qui s'occuperait de la question de la paysannerie.»<sup>26</sup> La conscience vietnamienne bourgeoise qui avait alors commencé à se former en 1904, se propageait fortement à partir de 1907 par rapport avec le mouvement Dong kinh nghia thuc.<sup>27</sup> Mais ce mouvement était dissolu vers la fin de 1907. Au commencement de l'année 1908 la révolte paysanne contre les impôts en Trung-bo était étouffée.

---

<sup>25</sup> Truong Chinh: *Chu nghia Mac va van de van hoa Viet-nam* (Marxisme et le problème de la culture vietnamienne). Hanoi 1949.

<sup>26</sup> Vu Duc Phuc, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>27</sup> Dong kinh nghia thuc (L'école gratuite de Tonkin) — école instituée en 1907 par un groupe de révolutionnaires vietnamiens dans le but de rénover la culture nationale.

La même année voyait la dissolution du mouvement Dong du.<sup>28</sup> Le soulèvement de De Tham (1893—1913) était vaincu. En 1911 la Révolution de Hsin-hai éclata en Chine; Phan Boi Chau avec quelques collaborateurs fonda Hoi Viet-nam quang phuc (Société pour la renaissance du Viet-Nam), 1912, sur des bases de démocratie, mais des 1913 elle était supprimée. Quand en 1914, la I<sup>e</sup> guerre mondiale éclata, les colonialistes français racolaient la jeunesse vietnamienne pour la guerre — plusieurs soulèvements prirent place, mais ils étaient bientôt réprimés. Les révolutionnaires, les patriotes et les démocrates étaient emprisonnés. A cette époque le sentiment de la bourgeoisie et de la petite bourgeoisie vietnamienne se changea en un désir très fort pour un régime démocratique mais elles ne savaient pas quand il pourrait se réaliser. Tel était l'arrière-plan historique-idéologique à l'origine du romantisme dans la littérature vietnamienne. Les représentants typiques de ce mouvement étaient Tan Da (1889-1939) et Tran Tuan Khai (1894).

La conception du monde et la relation vers la vie étaient très complexe et pleines de conflits chez les deux. Tan Da a écrit nombre de poèmes qui dissimulaient un dessein patriotique. Il a dévoué ses deux romans *Giac mong con* (Petit rêve, 1917) et *Giac mong con thu hai* (Petit rêve, Fascicule II, 1926) aux idées démocratiques qu'il défendait avec véhémence. Par endroit, le lecteur a l'impression que l'auteur se montre comme un adhérent de la monarchie, mais il s'agit d'un type de monarchie avec beaucoup de droits pour le peuple. L'essence de la poésie de Tan Da a un caractère romantique — il s'agit en fait de ses propres états d'âme, de ses rêves, ses désirs et ses fantaisies transposées au plan du psychisme de l'homme, impuissant en face du monde. Tan Da a écrit le premier roman vietnamien dont le sujet tient de la fantaisie. Il a des mérites en ce qui concerne la réforme de la poésie vietnamienne, il a traduit en vietnamien en forme de *luc bat* et *song that luc bat*<sup>29</sup> le Livre des chansons (*Chi King*). Pham Quynh avait critiqué les romans de Tan Da, mais celui-ci n'entra pas en polémique avec lui.

Les intellectuels au sentiment patriotique et démocratique commencèrent à joindre le Parti National Vietnamien (Viet-nam quoc dan dang), ceux plus radicaux celui de Ho Chi Minh — l'Association de la Jeunesse Révolutionnaire Vietnamienne (Viet-nam thanh nien cach mang dong chi hoi). Une poésie vraiment révolutionnaire et patriotiquement orientée de cette période est celle représentée par les premiers poèmes de Tran Huy Lieu, Song Hong, Hoang Van Hoan et autres. Ainsi, en 1930 il existait déjà un mouvement de la poésie révolutionnaire qui commença à se développer intensivement avec la fondation du Parti Communiste d'Indochine.

Avec l'avènement de cette littérature, les écrivains des cercles bourgeois et petits-bourgeois se tournèrent vers le réformisme — c'est ainsi qu'étaient lancés

---

<sup>28</sup> Dong du (Voyage à l'Est) — mouvement patriotique intéressé à envoyer les jeunes du Viet-Nam à étudier au Japon.

<sup>29</sup> *Luc bat, song that luc bat* — prosodie vietnamienne classique dans la poésie.

les mouvements de la Nouvelle poésie et de Tu luc van doan (Par ses propres forces) dans la prose. «Cependant, le développement de l'individualisme au Viet-Nam colonial différait de celui en Europe. Les romantiques, tels que Byron, Hugo, George Sand et autres étaient des esprits universels, ouverts à tous les aspects de la vie, qui suivaient, en particulier les grands problèmes sociaux et critiquaient ceux-ci sans pitié. Les plus réactionnaires, comme Chateaubriand et les conservateurs comme Lamartine, de Vigny, etc. ... pouvaient de même suivre et en fait suivaient tous les aspects de la vie. Au Viet-Nam, l'individualisme était borné au sens économique et politique par le régime colonial et s'en tenait pratiquement aux questions de l'amour libre et des formes libres d'amasement.»<sup>30</sup>

Un trait caractéristique de cette époque était la relation envers le confucianisme; en 1929, Phan Khoi s'était prononcé contre cette doctrine dans le journal *Than chung* (Esprit commun). Néanmoins, il faut observer que le confucianisme ne disparût pas à cette époque. De 1929 à 1932, Pham Quynh le propageait activement de pair avec le bouddhisme. Phan Khoi ne l'a pas opposé à ce sujet. Des traductions des principaux livres confucianistes paraissaient (*Meng-tseu*, 1932; *Tchoung young* — Juste Milieu, 1933; *Louen yu*, 1935). En 1930, le livre de Tran Trong Kim, *Le Confucianisme (Nho giao)* était publié — il a encore en 1942 gagné première place dans une enquête des lecteurs comme livre de la plus grande valeur (la seconde place revint à l'Epopée Kieu).

Les attitudes opposées au confucianisme servaient la cause du romantisme dans la littérature, lui donnant de l'élan. Phan Khoi a publié l'article *Mot loi tho moi trINH chanh giua lang tho* (La nouvelle poésie domine dans les cercles poétiques)<sup>31</sup> sur le caractère de la poésie. Afin d'illustrer sa théorie, il a écrit le poème *Tinh gia* (Vieux sentiments), qui n'a «aucune valeur idéologique ni artistique».<sup>32</sup> Il parle de l'amour, mais du côté formel le poème est «beaucoup plus périmé que la poésie de Tan Da».<sup>33</sup>

Plusieurs, par exemple, M. M. Durand, affirment que Phan Khoi avait ouvert le chemin pour le mouvement la Nouvelle poésie. A l'avis de la critique littéraire vietnamienne, ce n'est que partiellement vrai. Beaucoup des adhérents de la Nouvelle poésie ne sont pas d'accord avec la théorie et avaient des réservations contre les œuvres littéraires de Phan Khoi, se sentant plus près de Tan Da. Ce n'est pas donc par pure hasard que dans leur almanach, *Thi nhan Viet-nam* (Poètes du Viet-Nam, Hue 1942), les compilateurs — eux-mêmes des poètes émérites, Hoai Thanh et Hoai Chan, ont dévoué plusieurs pages à Tan Da, lors même que du côté du contenu, sa poésie soit différente.

---

<sup>30</sup> Vu Duc Phuc, op. cit., pp. 49—50.

<sup>31</sup> Phu nu Tan van (Revue féminine), N° 122, 10. 3. 1932.

<sup>32</sup> Vu Duc Phuc, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

## A SEMANTIC TYPOLOGY OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

The author analyses semantics of personal pronouns upon the background of the speech act. They are interpreted just as one possible way of identifying discourse participants. Other means of identification are discussed as well. Data from widely divergent languages are used by the author to illustrate his case.

Personal pronouns rank among the most favourite topics of almost all adherents of the componential analysis of meaning. They have been analysed into their semantic components by such linguists as D. Thomas,<sup>1</sup> R. Austerlitz,<sup>2</sup> H. McKaughan,<sup>3</sup> B. Berlin,<sup>4</sup> I. R. Buchler and R. Freeze,<sup>5</sup> and others.

The componential analysis of meaning is virtually an extension of the method of distinctive features that had been worked out in the field of phonology and later applied to other language levels. It has contributed considerably to the study of personal pronouns and at the same time made some generalizations possible.

Full and correct understanding of personal pronouns cannot be achieved in separation from their functioning in the speech act. When describing an act of communication, most authors stress that three demands are to be met in order to achieve the aim of communication. First, the executor of the speech act ought to have something to communicate to someone else. Second, a transfer of what the executor has to communicate must take place. Third, both the executor and the receiver must have at their disposal means of carrying out the speech act.<sup>6</sup>

However, a speech situation includes not only the communication of a message

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, D.: *Three Analyses of the Ilocano Pronoun System*. Word, 11, 1955, pp. 204—208.

<sup>2</sup> Austerlitz, R.: *Semantic Components of Pronoun Systems: Gilyak*. Word, 15, 1959, pp. 102—109.

<sup>3</sup> McKaughan, H.: *Semantic Components of Pronoun Systems (Maranao)*. Word, 15, 1959, pp. 101—102.

<sup>4</sup> Berlin, B.: *A Possible Paradigmatic Structure for Tzeltal Pronominals*. Anthropological Linguistics, 5, 1963, No. 2, pp. 1—5.

<sup>5</sup> Buchler, I. R.—Freeze, R.: *The Distinctive Features of Pronominal Systems*. Anthropological Linguistics, 8, 1966, No. 8, pp. 78—105.

<sup>6</sup> Král, Á.: *Model rečového mechanizmu*. Bratislava, Veda 1974, p. 12.

but likewise an identification of its spatial, temporal and personal parameters. This is usually carried out by means of a set of deictic elements. As J. Lyons<sup>7</sup> points out, the deictic system is egocentric and since the role of speaker is transferred from one participant to another in conversation, so the "centre" of the deictic system switches. Thus an act of communication necessarily includes the phase in which executor of the speech act selects his hearer. This leads to what may be termed an identification of discourse participants. As will be explained later on, personal pronouns are just one of several possible means of this identification, even if the most widespread and efficient one.

There can be no doubt that the discourse participants could be identified by non-deictic means—proper names or other unambiguous expressions, cf. the use of father, mother, etc., when talking to babies. Such an identification of the discourse participants is, however, rather awkward and inefficient. This is why all languages have developed other, more specific and efficient means of identification. The most important of them are pronouns. The latter, unlike other types of words, may be interpreted as variables. Personal pronouns are applied during the discourse according to the role the communicants take in the speech act. Each speech act takes place between two participants usually termed speaker (S) and hearer (H). The so-called third person remains, strictly speaking, outside the speech act and may be termed nonparticipant ( $\bar{P}$ ). The latter refers to quite a wide range of instances which include persons within the reach of the discourse participants, persons outside it, aforementioned persons, animals, objects, etc. The simplest model of the discourse may be schematized as

$$S \text{ ————— } H : (\bar{P}),$$

where  $\bar{P}$  is optional.

The speech act as a rule takes place under more complex conditions. The speaker may participate in the discourse either as an individual or as a representative of what will be termed the speaker's group. The latter is fairly heterogeneous since it includes, in addition to the speaker himself, the nonparticipant(s) and/or the hearer as well. Various types of the speaker's group may be schematized as follows:

$$(1) S + H$$

$$(2) S + \sum_{j=1}^n \bar{P}$$

$$(3) S + H + \sum_{j=1}^n \bar{P}$$

All the three possibilities may be included in the meaning of the English pronoun *we*, Russian *my*, German *wir*, French *nous*, etc. All of them are semantically rather

---

<sup>7</sup> Lyons, J.: *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge, The University Press 1969, p. 275.



heterogeneous and cannot be regarded as true plural forms. The deep semantic differences between the types (1), (2), (3) are, strangely enough, far from formalized in all languages. One such area where this complexity is reflected upon the formal level is Southeast Asia including Australia and Oceania. Many languages spoken in this area are known to distinguish the so-called inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns. As a representative of the Indonesian languages, the Bahasa Indonesia has been chosen here. This language has at its disposal two equivalents of the English pronoun we, i.e. *kita* and *kami*. The pronoun *kita* covers the instances

$$(1) S + H, \text{ and } (3) S + H + \sum_{j=1}^n \bar{P}$$

while *kami* refers to

$$(2) S + \sum_{j=1}^n \bar{P}$$

The same model is repeated, e.g., in the Australian language Maung, where *ngarwuri* covers the instances (1) and (3) while *ngari* refers to (2).

Other languages are more specific. Polynesian languages may be quoted as an example. In these languages the plural forms coexist with the dual ones. Thus in Maori four terms may be used as equivalents of the English *we*, i.e.

$$(1) \textit{tāua} = S + \sum_{i=1} H$$

$$(2) \textit{māua} = S + \sum_{j=1} \bar{P}$$

$$(3) \textit{tātou} = S + H_i + \bar{P}_j, \text{ where } i + j \geq 2 \text{ and } i \neq 0$$

$$(4) \textit{mātou} = S + \sum_{j=2}^n \bar{P}$$

Even more elaborate paradigms are known to occur in quite a few Melanesian languages. These distinguish not only singular, plural and dual, but also trial. As an example we may quote Kaliai-Kove, spoken in northern New Britain:

$$(1) \textit{viařua} = S + \sum_{j=1} \bar{P}$$

$$(2) \textit{tařua} = S + \sum_{i=1} H$$

$$(3) \textit{viatolu} = S + \sum_{j=2} \bar{P}$$

$$(4) \textit{tatolu} = S + H_i + \bar{P}_j, \text{ where } i + j = 2 \text{ (i.e. either } i = 1, j = 1, \text{ or } i = 2, j = 0) \text{ and } i \neq 0$$

$$(5) \textit{viai} = S + \sum_{i=3}^n \bar{P}$$

$$(6) \text{ teita} = S + H_i + \bar{P}_j, \text{ where } i + j \geq 3 \text{ (i. e. either } i = 1, j \geq 2, \text{ or } i = 2, j \geq 1, \text{ or } i \geq 3, j = 0) \text{ and } i \neq 0$$

The same model is found in Fijian where the forms (1) *keirau*, (2) *kedaru*, (3) *keitou*, (4) *kedatou*, (5) *keimami*, and (6) *keda* correspond exactly to their Kaliai-Kove equivalents as described above.

As mentioned before, there is no true plural, dual or trial for pronouns referring to the speaker's group. This has been noticed by O. Jespersen who speaks of the so-called approximative plural.<sup>8</sup>

Exceptionally, the distinction of inclusive versus exclusive is carried out even in the singular of the first person, although it seems rather paradoxical. Thus, there are two forms corresponding to the English *I*, *me* in Tongan, the inclusive *kita* and the exclusive *ou* (or *kau*). While *ou* (or *kau*) is used in the meaning of speaker, *kita* is a generalized personal pronoun including the speaker/or hearer, and/or nonparticipant. It corresponds to the English pronoun *one*, French *on* and German *man*. This is its primary meaning. Besides, as a less definite form (semantically), it is used in a polite style as an humble equivalent of *ou* (or *kau*).

During a discourse the speaker may address several persons. This so-called hearer's group may comprise several hearers participating in the discourse or it may include some nonparticipant persons as well. These two alternatives may be schematized as follows:

$$(1) \sum_{i=2}^n H$$

$$(2) \sum_{i=1}^n H + \sum_{j=1}^n \bar{P}$$

Strangely enough, these two distinct alternatives are not reflected upon the formal level, at least not in the area mentioned above. The Bahasa Indonesia even has only one form, i.e. *kamu* which is insensitive to the category of number. On the other hand, Polynesian languages carefully distinguish both dual and plural forms, cf. the Maori examples:

$$kōrua = H_{i=2} \text{ or } H_{i=1} + \bar{P}_{j=1}$$

$$koutou = H_i + \bar{P}_j, \text{ where } i + j > 2 \text{ and } i \neq 0$$

Some Melanesian languages distinguish trial forms as well, cf. Kaliai-Kove

$$(1) \text{ amurua} = H_{i=2} \text{ or } H_{i=1} + \bar{P}_{j=1}$$

<sup>8</sup> Jespersen, O.: *The Philosophy of Grammar*. Quoted from the Russian Edition (Moscow, Nauka 1958), pp. 220–221.

(2)  $amutolu = H_i + \bar{P}_j$ , where  $i + j = 3$  and  $i \neq 0$

(3)  $amiu = H_i + \bar{P}_j$ , where  $i + j > 3$  and  $i \neq 0$

and Fijian where again (1) *kemudrau*, (2) *kemudou* and (3) *kemunī* correspond to their Kaliai-Kove equivalents.

It turns out that the pronouns of the hearer's group are more homogeneous than those of the speaker's group. We may even speak of a true plural in those instances where  $\bar{P} \neq 0$ .

The identification of the hearer is made easier in various languages by the introduction of grammatical gender. The latter is not known to occur with the first person, obviously the speaker is the most definite discourse participant who need not be identified. As examples, let us quote Arabic *anta* =  $H_{\text{masc}}$ , *anti* =  $H_{\text{fem}}$  (their respective plural forms are *antum* and *antunna*) and Tunica (an Indian language spoken in Louisiana) *ma'* =  $H_{\text{masc}}$ , *he'ma* =  $H_{\text{fem}}$  (and their plural forms *wi'nima* and *hi'nima*).

Finally, there is the so-called third person which differs from the first two in a variety of respects. The former is a term that can be applied to a wide range of subjects who do not take an active part in the discourse, and even to animals and inanimate objects. This implies that the "third person" is the least definite one; its ambiguity is removed or at least decreased in such languages where the category of person intersects with additional categories. This is why grammatical gender is more frequently distinguished with the nonparticipant than with either speaker or hearer. Thus in English, Russian, German, etc. there are three forms referring to the nonparticipant (English *he, she, it*; Russian *on, ona, ono*; German *er, sie, es*), in Arabic and Tunica two (Arabic *huwa, hiya*; Tunica *ʔu'wi, ti'hči*). Gender distinction sometimes disappears with the plural (English *they*, Russian *oni*, German *sie*), probably due to the fact that the nonparticipant's group may be mixed as to the sex; in other instances, however, it remains preserved (Arabic *hum, hunna*; Tunica *se'ma, si'nima*). The pronouns referring to the nonparticipant are the most homogeneous of all personal pronouns and thus display a true plural.

There are languages in which finer distinctions are found than in most European languages. Thus, e.g., Chiricahua Apache spoken in New Mexico and Arizona distinguishes two pronouns of the third person. One of them is traditionally called the fourth person and is used when reference is made to certain relatives by marriage with whom a respect relationship is maintained. It may also be used in a context in which it is necessary to distinguish two third persons. Western Desert, an Australian language, distinguishes four forms, i.e. *ngā* =  $\bar{P}$  near the speaker, *pala* =  $\bar{P}$  near the hearer, *nyara* =  $\bar{P}$  distant, and *palunya* =  $\bar{P}$  aforementioned. Here it ought to be observed that it is sometimes very hard to distinguish personal pronouns of the third person from demonstrative pronouns, and the latter seem to be the main source from which the system of personal pronouns is enriched.

So far only syntactically independent personal markers have been discussed. The latter, however, may have an affixal nature. In such a case, the identification of discourse participants is carried out by verbs (e.g. in many Slavic languages, Latin, Hungarian, etc.). In the above-mentioned and many other languages, the verb includes only subjective markers. Besides, there are languages (many Caucasian, Australian and others) where the verb includes objective markers as well, which is sometimes termed case conjugation.

When investigating interrelations among various discourse participants, Lyons maintains that the primary distinction is between first person (marked +ego) and non-first persons (marked —ego) and that the distinction of second and third persons (the latter marked —ego, —tu) is secondary.<sup>9</sup> However, for reasons explained above, it seems more plausible to put the primary distinction between third person (marked—participant) on the one hand, and first and second persons on the other. Within this subdivision, the first person might be termed as active (+active), while the second person as nonactive (—active).

The category of person is not the only way of making the identification of discourse participants possible. As Lyons puts it, the participants in a situation of utterance (=discourse) not only assume the roles of speaker and hearer. They may also stand in a certain linguistically relevant relationship of status vis-à-vis one another. Status relations interact with, and, in certain languages, may override the participant roles of speaker and hearer.<sup>10</sup> This makes it possible to dispense with personal pronouns in many situations. At the same time it proves that the social aspect penetrates into the very essence of language. This identification of discourse participant via their status is usually called category of courtesy. The latter was interpreted by some linguists as a category of person (e.g. by B. H. Chamberlain, W. G. Aston, E. D. Polivanov in Japanese). Such an interpretation is misleading since the so-called honorific forms may be applied not only to the hearer but also to the nonparticipant in Japanese that serves as a classical example as far as the category of courtesy is concerned. Likewise, the so-called humble forms may be applied not only to the speaker but also to any nonparticipant connected in some way with the speaker.

V. M. Alpatov<sup>11</sup> suggests that two categories overlap and complement each other in the Japanese category of courtesy. First, there is the category of addressee that includes the addressive forms (ending in *-masu* plus their equivalents) and the nonaddressive forms (without *-masu*). Second, there is the honorific category that includes three sets of forms: neutral, honorific, and humble. These enter into two

<sup>9</sup> Lyons, J.: op. cit., p. 278.

<sup>10</sup> Lyons, J.: op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>11</sup> Alpatov, V. M.: *Kategorii vazhivosti v sovremennom yaponskom yazyke*. Moscow, Nauka 1973, p. 13.

oppositions, i.e. honorific—nonhonorific, humble—nonhumble. All courtesy forms express the subjective attitude of the speaker. In Japanese, the category of courtesy involves, e.g., the following verbs:

	neutral	humble	honorific
to do	<i>suru</i>	<i>itasu</i>	<i>nasaru</i>
to tell	<i>iu</i>	<i>mōsu</i>	<i>ossharu</i>
to know	<i>shiru</i>	<i>zonjiru</i>	<i>go-zonji</i>
to come	<i>kuru</i>	<i>mairu</i>	<i>irassharu</i>

The category of courtesy pervades also the Japanese kinship terminology, thus making the use of possessive pronouns superfluous, cf. the following series:

	humble	honorific
father	<i>chichi</i>	<i>otōsan</i>
mother	<i>haha</i>	<i>okāsan</i>
wife	<i>kanai</i>	<i>okusan</i>
elder brother	<i>ani</i>	<i>niisan</i>
elder sister	<i>ane</i>	<i>nēsan</i>
younger brother	<i>otōto</i>	<i>otōtosan</i>
younger sister	<i>imōto</i>	<i>imōtosan</i>

Again, as far as the nonparticipants are concerned, the choice of a correct term depends first of all upon whether the person in question is member of the speaker's group, or of the hearer's group. Thus the category of courtesy cannot be equated with that of person although the courtesy forms make the use of personal pronouns virtually superfluous in Japanese. According to R. A. Miller, "...this elaborate system of speech levels has traditionally and historically existed side by side with a remarkable repertory of words more or less equivalent to what would be called pronouns in Indo-European languages. Actually, the effective use of these various verb forms makes it totally unnecessary to have overt words for reference to speaker, person spoken of, or person spoken to".<sup>12</sup>

The category of courtesy in Korean is typologically identical with that in Japanese. Courtesy levels exist in quite a few languages of Southeast Asia and Oceania, e.g. in Javanese and Samoan. It is interesting to note that the courtesy distinctions do not replace the use of personal pronouns in these languages. The reasons are hard to explain so far.

---

<sup>12</sup> Miller, R. A.: *The Japanese Language*. Chicago, The University Press 1970, p. 274.

# THE FA<sup>cc</sup>ĀL- AND FA<sup>cc</sup>ĀLA-PATTERNED NOUNS OF INSTRUMENT IN ARABIC

LADISLAV DROZDÍK, Bratislava

The connotation of instrumentality, as conveyed by the patterns *fa<sup>cc</sup>āl* and *fa<sup>cc</sup>āla*, should be related to the general value of intensiveness possibly underlying a number of other connotations, too. The aim of the study is to gather material evidence for the instrumental use of both patterns on the contrasting background of agentialness which is another important connotation related to this derivational system. Finally, both patterns are presented in terms of their co-occurrences with a number of other derivational devices of Arabic.

1. The derivational pattern *fa<sup>cc</sup>āla*, in conveying the general connotation of intensiveness, is closely related to the pattern *fa<sup>cc</sup>āl*.<sup>1</sup> In the former case (*fa<sup>cc</sup>āl*), this general value, reinterpretable in terms of repeated action, typically results in the connotation of instrumentality, e.g., *ʿaṣṣāra* "press, squeezer", *ṭayyāra* "airplane, aircraft", *tallāja* "refrigerator, icebox", etc.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case (*fa<sup>cc</sup>āl*), the general value of intensiveness, restatable once again in terms of repeated action and professional activity, typically leads to the connotation of agentialness and actorship in denoting members of various professions and trades, as in *ḥammāl* "porter carrier", *ṭayyār* "flyer, aviator, pilot", *tallāj* "ice vendor", etc. Atypically, the latter pattern may display an instrumental reinterpretation of intensiveness as that stated above for the pattern *fa<sup>cc</sup>āla*, e.g., *raqqās* "pendulum", *jarrār* "tractor", etc.

The connotation of instrumentality should be understood in the general sense of the derivational class of *nomina instrumenti*, as currently defined in Arabic

<sup>1</sup> For the etymological background of this pattern see Barth, J.: *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*. Leipzig 1889, p. 48; cf. also pp. 11 and 40. See also Fleisch, H.: *Traité de philologie arabe*, vol. I. Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique 1961, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the linguistic material quoted should be related to Modern Written Arabic (MWA). In the latter case, the English equivalents are quoted after Wehr, H.: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (W, henceforward). Edited by J. M. Cowan. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1971 (3rd printing). The transcription of the examples quoted is slightly adapted to the system of writing followed in the present study. Some quotations are given in a somewhat reduced form.

grammars. Apart from nouns exhibiting an easily identifiable instrumental value, like those quoted above, there are cases involving various connotational modifications of the latter. A connotation of localness, substantially identifiable with the derivational class value of what is known as *nomina loci*, is a quite frequent result of these modifications, e.g.,

derivational pattern *fa''āla*:

*xammāra* "wineshop, tavern",

*'assāla* "beehive";

derivational pattern *fa''āl*:

*ḥammām* "bath; swimming pool; spa, watering place",

*šallāl* "cataract, waterfall, rapids".

The latter category of nouns, mostly allowing both an 'instrumental' and a 'local' interpretation in the sense of conventions adopted by the Arabic grammar, will form part of the present description.

1.1 The relatively frequent occurrence of such inflectional variations of the derivational pattern *fa''āl* which formally coincide with each other and/or with those of the derivational pattern *fa''āla*, and vice versa, calls for a sharp distinction between autonomous derivational patterns and merely inflected forms of the latter. This distinction, which may involve in some cases quite serious interpretational problems, may briefly be illustrated on the following examples:

*fa''āl*: *gassāl*, sing., male-masc.,<sup>3</sup> "washer, washerman, laundryman";

*gassāla*, sing., female-fem., "washerwoman, laundress";

*fa''āla*: *gassāla*, sing., fem., "washing machine" (W, 673); or

*fa''āl*: *šayyāl*, sing., male-masc., "porter, carrier",

*šayyāla*, plural (the plural suffix *-a* possibly alternating with the suffix *-ūn*: *šayyālūn*);

*ṭawwāf*, sing., male-masc., "mounted rural mail carrier",

*ṭawwāfa*, plural, etc.

*fa''āla*: *šayyāla*, sing., fem., "suspender" (W, 498);

*ṭawwāfa*, sing., fem., "patrol boat, coastal patrol vessel (employed by the Egyptian Coast Guard)" (W, 574; MWA regionalized: Egypt); etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

*fa''āl*: *ḥammār*, sing., male-masc., "marchand ambulant, forain; colporteur qui transporte ses marchandises sur des bêtes" ("roving vendor, market vendor, hawker"),

*ḥammāra*, plur.,

<sup>3</sup> Only such inflectional data which are relevant to the matter are here given.

- fa''āla*: *ḥammāra*, sing., fem., "ensemble de trois perches, plantées en terre, formant trépied, et réunies, par la tête (on y suspend une outre, une baratte, une bête égorgée qu'on dépouille)" ("a sort of wooden tripod for suspending leather-containers, churns or slaughtered animals to be skinned") (T 2, 934—5);<sup>4</sup> or
- fa''āl*: *ḡassāl*, sing., male-masc., "laveur des morts" ("washer of the dead"), sometimes "laveur d'habits" ("washer, laundryman"),
- ḡassāla*, sing., female-fem., "laveuse; laveuse des mortes" ("washer-woman, laundress; woman washer of the dead (women)"),
- ḡassāla*, plur., (co-occurring with *ḡassālīn*; the plural form of the female-feminine *ḡassāla* being *ḡassālāt*),
- fa''āla*: *ḡassāla*, sing., fem., "grand plat en terre (employé pour la lessive, mais aussi occasionnellement à d'autres usages domestiques)" ("large earthenware vessel used for washing and, casually, for other purposes as well") (T 6, 2820—1),<sup>5</sup> etc.

These and some other types of formal coincidences, which are extraordinarily frequent in the derivational domain examined, will be disregarded in the present paper.<sup>6</sup>

1.2 By their derivational history, both patterns are either deverbative or, by analogy, denominative. The former type may be illustrated by cases like *ḥammāl* "porter, carrier" (for *fa''āl*), or *ḥammāla* "(carrier) beam, girder, support, base, post, pier, pillar; suspenders" (for *fa''āla*), derivationally related to the verb *ḥamala* 'to carry, bear; etc.' (W, 206—7). The latter type includes cases like *tallāj* "ice vendor" (for *fa''āl*), or *tallāja* "iceberg, ice floe; refrigerator, icebox" (for *fa''āla*),

<sup>4</sup> Marçais, W.—Guiga, A.: *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, II. *Glossaire* (T, in what follows). Fasc. I—VIII. Paris, Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner 1958—1961. The extremely involved allophonic transcription, as used by the authors of the *Glossaire*, is here considerably simplified and unified. In order to obviate serious printing problems, all short vowels, except when occurring in the word-final position, are represented as /ə/. Other exceptions to this general rule are few in number (esp. short vowels reflecting the Classical Arabic weak consonants).

<sup>5</sup> As stated above, the question of lexical autonomy may appear problematic in a number of cases. The derivational class of the *fa''āla*-patterned collective nouns resulting from (and still, in a number of instances, alternating with) the plural forms of the pattern *fa''āl* which formally coincide with the pattern *fa''āla*, may serve as an illustrative example: *baḥḥāra* "crew (of a ship of an airplane)" (W, 43; here classified as a plural of *baḥḥār* "seaman, mariner, sailor") as opposed to *xayyāla* "cavalry" (W, 268; here classified as an autonomous lexical unit, i.e. as a noun of the pattern *fa''āla*, lexically independent of *xayyāl*, plur. *xayyāla*, "horseman, rider"), etc.

<sup>6</sup> For an attempt to gather an extensive documentary evidence for these and still some other types of formal coincidence in the derivational domain represented by the patterns *fa''āl* and *fa''āla*, see our study *Derivational Patterns fa''āl and fa''āla in Arabic* (to appear in *Graecolatina et Orientalia*, 7—8, Bratislava 1977).



derivationally related to *talj* "snow; ice; artificial ice" (W, 106), etc. Furthermore, both patterns may simultaneously be related to both verbal and nominal bases in signalling various types of polysemous and homonymous relationships. Multiple meaning relationships, obtained in this way, may be illustrated by cases like *jarrār* "tractor; tugboat, steam tug, towing launch" (for *fa''āl*), derivationally related to the verb *jarra* "to draw, pull; to drag, tug, haul; to tow; etc.", co-occurring with *jarrār* "potter", derived from the noun *jarra* "(earthenware) jar" (W, 117); or the Takrūna Arabic *sawwāq* "conducteur de bêtes" ("cattle driver"): *sawwāq-žlāb* "celui qui conduit des bestiaux achetés par un marchand de bestiaux; conducteur d'un attelage de labour, de dépiquage, d'un véhicule" ("driver of cattle purchased by a cattle dealer; driver of a ploughing, trampling team, of a vehicle"), derivationally related to the verb *sāq* (\**s-w-q*) "pousser une bête devant soi; conduire en tirant par une longe; conduire un véhicule, des bêtes attelées; conduire une automobile; etc." ("to drive, urge on, herd (cattle); to draw (an animal) by a halter; to drive a vehicle a team; to drive a car; etc."), co-occurring with *sawwāq* "qui va au marché; qui est au marché; qui revient du marché" ("one who is going to (coming from, being in) the market; marketer, market vendor or purchaser"), derivationally related to the noun *sūq* "marché hebdomadaire (pour les bêtes, les produits naturels, les produits fabriqués); marché permanent (dans les villes et les localités de quelque importance); quartier où se tient le marché permanent de certains produits, où sont fabriqués et mis en vente certains objets; le bazar; etc." ("market; marketplace; bazaar; etc.") (T 4, 1936—194,2) etc.

1.3 As evident from the examples so far quoted, the derivational class value of agentialness, identifiable in terms of a human-centered actorship which is characteristic of the pattern *fa''āl*, may be related to the connotation of instrumentalness in several ways. The latter connotation, typically associated with the pattern *fa''āla*, may simultaneously be related to the pattern *fa''āl*, either in co-occurrence with the agential value or independently of it. Restricting ourselves to exactly these two connotations (viz., agentialness and instrumentalness) and disregarding the relatively small class of the *fa''āla*-patterned intensive nouns possibly operating in an agential sense,<sup>7</sup> we may state the distribution of both these derivational class values with regard to the *fa''āl*—*fa''āla* opposition in terms of the following relationships:

- (1) *fa''āl*: agential — *fa''āla*: instrumental,
- (2) *fa''āl*: agential, instrumental — *fa''āla*: instrumental,
- (3) *fa''āl*: instrumental — *fa''āla*: instrumental,

<sup>7</sup> Such as *jawwāba* "a famous, competent traveler" (Baranov, 181) as against *jawwāb* "traverser (of foreign countries), traveler, explorer" (W, 145) or *naqqāda* "captious critic, caviler, carper" as opposed to *naqqād* "critic; reviewer" (W, 990); etc. For the treatment of agential nouns of a female-feminine sex-gender reference with no male-masculine counterparts, see § 1.32 in what follows.

- (4) *fa''āl*: (1), (2), (3) — *fa''āla*: unrepresented,  
 (5) *fa''āl*: unrepresented — *fa''āla*: instrumental.

Before attempting to materialize any of these relationships, it should be emphasized that the nominal classes they underlie are in constant variation in accordance with the lexical and terminological development of the language. The examples which follow reflect, therefore, but a series of single stages of the linguistic evolution of Arabic in the derivational domain under examination.

1.31 *fa''āl*: agential — *fa''āla*: instrumental, e.g.:

Modern Written Arabic (MWA):

*bawwāb* "doorman, gatekeeper" — *bawwāba* "(large) gate, portal"<sup>8</sup> (W, 81);  
*ḥaṣṣād* "reaper; harvester" — *ḥaṣṣāda* "mowing machine, mower" (*ḥaṣṣāda darrāsa* "combine") (181);

*xammār* "wine merchant, 'keeper of a wineshop" — *xammāra* "wineshop, tavern" (261);

*sajjād* "worshiper (of God)" — *sajjāda* "prayer rug; rug, carpet" (397);  
*ṭayyār* "flyer, aviator, pilot" — *ṭayyāra* "airplane, aircraft" (579);  
*'assāl* "gatherer of honey; beekeeper, apiculturist" — *'assāla* "beehive" (613);  
*'awwām* "good swimmer" — *'awwāma* "buoy; raft; pontoon; float (of a bait line, of an oil lamp, etc.)" (658);

*ḡawwāṣ* "diver; pearl diver" — *ḡawwāṣa* "submarine" (688);

*nazzār* "keen-eyed; spectator, onlooker" — *nazzāra* "field glass, binocular; telescope, spyglass; (pair of) eyeglasses, spectacles, etc." (976); etc.

It should be noted, however, that as a result of various types of lexicalization the semantic relation between the *fa''āl*- and *fa''āla*-patterned derivatives may be considerably loose and may frequently involve metaphorical features, as in

*fattāḥ* "opener (of the gates of profit, of sustenance; one of the attributes of God)" — *fattāḥa* "can opener" (693);

*maṣṣāṣ* "one who sucks, sucker; cupper; bloodsucker, extortioner, usurer" — *maṣṣāṣa* "screech owl; vampire" (911);

*sabbāb* "abuser, vituperator, reviler" — *sabbāba* "index finger" (392); etc.

Chad-Sudanese Arabic:

*xayyūt* "tailor" — Hill. — *xayyāta* "needle" — Hill. (*Lexique* 2, 151);<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For the range of 'instrumentalness' see § 1 above.

<sup>9</sup> Roth-Laly, A.: *Lexique des parlers arabes tchado-soudanais (An Arabic-English-French Lexicon of the Dialects Spoken in the Chad-Sudan Area)* (*Lexique*, in what follows). Vols. 1–2, as published so far. Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1969. The abbreviations Tre., Car., Let. and Hill., used in *Lexique*, should be identified with its main sources as follows: Trenga, G.: *Le bura-mabang du Ouadai*. Paris 1947. Carbou, H.: *Méthode pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Ouaday et à l'Est du Tchad*. Paris 1913. Lethem, G. L.: *Colloquial Arabic, Shuwa dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and of the region of Lake Tchad*. London 1920. Hillson, S.: *Sudan Arabic: an English-Arabic Vocabulary*. London 1930.

*šawwāf* “seer; sorcerer” — Let. — *šawwāfa* “miroir” (“mirror”) — Tre. (ibid., 2, 261), etc.

The last example reflects, in all probability, the respective relation of both patterns to different semantic elements of a polysemous verbal basis, viz., “to foresee”, in the case of *fa‘āl*, “to see”, in that of *fa‘āla*.

Takrūna Arabic:

*rəhhāy* “rémouleur” (“grinder, knife-grinder” (agential)) — *rəhhāya* “meule à aiguiser” (“grinder, grindstone”) (T 3, 1466);

*rəddād* “accompagnateur (syn. *šaddād*) qui reprend le refrain d’une chanson, pendant que le chanteur se repose” (“member of a chorus resuming the refrain of a song while the singer is resting”) — *rəddāda* “septième trou de la flûte en roseau qui reste constamment libre en dehors du jeu des doigts et au moyen duquel le musicien reprend le souffle” (“the seventh hole of a reed flute, always free, through which the musician resumes his breath”) (T 3, 1486);

*šəttāb* “balayeur” (“sweeper”) — *šəttāba* “balai sans manche, très court” (“a sort of short broom without handle”) (T 4, 2040); etc.

Iraqi Arabic:

*barwāb* “doorman” — *barwāba* “gate, sluice gate” (*Dict.*, 46);<sup>10</sup>

*daggāg*: in *daggāg jidri* “a man who gives smallpox vaccinations” (owing to the restrictive impact of extra-linguistic factors, the female-feminine counterpart of *daggāg* is lexically somewhat different: *daggāga* “a woman who does tattooing”) — *daggāga* “door knocker” (162);

*‘akkās* “photographer” — *‘akkāsa* “camera” (318);

*ḡarwāš* “diver” — *ḡarwāša* “submarine” (340);

*fattāḥ*: *fattāḥ il-fāl* “fortune teller” — *fattāḥa* “opener, can opener, bottle opener; corkscrew” (343);

*kassār*: *kassār xišab* “woodcutter” — *kassāra* “nutcracker”; *kassārat jōz* “walnut cracker”; “crusher”; *kassārat saxar* “rock crusher” (404—5); or, with pattern alternants involved:

*sabbāḥ* (*\*fa‘āl*) “swimmer” — *sibbāḥa* (*\*fa‘āla*) “float” (211); etc.

1.32 *fa‘āl*: agential, instrumental — *fa‘āla*: instrumental.

When strictly postulating true substantival (and not merely substantivizable, as a matter of casual potentiality) representatives of these derivational patterns at both sides of the present relationship, as done so far, we will realize that the class of nouns it underlies is considerably limited in number. General tendency observable in the distribution of both connotations with respect to the pattern *fa‘āl* (for

<sup>10</sup> Woodhead, D. R.—Beene, W. (Eds): *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English* (*Dict.*, henceforth). Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Press 1967.

*fa''āla* see later on) may be stated in disjunctive, rather than conjunctive terms: a given *fa''āl* is by far more likely to occur either as an agential or an instrumental pattern than a pattern simultaneously involving both connotations. For the connotation of agentialness, the derivational pattern *fa''āla*, in accordance with basic assumptions adopted in the present paper, may merely coincide with certain inflectional manifestations of the pattern *fa''āl*, viz. gender: feminine, and number: plural (see also § 1.1). Nevertheless, various socio-cultural restrictions may be responsible for the absence of an agential *fa''āl* in a number of typically feminine activities, as in *naddāba* “hired female mourner” (W, 950) or in the Takrūna Arabic *ḥannāna* “coiffeuse des mariées” (“woman hair-dresser of brides”) (T 2, 953) or *waggā'a* “femme qui pratique, qui sait habilement pratiquer l'extraction des corps étrangers restés dans les blessures, ayant pénétré dans l'œil, dans l'oreille” (“a woman performing, dextrous in performing the extraction of foreign bodies from wounds, from the eye or ear”) (T 8, 4357), etc. Cases like these will be classified as feminine inflections of a lexically unrepresented *fa''āl*.

Some examples:

Chad-Sudanese Arabic:

*sawwāg* “driver; engine-driver” — Hill.

*sawwāg* “whip for driving” — Let.

*sawwāga* “driving-stick” — Hill. (*Lexique* 2, 238);

Takrūna Arabic:

*ṣabbāt* “bateur de terrasse” (“a man working in fixing and levelling the top of a terraced roof”),

*ṣabbāt* “souliers; pair de souliers” (“shoes; a pair of shoes”),

*ṣabbāta* “batte, morceau de bois plat et large qui sert à battre la couverture des terrasses” (“piece of wood, flat and large, used for fixing and levelling the top of a terraced roof”) (T 5, 2171—2);<sup>11</sup> etc.

1.33 *fa''āl*: instrumental — *fa''āla*: instrumental.

An exclusively instrumental *fa''āl*—*fa''āla* relationship, even if still represented by a rather limited number of occurrences, is markedly more numerous than the preceding one. From a semantic point of view, both patterns may be related to each other in a variety of ways ranging from identity (synonymy) to a well established semantic autonomy. The latter aspect, however, will be disregarded in the subsequent listing. E.g.:

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted, however, that the inflectional properties of nouns of human reference mostly differ from those of nouns of extra-human reference related to the same derivational pattern, as in the example quoted above: *ṣabbāt* (agential), plur. -*īn*, -*a*, as against *ṣabbāt* (instrumental), plur. *ṣabbāt*. For further evidence see below.

MWA:

*jarrār* "tractor; tugboat, stem tug, towing launch",  
*jarrāra* "tractor" (W, 117);  
*xallāṭ* and *xallāṭa* "mixer, mixing machine" (256);  
*saxxān* (*saxxān miyāh*) "boiler, hot-water tank";  
*saxxāna* "hot-water bottle" (402);  
*ṭarrād* and *ṭarrāda* "cruiser (warship)" (557);  
*ʿallāq* and *ʿallāqa* "coat hanger" (634);  
*qaddāḥ* and *qaddāḥa* "flint; fire steel, fire iron; flint and steel; lighter" (754), etc.

It is worthwhile noting that the instrumental value, associated with any of the two derivational patterns under examination, may fade in a number of noninstrumental modifications of the underlying connotation of intensiveness, as in

*sayyār* "planet",  
*sayyāra* "automobile, car" (W, 447); etc.

The present form of the *faʿāl*-patterned noun, viz., "sayyār", is in all probability due to the process of shortening of a longer syntactic construction *kawkab sayyār* literally "circuiting, orbiting (or, less technically, "itinerant, circulating") celestial body", simultaneously paralleled by a process of substantivization of the originally attributive constituent of the underlying syntactic construction.

Chad-Sudanese Arabic:

*ḥaššāš* and *ḥaššāša* "small hoe with short shaft used for cleaning the ground" (for *ḥaššāš* see *Lexique* 2, 117 — Hill.; for *ḥaššāša* see the definition of *jarrāya*, *ibid.*, 1, 91 — Hill.), etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

*bərrād* "théière" ("tea-pot"),  
*bərrāda* "gargoulette en poterie" ("earthenware water-bottle") (T 1, 275—6);  
*ṣəffāy* and *ṣəffāya* "filtre; tamis" ("filter; sieve") (T 5, 2247), etc.

Iraqi Arabic:

*jarrār* "drawer (of a desk, etc.)",  
*jarrāra* "trailer" (*Dict.*, 70);  
*raššāš* and *raššāša* "sprinkling can, watering can; machine gun" (188);<sup>12</sup>  
*sayyār* "extension cord; hose",  
*sayyāra* "automobile, car; vehicle" (231—2); etc.

1.34. *faʿāl*: (1), (2), (3) — *faʿāla*: unrepresented.

Since the *faʿāl* (1), displaying an exclusively agential value, is of no relevance to

<sup>12</sup> Semantically differentiated in MWA: *raššāš* "water hose; machine gun" — *raššāša* "perfume, spray, atomizer" (W, 340). Intervarietal divergences of the latter type are extremely numerous

the study of instrumentality, only the *faʿāl* (2) and *faʿāl* (3) will be taken into consideration in the subsequent listing.

1.341 *faʿāl* (2): agential, instrumental.

As stated in 1.32, the co-occurrence of both connotations with any given *faʿāl* is rather exceptional. As partly evident from what precedes, the lexical autonomy of both constituents of the resulting pairs, when disregarding the semantic aspect of the problem, manifests itself in their inflectional properties, especially in a highly selective choice of allomorphs of the plural morpheme. Some examples:

MWA:

*raqqāṣ* (plur. *-ūn*) “professional dancer”,

*raqqāṣ* (plur. *-āt*) “pendulum (phys.; also of a timepiece)” (W, 354; the plural is not explicitly stated in the source indicated), etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

*sawwāḡ* (plur. *-īn*, *-a*) “driver of animals; etc.” (see § 1.2),

*sawwāḡ* (plur. *swāwḡq*) “aiguillon, long bâton un peu pointu dont on pique les bœufs, les chameaux pour les faire marcher” (“long, somewhat pointed driving-stick used for driving cattle, camels”) (T 4, 1942);

*xayyāt* (plur. *-a*) “tailleur” (“tailor”),

*xayyāt* (no plur.) “tresse couturière du métier à tisser” (“warp, warp-threads in loom”) (T 3, 1236), etc.

Iraqi Arabic:

*raqqāṣ* (plur. *-a*) “dancer”,

*raqqāṣ* (plur. *-āt*) “pendulum” (*Dict.*, 192);

*ṭabbāx* (plur. *-īn*) “cook”,

*ṭabbāx* (plur. *-āt*, *maṭābix*) “kitchen stove, range” (285), etc.

1.342 *faʿāl* (3): instrumental.

Although the instrumental value cannot be recognized as typical of the pattern *faʿāl*, neither can it match the agential application of the latter in the number of occurrences stated, the number of the *faʿāl*-patterned *nomina instrumenti* is relatively great. Some examples:

MWA:

*raffās* “steam launch, steamboat; motor tug” (W, 349);

*raffās* “steam launch, steamboat” (349);

*sabbāt* “shoe” (394);

*ʿaddād* “counter, meter (for electricity, gas, etc.)” (595);

*ballās* “earthenware jar” (MWA regionalized: Egyptian Arabic) (72);

*garrāf* “a water wheel turned by oxen or horses and used for raising irrigation water from a river onto the fields” (MWA regionalized: Syrian Arabic) (670); etc.

Chad-Sudanese Arabic:

*baṭṭān* “girth on donkey and horse saddle” — Hill. (*Lexique* 1, 53);

*šabbāl* “necklace” — Hill. (ibid. 2, 244); etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

*qarrāš* “mancheron de la charrue” (“one of the two handles of a plough”) (T 6, 3169);

*lammā* “petit miroir rond” (“a small round mirror”) (T 7, 3683), etc.

Iraqi Arabic:

*šayyāl* “(pair of) suspenders” (*Dict.*, 256);<sup>13</sup>

*šammām* “valve, stopcock” (270); etc.

1.35 *fa‘āl*: unrepresented — *fa‘āla*: instrumental, e.g.:

MWA:

*ballā‘a* “sink, drain” (W, 73);

*jarrāfa* “rake; harrow” (120);

*zallāqa* “sleigh, sledge, sled; toboggan; toboggan chute, sledding course; gutter, eaves trough” (381); (for a close connotational affinity between instrumentality and localness in the sense adopted by the Arabic grammatical tradition see § 1);

*wallā‘a* “(cigarette) lighter” (1099); etc.

Chad-Sudanese Arabic:

*jarrāfa* “implement for raking together *dura* heads on threshing floor” (borrowed from Egyptian Arabic) — Hill. (*Lexique* 1, 90);

*rakkāba* “driving-stick” — Hill. (ibid., 2, 194); etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

*xazzāra* “œillères de bride” (“eye-flaps, blinkers in a bridle”); “bandeau placé sur les yeux de la bête qui tourne la meule du moulin à traction animale” (“band covering the eyes of a beast turning the millstone of an animal-driven mill”) (T 3, 1083);

*rə‘āya* “muselière de veau (qui lui couvre le museau de façon à l’empêcher de têter)” (“muzzle put over a calf’s head to prevent it from sucking”) (T 3, 1528);

*qaffāla* “bouton” (“button”) (T 6, 3262); etc.

<sup>13</sup> In most varieties of Arabic *šayyāl* operates as an agential noun of human reference and so is pluralized, viz. *-ūn*, *-a* or what may equal these plural markers in colloquial Arabic, e.g., *šayyāl* (*-ūn*, *-a*) “porter, carrier”, as against the instrumental *šayyāla* “suspender” (W, 498); Egyptian Arabic *šayyāl* (*-in*); Chad-Sudanese *šayyāl* (*-in*) “porter” — Hill., *Car.*; “carrier; labourer” — Let. (*Lexique* 2, 264), etc., as against the Iraqi Arabic *šayyāl* (*-āt*). The Chad-Sudanese instrumental *šayyālāt* “tent poles” — Hill. (ibid.), occurring only in plural, may theoretically be related either to a lexically unrepresented *šayyāl* or to a lexically unrepresented *šayyāla*.

Iraqi Arabic:

*raḥḥāya* (alternating with *raḥayya*) "grinder, molar tooth" (*Dict.*, 184);  
'*abbāra* 'ferry, ferry boat" (300); etc.

1.4 The derivational system, represented by the patterns *fa''āl* and *fa''āla*, in relation to a unique derivational class value, identifiable with instrumentality, yields a somewhat different picture. When disregarding, then, the connotation of agentialness, which has so far constituted a contrasting background for the present attempt to define the amount of instrumentality within the system and its distribution with respect to the derivational patterns examined, the *fa''āl*- and *fa''āla*-patterned *nomina instrumenti* may simply be presented as belonging to one of the following two classes: (1) *fa''āl* and *fa''āla* occurring independently of each other (coinciding with cases involved in 1.31, 1.34 and 1.35) and (2) *fa''āl* and *fa''āla* in co-occurrence with each other (identifiable with cases quoted in 1.32 and 1.33)

2. In conveying any of its basic connotations examined in the foregoing section the derivational system represented by the patterns *fa''āl* and *fa''āla* is in constant, interaction with some other derivational devices of the language. From this point of view, some attention will be paid to a number of connecting points between the 'instrumental' patterns of the present system and some other derivational devices of Arabic, substantially no matter whether specific or not, possibly generating *nomina instrumenti*. With regard to the random nature of these interactions and the great number of the derivational patterns possibly involved therein, no attempt will be made to analyse all elements of the derivational system of Arabic potentially associated with instrumentality beyond those which might appear of interest in clarifying some of the most typical derivational relationships linking the patterns *fa''āl* and *fa''āla* to the derivational system of Arabic. As for the intermingling of the connotational features of instrumentality with those of locality, in the sense stated above, which is reflected in various types of interrelations between the derivational class of *nomina instrumenti*<sup>14</sup> and that of *nomina loci et temporis*,<sup>15</sup> it

<sup>14</sup> In this case, the term is used technically to denote a unique derivational class of this name (for particulars see 2.1 in what follows) as against some previous applications of this term in denoting the total of instrumentally interpretable patterns, whatever their derivational class membership might be.

<sup>15</sup> Viz., '*asmā' al-makān wa-zamān*, in the Arabic grammar. This derivational class involves the following patterns: (deverb.) *mif'al*, *mif'il*, *mif'ala*, *mif'ila*, *mif'ula*; (denomin.) *maf'ala*, the latter pattern being sometimes classified apart as producing *nomina abundantiae*. E.g., *maktab* (derived from the verb *kataba* "to write") "school; office; desk, etc.", i.e., a place for writing, where writing is taught, etc., or *maw'id* (from *wa'ada* "to make a promise; to give one's word; to promise") "promise; rendezvous, date, appointment; time and place of an appointment; etc." (W, 813, 1081 resp.); etc. For particulars, see e.g. Fischer, W.: *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (= Fischer, in what follows). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1972, pp. 45-46, or Wright, W.: *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (= Wright, henceforward). Vol. I (3rd. ed.). Cambridge U. P. 1967, pp. 124-130.



will be assumed as implicitly included in a sufficiently comprehensive interpretation of 'instrumentalness'. This interpretation of facts will further be mirrored in the subsequent quotation of linguistic data: nouns belonging to the derivational class of *nomina loci et temporis*, as far as co-occurring with the 'instrumental' patterns *fa''āl* and/or *fa''āla*, irrespective of whether in combination with *nomina instrumenti* or independently of them, will be taken into account.

In general, two types of derivational devices, possibly interacting with the 'instrumental' *fa''āl* and/or *fa''āla*, will be examined in what follows: (1) specifically instrumental patterns, and (2) accidentally instrumental patterns.

2.1 Specifically instrumental patterns are related to the derivational class of the so-called *nomina instrumenti* ('*asmā' al-'āla*, in the terminology of Arab grammarians): *mif'al*, *mif'ala*, *mif'āl*; *muf'ul*, *muf'al*, as well as some of their variants, in Classical Arabic, or what may equal them in particular varieties of Colloquial Arabic.<sup>16</sup> In quoting examples, the following order will be observed: (1) nouns of the pattern *fa''āl* or *fa''āla*, (2) nouns belonging to the derivational class of *nomina instrumenti*, and finally, (3) those related to the derivational class of *nomina loci et temporis* (if any). E.g.:

MWA:

*bawwāla* "public lavatory",

*mibwala* "chamber pot; toilet, water closet",

*mabwala* "urinal; a diuretic" (W, 83);

*daqqāqa* "knocker, rapper (of a door)",

*middaq* "beetle; pounder, pestle", *middaqqa* "pounder, pestle; beetle; clapper, tongue (of a bell)" (W, 288);

*zallāqa* "sleigh, sledge, sled; toboggan; toboggan chute, sledding course; gutter, eaves trough",

*mizlaq* "skate" (*mizlaqān* "a pair of skates"), *mizlaqa* "sleigh, sledge, sled; toboggan",

*mazlaq* "slippery spot; slide, chute; etc." (381);

*zammāra*, *zummāra* "a wood-wind instrument consisting of two pipes, related to the clarinet; siren" (MWA regionalized: Egyptian Arabic),

*mizmār* "single-pipe wood-wind instrument resembling the oboe" (381);

*šawwāya* "gridiron, grill",

*mišwāh* "id." (495);

*taffāya* "fire-extinguishing device",

*mitfa'a* "fire-fighting equipment, fire extinguisher, fire engine" (561);

*ṭarwāya* "frying pan",

*miṭwāh* "pocket knife, penknife",

---

<sup>16</sup> For Classical Arabic see e.g. Fischer, pp. 46–47 or Wright, pp. 130–131.

*maṭwan* "id." (577);

*ʿaṣṣāra* "press, squeezer; oil press; cane press (also *ʿaṣṣārat al-qāṣab*); wringer",

*miʿsara* "press, squeezer; oil press; cane press" (616);

*qallāya* "frying vessel, cooking vessel",

*miqlan* and *miqlāh* "frying pan" (788); etc.

In a number of these co-occurrences the derivative relatable to the class of *nomina instrumenti* may be missing, as in

*xazzān* "dam; reservoir; basin, sump, pool; storage tank (also for oil)",

*maxzan* "storeroom, storehouse; depository; stockroom, storage room; depot, magazine, warehouse; store, shop, department store" (237); etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

*baxxāra* "casolette en poterie de fabrication domestique, destinée à faire des fumigations" ("home-made earthenware perfuming pan used for fumigations; censer, fumigator"),

*mabxra* "casolette en cuivre dont le dessus est percé d'un trou" ("copper censer with a perforated top") (T 1, 240—1);<sup>17</sup>

*ḥallāb* "bol de poterie (*tēn*), de poterie vernissée (*ḥaxxār*) ou de cuivre (sert à contenir aussi bien du lait que tout autre liquide ou des aliments)" ("a (glazed earthenware or a copper vessel for milk or any other liquid or food-stuff"),

*mahlāb* "vase à traire" ("milking vessel") (T 2, 910—11);

*xayyāt* "tresse couturière du métier à tisser" (see 1.341 above),

*maxyāt* "grosse aiguille à coudre les sacs, les tresses d'alfa" ("big needle for sewing bags, plaits of the esparto grass") (T 3, 1236);<sup>18</sup>

*zawwāda* "sac en peau (de dimensions réduites, plus petit que le *mawwad*, pour mettre les provisions)" ("leather bag of reduced size, smaller than a *mawwad*, for containing provisions"),

*mawwad* "sac à provisions en peau" ("leather bag for keeping provisions"); "cornemuse" ("bagpipe") (T 4, 1707—8); etc.

Iraqi Arabic:

*ṭabbāx* (pl. -āt, *maṭābīx*)<sup>19</sup> "kitchen stove, range",

*maṭbax*, *muṭbax* (pl. *maṭābīx*) "kitchen; kitchen stove" (*Dict.*, 285);

<sup>17</sup> In Iraqi Arabic only *mabxara* "censer" (*Dict.*, 26) is available. Likewise, for the Chad-Sudanese area only *mibxār* and *mubxār* "censer" are recorded in the *Lexique* (1, 43 — Hill.).

<sup>18</sup> The interrelations between the instrumental and agential patterns may vary from one linguistic variety of Arabic to another, as in: MWA: *xayyāt* "tailor", *xayyāṭa* "dressmaker; seamstress"; *mixyāt* "needle" (W, 267). Similarly in Iraqi Arabic: *xayyāt* "tailor", *xayyāṭa* "seamstress"; *muxyāt* "a large needle" (*Dict.*, 150), as against the Chad-Sudanese *xayyāt* "tailor" — Hill.; *xayyāṭa* "needle" — Hill. (*Lexique* 2, 151). Etc.

<sup>19</sup> To keep apart from *ṭabbāx* (plur. -īn) "cook"; see also 1.341.

*gurrāfa* (\*fa''āla) "scoop; paddle",  
*mīgrāfa* "large spoon, ladle, scoop", *muḡrāfa* "paddle" (334);  
*fattāḥa* "opener, can opener, bottle opener; corkscrew",  
*miftāḥ* "key; opener, can opener, bottle opener"<sup>20</sup> (343);  
*la''āba* "doll",  
*malā'ib* (plur. only)<sup>21</sup> "toys, playthings" (423);  
*niššāfa* (\*fa''āla) "blotter";  
*minšafa*, *manšafa* "bath towel" (459); etc.

2.2 Accidentally instrumental patterns, mostly due to the process of substantivization of various participial stems as well as to an instrumental application of these and still some other substantival patterns which cannot be classified as instrumental in terms of their derivation class membership, frequently co-occur with the patterns *fa''āl* and *fa''āla* in conveying instrumentality, too. Some examples:

MWA:

*ṭaffāya* (i.e. *fa''āla*, see 2.1 above),  
*miṭfa'a* (related to *nomina instrumenti*, see *ibid.*), alternating with a substantivized Form IV participle *muṭfi'a* in:  
*miṭfa'at ḥarīq*, *muṭfi'at ḥarīq* "fire-extinguisher".<sup>22</sup>

Similarly:

*ṭayyāra* "airplane, aircraft", alternating with a substantivized Form I participle *ṭā'ira* "id." (W, 579).

Both types of patterns may merely co-occur in conveying the general connotation without being synonymously related to each other, as in:

*ḥammāla* "(carrier) beam, girder, support, etc.; suspenders",  
*ḥāmila* "device for carrying, carrier": *ḥāmilat ṭā'irāt* "aircraft carrier" (W. 207);  
 etc.

<sup>20</sup> For a more distinct semantic differentiation see MWA, for instance: *fattāḥa* "can opener", as opposed to *miftāḥ* "key; switch; lever, pedal; knob; etc." (W, 693).

<sup>21</sup> Relatable both to *nomina instrumenti* and *nomina loci et temporis*.

<sup>22</sup> Khatib, A.: *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms. English-Arabic*. Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971, p. 223.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

## TWO NEW PUBLICATIONS ON OTTOMAN DEFTERS IN HUNGARY<sup>1</sup>

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

A study of Ottoman taxation returns and financial reports from the territory of former Hungary—under Ottoman occupation—may be said to possess a priority from several aspects. As a matter of fact, the investigation of Ottoman history in Hungary has the oldest tradition on a world-wide scale, the greatest number of sources from this territory have been published or translated into Hungarian and the results from a study of this material are still among the most pregnant ever achieved in this domain.

The first to initiate a study of sources of an economic character, written in *siyakat*, in Hungary was Á. Szilády (1837—1922) a hundred years before the publication of the books under review. In a paper presented at a session of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which later came out in book form under the title *A defterekről* (Pest, 1872), he pointed to the difficulties attending a study of these sources and included three samples of Hungarian defters. A fine piece of work in translating tax and financial reports was that done by A. Velics (1855—1925) who under the title *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* (Turkish Treasury Defters of Hungary)<sup>2</sup> translated the majority of the defters relating to Hungary from the Vienna Nationalbibliothek and some deposited in Budapest.

The work with Ottoman tax and financial scrolls was carried on by L. Fekete (1891—1969) who, besides an extensive publishing activity,<sup>3</sup> also wrote a synthetic

<sup>1</sup> Káldy-Nagy, Gy.: *Kanuni Devri Budin Tahrir Defteri (1546—1562)*. Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi 1971. 374 pp. Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları: 177.

Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Tributes in Hungary According to Sixteenth Century Tapu Registers of Novigrad*. The Hague—Paris 1973. 228 pp. Near and Middle East Monographs: VIII.

<sup>2</sup> I (1543—1635). Budapest 1886. LV + 467 pp. II (1540—1639). Budapest 1890. XXIX + 770 pp.

<sup>3</sup> *A törökkori Vác egy XVI. századi összeírás alapján*. Budapest 1942. 88 pp. *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása*. Budapest 1943. 197 pp. + map. *Eine Konskription von den Jassen in Ungarn aus dem Jahre 1550*. Acta orientalia, 11, 1960, pp. 115—143. *A hatvani szandzsák 1550. évi adóösszeírása*. Jászberény 1968, 89 pp. + map + 12 photos. *Das Heim des 'Alī Čelebi, eines türkischen Defterbeamten in Buda*. Vostochnye istochniki II. Moscow 1969, pp. 29—75.

study on the *siyakat* writing in the Ottoman financial administration,<sup>4</sup> and in collaboration with his pupil Gy. Káldy-Nagy, edited account books from Budin.<sup>5</sup>

Gy. Káldy-Nagy published the Ottoman inventory from the Baranya province from the 16th century,<sup>6</sup> followed various aspects of utilizing the Ottoman tax and financial inventories<sup>7</sup> and prepared synthetical studies on the basis of these sources.<sup>8</sup>

Káldy-Nagy's studies are mentioned because, in addition to a material contribution to historical geography, agricultural and artisan production on the occupied territory and to demographic aspects, they also include weighty theoretical conclusions and concepts on the value of Ottoman tax returns. Káldy-Nagy, for instance, investigated the question of precision in transcribing family names (Hungarian and Slavonic) in the *siyakat* writing which permits a great variability in the reading of recorded names and states that no more than 15–20% of the names are recorded faultily, and the rest, hence 80%, represent very valuable material.<sup>9</sup> Another valuable observation from Káldy-Nagy's studies is the finding that the so-called *tahrir*-defters are more truthful and reliable than the *ğizye*-defters and that Ottoman censuses failed to record about 10% of the population of the occupied Hungarian territory.<sup>10</sup>

If a more complete picture is to be provided on the results of past investigation of Ottoman tax returns, mention should also be made of the studies by T. Halasi-Kun.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung. Beitrag zur türkischen Paläographie mit 104 Tafeln I–II.* Budapest 1955. 910 pp., 104 tables.

<sup>5</sup> *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen) 1550–1580.* Türkischer Text. Budapest 1962. 838 pp.

<sup>6</sup> *Baranya megye XVI. századi török adóösszeírásai.* Budapest 1960. 144 + VI pp. + map. *Török adórajstrom Baranyáról a XVI. századból.* A MTA Dunántúli Tudományos intézete. Értekezések 1964–1965. Budapest 1966, pp. 115–155. *Die türkischen Steuerkonskription der Gegend von Szigetvár aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert.* Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestensis. Sectio Historica 9. Budapest 1967, pp. 261–271.

<sup>7</sup> *Two Sultanic Hâşş-Estates in Hungary during the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries.* Acta orientalia, 13, 1961, pp. 31–62. *Turetskie reestrovye knigi Muķāṭa'a kak istoricheskie istochniki.* Vostochnye istochniki I. Moskva 1964, pp. 76–90. *Bevölkerungstatistischer Quellenwert der Ğizye-Defter und der Tahrir-Defter.* Acta orientalia, 11, 1960, pp. 259–269. *Statistikai adatok a török hódoltság terület nyugat felé irányuló áruforgalmáról 1560–1564.* Történeti statisztikai évkönyv 1968, pp. 27–97.

<sup>8</sup> *The Administration of the Sanjâq Registration in Hungary.* Acta orientalia, 21, 1968, pp. 181–223. *Magyarországi török adóösszeírások.* Budapest 1970, 107 pp. *Harács-szedők és rájak. A török világ a XVI. századi Magyarországon.* Budapest 1970. 198 pp.

<sup>9</sup> *Baranya megye XVI. századi török adóösszeírásai*, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Bevölkerungstatistischer Quellenwert*, p. 208.

<sup>11</sup> *Avrupa'daki Osmanlı yer adları üzerinde araştırmalar. Peşte. Üngürüs.* Türk Dili ve Tarihi Hakkında Araştırmalar I. Ankara 1950, pp. 63–104. *Sixteenth-Century Turkish Settlements in Southern Hungary.* Belleten, 28, 1964, No. 109, pp. 1–72. *Unidentified Medieval Settlements in Southern Hungary. Ottoman: nam-ı diğer.* Studia Turcica. Budapest 1971, pp. 213–230.

The new editions of Ottoman defters under review originally date from the peak period of Ottoman power in Hungary and cover the period of 1546—1579. Let us note in more detail the various editions.

Gy. Káldy-Nagy published in his book *The Budin Tahrir Defters from the Period of the Law-Giver (1546—1562)*, two Ottoman tax inventories. In a short foreword to the book, Káldy-Nagy mentions the arrangement of the defters, the manner of transcribing Hungarian names and lists the books and maps which he used in identifying local names. The earlier defter which Káldy-Nagy published has been preserved in three copies (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tahrir defterleri, No. 388, No. 410 and No. 449) and is undated. With the aid of indirect data Káldy-Nagy put it to the year 1546. The second defter is likewise deposited in the Başvekâlet Arşivi (Tahrir defterleri, No. 345), and bears the date 1562.

As basis of the publication, the editor took the defter from the year 1562 which is more extensive and according to it, he arranged the localities mentioned in the defter from the year 1546.

In the matter of writing names, the editor chose the Hungarian transcription, hence he transcribes ç as cs, ş as s, s as sz, j as zs, etc., which is of course correct in the case of Hungarian names, but distorts Germanic and Slavonic names. But in the case of Arab names, he uses the Turkish transcription, and names lending themselves to be read in several ways are marked with an asterisk, and those whose reading is problematic, with a question mark. In addition, the editor left some Hungarian expressions in the text—e.g. *bíró*—mayor, *szolga*—servant, *pap*—parish priest, etc. He makes use of those abbreviations only which are in the defter, e.g. *m.*—according to the sense of the text *mezbur* (above-mentioned) or *müccerred* (single) and *c.*—*müzevec* (married). Since *timar defterleri* from the years 1546 and 1562 have also been preserved (Başvekâlet Arşivi, No. 1044 and No. 345), the editor inserts data in a footnote as to whom belonged the income from the given settlement, i.e. whose *hass*, *zeamet* or *timar* it was.

In the first part of the edition Káldy-Nagy publishes the Codices (*Kanunname*) which are generally attached to Ottoman tax returns.<sup>12</sup> He also publishes *Kanunname-i Reaya-i Budun ve Liva-i Estergon ve Liva-i Hatvan ve Liva-i Novigrad* and *Kanunname-i iskeleha-i Budun ve Estergon* (pp. 1—3)<sup>13</sup> and *Kanunname-i Liva-i Budun ve Novigrad ve Sicen ve Filek ve Hatvan* and *Kanunname-i iskeleha* (pp. 4—6).<sup>14</sup>

The registers as such (pp. 7—374) are set up according to smaller districts called *nahiye* (subdistricts) and contain 493 settlements—towns (*varos*), villages

<sup>12</sup> Fekete, L.: *Siyâgat-Schrift I*, p. 76.

<sup>13</sup> Başvekâlet Arşivi, TD No. 410. Published by Ö. L. Barkan: *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ziraat ve ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*. İstanbul 1943, pp. 300—302, Facs. No. 56. Translated into Hungarian by Fekete, L.: *Budapest törökkerban*. Budapest 1944, pp. 206—210 and *Esztergomi szandzsák*, pp. 187—89.

<sup>14</sup> Başvekâlet Arşivi, TD No. 343 from the year 1562.

(*kariye*), deserted fields (*mezraa*) and monasteries (*manastır*). The *sancak* of Budin included the following *nahiye*: *Nahiye-i Budun der Liva-ı Paşa* (99 settlements), *Nahiye-i Vişegrad tabi'-i Budun* (18 settlements), *Nahiye-i Cezire-i Kuvın tabi'-i Budun* (18 settlements), *Nahiye-i Vác tabi'-i Budun* (90 settlements), *Nahiye-i Peşte tabi'-i Budun* (203 settlements), *Nahiye-i Keçkemet tabi'-i Peşte* (62 settlements).

The registers published by Káldy-Nagy provide valuable material on the most diverse aspects of Ottoman dominion in Hungary, principally as regards economic history, historical demography, but also linguistics. A comparison of data from two registers 16 years apart enables us to follow the trends of development in the Hungarian society under Ottoman rule. For instance, the name section of the registers points to a considerable fluctuation of the inhabitants, the part showing the taxed items on the other hand shows in the majority of cases a growth of income to the Ottoman financial administration, sometimes as much as tenfold.

A serious drawback of the book is that it has no index whatever, nor any map supplements which would have greatly facilitated work with the material. There are also numerous printing errors.<sup>15</sup>

In his book *Ottoman Tributes in Hungary According to Sixteenth Century Tapu Registers of Novigrad*, G. Bayerle publishes two defters—The Detailed Register of the District of Novigrad (*Başvekâlet Arşivi*, TD No. 507) from the year 1570 and The Concise Register of the District Novigrad (*Başvekâlet Arşivi*, TD No. 661) undated (from the year 1579).

In the introduction (pp. 11—28) Bayerle presents a historical overview of events that had led to the occupation of the subsequent territory of the Novigrad District and to the setting up of Ottoman administration over this territory. He correctly states that it was only in the so-called third Turkish war, more exactly in the years 1551—53, that the Ottomans won the territory of the Novigrad District into their hands. It was due to the break-up of the defence line of the forts and towns of Drégely, Szécsény, Hollókő, Gyarmat, Šahy, Buják and Salgó, that Ottoman armies extended their control over the northern territory and they gave proof of their superiority by defeating the imperial army near Plášťovce on August 9, 1552.

Of great value is Bayerle's analysis of extant Ottoman Registers of Novigrad in which he examines 8 of them from this region (from the years 1550—1579), mainly, however, Registers No. 507, and No. 661 of the *Başvekâlet Arşivi* in Istanbul. At the same time, Bayerle takes note of the settlements, inhabitants, households, revenues, basic land tax, agricultural tithes and fees and miscellaneous revenues, and in the second register, the fiefs. In the closing section of the introduction, the editor discusses the technical aspects of the edition. Bayerle

---

<sup>15</sup> We have learnt from a review by L. Mészáros that Káldy-Nagy had had no opportunity of making the proofs and carrying out required corrections in this work. Cf. *Századok*, 108, 1974, Nr. 1, p. 280.



chose the transcription of the original *siyakat* text into modern Turkish which is attendant with certain problems, but this mode of transcription is also taking a foothold, and is getting more familiar.

The Novigrad *sancak* belonged among minor districts of the *eyalet* of Budin. The Detailed Register from the year 1570 (pp. 31—94) lists 206 settlements, 8 of which were towns, 166 villages and 32 deserted fields.

The majority of these localities is to be found on the territory of present-day Slovakia and despite great efforts by the editor, it has not been possible always to identify the names of the settlements with present day names, hence, here we shall confine ourselves to supplementing the author's data.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> E.g.: *Alšo Alšovik*, the modern Jalšovík, not Dolný Jalšovík. *Alšo Perebil*, the modern Příbelce, not Dolné Příbelce. *Apadi*, the modern Opatovská Nová Ves, not Apátújfalu.

*Bačurova*, the modern Bacúrov, not Baczúr. *Balik*, the modern Balog nad Ipľom, not Ipolybalog. *Balvan*, the modern Gondovo, not Balvány. *Batorfalu*, the modern Batorová, not Bátorfalu. *Bozdinča*, the modern Bzenica, not Szénásfalu, or Tekovská Breznica (?).

*Čab*, the modern Čebovce, not Csáb.

*Đačo N'in'e*, the modern Nenince, not Lukanénye.

*Farkaš Virbok*, probably the modern Zemiansky Vrbovok.

*Harasti*, the modern Chrastince, not Ipolyharaszti. *Haynik*, the modern Hájniky, from 1960 Sliač. *Horhi*, the modern Horša.

*Inam*, the modern Dolinka, not Inám. *Isveti Kirij*, former Svätý Kríž, the modern Nová Dedina, or former Svätý Kríž nad Hronom, the modern Žiar nad Hronom.

*Kiš Čank*, the modern Čankov. *Kiš Tur*, the modern Veľké Turovce, not Kistur. *Kiš Uyfalu*, the modern Opatovská Nová Ves. *Kovač*, the modern Kozárovce or Kováčová 1 mile NW of Zvolen. *Kökesü*, the modern Kamenné Kosihy, not Kőkeszi. *Közib N'ik*, the modern Vinica, not Ipolynék. *Közib Palašt*, the modern Plášťovce, not Palást. *Közib Tur*, the modern Veľké Turovce, not Középtur.

*Lesene*, the modern Lesenice, not Leszenye. *Liva*, the modern Levice, not Léva.

*Miri*, the modern Merovce, from 1960 part of Dudince. *Moťova*, the modern Môťová, not Moutova.

*Nad Čalamiya*, the modern Veľká Čalomija, not Nagycsalomja. *Nad Čank*, the modern Čankov.

*Nad Uyfalu*, the modern Veľká Ves nad Ipľom, not Ipolynagyfalu.

*Oľvar*, the modern Oľováry, not Óvár. *Opatovča*, the modern Opatová, from 1960 Nová Dedina, or Horné Opatovce, part of Žiar nad Hronom.

*Perka*, the modern Štiavnické Bane. *Pirikled*, the modern Příbelce. *Pitolova*, the modern Pitelová, not Kiszelfalu.

*Rakoča*, the modern Rakovec, part of Hontianske Nemce. *Ribar*, the modern Rybáry, part of Sliač.

*Sen Kirij*, the modern Žiar nad Hronom, former Svätý Kríž nad Hronom, not Garamszentkereszt; or Svätý Kríž, today part of Nová Dedina. *Sen Antal*, the modern Antol. *Simer*, the modern Horné Semerovce, not Felsőszemeréd. *Söcin*, the modern Sečianky, not Ipolyszécsénke.

*Tarna*, the modern Trnie or Trnavá Hora. *Tešmag*, the modern Tešmák, not Tesmag.

*Velika Pila*, the modern Pila, not Dóczyfürésze. *Velika Pola*, the modern Veľké Pole, not Pálósnagymező.

*Zahora*, the modern Záhorce, not Erdőmeg. *Zolin*, the modern Zvolen, not Zólyom.

This problem has been given a detailed discussion in a review published in *Historický časopis* (Historical Review) of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 23, 1975, pp. 608—613.

The second defter "The Concise Register of the District of Novigrad" (pp. 95—110) from the year 1579 records 3 *hass* properties, 8 *zeamets* and 84 *timars*. The Detailed Register from the year 1579, on which this Concise Register is based, records 226 settlements, and was published on the basis of a copy deposited in Budapest, by A. Velics.<sup>17</sup>

In its Appendices, Bayerle's book brings transcriptions: 1. Transcriptions of Geographical Names (pp. 113—118); 2. Transcriptions of Muslim Names (pp. 118 to 119); 3. Transcriptions of Surnames (pp. 119—137); 4. Transcriptions of Christian Names (pp. 138—140). The editor here first gives the names written in Arabic as recorded in *siyakat* and then transcribed into modern Turkish writing. This section is very instructive and permits a comparison of the author's exactness of transcription.

In its "Gazetteer" Bayerle's book brings the localization of settlements recorded in the defters, evidence of their historical sources (principally according to D. Csánki's work), in maps (Lipsky's *Mappa generalis regni Hungariae*) and in modern manuals. Unfortunately, for the territory of present-day Slovakia he made use only of an *Automapa ČSSR* (Prague, 1963) which did not enable him to list the names of all the villages in Slovakia.

In addition, the book is provided with a Glossary of Ottoman Terms (pp. 163—171) which lists all the important words in the published defters and permits this edition to be used also by nonspecialists.

The Facsimile Edition of *Defter-i Mufasssal-i Liva-i Novigrad* (pp. 177—217) is appended to the book so that one may fully check the precision of the editor's transcriptions and the book may also be used for teaching purposes.

Bayerle's efforts are to be commended also in his preparation of the Maps (pp. 221—228) in which are marked with great precision settlements with their original Ottoman names.

The edition of Novigrad defters by G. Bayerle is a solid piece of work which will certainly find an honorable place among previous editions, and those being prepared, of Ottoman defters in former Hungary.

<sup>17</sup> Op. cit. I, pp. 266—322.

## ON THE LATEST EDITIONS OF THE BOOK OF DEDE KORKUT

XÉNIA CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

The mediaeval Turkish epic cycle *Kitab-ı Dedem Korkut alâ Lisan-ı Taife-i Oğuzan* (The Book of My Dede Korkut in the Language of the Oguz Clan) known under the abbreviated form of *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*, is not only a unique cultural monument, but also a noteworthy document of its epoch.

The manuscript of this anonymous work dating from the 16th century was discovered in 1815 in the Dresden library by the German Orientalist H. F. Diez. It consists of an introductory part devoted to the personality of Dede Korkut, and of twelve episodes or legends in prose with inserts of songs— a characteristic feature for the epic writings of Turkish nations. Diez published the eighth episode about the one-eyed giant and its German translation.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to this translation, the Turkish version of the Cyclopean motif found its way into W. Grimm's study on Polyphemus and its variants.<sup>2</sup>

Interest in the *Book of Dede Korkut* has grown steadily during the course of the present century and this not only in foreign countries, but primarily in Turkey itself where this written monument is rightly held in great esteem as a rare cultural heritage of the nation.

From among foreign scholars dealing with this subject mention should be made here of at least the Russian Orientalist V. V. Bartold who in a series of studies and scientific papers, but mainly by a fully equivalent translation of the epos into Russian, has greatly contributed to its popularization, and further, of the Italian scholar E. Rossi who discovered the Vatican manuscript of the *Book of Dede Korkut*. Despite attempts by several authors to compile a bibliographic list of the various editions of the *Book of Dede Korkut* and relevant materials, no such complex bibliography of this outstanding work has as yet been published. Unfortu-

<sup>1</sup> Diez, H. F.: *Der neuentdeckte oguzische Cyklop verglichen mit dem homerischen*. In: *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften*, 2. Theil. Berlin und Halle 1815, pp. 399—457.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, W.: *Die Sage von Polyphem*. In: *Kleinere Schriften*, Bd. IV. Berlin 1887, pp. 428 to 462.

nately, the latest, so far the most comprehensive and the most valuable Turkish processing of the *Book of Dede Korkut* by Orhan Ş. Gökyay (to be spoken of presently) likewise falls short of such an objective, viz. to provide a complete bibliographic overview.

This sustained interest in the *Book of Dede Korkut* is also evident from the fact that four different editions have appeared during the past three years—two English and two Turkish, and the Elm Publishing House of the Azerbaijan S.S.R. has announced another forthcoming edition by S. A. Dzhamshidov. The latter is to comprise an analysis of the artistic content of the epos and of the social relationships, together with a comparison with the epics of Koroğlu, Âşık Garip and Şah İsmail.<sup>3</sup>

The first comprehensive English translation of all the legends of the *Book of Dede Korkut* is the 1972 edition by the Texas University.<sup>4</sup> Alongside an excellent translation, the joint work of two Turkish and one American scholars, this edition carries also an introduction to the language and background of the legends as well as a history of Dede Korkut scholarship.

A second English version of the *Book of Dede Korkut* was published thanks to the efforts of the Oxford Orientalist Geoffrey Lewis.<sup>5</sup> As this particular book has not been available to us, we have to rely on its review by A. Dilâçar.<sup>6</sup> In his translation, Dr. Lewis took as his basis the two known manuscripts, viz. of the Dresden and the Vatican libraries. The reviewer appreciates the serious approach on the part of the translator to the text, but reproaches him for being inconsistent in the translation of proper names. The book carries a 15-page introduction and 159 notes relating to the history, the Islamic institutions, personal and local terms, traditions and the like.

There have been repeated attempts to transcribe the legends from the *Book of Dede Korkut* into contemporary literary Turkish and thus make this cultural heritage of the nation accessible to the Turkish public, especially the young. The last such attempt is from the pen of the literary critic Adnan Binyazar.<sup>7</sup>

In the introductory section (Giriş, pp. 11—92), Binyazar acquaints the reader with the person of Dede Korkut and his function not only in the Oğuz epic cycle, but also in the cultural traditions of the Turkish nations of Central Asia. This part

---

<sup>3</sup> According to the bulletin *Novye knigi SSSR* (New Books U.S.S.R.), 1974, No. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *The Book of Dede Korkut. A Turkish Epic*. Translated into English and Edited by F. Sümer, A. E. Uysal and W. S. Walker. 1972. vol. 8, 236 pp. with 4 illustrations and map.

<sup>5</sup> Lewis, G.: *The Book of Dede Korkut*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes. London, The Penguin Classics 1974. 213 pp. with map.

<sup>6</sup> Türk Dili (The Turkish Language). Part XXX. Ankara 1974. No. 275, pp. 684—685.

<sup>7</sup> Binyazar, A.: *Dedem Korkut* (My Dede Korkut). Istanbul, Milliyet Yayınları 1973. 311 pp. A very favourable review of A. Binyazar's book was published by the Turkish folklorist C. Öztelli. In: Türk Dili. Part XXIX. Ankara 1974. No. 270, pp. 334—336.

of the introduction is supplemented with a chronological list of the historical sources in which Dede Korkut is referred to. A brief piece of information about some of the past editions of the *Book of Dede Korkut* is followed by the most important section of the introduction, i.e. an evaluation of the topics. The author, adopting a popular form, endeavours to help the reader gain an insight into the wealth of the epos, concentrating mainly on its social background. Binyazar devotes an enhanced measure of attention to the position occupied by women, despite the fact that with the exception of two episodic characters, only three women play any major role in the epos.<sup>8</sup> The introduction is completed with a review of motifs that have a parallel in the cultural traditions of other nations. In translating the text into modern Turkish, the author adheres, as far as it is at all possible, to the original version and strives to find expressions adequate to and equivalent with the original context. Words and idioms that by their specificity might confuse the reader are explained in the appended glossary (pp. 299—310). The work is concluded with a list of references (pp. 311—312).

Thus far, a very brief outline has been given of three of the recent editions of the *Book of Dede Korkut*. Now, a more detailed treatment will be made of the Turkish edition by O. Ş. Gökyay (*Dedem Kokudun Kitabı*. Hazırlayan Orhan Şaik Gökyay. İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1973. 359 + DCLXXI pp., 1 map, 12 supplements).

In this, already the fourth edition of the *Book of Dede Korkut*,<sup>9</sup> the Turkish literary historian and poet O. Ş. Gökyay has compounded the results of many years of study and of a solid scientific work. The publication is divided into two parts, the first consisting of a transcribed text of the *Book of Dede Korkut* (pp. 1—152), with a glossary (pp. 153—359), while the second part is made up of a noteworthy monograph by O. Ş. Gökyay (pp. I—DCLII).

In his first edition of the *Book of Dede Korkut*, Gökyay made the transcription on the basis of the text published in İstanbul in 1916 by Kilisli Muallim Rifat according to the Berlin copy of the Dresden manuscript. The first Turkish edition was very unsatisfactory and this caused numerous inaccuracies and errors to creep into Gökyay's own edition of the year 1938. In order to forestall a recurrence of any

---

<sup>8</sup> Binyazar in this connection quotes two discussions devoted to female characters of the Turkish epos: Alangu, T.: *Orta Zaman Anadolu Komşu Milletlerinin Eposlarında Kadın Kahramanları* (Heroines of Mediaeval Eposes of Anatolia's Neighbouring Nations). In: Türk Dili. Part III. Ankara 1953, No. 27, p. 144; Kaplan, M.: *Dede Korkut Kitabında Kadın* (Woman in the Book of Dede Korkut). In: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* (Turkological Journal). Part IX. İstanbul 1951, pp. 99—113.

<sup>9</sup> Gökyay, O. Ş.: *Dede Korkut*. İstanbul, Arkadaş Basımevi 1938. LXXVII + 171 pp.: first edition of the *Book of Dede Korkut* in Latin transcription; Gökyay, O. Ş.: *Bugünkü Dille Dede Korkut Masalları* (Tales of Dede Korkut in Contemporary Language). İstanbul, Muallim Ahmet Kitapevi 1939. 135 pp., 2nd Edit., İstanbul 1943, 120 pp.; Gökyay, O. Ş.: *Bugünkü Dille Dede Korkut*. İstanbul, Remzi Kitapevi, s. a. 144 pp.

such errors in the present text, Gökyay approached the task in a most responsible manner. In addition to the Dresden manuscript, this time he has thoroughly processed the Vatican manuscript which was discovered only in 1955 and which is antecedent to and more trustworthy than the Dresden one. Unfortunately, it contains only six of the legends. "I feel convinced that any one who has for years been engaged on the legends of Dede Korkut, will, with the experience thus gained, profit by the possibility of using both these mutually-complementary documents in order to cope with the difficulty of what was omitted in the text, forgotten, wrongly understood, and also the more easily to recognize incorrectly recorded places",<sup>10</sup> observed Gökyay in connection with his work on the manuscripts. He speaks about the difficulties relating to the transcription of the text from the Arabic into the Latin alphabet on pages CXC—CCXLVII.

It is felt to be rather a pity that O. Ş. Gökyay's book does not contain a facsimile of the Dresden and the Vatican manuscripts as does that by Muharrem Ergin.<sup>11</sup> While Ergin consistently noted the various divergences between the texts of the Dresden and the Vatican manuscripts in footnotes, Gökyay notes them directly in the running text in italics, while the words he himself filled in either totally or partially, are in boldface.

Compared to his first edition,<sup>12</sup> Gökyay's present edition of the *Book of Dede Korkut* clearly shows a more careful, meticulous adaptation of the transcribed word into modern Turkish.

As in the other editions, here too, the song inserts are taken out of the text and written in verse form, in contrast to the original records in the manuscripts. The translation by V. V. Bartold<sup>13</sup> on the contrary, adheres to the original mode and the versified text currently intermingles with the prose.

Division into paragraphs in Gökyay's edition corresponds neither to that in Bartold's nor in Ergin's.

A feature of great value is the glossary section of the publication.<sup>14</sup> The word roster carries a total of 4,835 items. In addition to high frequency words, the list

---

<sup>10</sup> Gökyay, O. Ş.: *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*, p. DCVI.

<sup>11</sup> Ergin, M.: *Dede Korkut Kitabı*. I. *Giriş—Metin—Faksimile* (The Book of Dede Korkut. I. Introduction—Text—Facsimile). Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi 1958. XVII + 251 pp.

<sup>12</sup> Errors made in the transcription of the *Book of Dede Korkut* by O. Ş. Gökyay and M. Ergin are dealt with in the section İlhan Başgöz, *Dede Korkutta Yanlış Okunan Bazı Kelimeler* (Some Wrongly Read Words in Dede Korkut). In: *Türk Dili*. Part IX. Ankara 1960. No. 104, pp. 442—444.

<sup>13</sup> *Kniga moego deda Korkuta* (The Book of My Dede Korkut). Moskva—Leningrad, Izdatelstvo AN SSSR 1962, pp. 11—105.

<sup>14</sup> The vocabulary part of the publication is dealt with in detail by Hikmet Dizdaroğlu in his review *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*. In: *Türk Dili*. Part XXIX. Ankara 1974, No. 271, pp. 597 to 601.

also notes the occurrence of individual words in the text. This word index is followed by a personal index, likewise with the occurrence of individual names in the text. This first part of the book is closed by corrections and supplements to the text, and by an index.

The opening chapter of the monograph section (I. Giriş, pp. I—XXXII) brings information on the manuscripts of the *Book of Dede Korkut*, on previous editions of the legends and the entire cycle in Turkish and other languages (the author also mentions reviews with brief abstracts of the various editions of which he is aware); it also lists motifs from the Dede Korkut as processed by Turkish poets, prose writers and playwrights.

In the second chapter entitled Legends of Dede Korkut and History (I. Dede Korkut Hikâyeleri ve Tarih, pp. XXXIII—LXXXIII), the author sets himself the task to give answer to two questions: a) When did these stories in the form of the epos come to be the property of oral tradition; b) In what centuries were they recorded, and acquired their present form.<sup>15</sup> Gökyay, similarly as Bartold and Zhirmunsky, is of the opinion that the *Book of Dede Korkut* is not the work of a single author, but that entire generations of wandering bards and minstrels (*ozan*) participated in its shaping.

The next two chapters (III. Dede Korkut' un Coğrafyası, pp. LXXXIV—CVI; IV. Kişiler, pp. CVII—CLXXXV) are devoted to a geographical description of localities and personages occurring in the epos, but the author is principally concerned with the mysterious personality of Dede Korkut.

While Zhirmunsky gives some forty odd characters in the epos,<sup>16</sup> Gökyay has listed a total of 54 names, not counting those of the Oğuz' enemies and of female figures.

In the chapter on Language and Form of the *Book of Dede Korkut* (V. Dil ve Üslup, pp. CLXXXVI—CCLXIX), after outlining the central thematic traits of the epos, the author goes on to characterize its linguistic form, making references to works by other authors and polemizing with their views. He devotes special attention to words and idioms whose meaning has not as yet been reliably elucidated, and winds up the chapter with a formal analysis of the verse in the song inserts.

A remarkable part of the monograph is the chapter on motifs of the *Book of Dede Korkut* (VI. Motifler-Töreler, pp. CCLXX—CDLI). The author takes note in an unusually sensitive way of the least details, commenting on them in confrontation with notes and views of other authors. The same may also be said of the next chapter dealing with the preserved and ever alive versions of three

<sup>15</sup> Gökyay, O. Ş.: *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*, p. XXXIII.

<sup>16</sup> Zhirmunsky, V. M.: *Kitabi Korkut i oguzskaya epicheskaya traditsiya* (Kitabi Korkut and the Oguz Epic Tradition). In: *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*. Moscow, Izdatelstvo AN SSSR 1958. No. 4, pp. 90—101.

stories from the *Book of Dede Korkut* (VII. Hikâyelerden Yaşamakta Olanlar, pp. CDCII—DLXXVI). Here, O. S. Gökyay has processed in great detail the various versions of Bamsı Beyerek, Tepegöz and Deli Dumrul.

The closing chapter (VIII. Ekler, pp. DLXII—DCV) is made up of supplements to the various chapters.

A name register of persons, nations and clans occurring in this part of the publication closes the monograph section (pp. DCXIII—DCLVII).

O. Ş. Gökyay's publication represents not only the most valuable and the most complete processing of the *Book of Dede Korkut* available thus far, but it may rightly be made to rank with the best that has so far been published about the world epos.

The meticulous care and patience which O. Ş. Gökyay devotes to the processing of the text of the epos, the huge source material which he has assembled and thoroughly reviewed in the monograph section deserve both admiration and recognition.

It is only to be expected that in a work of such a wide scope the author would not avoid every pitfall lurking in the way.<sup>17</sup> He may be reproached with incorrect or incomplete bibliographic data in source references, in the majority of cases the original text of the source is not given but only its Turkish translation, while the bibliographic data contain also the greatest number of misprints, which, by the way, abound throughout the book.

As already noted at the beginning of this review, no exhaustive bibliography on the *Book of Dede Korkut* has as yet been published; this deficiency is particularly apparent in Gökyay. True, this author does include bibliographic surveys relating to the various topics dealt with, but these are dispersed in several places in the book and thus fail to present a whole, complete review of the literature on Dede Korkut. It would be welcome if O. Ş. Gökyay, in an eventual second edition would supplement his book with a complex bibliography, or publish this as a supplement to the first edition.

---

<sup>17</sup> Certain concrete divergences are pointed by H. Dizdaroğlu in his review.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Diachronic, Areal, and Typological Linguistics* (Volume 11 of Current Trends in Linguistics). Edited by T. A. Sebeok. Associate Editors: H. M. Hoenigswald—R. E. Longacre. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1973. 604 pp.

Unlike the nine preceding volumes of the series, the present publication is devoted to methodological explorations. It consists of three main parts, i.e. (1) Introductory, pp. 3—41; (2) Methodological, pp. 45—284; (3) Case Studies, pp. 287—581.

The introductory paper titled *The History of Language Classification* has been written by R. H. Robins. He discusses three methods of language classification—diachronic, areal, and typological that deal with kinship, affinity, and isomorphism respectively (p. 4). Having surveyed the history of all three methods, Robins arrives at a sound conclusion that the issue of possible monogenesis of all languages can neither be proved nor disproved simply because of the disappearance of evidence, if there was such, after many ages of the existence of mankind (p. 30). He states that "... at the present time it is clear that typological classification has returned to scholarly favour, but without displacing interest in historical classification" (p. 34). Finally, Robins seems to agree with Hjelmslev when maintaining that the principal objective of typological classification is "the delimitation of the possible forms that language structures could take" (p. 35).

Part Two is titled Methodological. *Brief Introductory Remarks* by H. M. Hoenigswald (pp. 45—49) are followed by eight theoretical papers. Most of them are devoted to the comparative method (H. M. Hoenigswald: *The Comparative Method*, pp. 51—62; J. Kuryłowicz: *Internal Reconstruction*, pp. 63—92; D. Sankoff: *Mathematical Developments in Lexicostatistic Theory*, pp. 93—114; P. Kiparsky: *On Comparative Linguistics: The Case of Grassmann's Law*, pp. 115—134; W. Labov: *The Social Setting of Linguistic Change*, pp. 195—252). Problems of areal linguistics are dealt with by W. Winter (*Areal Linguistics: Some General Considerations*, pp. 135—148) while J. H. Greenberg discusses recent developments in the domain of typology (*The Typological Method*, pp. 149—194). I. J. Gelb considers the problems

of unknown scripts decipherment in his article titled *Written Records and Decipherment* (pp. 253—284).

Part Three is titled Case Studies and includes eleven papers that are meant as illustrative studies of problems and methods discussed theoretically in Part Two.

R. E. Longacre, in his *Introductory Remarks* (pp. 287—294), stresses that widespread features—whether strictly speaking universals or not—are worthy of notice and require an explanation (p. 289).

Two of the case studies discuss comparative problems of Mesoamerican languages. C. R. Rensch considers the implications of Otomanguean isoglosses for the classification of these languages and for tracing the past movements of linguistic groups (*Otomanguean Isoglosses*, p. 295—316). T. Kaufman pays attention to areal influences in Mesoamerica (*Areal Linguistics and Middle America*, pp. 459—484). R. Anttila applies the method of internal reconstruction to Finno-Ugric (*Internal Reconstruction and Finno-Ugric. Finnish*, pp. 317—354). The controversial glottochronological method is discussed by J. A. Rea (*The Romance Data of the Pilot Studies for Glottochronology*, pp. 355—368) and S. Hattori (*Japanese Dialects*, pp. 369—400). The generative method is applied to comparative and typological study by K. Hale (*Deep-Surface Canonical Disparities in Relation to Analysis and Change: An Australian Example*, pp. 401—458) and L. A. Reid (*Diachronic Typology of Philippine Vowel Systems*, pp. 485—506). Contact languages are described by A. Valdman (*Some Aspects of Decreolization in Creole French*, pp. 507—536). Linguistic reconstruction in relation to culture is illustrated by J. R. Krueger (*Altaic Linguistic Reconstruction and Culture*, pp. 569—581). Finally J. Chadwick exemplifies the actual process of deciphering an unknown script (*Linear B*, pp. 537—568).

The volume is complemented with Biographical Notes (pp. 583—588), Index of Names (pp. 589—596), and Index of Languages and Writing Systems (pp. 597 to 604). The present publication gives an adequate idea of what is going on in typology and comparative linguistics, including, at least to some extent, East Europe as well.

Viktor Krupa

Melchuk, I. A.: *Opyt teorii lingvisticheskikh modelei smysl ↔ tekst* (Sketch of a Theory of Linguistic Models Sense ↔ Text). Moscow, Nauka 1974. 314 pp.

As the author puts it, the present publication is the fruit of fifteen years devoted to linguistic research (p. 5). His ideas have resulted in a model of the hitherto unknown type and termed sense ↔ text. Melchuk believes in the systematic character of the natural language and his model includes all levels,

from semantics to phonology. However, his model is not exhaustive and its tentative nature is stressed by the presence of the word sketch in the title.

The author proceeds on an assumption that the natural language is a special kind of a transformer and that its task consists in processing sense into corresponding texts, and reversely, text into corresponding sense (p. 9). By now it is obvious that text refers to any utterance, spoken or written. Sense is interpreted as a construct. One of the basic ideas of the model suggested by Melchuk is that of texts equivalence. This remains an undefined basic axiom. Two texts can be equated only upon an intuitive basis. The transition from one text to its equivalent text is termed a synonymical transformation by Melchuk. This implies that sense is an invariant of all synonymical transformations and amounts to what is shared by all the equivalent texts. Thus, sense turns out to be a bundle of correspondences among all true equivalent utterances and can be fixed by means of a special semantic notation (p. 10).

Since the linguist is unable to observe the functioning transformer, i.e. language, he must confine his attention to speech. This means that only functional linguistic models can be constructed. It need not be stressed that the linguist does not know whether his functional model is identical with the real transformer, since the latter is hidden from immediate observation.

Melchuk's sense  $\leftrightarrow$  text model consists of two logically independent parts; first, a description of the correspondences between sense and texts, and, second, a description of the device carrying out the transitions sense  $\rightarrow$  text as well as text  $\rightarrow$  sense.

The description of correspondences between sense and text includes three components:

- (1) an inventory of elementary sense units (= semes) and rules that regulate their combinations into complex sense units (= semantic representations),
- (2) an inventory of elementary text units (= morphs) and rules that regulate their combinations into complex text units (= word forms, word combinations, sentences, etc.),
- (3) rules correlating sense units with text units, and vice versa (p. 18).

Melchuk stresses that his model should not be regarded as a generative one. In fact, it is a transforming device, a translator of sense into text and reversely, of text into sense (p. 21). According to Melchuk, the new model requires five basic levels of representation:

- (1) semantic level,
- (2) syntactic level,
- (3) morphological level,
- (4) phonological level,
- (5) phonetic level.

Inside (2) and (3), deep and surface sublevels are distinguished (pp. 32—35).

A special chapter is devoted to synonymy (pp. 45—50). However, the reviewer and most readers would appreciate if more was said on this important property of the natural language.

A completely new feature of Melchuk's model is his list of the so-called lexical functions. The lexical function is defined as a sense correlation, e.g., sense equivalence (abbreviated Syn), sense antithesis (Anti), high degree (Magn), etc. Altogether, Melchuk enumerates forty such functions which may combine into complex ones (pp. 82—108).

Throughout his book, Melchuk utilizes some basic principles of the theory of graphs as well as a formal notation reminiscent of logic.

Melchuk's book certainly deserves attention of all linguists. In the reviewer's opinion, it points out one of the most fruitful directions for the future linguistic investigations that will inevitably concentrate upon the speech act and speech ability.

Viktor Krupa

Shchur, G. S.: *Teorii polya v lingvistike* (Field Theories in Linguistics). Moscow, Nauka 1974. 254 pp.

Shchur's publication is an attempt at a thorough analysis of some basic conceptions of the idea of field in modern linguistics. This is a tremendous task which cannot be fulfilled without regard to such problems as system, structure, class, group, relation, etc., certainly are.

The author distinguishes two classificatory principles, namely, invariant and functional. Both principles may be combined when describing language.

System is defined by Shchur as a hierarchical network of connections holding among elements, while structure is, according to him, a set of elements plus their interrelations (p. 158). In logic, mathematics, biology, and even in many linguistic works, the category of system is usually defined as a set of elements plus a set of their interrelations. The former is called inventory and the latter structure. The reviewer thinks that there is no reason to reject this widely accepted definition of system (and structure) and to use the terms system and structure in an exactly opposite meaning.

On the other hand, the reviewer qualifies Shchur's attempt to distinguish relations from connections as an important contribution to the systems theory. In Shchur's interpretation, connections do not depend upon the properties of elements

and are attributes of structure, while connections, as a rule, hold among elements fulfilling the same functions (pp. 181—182). Connections represent just a partial case of relations (p. 157). Shchur carefully distinguishes syntagmatics from paradigmatics. While in syntagmatics all elements are connected and interrelated, in paradigmatics they are only interrelated. Furthermore, elements of paradigmatic classes do not interact (p. 159). An interaction takes place in syntagmatics, which amounts to a statement that language changes and develops in speech. Another important point is that system is not identified with object. The latter is defined by the author as a polyfunctional set of elements (or groups of elements) that are both connected and interrelated (p. 158). Oppositions are interpreted as a specific instance of relations (p. 159) and are said to be a pre-scientific way of modelling linguistic objects (p. 108).

A good deal of attention is devoted to the category of development which is characterized as a change in configuration, structure, and system of a given object as compared to other objects of the same class, or to the preceding state of the same object (pp. 191—192). However, the category of development as a specific instance of the category of movement refers only to such changes that can be regarded as an improvement or deterioration of the capability of a particular object to fulfil its functions (p. 192). The causes of change and development cannot be looked for inside the changing objects (p. 194). Quite the contrary, it is the external factors that are decisive for the development of any object.

Shchur suggests that the topological approach may prove to be useful in linguistics (pp. 200—211). The category of field in linguistics is interpreted by the author as a reflection of the invariant principle of grouping of elements and as a way of the latter's existence (p. 206).

The category of field is said to assume a mutual interaction (or attraction) among certain elements. On the other hand, those groups of elements which are notable for causal connections or, to be more precise, for a network of connections among functional elements and groups of functional elements, ought to be considered systems (p. 234).

Although most readers would appreciate more examples from various languages, Shchur's book may be regarded as an important contribution to the analysis of some basic notions of linguistics and thus as a part of a general attempt to reinterpret the whole philosophical basis of linguistics and at the same time, to make it as solid and explicit as possible.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Voprosy struktury yazyka* (Problems of the Language Structure). Edited by Y. K. Lekomtsev. Moscow, Nauka 1974. 180 pp.

The present volume is a collection of eleven papers devoted largely to the study of sentence. Its scope is very wide, including both important theoretical problems (modelling of the natural languages) and applied research of some Asian and African languages.

B. A. Zakharyin (*The Typological Characteristic of the Kashmiri Language*, pp. 3—28) gives a typological description of Kashmiri in terms of Greenberg's indexical method. The author suggests five additional typological indices based upon phonological aspects.

In his second article (*Noun in the Kashmiri Language*, pp. 29—49), Zakharyin makes an attempt to characterize the class of nouns in Kashmiri.

Y. K. Lekomtsev is the author of a remarkable theoretical paper titled *Some Problems of Modelling Sentence Structure in the Natural Languages* (pp. 50—95). He discusses epistemological aspects of the study of syntax. Such mathematical notions as partially ordered set, lattice, graph, and substitution operation are introduced by Lekomtsev in this paper which summarized the results of a phase in his syntactical investigations.

In another study (*Towards a Mechanical Procedure for Immediate Constituents Analysis*, pp. 96—105), the same author suggests a way of formalizing the immediate constituents analysis as suggested by Rulon Wells.

The aim of M. I. Lekomtseva's contribution (*On Uniqueness of Phonological Solutions*, pp. 106—111) consists in defining the conditions for uniqueness of the phonological solutions.

N. V. Okhotina analyses the meaning and distribution of the derivational suffixes *-u*, *-fu*, *-wu* in Swahili (*Grammatical Semantics of Some Derivational Suffixes in Swahili*, pp. 112—118).

I. I. Rattsev and V. A. Stroganov deal with a way of defining the meanings of particular elements of a given text in their joint article titled *On Substitutions in a Text* (pp. 119—132). They have chosen such an analogy of the language elements with the mathematical notion of a variable which refers to the verbal universe and not to reality, i.e. the universe of denotata.

Another theoretical paper is that by I. I. Revzin (*About the Formalization of the Notion "Amorphous Language" in Algebraic Linguistics*, pp. 133—139). He suggests a formalization of the positional conditioning of the use of each word in the so-called amorphous languages. In this article based upon Vietnamese data, the author discusses the notion of a language where there are no parts of speech.

Two more articles discuss various problems of Vietnamese syntax and typology. They are I. I. Revzin and V. A. Stroganov's *Hypothesis of the Binary Character of the Nucleus of the Substantive Phrase in Vietnamese* (pp. 140—152) and V. A. Stroganov's *Towards the Identification of Vietnamese Classifiers* (pp. 162—173).

Y. V. Rozhdestvenskii (*The Parts of Speech and Sentence Constituents As Description*

*Units in Typological Analysis*, pp. 153—161) deals with the interrelations of parts of speech with sentence constituents in the light of grammatical universals.

The volume will no doubt attract the attention of many linguists interested in methodological and theoretical aspects of linguistics since the contributors suggest a wide array of various formal and exact methods. A brief English survey is added for the benefit of those who do not read Russian.

Viktor Krupa

Carroll, V.—Soulik, T.: *Nukuoro Lexicon*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1973. 834 pp.

The authors have designed this Lexicon for the Nukuoro people, especially for their schoolchildren, and for those scholars who are engaged in the study of Polynesian languages.

The compilation of the Lexicon was begun by Tobias Soulik during 1963—1966 while Vern Carroll was doing fieldwork on the island of Nukuoro. During the subsequent three years both authors continued their work at the University of Hawaii.

The Lexicon consists of three major sections. The basic part of the volume is an extensive Nukuoro-English dictionary (pp. 1—351). It includes some 14,000—15,000 entries. They are listed in the English alphabetical order except that *p* follows *b*, *t* follows *d*, *k* follows *g*, *ng* follows *nu*, and *nng* follows *nnu* (*p*, *t*, *k* mark consonantal gemination). The entries are arranged so that a Nukuoro lexeme is followed by its grammatical indices and by its English equivalent. Derivations and homonyms are listed as separate entries.

The authors have omitted loanwords from European languages, personal names and toponyms as well as obsolete expressions known only to a single informant.

An English-Nukuoro glossary represents the second part of the Lexicon (pp. 353—481). The authors stress that this is no English-Nukuoro dictionary since it is merely a reverse listing of the English keywords which occur in the glosses provided for Nukuoro entries.

The Lexicon includes also a Root List (pp. 483—796) as its third section. All Nukuoro roots are listed here in the alphabetical order. Each root stands at the beginning of an entry containing its derivations plus their grammatical indices and English glosses. Including a list of roots was an excellent idea that will no doubt be appreciated by linguists for it is obviously designed for those who are interested in Polynesian comparative studies. It will also be very useful for reconstructing the Proto-Polynesian dictionary.



A wealth of information may be found in ten appendices. These give a brief survey of the Nukuoro grammar. Appendix One (pp. 799—805) explains the semantic interpretation of derivative-type codes in the lexicon. Appendix Two (pp. 806—809) discusses the formal aspects of reduplication. Unfortunately, the semantic aspect of this phenomenon has been omitted by the authors. Appendix Three (pp. 810—813) deals with suffixes. The authors follow G. B. Milner when labelling the suffix *-a*, *-aa*, *-e*, *-ea*, *-ia*, *-dia*, *-gia*, *-gina*, *-hia*, *-lia*, *-mia*, *-na*, *-ngia*, *-sia* as perfective. Here it is thought that only future study will show if this is a transitive or passive marker or not. Appendix Four (pp. 814—816) discusses word classes in Nukuoro. Appendices Five to Eight (pp. 817—829) list grammatical and adverbial particles, pronouns, locatives (here locative words), and irregular paradigms. Appendix Nine (pp. 830—831) explains conventions for writing Nukuoro and, finally, Appendix Ten (pp. 832—833) lists all studies available on the Nukuoro language.

In conclusion it may be said that the present *Nukuoro Lexicon* will be used as an excellent aid by all linguists interested in Oceanic studies and also by Nukuoro people.

Viktor Krupa

Panganiban, José Villa: *Diksyunaryo-Tesaurus Pilipino-Ingles* (Thesaurus-Dictionary Pilipino-English). Lungsod Quezon, Manlapaz Publishing Co. 1973. xx + 1027 pp.

The volume under review is the largest available dictionary of Pilipino. According to the author, it contains 27,069 main word entries accompanied by almost 217,500 lexical items distributed among 6,000 technical terms; 12,000 loanwords; 52,390 synonyms and *cf.*'s in Tagalog and Pilipino; 22,250 commonly used derivatives and idiomatic expressions of 5,825 principal entries; 47,601 synonyms of over 6,000 entries in 12 Philippine languages other than Tagalog, but including Indonesian and Malay; 12,659 non-synonymic homonyms of 6,512 Pilipino with 15 other languages; 11,000 identities and cognacies between Tagalog and 12 other Philippine languages (p. xvi).

The dictionary brings data not only from the Tagalog-based Pilipino but also from a dozen Philippine languages, i.e. from the seven major languages (the eighth being Tagalog)—Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Ilokano, Kapampangan, Pangasinan and Samar-Leyte, and from the five minor languages, i.e. Ibanag, Ivatan, Magindanao, Maranao, and Tausug. Besides, lexical data from Indonesian, Malay, Arabic, and Sanskrit are "listed according to availability".

Words are marked by accent and the orthographic system is the standard spelling adopted since 1940 in the Philippines. Foreign words unchanged in spelling are quoted only exceptionally.

The entries are organized on the nesting principle. Homonyms are listed separately and supplied with numerical indices. Then the word class affiliation is given, indicated by an English abbreviation and this is followed by information as to which field of science the entry belongs. Botanical and ichthyological terms are sometimes equipped with their Latin scientific names. Each entry is furnished with an English equivalent. The latter may be either a word or a phrase, or its description in English. It frequently contains derivatives and idioms, and sometimes is exemplified by sentences. If the entry is found identical in spelling and meaning with other Philippine languages, these are simply enumerated before the semantic definition. Synonyms in Pilipino are printed in italics.

The author began his work as a "curiosity venture" in 1935. He collected material both from actual current oral usage and from written and printed sources covering some four centuries up to 1972. The book is destined mainly for Filipinos.

However, the Dictionary suffers from a variety of shortcomings. Some of these are given below.

Professor Panganiban devoted a considerable attention to loanwords in Tagalog (Pilipino), mostly to those from Spanish, English, and Chinese. Besides, loans from Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Japanese are indicated. Loanwords from Japanese are scanty and pose no problem. As far as words of other origin are concerned (Latin, Greek, French, and Italian), they have penetrated into Tagalog mainly through Spanish (sometimes through English). But many words are listed as Latin, Greek, French, and Italian loans, which is due to the author's effort to refer to their supposed ultimate source. This is, however, not desirable, especially if it is not carried out in a consistent way throughout the book. Spanish loanwords, as is the case in other languages mentioned above, are indicated by abbreviation Sp. and are quoted in round brackets.

Tagalog (and other Philippine languages, too) has borrowed quite a lot from Sanskrit, Chinese, Spanish, and (in this century) from English. Unfortunately, Sanskrit loanwords are not marked as such at all. Chinese loans are not so manifest in all instances but they are indicated in a satisfactory manner. Borrowings from Spanish and English are relatively recent and this layer of the Tagalog (Pilipino) word-stock has undergone no great phonetic changes and is easily recognizable. Furthermore, it is always or almost always easy to ascertain whether a word has come directly from Spanish or through Spanish. The same is true of loans from English.

Now, let us have a closer look at loanwords from or through various languages.

Several points could be raised against Spanish words which are given in parentheses. Mistakes in accentuation are the most frequent, e.g. *azucar*, *incomodo*, *jar-*

*din*, *mascara*, *paracaidas*, substantival ending *-ion*, *centrál*, *generál*, *paréd* instead of *azúcar*, *incómodo*, *jardín*, *máscara*, *paracáidas*, *-ión*, *central*, *general*, *pared*, etc. Some are mis-spelled, e.g. *encuadernasyón*, *dimicion*, *galleón*, *longanisa*, *quintai* instead of *encuadernación*, *dimisión*, *galeón*, *longaniza*, *quintal*, etc. Then there are lacunae in specifying loanwords as Spanish, e.g. *bisitasyón*, *kantór*, *gustó*, *máhiká*, *yedra*, etc.

Arabic words penetrated into Tagalog and other Philippine languages in two ways, directly and through Spanish. In the former case, they are not indicated at all; as for the latter, Arabic is indicated as an ultimate source only in the words *alkasar* Sp. Ar. and *Alá* Sp. Ar. However, there exists a whole layer of Spanish loanwords from Arabic that might be indicated as well, e.g. *alkalde*, *alpalpa*, *almasén*, *asaprán*, *tamarindó*, etc.

Some words borrowed from Indian languages through Spanish are indicated as Mex. or Mex. Aztec but this is done inconsistently; Quechua and other South American Indian languages (some Middle American and Caribbean) are omitted. Such words are mostly specified only as Sp., exceptionally even English, e.g. *alpaka*, *kóndor*, *hamaka*, *Inka*, *liyama*, *mais*, *sikulate* (var. of *tsokolate*); *koka* Sp. Eng. (originally from Quechua), *koyote* Eng. Mex. (from Nahuatl through Mex. Sp.); *papaya* Mex. (but this is taken from Sp. and consequently in Sp. from Carib. (Hispaniola)); *tapír* and *tapyoka* (both originally from Tupi through Sp.) are not indicated at all, etc.

As a source-language both Spanish and English are sometimes indicated or only English. However, one can hardly believe that the Filipinos did not use such words as, e.g., *abakó* Sp. Ch. (Chinese?), *akasya* Sp. Eng. Gr., *alkohól* Sp. Eng., *búpaló* Eng., *bulitin*<sup>2</sup> Eng., *kankán* Eng., *kaolín* Sp. Eng., *kobra* Sp. Eng., *kontról* Sp. Eng., *dogma* Sp. Eng. Lat., *hipnosis* Eng., *inkógnitó* Sp. Eng. Lat., *intestinál* Sp. Eng., *isterya* Eng. (var. of *histrya*), *larba* Sp. Eng., *malarya* Sp. Eng., *Medusa* Sp. Eng., *melodrama* Sp. Eng., *nektar* Sp. Eng., *óperá* Sp. Eng., *opereta* Sp. Eng. It., *parábolá* Sp. Eng. Lat. Grk., *parálistis* Sp. Eng., etc. before the arrival of the Americans.

It would of course be relatively easy to give a list of words (or phrases and syntactic combinations), that one would have liked to see included in the Dictionary. But this would be pointless. Nevertheless, the reviewer believes that some useful lexical items have been omitted such as *kólgeyt* toothpaste (derived from Colgate toothpaste but applied to any brand of toothpaste); *telebisyon* television, television set; *transistor* transistor radio, etc.

Some terms are not explained sufficiently although they need an explanation for the sake of clarity and better understanding, e.g. *magnolya*, *polka*, *samba*, *tapír*, etc.

The Dictionary tries to identify plants and fish names through Latin terminology. However, this ought to have been indicated in a more consistent way, and it would have been useful if the scientific names of animals had also been included.

The system of cross-references displays some lacunae, e.g. *estenógrapó*, cf. *takigrapó*; *Kaysér*, cf. *Tsar* but *takigrapó* and *Tsar* are not to be found; *sikulate*, var.

of *tsokolate*; *sinelas*, var. of *tsinelas*, but both the forms *tsokolate* and *tsinelas* are missing although these are current in the language. Similarly with synonyms: e.g. *mapa* has no independent entry although it is given as a synonym three times (at *karta*<sup>s</sup>, *kartograma*, and *krokis*).

An encyclopaedic dictionary, such as the present one, deserves a more consistent elaboration. It is, however, a pioneer work in Philippine studies, so that some errors or inconsistencies are understandable. Nevertheless, in future edition(s), it will be necessary to expurge various inaccuracies, add explanations in some cases, mark stylistic validity more consistently, and correct the data on the origin of words.

Despite these critical remarks, we are indebted to the author for making available material of great value for comparative purposes and historical studies. His dictionary is very welcome simply for the wealth of data it contains and is an important contribution to Philippine studies. The omissions are small in comparison with the vast amount of material gathered by Panganiban. The reviewer believes that a future edition(s) will appear without most of the errors.

Professor Panganiban deserves the gratitude of all scholars in the field of Philippine studies, and it is hoped that he will continue his valuable work.

Jozef Genzor

Ruzui, Septy: *A Survey of Relations Between Indonesian, Malay and Some Philippine Languages*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Puskata 1968. 172 pp.

The present book consists of twelve chapters and its aim is, first of all, to point out similarities between Indonesian languages, especially Bahasa Indonesia, Malay and more than a dozen Philippine languages, stress being laid on Tagalog. The work was originally prepared as a dissertation at the Faculty of the Graduate School, University of Santo Tomas, Manila, where the author spent his graduate studies. He was prompted by the idea to contribute to a better understanding among these neighbouring countries. Relations between Malay, some Indonesian and Philippine languages are dealt with by means of the comparative method and the approach is historical.

The author's main object is defined in the introductory chapter which is followed by a description of the general background of the three countries. Later on, in the subsequent chapters, each country is discussed separately, always in the same way, i.e. its physical features, demographic background and language. The data seem to betray that the book was written at the end of the 1950's or at the very beginning of the 1960's and no additional corrections have been made later to update

the book. Otherwise, the term Federation of Malaysia (established in 1963) instead of Federation of Malaya would be used. Likewise, all data on the number of speakers of the Austronesian family are obsolete (pp. 8—9), as is also the general information on Austronesian languages (in the book for the most part called Malayo-Polynesian) taken from *The World's Chief Languages* by Mario A. Pei (1954) and which on that account cannot be accepted as valid (p. 9). Even less acceptable is the subdivision of Austronesian languages according to P. W. Schmidt (1926) given in German, with German abbreviations! (p. 13).

The author asks two questions: "a. Are there actually any close similarities among the three current geographical groups: the Malayan, the Indonesian, and the Philippine groups? b. Would there be any possibility to form a lingua-franca common to the languages of these groups? Would such a lingua-franca be easily recognized and picked up by citizens of each of the three countries?" (pp. 2—3). The first question can only be answered in the affirmative. The second one cannot be answered as yet. The writer states that "the possibility of forming a lingua-franca is not far remote" (p. 159). When we take Malaysia and Indonesia into account, this will certainly be possible. There seems to be a favourable situation for a unification of Malay and Indonesian. The first important step in this direction was made in 1973 by adopting a common orthography for the two languages. Indonesian is an offspring of Malay but, as for the Philippines, the situation is much more complex. That is why the reviewer deems it premature to speak of a lingua franca for the whole area as yet.

Chapters VI—X deal with the first question in much detail. Most attention is paid to the lexicon; the description of sentence is confined chiefly to examples (Tagalog, Indonesian). Besides, the language of the Negritos is also discussed; cognate words between the languages as well as Sanskrit words common in the languages of the three countries are also given.

Chapter XI—Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions Common to Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines — is introduced by a rather lengthy explanation of the nature of proverbs. Subsequently, various proverbs and idiomatic expressions from Tagalog and other Philippine languages as well as from Indonesian are dealt with. The proverbs are followed by both word-to-word and free translations.

The reviewer feels that some obsolete data should be replaced or updated and parts of the text rewritten. This is a *conditio sine qua non* for the book to fulfil its aim, i.e. to give a true insight into the relations among Indonesian, Malay and some Philippine languages.

Jozef Genzor

Topping, Donald M. with the assistance of Bernadita C. Dungca: *Chamorro Reference Grammar*. PALI Language Texts: Micronesia. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawai 1973. xii+ 301 pp.

After World War II much progress has been made in the investigation of the Austronesian language family. This does not necessarily mean that nothing has been achieved in the research of the pre-war period or even in the more remote past. (E.g., as early as the sixteenth century the first primitive description of some Philippine languages, written by Spanish missionaries, began gradually to penetrate into Europe). Some of those works continue to be of permanent aid even now especially in the field of grammar, and above all in the study of lexicon. In many instances, they provide scholars with a possibility to make comparative studies of Austronesian languages, bring other useful data on them, help to reconstruct forms now extinct or not familiar any longer to old speakers of the native language (forms now obsolete, lost, contracted, or in other ways changed).

New works reflect the recent development of Chamorro and, what is more important, they are free from a European bias. Professor Topping's book comes under this category. In the reviewer's opinion, no one is more competent than Professor Topping to write such a book. He conducted research on Chamorro in the Mariana Islands and has written an intensive language course titled *Spoken Chamorro* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1969), and a series of articles on the language.

Topping's grammar consists of four parts: (1) Introduction (pp. 1—10), (2) The Sound System of Chamorro (pp. 11—69), (3) Morphology: Words and Their Structure (pp. 70—201), and (4) Syntax (pp. 202—281). In addition, the book is provided with a Preface, a Glossary of Linguistic Terms, a Bibliography, and an Index.

The book is primarily intended for Chamorro speakers but, of course, non-Chamorro speakers can pick a wealth of information from it as well. All in all, any scholar will find the reading both pleasant and stimulating.

In the introduction, the author briefly discusses the history of the Chamorro people and their language, and specially mentions the most important previous works on the language. This is followed by chapters on phonology, morphology, and syntax. Technical terms are used as sparingly as possible but a linguist will find special notes on the grammar in the book (Notes to Linguists).

Comparison with English runs throughout the text and is appropriate since the Chamorro is familiar with English: Chamorros are taught English from an early age and the educational system is now led exclusively in English. Further, for the sake of comparison and reference or polemics, the author mentions throughout the book, first of all, Costenoble and Safford (grammars published in 1940 and 1909 respectively), and also von Preissig (1918). Topping also gives various charts for quick and easy reference.

A relatively great occurrence of typographical errors is a rather disturbing factor in the book. The reviewer believes that there is a notable omission in consonant clusters (pp. 36—37), i.e. *dw-*, *rw-*, *sw-*, cf. the words *dweño* 'owner', *rweda* 'wheel', *sweldo* 'wage'. These criticisms, however, in no case depreciate an authoritative introduction to the subject for which all students of the language will be profoundly grateful.

The work is evidence of an active, original, and productive mind. It is hoped that Professor Topping will return again to this field where he has already demonstrated his obvious competence. Scholars will eagerly look forward to his future work.

Jozef Genzor

Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung: *Twenty Years of Indonesian Foreign Policy 1945—1965*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1973. 640 pp.

The author of the book, Anak Agung, may rightly be considered to be an authority on the problems about which he writes. During the thirty five years of his political career during which he held such important posts as Prime Minister of the State of East Indonesia, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Harahap Cabinet, Ambassador to France, Belgium, Luxemburg and Portugal, he had ample opportunity thoroughly to know the facts about the foreign policy of his land and in some cases he even helped in their shaping.

In his comprehensive work, the author makes use of his experience in the field of foreign policy and of his thorough knowledge of the interior conditions of Indonesia for a detailed analysis of Indonesian foreign policy from its beginnings, through the stage of its nonalignment in blocks, up to the period of radicalism in foreign policy that followed the declaration of "guided democracy".

Considerable attention is devoted to conflicts and struggles for power and their reflection in foreign policy, while separate chapters deal with Indonesia's relations to other countries, relations that had a significant influence on the character of Indonesian foreign policy, say, towards the U.S.A., China and India.

The author deals at some length with the conflict about Western Irian which remained for over ten years a key problem of Indonesian foreign policy, gives a detailed account of the Geneva talks of December 1955—February 1956 at which Anak Agung led the Indonesian delegation, and presents a broad outline of the question of the Afro-Asian solidarity, with a fairly detailed account of the Indonesian dispute with Malaysia.

Anak Agung endeavoured to present an unbiased picture of Indonesian modern

history. Though little inclined towards socialist countries, he, for instance, emphasized Soviet aid in consolidating the international position of Indonesia, and on the other hand, gave an objective assessment of American foreign policy when it was openly unfriendly to the interests of the republic (e.g. support of the separatist rebels from the Outer Islands).

Nevertheless, the book contains numerous simplifying statements and tendentiously distorted explications that document the author's sympathies rather than his sense of objectivity. A case in point is the following passage on p. 466 where the author purports to cut a distinction between the Dutch and British approach to the solution of the question of colonies: "... thanks to the enlightened British colonial administration during the postwar years, which aimed at a smooth liquidation of British colonial possessions by granting independence, Malaya had become, in 1957, a free country within the British commonwealth ... Moreover, Malaya was tied to the United Kingdom with a defense treaty". This is an evident oversimplification. As if the author was unaware of the fight for the liberation of Malaya in the postwar years. Moreover, the defence treaty was a doubtful advantage; in reality, it prolonged the country's dependence on Great Britain.

Likewise the author's championing of the British attitude towards the young republic does not sound convincing. True, the British did negotiate with the republican government, but this did not prevent them in any way to aid the Dutch in the occupation of the country—their official representatives even expressed disagreement with the recognition of the republic (see proclamation by admiral Patterson of October 1, 1945 in Shin, A. S.: *Politika Anglii v stranakh Yuzhnoi i Yugovostochnoi Azii* (England's Policy in countries of the South and South-East Asia), Moscow 1960, p. 118).

Similarly, the author's view on the measure of independence of states created by the Dutch (e.g., the so-called "State of East Indonesia" or "Pasundan") is original rather than objective.

There are several misprints in the transcription of proper names: on p. 30, for instance, U Saw should be Aung San, on p. 45 and further Zhdanov should read Zhdanov, and on the same p. 45 the form Soeripno appears alongside Suripno.

For completeness' sake it should be added that the author's own explication is supported by a set of documents (pp. 544—624) referring to the topics discussed, and a bibliography (pp. 625—634) and an author index (pp. 638—640) are appended.

*Štefan Fatura*

Haji Omar, Asmah—Subbiah, Rama: *An Introduction to Malay Grammar*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1968. 154 pp.



*An Introduction to Malay Grammar* is a modern textbook of contemporary Malay, made up of two parts. The first, including 21 lessons, familiarizes the student with the most frequently used structures of the language involving about seven hundred words—some sort of Basic Malay—from the modern spoken and written language. The second part consists of fifteen selected specimens of texts from Malay newspapers and magazines intended as a help to the student further to improve his vocabulary. The textbook is provided with a key giving a translation of the exercises and a solution to all the linguistic problems encountered in the lessons.

What makes this textbook to differ from similar preceding ones is the novel, non-traditional mode of explaining grammar and grammatical rules. In processing this section, the authors took contemporary linguistic theories as their point of departure and just as their interpretation of grammar differs, so do also the symbols they utilize differ from those met with in traditional textbooks. The theoretical explanations are kept down to a minimum in the book, emphasis being laid primarily on a training in the structures and sentence patterns. This approach has its advantages and is being utilized more and more in modern teaching of languages. It requires, however, that the grammatical structures be accompanied with an adequate number of exercises that would enable the given structures to be thoroughly absorbed by the student and become automatic with him. This principle is generally adhered to here, though with varying success; an unfortunate exception is the last lesson with no exercise at all.

The exercises used by the authors are of three types: modifying, used where one sentence structure is formed by the transformation of another, translating, and finally completing exercises suitable for practising derivations of words and expressions. However, the present reviewer has certain reservations towards the structure of these exercises. One of the fundamental methodological principles requires that current exercises be taken up first (reading of basic text, variation, translation of simple sentences) and then only come control exercises represented by a complex translation from one's mother tongue into a foreign one. However, in the majority of the exercises presented here the authors adopted just the opposite procedure—translation exercises from Malay into English and from English into Malay are followed by such as may be considered to be common, current and familiar. In some of the lessons the most difficult exercises, i.e. translations from English into Malay come first. The question of a rank order of precedence of grammatical exercises would by itself be a mere formality were it not a symptom of wider contingencies. The purpose of the exercises would be better served if the basic text were in Malay and the text to be translated into Malay were only a variation of the vocabulary and grammatical structures already embodied in the basic text and not as is the case here, consisting of two mutually independent texts. The student would then be less taken up with problems of a lexical nature and the translation would be to him a yardstick of the degree to which he has mastered the lesson. Some of

the translations are of such a nature that the student cannot cope with them solely with the aid of the textbook (that is, of course, if he refrains from having directly recourse to the key). For instance, the sentence "The printing of the book takes a long time" presumes familiarity with the idiom "*memakan masa yang lama*", which, however, had not been encountered before. Similarly, the untutored student can hardly be expected know that the word "king" may be translated as "*Raja Yang Di-Pertuan Agong*"—that is in fact the rendering in the translation in the key (p. 83 and p. 150). Nor does an occasional anticipation of grammatical phenomena facilitate the learner's task, for instance, in Lesson XV the student is required to translate the sentence "People cannot travel by car or by train", i.e. "*Orang tidak boleh berpergian dengan kereta atau keretapi*", but the verbs of the type *ber-an* are dealt with only in Lesson XX.

In addition, there are divergences in the textbook between the content of English sentences and their translated forms in the key: for instance, the sentence "Ali and Ahmad are two brothers and are studying in an English school in Kelantan" (p. 60) is translated into Malay as "*Ali dan Ahmad ada-lah dua orang adek-beradek dan mereka sedang belajar di-sabuah sekolah di-Kelantan*". The sentence "I came by car, I have a small car" (p. 67) has as its counterpart in the key merely "*Saya datang dengan kereta*".

The principal problem facing the authors was one of selection of morphological and syntactical structures and the corresponding issue as to which of the phenomena ought to be assigned to the grammatical description and which to the vocabulary. The authors cannot be said to have resolved this problem unambiguously and satisfactorily in every case. For instance, in the reviewer's opinion, the explanation of the function of the coefficient (classifier) *helai* should not have been assigned into the grammatical part, all the more so as classifiers are comprehensively dealt with in Lesson V. The same applies also to the less productive affixes *-wan*, *-wati*, *juru-*, *tata-*, *maha-* in Lesson XXI. On the other hand, rather more care ought to have been devoted to an explanation of complex sentences which should embody their classification according to function rather than solely according to the formal expressions that introduce them. Then it could hardly happen that the authors would have omitted all mention of so current and widespread a phenomenon in Malay as is that of compound sentences formed by juxtaposition of two or more simple sentences.

More deficiencies could be enumerated; for example, if the authors might be reproached for not including an introductory lesson on the pronunciation which would facilitate work to autodidacts. Then there is no Malay-English and English-Malay Vocabulary — a rather self-evident requirement in a modern textbook.

As against these, the book under review has certain priorities that help to offset the drawbacks. One of the foremost is the grammar component that is of

particular attention: despite its restricted range, it provides students with a more exact and comprehensive picture of the structure of the Malay language than do many of the more extensive explanations found in earlier grammars and textbooks. Another commendable point is the authors' effort to pick out texts that bear on the everyday life of the inhabitants of present-day Malaysia.

*Štefan Fatura*

Hassan, Abdullah: *The Morphology of Malay*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1974. 292 pp.

This book is Abdullah Hassan's revised thesis written under the guidance of Professor John Lyons. It is a sophisticated and methodologically up-to-date grammar of Malay.

The author has subdivided his monograph into six chapters and fourteen appendices.

Chapter One (Introduction, pp. 1—37) gives a brief survey of the Malay language including its genetic affiliation, orthography, some historical and dialectological data, etc.

Malay is said to display 25 primary phonemes—6 vowels and 19 consonants (p. 6). Hassan characterizes the particular phonemes not only as to their variants but also in terms of their distribution. This is very useful information in Malay where only some phonemes may occur in the final positions. Vowel sequences are distinguished from diphthongs. A separate list is given of the so-called secondary phonemes (all consonantal) which, according to the author, are in a free variation with some primary phonemes in loanwords (p. 15). The introductory chapter contains also a brief characteristic of the Malay sentence and phrase structure as well as definitions of all word classes. The latter are defined functionally and distributionally (pp. 26—32). The notion of grammatical category as interpreted by Hassan might be replaced by that of field since some of his categories lack the property of obligatoriness (e.g. number, aspect).

In Chapter Two (Units and Processes of Morphology in Malay, pp. 38—53), the author explains his approach and basic terminology. He prefers the so-called item and arrangement model (p. 39). Word is defined as a minimal free form (p. 41). Hassan admits that this Bloomfieldian definition is insufficient in itself and ought to be complemented by the condition of uninterruptability (p. 41). Likewise, the basic item and arrangement model is complemented by some elements of the item and process model.

Chapters Three, Four, Five, and Six describe the morphology of nominals (pp. 54—75), verbals (pp. 76—113), adverbials (pp. 114—118), and particles (pp. 119 to 122).

Hassan's category of nominals includes nouns, pronouns, and classifiers (p. 54). Nominal affixes consist of four classes defined positionally, i.e. infixes, prefixes, suffixes, and circumfixes (p. 55). Their distribution and meanings are carefully described by the author. Both productive and unproductive affixes are covered. Adequate space is devoted to reduplication and compounding as well.

Verbals are described in an analogous way. They comprise the subclasses of transitive verbs, dynamic intransitive verbs, stative intransitive verbs, and the copula (pp. 76—77). The class of verbal affixes includes infixes, reduplicatives, prefixes, suffixes, and circumfixes (pp. 77—78). The class of adverbials is a small one and its compatibility with affixes is considerably restricted.

Chapter Six deals with particles. This is a very heterogeneous class and the reviewer would suggest some revisions. It is questionable whether numerals, interrogative pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions as well as some other classes should be included in the same group.

Hassan's book includes some fourteen appendices that take up almost half of the publication. The appendices contain extensive lists of free and bound nominals, pronominals, classifiers, transitive verbal roots, dynamic intransitive verbal roots, stative intransitive verbal roots, copula, adverbial roots, and particles. In each instance the author indicates their compatibility with all types of affixes. This is a really invaluable part of Hassan's work, especially for those interested in the morphology and syntax of Malay.

Appendix 14 gives an idea of the frequency and degree of productivity of all affixes in their combinations with all word classes.

A rich bibliography concerning Malay (some 90 items) is added to the book.

Hassan's monograph can be regarded as a valuable contribution to the study of Malay. It will be very useful to all scholars interested in the grammar of Indonesian languages.

*Viktor Krupa*

Payne, E. M. F.: *Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1970. 152 pp.

The first grammars of Malay described this language through the intermediary of categories taken over from Greek and Latin grammars that passed as universal

schemes valid for all languages. The incongruity of such a description—particularly as regards word classes—was evident also to earlier authors; for instance, Favre (*Grammaire de la langue malaise*, Vienne 1876) is of the opinion that Malay possesses in reality only three parts of speech—nouns, verbs and the particles, though he himself adheres in the descriptive section of his grammar to the classical parts of speech.

In recent times, attempts have been made by several authors to devise a more adequate scheme for Malay (Indonesian) grammar. A certain advance has been achieved by the works of H. J. E. Tendeloo, K. T. W. Moeliono, J. Gonda, A. Teeuw and others. However, the present state of our knowledge of Malay and Indonesian still remains unsatisfactory. A lack of lucidity persists in fundamental issues, problems of structure are being resolved intuitively rather than on the basis of exact methods.

From this point of view, E. M. F. Payne's *Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay* may be welcomed as a serious effort to process the Malay syntax on an exact, scientific basis. In his approach the author makes use of modern methods current in descriptive linguistics, describing Malay on the strength of factors within Malay itself, without reference to other languages. When defining grammatical categories, the author starts from formal relations between linguistic phenomena, hence, without taking meaning into account. Alongside these two principles of descriptive linguistics, the author also adheres to the demand that the description derive from the spoken language. However, a formal description of a language should not be the aim in itself; in the author's view, it should serve rather as a "structural framework upon which more detailed studies of Malay syntax could be based" (p. 2). Subsequent studies should take into account further aspects of the language, for instance, a correlation of semantic and grammatical categories.

The core of the book is given by seven chapters that formed the groundwork of the author's doctoral thesis in 1964. In order that it might be of use not only to those for whom Malay is an object of scientific studies, but also for others, less sophisticated readers, the author added an introduction and a list of definitions of linguistic terms employed in the work which are intended to facilitate the use of the book to those unfamiliar with procedures of descriptive linguistics. Chapter I (pp. 1—5) is in reality an introduction to his own work, and this introductory character is also that of Chapter II (pp. 6—11) which is concerned with the transcription and intonation within the terms of reference required by further explanation. In the transcription the author makes use of the standard Romanized orthography for Malay valid as to 1973, with certain modifications which take into account the grammatical structure of Malay (*tibanya buku itu* instead of *tiba-nya*, *kuehmueh* instead of *kueh-mueh*, etc.) and also the pronunciation (use of the symbol *ə* in transcription). And even Chapter III (pp. 12—24) is not as yet a full statement

of Malay morphology. It sets as its task "to provide a sufficient outline of the basic chapters of the thesis" (p. 13).

Of an essential significance from the aspect of the whole book is Chapter IV (pp. 25—53) dealing with parts of speech; essential, because adequacy of description at the level of parts of speech conditions that at higher levels, i.e. at the level of the Phrase, Clause and Sentence. In determining the parts of speech the author starts from formal criteria of a morphological and syntactical distribution and some of the parts of speech thus determined will appear as new to the reader accustomed to the traditional universal schemes, while in some cases, the traditional terms and concepts have been given a new content.

The author divides words in Malay into two principal groupings — Particles and Full Words. In the word class scheme these are called Particles and Non-particles respectively. The particles constitute a closed class with a limited number of members, and with respect to the grammatical constituents with which they are in immediate syntactic relation, they are divided into prepositions, postpositions (*lah, kah, tah, pun*) and positionally free particles—adjunctival particles (*sangat, amat, lagi*, etc.). Prepositions are divided into directive, connective and non-numeral qualifiers. Directive prepositions introduce exocentric constructions with noun phrases, for example, *ke pasar* in the sentence *Ahmad ke pasar*. Beside *ke*, here belong also the prepositions *di, dari, untuk, oleh, ber*, etc. Therefore, the construction of the type *ber + noun* is considered not as a verb, as is current in traditional grammars, but as an exocentric construction in the function of a predicate. The subclass of connective particles comprises those particles "which connect units of comparable status structurally, establishing either a co-ordinate or a subordinate relation" (p. 37), hence, it overlaps with the traditional part of speech "conjunction". Another new subclass is formed by Non-numeral qualifiers—these are particles forming endocentric constructions with noun phrases (*semua, segala, tiaptiap*); the members of this subclass reflect a certain quantitative aspect. For reasons of a formal nature the words *bukan, pada* and *tiada* are also assigned among them.

A substantial part of Malay vocabulary is made up of full words which are divided into two principal classes—Nominals and Verbals. Alongside these we may also sort out Auxiliaries—"this small class of words has a special function in the verb phrase" (p. 34).

Nominals comprise a) the determinants *ini, itu*, b) nouns and pronouns (the latter are considered to be a subclass of nouns), c) adjuncts, d) interrogative nominals (*siapa, apa*). The part of speech referred to as "adjunct" is a new one and embraces expressions like *sekarang, kelmarin* considered in earlier grammars as adverbs; however, the author designedly avoids using this term.

Verbals are defined as a subclass of full words which, "preceded by *yang*, can form a nominal piece which can function as exponent of S in verbal or nominal clause structure, or C in verbal clause structure, or a second element in a noun

group" (p. 30). The class of verbals thus qualified includes also the traditional adjectives. The assignment of adjectives into the class of verbals implies the fact that in Malay an adjective is closer to verbs than to nouns.

Verbals are divided into derived and non-derived and each of these subclasses is further split into transitive and intransitive depending on whether they may or may not take the *di-* form. Non-derived verbs are considered to be those in the zero form and Verbals with prefixes *di-*, *ter-*, *me-*, *pe(r)*, which are inflectional.

Chapter V (pp. 54—75) describes grammatical structures at the level of the phrase. Three types of phrases are abstracted for the purpose of description: Nominal, Verbal and Prepositional.

A new interpretation is given to Prepositional phrases where a differentiation is made between those introduced by *di*, *dari*, *ke*, *be(r)* and those introduced by other expressions. The former may be (with a certain limitation) exponents of P in verbal clause structures, the remaining Prepositional phrases may operate as exponent of A (Adjunct) in a clause structure generally (the only exception is that of Prepositional phrases introduced by *oleh*). This is an original solution of the problem presented by the absence of a copula. Its consequence is that the sentence *Ahmad datang ke Kuala Lumpur* is qualified as a compound sentence in which a Prepositional phrase is the exponent of P in a co-ordinate clause. This interpretation, however, is fully satisfactory only for such compound sentences in which the first predicate is an intransitive verb. A similar interpretation in the case of transitive verbs is not always applicable, cf. the example given by M. B. Lewis in *Sentence Analysis in Modern Malay*, p. 106: *Baru ia tengah membelitkan tali itu ke lantai, mayat itu terangkat balik* (Just as he is tying the rope round the flooring laths, the corpse rises up again), where the authoress considers the prepositional phrase *ke lantai* rather as the adjunct than a second predicate.

Chapter VI (pp. 76—99) brings a description of syntactical structures at the Clause level. Use is made of the traditional division into Verbal and Nominal clauses but not of a traditional interpretation—the predicate in a verbal clause may be not only a verb, but also its syntactical equivalent; the same applies also for the noun and its syntactical equivalent in the Nominal clause. The sentence *Orang itu ke laut* (That man is going to sea) is considered to be a Verbal clause.

In connection with Verbal clauses, the author deals also with the problem of the category of the passive, distinguishing two passive forms in Malay, one with the prefix *di-* and one with the prefix *ter-*. The prefix *ter-* permits to form the passive voice also from intransitive verbs, hence, the passive in Malay is not confined solely to transitive verbs. A construction of the type *Buku itu saya baca* (That is the book I am reading) is not considered as passive. The zero-prefixed form of a transitive verb is a part of the inflectional opposition to the forms in *me-*.

The new term which the author introduces into the description of Malay is

that of Included Clause. (This term is equivalent to what is called 'embedding'.) It is a clause occupying a place in structure of lower rank than that of the place in a sentence (p. 97). With the aid of this term one may satisfactorily describe such constructions as *Ahmad nak datang* in the sentence *Dia kata Ahmad nak datang* (He said Ahmad would come) where the included clause fills the C position, or sentences of the type *Waktu ia sampai itu saya pergi* (literally: The time—he arrived—I went) where *ia sampai* fills the position of Q.

An interesting example of the use of the term included clause is the interpretation of sentences of the type *Orang itu berjalan cepat* (lit. That-man-walks is fast), where *orang itu berjalan* is an included clause in the function of a subject and *cepat* is the predicate.

Chapter VII The Sentence (pp. 110—131) gives a description of two relations, co-ordination and subordination. A new element here is transformation. The relations of co-ordination and subordination may be expressed with a particle alone, or with a particle and transformation without particle or without particle but with transformation (see p. 133). Three transformations considered compulsory under certain circumstances go to explain the following constructions: *Dia berlari mengambil buah* (He runs and fetches fruits): the transformation is a conditioned paratactic co-ordination within the same intonation contour (p. 110):

*Ia pandai membaca buku* (He is skilful at reading): transformation derives from a paratactical subordination within the same intonation contour (pp. 67—68).

*Ahmad datang ke Kuala Lumpur* (Ahmad came to Kuala Lumpur): The construction is the result of a transformation deriving from a combination of a verbal P element and a prepositional phrase P element (see p. 70).

The few observations presented here provide but an approximate and inadequate picture of Payne's work which deals in a truly original manner with many of the problems that earlier studies bypassed or simply ignored. In addition, this is not merely a skilfully elaborated theory; Payne's work has already stood the test of practice: in 1969 there appeared M. B. Lewis's *Sentence Analysis in Modern Malay* in which the authoress adhered to the grammatical framework embodied in *Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay* and proved that Payne's framework is viable when applied to actual texts.

Payne's study has its weaker points (some of them were pointed out by M. B. Lewis in her work referred to above), some of the partial problems have been better resolved elsewhere, nevertheless, it has one considerable priority over other studies on Malay syntax—it is the only truly systematic and complete view on the syntax of Malay based on a solid basis and already this fact alone makes the book worthy of our attention.

Štefan Fatura



*Yazyki Kitaya i Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Languages of China and Southeast Asia). Edited by Y. A. Gorgoniev. Moscow, Nauka 1974. 254 pp.

This collection of papers is dedicated to the memory of the late Y. A. Gorgoniev, a well-known Soviet specialist in the Khmer languages. The sixteen papers included in the publication are arranged in an alphabetical order and written by Soviet linguists. The book covers Chinese, Vietnamese, Burmese, Thai, Khmer, Indonesian, Buginese, and Tagalog.

I. E. Aleshina in her article (pp. 18—27) compares two types of complex sentences in Vietnamese which are termed stable and nonstable. Only the former are characterized as true complex sentences in Vietnamese since the latter easily pass into the class of simple sentences with multiple predicates. N. F. Alieva has contributed two papers. Both of them deal with the entangled problems of the Indonesian verb. The first article (pp. 28—47) discusses the so-called zero form of the transitive verb. The latter combines with various types of prepositive subject. Most linguists would agree with Alieva who does not regard the short pronouns *ku* I and *kau* you as verbal personal prefixes. She proves that these enter into a virtually open paradigmatic class. And, as Alieva puts it, units that do not form a closed class cannot be regarded as inflective markers (p. 33). The verbal zero form is then classed as a passive, to be more precise, as a personal passive (p. 42). On the other hand, those verbal forms that display the prefix *me-* are active. The second article by N. F. Alieva (pp. 48—53) is a deep and detailed semantic and syntactical analysis of the verbal suffix *-i*. According to Alieva, this suffix performs several functions in Indonesian and only under certain conditions marks the aspectual meaning of frequentativeness or plurality of verbal objects. In those instances it contrasts with the transitive suffix *-kan*. Y. L. Blagonravova discusses the existential sentences in Thai (pp. 54—77) and, in another contribution (pp. 78—87), analyses the meaning of classifiers in Thai. Her article is thus relevant for typology. The classifiers are defined semantically as a classifying pronominality (p. 85). Describing Vietnamese word formation (pp. 88—103), I. S. Bystrov and N. V. Stankevich arrive at a conclusion that the basic structural unit of the Vietnamese language is the so-called syllabo-morpheme. Word is said to be of secondary importance. This view, however, runs counter to the fact that the minimum range of the triggering impulse of the speech motorics coincides with the word. Late Y. A. Gorgoniev has written a paper devoted to the causative which is a highly complicated aspect of the Khmer grammar (pp. 104—117). L. N. Morev compares syntactical constructions in various Thai languages (pp. 118—136) and uses his results for a subclassification of the Thai group of languages. N. V. Omelianovich describes an instance of incorporation in Burmese (pp. 137—144). This article is followed by another one, likewise written by

Omelianovich, and devoted to the neutralization of the polysemy of syntactical noun markers in Burmese (pp. 145—163). Y. H. Sirk describes the basic syntactical functions of bound personal pronouns in the Buginese language (pp. 164—187). O. A. Timofeeva launches an attempt at the classification of complex sentences in contemporary Burmese (pp. 188—195). N. I. Tyapkina's articles (pp. 196—208 and 209—223) deal with partitive relations and noun + postposition combinations in the Chinese language. Of a considerable relevance for typology is likewise L. I. Shkarban's paper dealing with the problem of voice in Tagalog (pp. 224—244). The Tagalog language is notable for its abundance of various voice forms, the interrelations of which cannot be solved without a careful analysis of the meaning and functions of the category of voice. According to L. I. Shkarban, the category of voice in Tagalog cannot be explained without taking into account the categories of verb, noun, and case. Finally, S. B. Yankiver discusses the question of grammatical homonymy in the present-day literary Chinese language (pp. 245—252).

The volume under review no doubt deserves the attention of all linguists specializing in the Southeast Asia as well as in general typology. The reviewer would recommend the editors to include at least brief summaries in English to all the papers.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Anthologie de la littérature vietnamienne. Tome II, XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Hanoi, Editions en langues étrangères 1973. 381 pp.*

Ce deuxième tome de l'*Anthologie de la littérature vietnamienne* (l'œuvre est projetée en sept volumes) est organiquement lié au premier (paru en 1972) et porte sur la période la plus riche de la littérature vietnamienne classique qui prit fin avec le début de l'agression française vers le milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'introduction et les notes ont été écrites par Nguyen Khac Vien et Huu Ngoc et traduites en français par un collectif d'auteurs: Le Van Chat, Hoang Xuan Nhi, Huu Ngoc, Nguyen Khac Vien, Pham Huy Thong, Tao Trang et Vu Quy Vy en collaboration Françoise Corrèze.

L'auteur de la partie introductive présente une explication très érudite, lors même que concise et aisément compréhensible, des conditions et connexions historiques et du développement culturel et idéologique en général de la vie littéraire, avec un exposé sur les auteurs et les œuvres littéraires de la période étudiée. Parmi les événements historiques l'auteur traite en plus grands détails du soulèvement des Tay Son (1771—1802) et de ses conséquences. Il prend note de l'épanouissement culturel en général même en dehors de la littérature (l'œuvre de Le Huu Trac,

surnommé Lan Ong, 1720—1791 qui avait laissé un traité de médecine en 28 volumes; la série des statues de la pagode de Tay Phuong) et dans le domaine de l'idéologie il analyse la crise de l'orthodoxie confucéenne. Il écrit: «Cette crise idéologique avait cependant l'avantage de libérer les esprits, du moins les plus indépendants, de l'empire du confucianisme orthodoxe qui figeait les comportements et la pensée dans le cadre d'un conservatisme et d'un ritualisme des plus rigoureux.» Quant à la vie littéraire de cette époque, il signale le thème nouveau des œuvres littéraires qui était constitué par la critique de la société féodale. Il compare le chef des Tay Son, Nguyen Hue, avec l'insurgé Tu Hai — le héros de l'Epopée Kieu de Nguyen Du. Il signale l'énorme développement de la langue vietnamienne littéraire de cette époque qui s'est enrichie par des éléments divers et remarque: «On peut dire qu'avec les œuvres du XVIII<sup>e</sup> et du début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la langue vietnamienne a connu une véritable mutation et est devenue telle qu'elle est aujourd'hui.»

Parmi les auteurs du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle on doit signaler en premier lieu Doan Thi Diem (1705—1748) qui entre autres œuvres, avait surtout laissé une traduction du *Chinh phu ngam* (Plaintes de la femme du guerrier), œuvre écrite en chinois classique par un contemporain, Dang Tran Con (1710—1745). Cette œuvre est en fait le monologue d'une jeune femme contre la guerre. Du côté formel, il se divise en quatre parties comprenant un total de 408 vers groupés en quatrains. La traduction a entièrement éclipsé l'original chinois peu connu et ne contient que très peu de mots sino-vietnamiens.

Au tournant du XVIII<sup>e</sup>—XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les personnalités de la vie littéraire les plus éminentes sont incontestablement Ho Xuan Huong et Nguyen Du. Ho Xuan Huong — une femme de haute intelligence et d'une riche érudition créative est un phénomène unique, particulier dans l'histoire de la littérature vietnamienne. Le contenu thématique de ses poèmes et son style poétique sont tout à fait originaux. Par une satire tranchante elle dévoile les maux de la société d'alors, surtout la subjugation de la femme et cependant c'est une poésie sensitive, évocative, mais sans égards aux normes de l'étiquette sociale en vigueur. Du côté formel, les poèmes sont d'un niveau très haut, contenant beaucoup d'expressions à double entente, d'allégories et jeux de mots. Ceci rend leur traduction en une langue étrangère exceptionnellement difficile et souvent même impossible au point de vue littéraire. La collection complète (*Xuan Huong thi tap* — Collection des poèmes de Xuan Huong) ne comprend que quelques dizaines de poèmes, mais ceux-ci, en raison de leur valeur artistique et idéologique, représentent un des phénomènes les plus remarquables dans l'histoire littéraire vietnamienne.

Mais le poète qui représente l'apogée de la littérature vietnamienne classique est Nguyen Du (1765—1820). Son ouvrage le plus significatif *Kim Van Kieu* (Epopée de Kieu) — une composition versifiée (genre *truyen*) contient 3254 vers écrits en *chu nôm*. Formellement, il a une action continue racontée par l'auteur lui-même. Il a une structure développée et dans le domaine de la langue littéraire cette œuvre

n'a pas été encore surpassée dans la littérature vietnamienne. Bien entendu, l'ouvrage est historiquement circonscrit et se termine par un «happy end» un peu irréel. Vu l'étendu de la composition, l'Anthologie ne donne que des fragments traduits.

Quant à la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le lecteur sera intéressé par la poésie de Nguyen Cong Tru (1778—1858), un poète actif, pourtant montrant un dédoublement de personnalité, à qui un certain genre de pessimisme héroïque est naturel. Une attitude plus radicale à l'égard de la société féodale est montrée par le poète Cao Ba Quat (1809—1853). C'est le type du poète-rebelle dans toute la force du terme, dont la poésie abonde en sentiment qu'il parle de la beauté de la nature, ou de la misère des petites gens. Aux yeux de ses contemporains il passait pour un des plus grands poètes.

Un point à apprécier est que les fragments dans l'Anthologie sont introduits par une caractérisation brève de l'auteur et de son œuvre, supplémentée par des notes explicatives qui sont souvent rédigées problématiquement, étant donné que la littérature vietnamienne de cette période contient encore beaucoup de questions restées inéclaircies.

La dernière partie traite des «romans populaires» de l'époque 1700—1858, dont l'origine était aidée par l'analphabétisme de grande envergure de la population et aussi par le fait que beaucoup des œuvres anonymes des lettrés confucianistes écrites en chinois, se conservaient par tradition orale, et naturellement, subissaient des changements. Dans la plupart d'elles il s'agit d'une lutte du bien contre le mal, une lutte pour la justice, un désir de l'amour et d'une vie heureuse. Le livre n'en contient que des fragments. Les plus célèbres sont *Thach Sanh*, *Truyen tre coc* (Histoire du silure et du crapaud) et *Nhi do mai* (Les pruniers ont refléuri).

En général, le deuxième tome de l'Anthologie constitue une contribution utile aux connaissances de la littérature vietnamienne dans le monde et les compilateurs sont à féliciter aussi pour avoir rédigé le livre au temps où la République démocratique du Viet-Nam était encore le but d'une agression ravageuse. L'Anthologie est close par une table synoptique pratique et très utile, un index des œuvres et un des auteurs.

*Ján Múčka*

*Aspects of Vietnamese History.* Edited by Walter F. Vella. Asian Studies at Hawaii, No. 8. The University Press of Hawaii 1973. 269 pp.

This is a collection of six independent studies written, as stated in the Introduction, by various authors at different periods and with different aims.

The first by R. B. Smith, *The Cycle of Confucianization in Vietnam*, is divided into three parts: the historical aspect deals with Vietnam from the end of the 10th up to the beginning of the 19th century, i.e. the period of the existence of the classical Vietnamese State. The author's attention is taken up with problems of Confucian teaching as the dominant idea and the fundamental organizational principle of Vietnamese society of that epoch. The explication bears on the cyclic interpretation of Confucianism: periods of orthodox Confucianism alternate with such as are not strictly bound to any political philosophy. The author notes in detail the system of classical examinations (their frequency, the number of laureates, their participation in the management of the State, etc.), conflicts among the "counsellors" (*dai than*) and "scholar-officials" (*quan*), the relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism (in a chronological sequence) and finally the complicated relationship of the classical Vietnamese society towards Christian ideology, whose negative consequences he considers fairly one-sidedly as one of the principal reasons for a French intervention in Vietnam. The application of a cyclic conception and concretely of the situation in Vietnam during the period 1427—1437 to the conception of Marxism as a philosophy and to pragmatism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during the period 1954—1965, as also the parallels between the leading personalities in the Vietnamese society in the two periods, even though interesting and of course possible, lack nevertheless the benefit a scientific foundation on the basis of a wider historical survey and are thus but of a hypothetico-subjective character.

The second study by Vu Duc Bang *The Dong Kinh Free School Movement, 1907—1908* is concerned with the origin, activity and extinction of the first Vietnamese school of a private character, bent on educating the young in the spirit of modernization and social reforms. The author examines in detail the activity of its founder, the well-known Vietnamese national enlightener of that period, Phan Boi Chau (1867—1940) and further scholars-patriots, e.g. Phan Chau Trinh (1872—1926) and Luong Van Can (1854—1927). The school and the entire movement were oriented to a study of Japanese, European and American culture in the interests of uplifting their own national consciousness. As regards its internal statue, it was accessible to all strata of society and endeavoured to achieve mass education and instruction in the spirit of a national mindedness. Vu Duc Bang in the conclusion writes thus about its significance: "Never before its colonial history had Vietnam witnessed such a great wave of education innovation as that of the post-Dong Kinh period. It was tragic that the movement culminated in violence, an outcome long cautioned against by far-sighted scholars like Phan Chau Trinh. Yet, as paradoxical as it seems, the few months of violence succeeded in bringing about more reforms for Vietnam than more than forty years of obedience and passive submission to the French." (p. 81).

In the third study *Alexandre Varenne and Politics in Indochina, 1925—1926*,

William H. Frederick concentrates also on a relatively brief period which, however, in Vietnamese social and cultural life was one full of conflicts, hopeful ideas and disillusionments. He also notes in some detail the economic factors in connection with the measures of the Governor General Varenne which from the economic point of view (national budget) were, partly at least, of a progressive character, but from the ideological aspect his reformist attempts failed to correspond to the national interests of Vietnam.

The fourth study by Milton Osborne *The Faithful Few: The Politics of Collaboration in Cochinchina in the 1920's* is a well-founded study analysing forms of co-operation and of course all relationships in the wider sense of the term between the Vietnamese and the French administration. He also takes note of the specific conditions in the Saigon-Cholon area in relation to the numerous stratum of Chinese businessmen who represented a relatively strong economic potential of the whole Cochinchina.

The fifth study, *Quoc Ngu and the Development of Modern Vietnamese Literature*, by Hoang Ngoc Thanh is devoted to questions relating to the origin and the introduction of Vietnamese national writing *quoc ngu* on the basis of the Latin alphabet and to the development of modern literature from the year 1860 when Vietnam lost its independence and came under French domination. He presents an analysis of Vietnam scholars, reformists, patriots and Confucian scholars grouped about the journals *Dong Duong Tap Chi* (Indochina Weekly), 1913—1916 and *Nam Phong* (South Wind), 1917—1934. He takes up in more detail the very interesting and important Pham Quynh's article *Study on the Novel*.

In the sixth and last study *Japan and the Disruption of the Vietnamese Nationalist Movement*, the author Truong Buu Lam discusses the problem of the term "interregnum" for the period of Japanese occupation of the South-East Asian countries and admits that it is unsuitable. On the basis of a large number of scientifically and historically founded considerations he shows how during the years of World War II, the interests of France, Japan and the forces standing in opposition to both collided and what effect all this had on the Vietnamese national movement.

A brief subject index is appended.

Ján Múčka

*Japanese Culture and Behavior*. Selected Readings. Edited by T. S. Lebra and W. P. Lebra. Honolulu, The University of Hawaii Press 1974. 459 pp.

This volume, published as an East-West Center book, is intended as a reader for those who study Japanese culture. The editors have collected it during several

years of their perusal of publications on Japan and have taken into account the discussions on their relative value. Another important factor was their own observation of Japanese behaviour. The editors explicitly state that they have chosen the systematic approach to culture as manifested in behaviour. The users of this book will appreciate that the contributions have been selected so as to stress the complexity, conflict, and dynamism of contemporary Japanese culture. The authenticity of the collection is increased by the fact that contributions by Japanese authors have been preferred.

The publication is subdivided into four parts. Part One: Values and Beliefs (pp. 1—141) is intended as an initial orientation. The first paper titled *Human Nature in Japanese Myths* by J. C. Pelzel makes the readers acquainted with some basic features of Japanese mythology. The author believes that the elements of mythological cosmology and ethics of ancient times are still present in the minds of the Japanese people. The Japanese culture is explained as being in a remarkable contrast to the culture of China from which the Japanese have so much borrowed. A highly interesting paper is that by E. Ishida (*A Culture of Love and Hatred*). The author characterizes the Japanese outlook through his critical evaluation of the European culture. The European culture is referred to as that of love and hatred and the Japanese, unlike the Europeans, are described as displaying indifference to or repulsion from dogmatic assertions and unequivocal extremism. Part One further includes articles on culture change, intergenerational and moral problems, etc., in the present-day Japanese society. The general impression is that the Japanese are human-centered and relativistic. Part Two: Patterns of Interaction (pp. 143—221) contains articles on Japanese personality structure, group formation, management, and gift-giving. It may be regarded as an extension of Part One. Part Three: Socialization and Psycho-Social Development (pp. 223—356) enables the readers to penetrate into the structure and functioning of the Japanese family. The latter is an important pattern for human relations in Japan which serves as a model for schools and bureaucracy. While the first three parts describe normative orientations, Part Four: Cultural Stress, Extreme Responses, and Behavior Transformation (pp. 357—457) concentrates upon various deviations, disturbances, and behaviour changes. The articles included in Part Four discuss, e.g., suicide, criminality and its organization, neurosis, and youth revolting, especially at the universities.

The present collection of papers helps the readers to gain a deep insight into the Japanese psychology and behaviour. At the same time it ought to be stressed that preferential treatment is given to psychological and social aspects of culture, while its other components, i.e., arts, literature, religion, and science have largely remained outside the scope of the editors' attention.

Viktor Krupa

Kato, Hidetoshi (Ed.): *Japanese Research on Mass Communication: Selected Abstracts*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1974. 128 pp.

At a time, when the amount of new scientific information is growing from day to day, any attempt at classifying and evaluating it can only be welcomed. This is also the case of the collection of abstracts prepared by Hidetoshi Kato for the Hawaii East-West Communication Institute under the title *Japanese Research on Mass Communication*. No doubt, Japan is to be classed as one of those countries where mass communication media have developed to a high degree, with a considerable influence on the life of the population. It is, therefore, quite natural that this development of the mass media in Japan during the post-war period was at the same time an object of intensive scholarly research. The volume under review gives the English speaking reader a glance at one part of this research.

Prof. Kato presents the abstracts of 97 books and magazine papers, published during two decades (1952—1972). The papers have been selected from 15 different magazines, most of these being periodicals published by research centers attached to TV and radio broadcastings, as well as newspaper corporations; some articles, however, have been taken from the review of the Institute of Journalism, University of Tokyo, and from large political and cultural monthly magazines like *Chūō kōron*, *Shisō* and *Bungaku*.

Most items selected are concerned with surveys on the present-day mass media and their impact on the life of the population. Substantial room has been reserved, in the first place, to problems facing TV, the degree of its expansion and of its impact (cf. items like *Children's Life and Television*, *The Influence of TV upon Children*, *Television in the Lives of Japanese People* etc.). Reports on surveys on the farmers and mass media relationship and on the influence of TV upon family relations are also interesting. Relatively few entries are concerned with the history of the mass media in Japan, this being obviously conditioned by the fact that most of the research carried out has been motivated by and orientated towards serving the immediate interests and practical needs of the corporations in question. Comparison with problems of mass media influence in other countries is also rarely attempted.

The volume is primarily designed for English reading communication researchers, providing information not only on the actual state of mass communication media in Japan, but also on methods of media research. It can, however, be a useful source of information even to those interested in some other aspects of Japan's society and its development during the period since World War II. On the other hand, while giving useful information on many aspects of mass media influence in Japan, the entries selected do not include any concerned with problems of TV, radio nad press functioning in the present-day class conflicts of Japan's society. Large political



movements like the struggle against the Security Treaty, the reaction of the Japanese public against the US involvement in Vietnam etc., where the mass media coverage has played a significant role, are either not mentioned at all or given but a marginal attention.

The volume has been carefully edited. Basic data on each entry (the author, the title, the place and time of publication) are presented both in English and Japanese. Each entry then contains a detailed abstract, which provides the reader with good information on the aim, the methods and materials used in the item in question. The volume can, therefore, be useful even to japanologists for it can become their guide through the immense multitude of Japanese mass communication research.

*Zdeňka Vasiljevová*

Kuroda, Yasumasa: *Reed Town, Japan. A study in Community Power Structure and Political Change*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1974. xiv + 283 pp.

Reed Town is a fictitious name given by an American scholar, Yusamasa Kuroda, to a real Japanese community with a population of 16,498 in 1963 (p. 66), at an hour's distance from Tokyo by modern means of transportation. In 1963 Reed Town became an object of the author's field research in community power structure and political change. The author says in the Preface of his book: "The present work is written for the dual purpose of developing a theory of community power structure and political change and of understanding and describing Reed Town's politics" (p. XIII). Accordingly, theoretical and methodological considerations are given much room (Chapter I, pp. 1—10; Chapter II, pp. 11—52; Chapter IX, pp. 213—217; theoretical questions being extensively discussed even in the other chapters, dealing with factual surveys). Chapter III (pp. 53—92) contains basic data on Japan's post-war political system as well as on Reed Town. The following five chapters are analyses of power structure and political change in Reed Town (Chapter IV: The Place of Local Government in the World of Politics, pp. 93—105; Chapter V: The Community Power Structure, pp. 106—162; Chapter VI: Community — Issue Analysis, pp. 163—185; Chapter VII: Community Political Change, pp. 186 to 200; Chapter VIII: National and Local Political Change: The Role of the Family, pp. 201—212).

The essential part of the field research was carried out in 1963, while some additional data were collected during subsequent years. Three years prior to the time of the research Japan went through the most violent political crisis of the post-war period, when the stability of the conservative government was challenged

by the movement against the revision of the Security Treaty. This political crisis is not directly mentioned, as if it had been in no way related to the political life of a not large town during the early 60's. In my opinion, however, the analysis of Reed Town's political structure presented by the author still is in a certain way related to the problems of 1960. The movement against the revision of the Security Treaty was an expression of a general popular dissatisfaction with the Government's policy which was that of the conservative Liberal-Democratic Party. Due to some political manoeuvring the Conservatives have been able to maintain their position in Government. But the questions as to what was the real stability of this conservatism and what were its future prospects had to be raised all the more urgently, in the early 60's. This, in the last analysis of things, is also Kuroda's concern, although we do not see him putting it anywhere explicitly in these words. Yet he gives a clear-cut answer to the problem trying to persuade the reader that conservatism in Japan has a stable basis: "All the circumstances under which the mayor must operate tend to favor the Liberal-Democratic (conservative) rule in Japan. Thus, one would expect most of the leaders who constitute the local community power structure to be of conservative ideological orientation" (p. 105).

The author does not conceal that the conservative attitudes of the leaders do not exactly correspond to the attitudes of the rest of the population. This is, for instance, obvious from Table 31 (Party Preference of Top Leaders, Economic Dominants, and the Public, p. 131) where the Liberal-Democratic Party is seen to have been given support by 95 % of the top leaders, 100 % of the "economic dominants", and 43 % of the "general population". Similarly, a survey on the attitudes of local individuals towards leading political personalities shows that "The top leaders tended to favor conservative politicians, whether Japanese or non-Japanese, more than the public did" (p. 133). The fact also that a member of the Japanese Socialist Party prefers to run for mayor as an independent can better be explained by a conservative predominance rather than by the assumption that "the political culture of the Japanese town simply does not allow party affiliation in the election of a mayor..." (p. 75). Although the facts as presented by the author call for a critical approach towards Japanese conservatism and the roots of its stability which lie precisely in such communities as Reed Town is — where the conservative pressure, effectuated often through extra-political channels, does not allow the emancipation of oppositional political views and their development into political behaviour — the author refrains from all criticism.

Another objection which a Marxist-trained reader has obviously to raise consists in that the economic base of the community under survey, as well as the social relations conditioned by that base, have not been given a sufficient description. The economic life of Reed Town is mentioned but very briefly (The Economic Base, p. 72; Town Finance, p. 82). On the basis of economic and social criteria, a separate social group called "economic dominants" and defined as "persons who

employ more than ten workers" (p. 121) has been distinguished and their participation in the process of decision-making (pp. 126 and 129 where the conclusion that the so-called economic dominants "do not have much to do with the community decision-making" was arrived at) as well as their attitudes toward community issues (p. 169) have been examined. The rest of the community members have been included into the concept of "general population", represented by a sample of selected respondents, however, the author failed to establish their socioeconomic status. Three indicators have been used to measure the socioeconomic status: income, occupation, and formal schooling, but, according to the author, only the latter has proved to be applicable (p. 90). The reason for this should be explained. Labour-management relations in Japan being quite complicated, an occupation or income indicator without any qualifications turns out not to be a reliable evidence of the actual social status of a respondent (that is obviously one of the reasons why many respondents failed to give any definite answer to the corresponding questions). Neither do the farmers form one undifferentiated group so that, especially in Reed Town with its predominance of farming population, this problem ought to have been given more attention. Some of the data quoted enable us to conclude that Reed Town is obviously not without its economic and social problems. For instance, the problem of reflux of labour agriculture, so typical for the Japan of the time of Kuroda's survey, has its repercussions in Reed Town, too, as is apparent from the data concerning the young generation (p. 198). The existence of problems caused by national issues is hinted at by the author when he refers to a new railroad construction (p. 161). This is another case where it would be interesting to know what the repercussions of a general economic tendency are on a community's life.

The volume contains a considerable amount of factual material but it still does not seem to have added much new to what had generally been known about the conservative dominance in Japan's communities of the type described.

*Zdeňka Vasiljevová*

*Sahoe kwahakwŏn ōnhak yŏn'guso: Chosŏn munhwa-ŏ sajŏn* (The Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Social Sciences: Korean Dictionary of Cultural Language). Pyongyang, Sahoe kwahakwŏn ch'ulp'ansa 1973. 1060 pp.

The profound political, social and economic changes in the northern part of Korea evidently became reflected also in the language. The greatest differences are noticeable in the vocabulary and orthography. Particularly since about the middle of the

sixties the so-called *mal tadŭmgi undong* (Language Purification Movement) has been on in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.), which has for its aim, among other things, to remove from the Korean language the less current words of Chinese origin and other foreign words and to replace them by words of Korean provenience.

This process is constantly on the programme and is officially supported; regular columns have appeared for years now in the daily press in which readers themselves and linguists suggest alterations for certain words or propose new ones.

The results of this movement, verified in a broadly led discussion among linguists, experts from various scientific disciplines but also ordinary readers are consistently applied in practice and gradually appear in periodical literature and publications issued in the D.P.R.K.

When reading such texts, particularly in newspapers and journals, foreign students of Korean meet with enormous difficulties, for many such neologisms are vainly looked for in accessible dictionaries.

These difficulties will be done away with in part by the new explanatory dictionary *Chosŏn munhwa-ŏ sajŏn* which codifies in a certain manner the results of the discussion on the purity of the language. In their foreword, the authors of the dictionary use the term *munhwa-ŏ* (cultural language) to designate language that links up with the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerilla warfare and takes as the norm of the literary language that spoken today in Pyongyang—the capital of the D.P.R.K. (Earlier dictionaries, both Korean and foreign, took as the basis of literary Korean the language of Seoul.)

Another important trait of “cultural language” is the emphasis laid on a maximum use of words of Korean origin and the gradual replacement of certain Sino-Korean and other loanwords.

In this sense, the present dictionary links up with *Hyŏndae chosŏn-mal sajŏn*, Pyongyang 1968 (50,000 expressions), but is more comprehensive and lists more neologisms. Unfortunately, the total number of entries is not given.

The explanatory dictionary *Chosŏn munhwa-ŏ sajŏn* is of the encyclopaedic type. It lists words, phraseological expressions and proverbs in alphabetical order; proper names, dialectisms and archaisms are omitted. A positive feature is the abundant listing of the more current professional terminology from various scientific disciplines, further, grammatical suffixes and endings, etc. Auxiliary abbreviations help to distinguish parts of speech, to indicate differences in pronunciation, changes at the end of word stems, and to differentiate spoken from standard literary expressions, etc., sometimes the epoch is specified for which the expression is characteristic (e.g. “in the feudal period”).

If needs be, examples are given of the use of expressions in sentences or syntagmas. Explanation of the words is concise and to the point. In the case

of numerous terms from the political or economic domain, the explanation is often supplemented with quotations from the works of Kim Il Sung.

On the other hand, the authors of the dictionary adhering to the spirit of the "Language Purification Movement", have omitted the relevant Chinese characters for Sino-Korean words, which is rather regrettable as it makes it more difficult for the student to get deeper at the etymology of the words. In other loanwords the abbreviation *oerae* indicates their foreign origin, but not the particular language from which they derive, nor their original spelling.

Likewise the scientific (Latin) terms are not given in names of plants and animals. This omission detracts from the value of the dictionary which in this respect is less instructive than earlier ones, *Chosŏn-mal sajŏn*, Pyongyang 1960 (Vols. I—VI), or I Hŭi Sŭng's *Kugŏ tae-sajŏn*, Seoul 1961.

The principal significance of the present dictionary for foreign students of Korean seems to reside, to my mind, in the following aspects:

1. Similarly as the *Hyŏndae chosŏn-mal sajŏn*, the present dictionary also comprises numerous neologisms, newly and systematically introduced in considerable numbers in the D.P.R.K. into the language.

In certain cases the dictionary explains Sino-Korean expressions that have been currently used thus far, e.g. *ch'ujin-hada* (to propel), but a special symbol is made to indicate that it is better to replace this word by Korean expressions, such as *milgo-nagada*, *tagŭch'ida*, *pŏllida* (p. 729).

Sometimes an earlier Sino-Korean term is given but not explained, only a reference pointing to a neologism which is then duly explained at the proper place. For instance, *ŭnggo* (solidification, congelation), cf. *ŏnggyŏ-kutki*; or *ŭnggyŏl* (coagulation), cf. *ŏnggyŏ-maech'igi*, etc.

Thus, the dictionary in reality instructs how to substitute for expressions judged today as improper. Other examples: instead of *hwach'ŏp* (picture book) the dictionary recommends the use of *kŭrim ch'aek*, instead of *hwamul* (freight, goods, cargo) the term *chim*, instead of *hwagang'am* (granite) the word *kkae-pawi*, etc. It is worth noting that the neologism *kkae-pawi* is not given either by *Chosŏn-mal sajŏn*, nor even by *Hyŏndae chosŏn-mal sajŏn*. There is then question of a totally new term.

In other cases, only the new term is given, for instance, *p'odosul* (wine), but to my knowledge, the term *p'odoju* is still currently employed in the D.P.R.K. and this is not entered in the dictionary. Similarly, *kaŭl kari* (autumn ploughing) is given but not the Sino-Korean equivalent *ch'ugyŏng* though it is included in the *Chosŏn-mal sajŏn* (Vol. IV, p. 803).

Also the term *kangnaeng'i* (maize) is entered, but not the currently employed term *oksusu*. It is of interest to observe that *Chosŏn-mal sajŏn* still gives the term *oksusu* as literary, while characterizing *kangnaeng'i* and *kangnang* (Vol. I, p. 119) as dialectical. (Cf. also I Hŭi Sŭng op. cit., p. 73, where *kangnang*, *kangnae* and *kangnaeng'i* are given as dialectisms.)

2. Like in the case of the *Hyōndae chosŏn-mal sajŏn*, the present dictionary, too, is based on the newly approved spelling norm from the year 1966, which deviates slightly from that of 1954 and more strikingly from South Korean orthography.

3. Particularly in the political and economic terminology the present dictionary lists and in the manner of an encyclopaedia explains a considerable range of phraseological expressions now currently used in scientific literature and the publicist style. For instance, under the entry *sahoe-juŭi* (socialism) a detailed explication is given of such associations as *s. chongguk sŭngni* (definitive victory of socialism), *s. kyŏngje pŏpch'ik* (economic laws of socialism), *s. kich'o kŏnsŏl* (building the foundations of socialism), *s. mulchil kisulchŏk t'odae* (material-technical base of socialism), etc.

In addition, novel and specific terms from the political and social practice in the D.P.R.K. are given, names of institutions, various campaigns, movements, etc., e.g. *chuch'e sasang* (ideology of chuch'e), *Ch'ŏngsanni chŏngsin* (spirit of Ch'ŏngsanni), *Taeannŭi saŏp ch'eye* (the Taeann system of work), *Ch'ŏllima chagŏp-pan undong* (Ch'ŏllima team-work movement), *saroch'ŏng* (abbreviation for *Sahoe-juŭi nodong ch'ŏngnyŏn tongmaeng* — The League of Socialist Working Youth), etc.

In conclusion it may be said that from the viewpoint of those engaged in Korean studies, the dictionary is a suitable aid but rather for practical reading of modern texts from the D.P.R.K., particularly those of a publicist style. It will also be of help for a theoretical investigation of the process of the "Language Purification Movement" in the D.P.R.K. and to examine changes in the vocabulary triggered off by this campaign.

Vladimír Pucek

McNaughton, William (Ed.): *Chinese Literature. An Anthology from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Rutland—Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Company 1974. 836 pp.

Today, at a time of an enhanced and an all-round interest in China, in the ideological and cultural past and the background of contemporary China, the publication of the Anthology edited by W. McNaughton is most opportune. It provides the English reading public, interested in this subject and in world literature generally, with an extensive and representative overview of illustrations or specimens and a valuable information on the almost three thousand year-old history of Chinese literature.

The editor has assembled and arranged in a logical sequence specimens by numerous translators, many of them as yet unpublished, and he himself has

translated several of the texts included. In the introduction in which he has embodied a Historical Chart of Chinese Literature, rather too concise, he states that in selecting the translations he "tried to use only such work as can appeal to the modern Western reader on literary grounds alone".

The anthology comprises six parts that are further subdivided so that it is actually made up of the Introduction and twenty three thematic chapters. Some of these are devoted to a single theme (e.g. *Books of Songs*, various great novels of Ming and Ch'ing), others to some important literary style, particularly that of poetry (Ecstasy Cults and Elegies, Country Music, Poetry of Exile, Nature Poetry, Erotic Poetry, Golden Poets, etc.), then to a certain genre characteristic for a given epoch (such as the Strange Legends of T'ang, Short Stories of Sung, Yüan Drama, Ming Short Stories), and the last part embraces Modern Fiction and Modern Verse. The anthology thus provides an overview beginning with the *Book of Songs*, through samples of the greatest ancient philosophical texts, the rich mediaeval literature, up to Mao Tse-tung's poetry. Each chapter is introduced by the editor's concise but important annotation in which he supplies basic information together with an expert explication of the principal traits of the concrete literary type, form or work, as the case may be. Without these informative forewords the book would suffer considerably in informativeness and its usefulness to the reader would proportionally decline. The latter will probably welcome also the bibliography of further relevant English translations which is made to accompany every chapter; these are both complete translations of works from which the editor has included an example, and also such as are relevant to the topic of the individual chapters.

Every anthology, and especially one as extensive and ambitious in scope as McNaughton's undoubtedly is, encompassing the entire history of one of the greatest world literatures, unavoidably leaves ample room to the reviewer for critical remarks that may bear either on the inclusion or the omission of a given author or work. But it would be unfair to question the editor's supreme right in this respect, including that of expressing his own personal taste. Therefore, I can only remark in passing that I regret the absence of at least a reference to that great writer of short stories of the Ch'ing period, P'u Sung-ling, or of an example among Ch'ing novels from *An Informal History of Scholars* by Wu Ching-tzu, that in modern verse I should not leave out poems by the most outstanding among modern Chinese poets, viz. Hsü Chih-mo, Wen I-to, Ai Ch'ing and this even at the expense of some others included in the anthology.

On the whole, however, we may observe with respect that in editing this anthology, William McNaughton has given us a work of great erudition, one that will be of help to many a reader interested in Chinese literary historiography.

*Anna Doležalová*

Chang Hao: *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890—1907*. Harvard East Asian Series 64. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1971. 342 pp.

There are not many studies of value on the influential publicist, politician and historian Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873—1929) in Western languages and, in fact, until the publication of the book under review we had only the pioneering but rather problematic book by the late J. R. Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953 and 1959). It is inevitably marred by severe misunderstandings of Liang's really difficult texts, by the belief that the Chinese intellectuals misunderstood Western values if they were interpreting them differently from the usual way, etc. In fact, a full biography of Liang is not available even now.

It is therefore welcome that one year after the appearance of Chang's book, another book on Liang was published by Philip C. Huang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism*.<sup>\*</sup> It is not surprising that both Chang's and Huang's books deal practically with the same period which Chang calls "intellectual transition" and Huang "modern Chinese liberalism". From one point, that of comparing the approach and results, this is even useful. There is, however, some difference in their stress — Chang concentrates upon the ten years between ca 1897—1907, while Huang presents in his slimmer volume a wider account of almost three decades between 1890—1917 (and even later).

Besides the prologue and conclusion, Chang's book consists of nine chapters dealing respectively with the intellectual setting, K'ang Yu-wei's intellectual role in the late 19th century, Liang's early life and background, the foundation of Liang's reformist thought between 1896—1898, his long stay in exile in Japan between 1898—1912, Liang's attitude towards politics and tradition or, in other words, his ideas on the reform and revolution, his ideal of a new citizen of China (embodied in the title of the journal Hsin-min ts'ung-pao published by Liang), as confronted with the statism (*kuo-chia chu-i*) and private morality, respectively. There follows the usual bibliography, glossary and index; we may comment favourably upon the unfortunately quite rare phenomenon that the notes are printed right at the bottom of the page. (This is not the case with Huang.)

It is quite difficult to find out, understand and explain Liang's ideas even in a limited field and over a limited period. In view of the huge amount of his writings (during 1898—1902 he wrote no less than six thousand characters each week) and of his introducing a large amount of very differing European and American person-

---

<sup>\*</sup> Publications on Asia of the Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies Number 22. Seattle — London, University of Washington Press 1972. IX + 231 pp.



alities to the reader, one may be puzzled whether Liang was a mere "introducer" or a critical thinker. Keeping with the general tendency in Chinese historical writing Liang depicted eminent personalities of the West as heroes and rarely found an opportunity to be critical of them. Moreover, since his own ideas were changing rather fast, he was unable to present systematically an objective picture of foreign great men. Finally since, during his long exile Liang learnt to read Japanese only, he could not read either the writings of those men or the literature concerning them in the original, nor could he speak with the foreigners. In short, Liang's choice of these men and ideas was limited in many ways, mostly by the taste of the Japanese translators from Western languages and, of course, by the general mood in Japan. At the same time, Liang was deeply influenced by Western thought both through reading Yen Fu's translations and through publications by missionaries.

To understand Liang's different stages of evolution (Chang does not deal at all with the last fifteen years of Liang's life and the biographical information given by both the authors is, as a rule, scarce) we have to present some elementary but relevant data on him. Liang was born in 1873 and he married already in 1890, when he also came to Shanghai, but could begin his career as a reformer and publicist only in 1895 because of the disastrous defeat of China by Japan. This was, to his mind, a most clear proof that the reforms undertaken until then in China were either insufficient or even wrong. This meant for him that his inspiration from the *Kung-yang* commentary and from the New Text School of the Classics in the exegesis of K'ang Yu-wei had to be followed by another kind of inspiration.<sup>1</sup>

During the years 1895—1898 Liang entertained relations with the American Timothy Richard, in 1897 he took part in the reform programme in Hunan and in 1898 in the "Hundred days" reforms. It was somewhat ironic that just before this, the young Liang, aged only 25, and despite his language inefficiency, became the head of the newly established translation bureau. Liang spent later fourteen years (between October 10, 1898—November 13, 1912) in Japan from where he made trips to Hawaii in 1899, to Australia in 1900 and to the U.S.A. in 1903, respectively. Thus, between his 25th and 39th year of age, Liang became exposed, even more than before, to the influence of Japanese thought, institutions, etc. The last trip had a decisive meaning for a certain fixation of his general outlook.

Between 1895—1916 Liang edited or was the main contributor to no less than nine journals of which the most influential were the *Ch'ing-i pao* (Upright Discussions), *Hsin hsiao-shuo* (The New Fiction) and *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao* (Journal of the New Citizen). On November 17, 1907 he founded the *Cheng-wu she* (Political Information Society). This, at the time of the closing of the *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao*,

---

<sup>1</sup> Since the issues of the New Text Legacy (Huang, pp. 13—24) have already been quite extensively studied and since they are not cardinal for an understanding of Liang, Huang might have limited himself to what he calls "a brief discussion" (p. 13). Cf. also p. 153 ff.

represented the peak of his journalist, as well as the renewing of his political activities. Liang welcomed the revolution of 1911 and even Yüan Shih-k'ai whom he held for an "enlightened ruler"; but the result of the collaboration between the two men was that Liang compromised himself and had more or less to retire from his political activities.

Liang's last trip for inspiration brought him in 1919, together with six younger companions who served as his intermediaries, to six countries of Western Europe, including Germany where he was again handicapped by the language barrier. Although he was still enthusiastic about the culture and thought of Europe where he met a lot of eminent personalities, his interest during the last ten years of his life shifted to the traditional values of China, in the same way as Wang Kuo-wei in 1907 deserted his very well qualified interest in the German and English philosophies. This is an almost tragic but by no means an uncommon phenomenon in the modern history of China.

Since, just as Chang, the reviewer is presently not interested in the last decades of Liang's life,<sup>2</sup> we may try partially to characterize the role of Western thought in Liang's development. At the first sight it seems that hardly any system of his ideas may be reconstructed because Liang recommended almost every system of thought which he became interested in. He stressed the values of Confucianism and especially of Neo-Confucianism, he believed that the reformist zeal of K'ang Yu-wei and T'an Ssu-t'ung derived a great deal from their faith in Mahāyāna Buddhism (to which he constantly alludes), he espoused Rousseau with his *Contrat social* but also vehemently supported the ideas of the necessity of an "Enlightened Despotism" to which he devoted one of his numerous essays.

There are stages in Liang's development which Chang tries to elucidate and which have not been studied by Levenson. The decisive turning point was Liang's visit to the U.S.A. where he hoped to find a democracy put into practice. But he arrived at an almost opposite evaluation of the American system and his general impression was that democracy, as a working political system, was far from the ideal he had once thought it to be. "With this visit", says Chang on p. 238, "began a clear trend in Liang's thinking towards statism". It is well-known that especially Germans devoted much attention to the notions of law and State. Since the creation of the modern States of Japan (1868) and imperial Germany (1871) was an almost simultaneous historical act, it is small wonder that the Japanese became interested in the German or Prussian model.

Of course, Liang, too, was eager to use the second-hand Japanese literature when relying e.g. on Katō Hiroyuki's translation of J. K. Bluntschli's *Allgemeines Recht* (1808—1881; not a German as stated by Chang on p. 248 but a Swiss). But

---

<sup>2</sup> Huang gives a very short outline of the problems related to this period in the 7th chapter of his book entitled *Syncretism and Liberalism*.

Liang also "went beyond Bluntschli's thought to draw further upon Gustav Bornhak's<sup>3</sup> theory of the state to accentuate the inadequacy of republicanism as a political system" (p. 249). Liang held Frederick II (the Great; 1712—1786) for an example of another "enlightened despot" when he stressed the said adjective in connection with Frederick's famous dictum that "Der König ist der erste Diener des Staates" (p. 255). Liang wrote an essay on Bismarck and stressed the martial prowess brought about by him in Germany.<sup>4</sup> In view of the emphasis on statism, Liang begun to oppose Marxism in 1906 wherefore he came to prefer the German social reformism although Marxian socialism and Nietzschean individualism (p. 177) were the dominating socio-political trends in Germany at that time.

It may be seen from the preceding explanation by Chang (Huang mentions Germany only in connection with China's entry into World War I and Liang's trip to Germany in 1919) that Liang concentrated his interest almost entirely on German statism and its militant traditions. Only in one place is Chang coming near, if only indirectly, to the relevance of the German classical philosophy (and its relation to Liang) when he stresses on p. 232 that "Liang also appreciated profoundly those idealistic philosophies"; but, what Chang means, are Buddhism, Wang Yang-ming, etc.

What the reviewer would like to stress is that Liang devoted two quite large essays to two German classical philosophers I. Kant and J. Fichte (not mentioned by either Chang or Huang) entitled respectively *The Teaching of the First Great Modern Philosopher Kant*<sup>5</sup> and *A Commented Account on Fichte's Treatise The*

<sup>3</sup> Conrad Bornhak (or Konrad, not Gustav, as stated by Chang; 1861—1944) was a professor of administrative and constitutional law at the Berlin University. One of his books mentioned by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as *Kuo-chia lun* (his *Allgemeine Staatslehre* is meant) was published in 1896 in a Japanese translation and became very influential. Bornhak's main work is *Preussisches Staatsrecht*. N. B. Zubkov and A. G. Krymov give, however, the title of the first book as *O gosudarstve*, i.e. in the same way as Liang. See their study *Diskussiya o gosudarstvennom pereustroistve Kitaya v nachale XX veka* (Discussion on the State Reform of China at the Beginning of the 20th Century) in the book *Kitai: Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo* (China: Society and State), Moscow 1973, p. 225, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Liang might have been inspired by the book of W. H. Dawson, *Bismarck und der Staatssozialismus. Darstellung der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Gesetzgebung*, Hannover 1890. Liang quotes in the introduction to his essay on Fichte (cf. note 6), another of Dawson's (=Wei-lien Tou-sun) books, *The Evolution of Modern Germany*, London 1908.

<sup>5</sup> *Chin-shih ti-i ta che K'ang-te hsieh-shuo*, signed originally Chung-kuo chih hsin-min (The New Citizen of China) and published for the first time in the Hsin-min ts'ung-pao at Yokohama in 1903—1904: Nrs. 25, pp. 11—24; 26, pp. 9—18; 28, pp. 9—12; 46—48, pp. 55—63 and reprinted several times *inter alia* in the *Collected Works of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, *Yin-ping-shih ho-chi*, *Wen-chi*, Shanghai 1932, chapter 13, pp. 47—66. This essay was described by A. Forke, *Ein chinesischer Kantverehrer*, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* XII (1909, pp. 210—220). A. G. Krymov, however, notes that Liang informed the Chinese readers "in popular form of a conspectus" about the ideas of several philosophers including Kant. Cf. his *Obshchestvennaya mysl i ideologicheskaya borba v Kitae 1900—1917 gg.* (Social Thought and Ideological Strife in China between 1900—1917), Moscow 1972, p. 31.

*Vocation of Man*.<sup>6</sup> The first essay is enthusiastic about Kant who is ranked together with Shākyamuni, Confucius, and Socrates. The high degree of exactness in Liang's account on Kant is remarkable just as is his effort to show Kant's alleged affinities with Neo-Confucianism<sup>7</sup> and Buddhist Chinese thought.<sup>8</sup> The essay consists of nine chapters successively dealing with Kant's biography, his place in scholarship, with his "critical trend", his concept of pure reason, the reason's first, second and third transcendences, morals as the basis of philosophy, the relation between freedom, morals and the law.

The essay on Fichte's *Die Bestimmung des Menschen* was written in 1915, twelve years after that on Kant, just during the pressure of the Japanese upon the government of Yüan Shih-k'ai (of which Liang had been a member still some weeks before). Liang's essay consists, differently from the book of Fichte, of four parts of which only the first one bears a similar title *Inquiries on Human Doubts* (*Zweifel*) while the other three are entitled *The Man's Own Vocation*, *The Vocation towards the Society*, and *The Classes and the Division of Profession* respectively. It is not surprising that Liang, in his introduction to the essay, pays attention to Napoleon's occupation of Berlin, comparable to the Japanese pressure and the humiliation of China but in all the subsequent text of the essay quite a fair account of Fichte's ideas is given. It is, of course, full of Liang's commentaries and arguments which present difficulties when distinguishing between Fichte's and Liang's share of the ideas: "I very often inserted my humble opinion as a kind of instruction which may perhaps give the reader the pleasure because of the right meaning" (p. 71).

In conclusion we have to stress that there is nothing in the two essays which would be in any connection with the German concept of statism as outlined above; on the contrary, Liang concentrates upon Fichte's concept of society and only through it on that of the State. Liang evidently draws upon a much broader spectrum of German (and other) ideas.

We may however wonder why no mention is made of the two essays in question in Rüdiger Machetzki's dissertation on Liang published later than the two books by Chang and Huang respectively (Machetzki does not quote them). Machetzki's

<sup>6</sup> *Fei-ssu-ti Jen-sheng t'ien-chih lun shu-p'ing*. The original place of the publication is not given; the essay was written in the winter and spring of 1914—1915 and was reprinted in the *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, chapter 32, pp. 70—88.

<sup>7</sup> For a not very happy account on the same problem see N. Z. Zia (Hsieh Fu-ya), *K'ang-te che-hsüeh yü Chung-kuo ju-chia* (Kant's Moral Philosophy and Confucianism) in the *Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao* (Tsing Hua N. S. ) II (1960), 1, pp. 168—177.

<sup>8</sup> J. May did not agree with T. R. V. Murti's opinion that "... in their conception of the function of philosophy, Kant and the *Mādhyaṃika* agree". Cf. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of the Mādhyaṃika System*, London 1955, p. 295. May, *Kant et le Mādhyaṃika. A propos d'un livre récent*, Indo-Iranian Journal, III (1959), 2, p. 110.

study, in its final form, concentrates upon the German theories of the State: *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao und die Einflüsse deutscher Staatslehren auf den monarchistischen Reformnationalismus in China nach 1900*.<sup>9</sup> The original title of the dissertation was shorter but its scope was broader—*Westliche Ursprünge im sozio-politischen Denken Liang Ch'i-ch'aos* and the author might, in that case, be entitled to study not only what he calls “Reformnationalismus” or the German “Nationalismustheorie” but also the broader issues of the “Staatslehre”.

The more so since already in the first paragraph of his book Machetzki states that this “reform-nationalistic” ideology of Liang between 1900—1911 “is related, in its principal parts, directly or indirectly, to the German theories of the State from the 19th century”. On the other hand Machetzki is right when entitling the last short subchapter of his book “Totalitäre Elemente des Liangschen Reformnationalismus” (pp. 166—169). Chang’s notion of “statism” is rather general and does not take sufficiently into account the retrograde elements in Liang’s thought, emphasized permanently by A. G. Krymov (cf. notes 3 and 5).

As a preliminary conclusion we may just underline the necessity of a discriminative study of the German “spiritual legacy” not only in the mind of Liang but in that of modern China in general. It is clear that neither Chang nor Huang could concentrate on all of Liang’s ideas and attitudes. This was not their intention and it would not have been possible to achieve it within the framework of one book of some 200 to 300 pages. We should be thankful to them also for what has not yet been said: their pointing out Liang’s conception of the “citizen” (already used by him as a pseudonym; cf. note 5) who has to be active working for the society and the State. This concept still plays a very serious role in China even now.

Both the books are valuable and there are no significant contradictions between them, although they have evidently been written independently. What we need now is a full biography of Liang, the materials for which are for the most part readily available in Ting Wen-chiang’s book *Liang Jen-kung hsien-sheng nien-p’u ch’ang-pien ch’u-kao* (First Draft of a Detailed Chronological Biography of Liang), T’ai-pei 1958 and, for Liang’s long and formative stay in Japan, in the archives of the Japanese police. A welcome aid would be a bibliography in English of all his writings based upon his *Collected Writings*. One of the points for something like that is the fact that Liang’s Cantonese pronunciation makes the identification of many of his transcriptions of foreign names very difficult. One additional remark to Huang’s bibliography only (p. 124): Z. Novotná’s study *Contributions to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese* was not only published in *Archiv orientální*, 35, 1967 (pp. 613—648) but also in 36 (1968), pp. 295—325, 37 (1969), pp. 58—75 respectively.

Josef Fass

---

<sup>9</sup> Hamburg 1973, pp. 169, XIII, XII.

Dr. Leo Ou-fan Lee dedicated the book under review to his parents and their generation. I am not certain whether the title *The Romantic Generation* is quite correct and then whether the dedication corresponds to the addressees. In my view, one could speak rather of generations (two or three), and if the book is to be dedicated, then it should be dedicated to parents, grandparents and their generations. Of those seven men of letters, Lin Shu and Su Man-shu definitely belong to the first generation, the generation of "predecessors", while Hsü Chih-mo, Yü Ta-fu, Kuo Mo-jo and Chiang Kuang-tz'u are the members of the second generation and constitute its mainstream. Hsiao Chün and Hsiao Hung (who are also spoken of in this book) are members of the third generation—that is, they are younger (as time goes), though not necessarily by a whole generation in biological sense.

The book is made up of four parts.

The first of these is devoted to an outline of that setting in which modern Chinese literature had its origins, and simultaneously it presents the portraits of Lin Shu and Su Man-shu. What appears fresh and new in this part for the researcher is the second chapter entitled *The Phenomenon of Wen-t'an and Wen-jen*. *Wen-t'an* means "literary societies, journals, newspapers and publishing companies", *wen-jen* means men of letters. Dr. Lee is here sometimes witty, sometimes ironical, but always interesting. Only, he might perhaps have been more serious in places where he rather accentuates the *ming-shih* style of the modern *littérateur* as man "whose life was bound with wine and women". It should not be forgotten that besides those whom he calls romanticists, there were also others, e.g. Lu Hsün, Mao Tun, Cheng Chen-to, Yeh Sheng-t'ao, Chu Tzu-ch'ing and so on, who took a far more serious view of the role of men of letters in contemporary society.

"Two precursors"—Lin Shu and Su Man-shu—according to Mr. Lee, set the stage for two main protagonists of the Literary Revolution, i.e. for Yü Ta-fu and Hsü Chih-mo. Nearly one hundred pages devoted to the last two authors constitute the core of the book, its finest passages. Mr. Lee wrote two chapters on each. Personally, I find the latter of them to be better. *Visions of the Self* (on Yü Ta-fu) and *Exultations of Icarus* (on Hsü Chih-mo) certainly match the best that has ever been written on modern Chinese literature. In both he endeavours to be concise and to present solely the essential. His analysis is arresting, even fascinating in places and this despite the fact that rather comprehensive monographs on Yü Ta-fu are available thanks to the studies by V. S. Adjimamudova and A. Doležalová, and that relatively much has been also written about Hsü Chih-mo (see the articles or parts of the books by C. Birch, G. Leung, Julia Lin and L. E. Cherkassky). In so far as Hsü Chih-mo is concerned, Mr. Lee, in contrast to past investigators, is

predominantly a critic who is more interested in prosaic essays or fictional creations than in poetry. He does not analyse Hsü Chih-mo's poems as a critic of poetry, but rather takes them as illustrations to his own observations in studying Chih-mo's views, his psychophysical *habitus*, loves and hates, etc.

If Mr. Lee called Yü Ta-fu and Hsü Chih-mo "protagonists" of modern Chinese romanticism, then he ought to have used this term to characterize at least Kuo Mo-jo. But here, an excessive, even scrupulous attempt at classifying was at work, reason became the "veil" (Bergson's term) separating needlessly and without literary justification that which belonged together. Thus Kuo-Mo-jo was assigned to Chiang Kuang-tz'u and Hsiao Chün and was dealt with by Mr. Lee in the third part entitled *The Romantic Left*.

My own studies (both published and unpublished), as well as those of other scholars concerning Kuo Mo-jo, Yü Ta-fu and Chiang Kuang-tz'u have convinced me that Kuo Mo-jo came immeasurably closer to Yü Ta-fu than to Chiang Kuang-tz'u. After all, Ta-fu, too, had been for certain time very leftist. Kuo Mo-jo said about Chiang that had he lived longer he might have created "masterpieces", however, who knows how seriously he meant this and whether he really thought so.

At the beginning of June 1959 I had occasion to visit Fu-yang, Chekiang province, Yü Ta-fu's birthplace. At the top of the Stork Hill (Kuan-shan), over the spot where the Fu-ch'un River creates a scenery somewhat similar to that of the Hsi-lu (West Lake) of Hang-chou, lies a tomb into which was buried the blood-stained mantle of Yü Ta-fu's eldest brother, Yü Man-t'o, secretly murdered on 23rd November 1939 with the connivance or even direct help of the Kuomintang. There is an inscription on the tombstone composed by Kuo Mo-jo and calligraphically sketched by Ma Hsü-lun. In the third line of that inscription Kuo Mo-jo declares that Yü Ta-fu (murdered already by the Japanese) was "as if a brother" (*yüeh wei hsiung-ti*) to him. I am inclined believe this far more than his statement concerned with Chiang Kuang-tz'u.

One cannot help the impression that in writing the passage about Kuo Mo-jo, the author was held in check by the realization that his own Harvard colleague, David T. Roy had devoted many years to the study of Kuo and therefore did not venture to undertake more detailed analysis of him. As to Chiang Kuang-tz'u, here Mr. Lee has done a fine work in complementing T. A. Hsia's study about the "phenomenon" called Chiang Kuang-tz'u. He had opportunity to read Chiang's diary *I-pang yü ku-kuo* (Foreign Country and Native Land) which had remained inaccessible to T. A. Hsia.

This is the first time the reader has occasion to meet with Hsiao Chün's portrait in so complete a form as is presented in this book.

It should be observed that Mr. Lee together with T. A. Hsia was the discoverer of the "alienation" in modern Chinese literature. "Identity and alienation" seem to have become an object of his attention only towards the end of his research the

results of which are presented in this book. As a matter of fact, his first reference to alienation is to be found in the fourth part entitled *The Romantic Generation: Reflections on a Theme*. The hero here was Lee's (probably!) most appreciated modern Chinese writer Yü Ta-fu about whose "alienation" he wrote also in *Wu-ssu yün-tung yü lang-man-chu-i* (*The May Fourth Movement and Romanticism*), Ming-pao yüeh-k'an (Hong Kong), 41, 1969, pp. 17—25. Of course, the book under review treats solely about alienation oriented romantically. This alienation is tinged with the strong sentiments of sensitivity and feeling. However, modern Chinese literature comprises also other works that likewise fall into the identity-alienation dichotomy. They are works in which the alienation had been preceded by reason and social or political involvement (Lu Hsün, Mao Tun). Those, however, are beyond the reach of Lee's endeavours.

In this last part I like 13th chapter entitled *The Journey of Sentiment*. Only, the author ought to have devoted more space to the concept of *ch'ing* (sentiment, feeling or love). As a matter of fact, this term holds an important place in Chinese literature (old and new) which has not been sufficiently elucidated as yet. And also the passages dealing with love in the May Fourth Era, about women and sex, about love and revolution require that more time and space be devoted to them. It only remains to hope that Mr. Lee will take them up some time once again. His paper on "emancipated Noras" read at the Conference on Women in Chinese Society, June 1973, is reinforcing this our hope.

The last chapter entitled *The Romantic Heritage*, will undoubtedly be of interest chiefly to students of Comparative Literature. Three heroes in particular, of European fiction and the world of *littérateurs*, are discussed in extenso: Werther, Jean-Christophe and Byron, and it is quite fascinating to see them in the Chinese setting.

In the 12th chapter Mr. Lee supplements his considerations about the modern *wen-jen* and society. It should be noted that as far as the old literature is concerned, researchers into the history of literature of the Sung and Yüan dynasties written in vernacular would most certainly disagree with the statement that "literature was never an established vocation in traditional China" (p. 248). It would probably be more correct to say that it was established for a certain period and in certain circle but never socially acknowledged.

Abundant notes, a thorough bibliography, a glossary and an index enhance the value of this excellent book which can be unreservedly recommended to students of modern Chinese literature.

Marián Gálik



Ruh, Christel: *Das Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi—Ein Beispiel für den "Politischen Roman" der ausgehenden Ch'ing-Zeit* (Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi—an Example of the "Political Novel" from the End of Ch'ing Dynasty). Bern—Frankfurt/M., Herbert und Peter Lang 1974. 275 pp.

The present study appearing as the 2nd Volume of Würzburger Sino-Japonica and edited by Professor H. Steininger, represents an attempt at an analysis of the ideas and structure of the first half of the novel. A similar analysis has been included in the study also of the last, the 60th chapter. This is the first major publication in print devoted to the most significant work by the writer Li Pao-chia (Po-yüan) (1867—1906). The work by W. Bettin called *Die künstlerische Methode Li Bo-yuans, dargestellt an seinen Werk "Aufzeichnungen über heutige Zustände im Beamtenapparat"*, Berlin 1964, has remained as an unpublished doctoral dissertation. It differs from past investigations (by Hu Shih, Lu Yao, Omura Masuo, Ota Tatsuo) by the considerable space it devotes to the formal aspects of the novel.

The historical background of the origin of *Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing-chi* (*KCHHC*) is very briefly elucidated in the Introduction where the reader may become familiarized with the political life in the second half of last and the beginning of the present century, with the characteristic of the Chinese gentry described by the novel, and of the literary situation that preceded or was part of the origin of *KCHHC*.

The first chapter is the shortest in the book under review. The authoress presents in it a brief biography of Li Pao-chia, the history of the text and a translation of the foreword to the Japanese edition of Jih-pen chih hsin-she. This is the first complete translation of this precious document. In the passage treating of the critical and interpreting attitudes towards *KCHHC*, Dr. Ruh quotes in extenso from the above authors.

The second chapter deals with the structural set up of *KCHHC*, its literary processing (speech, dialogue, means of expression, satire), time and place of the various scenes evoked in the novel. It may be of interest to follow up some of the tables inserted in the text, e.g. the percentage of the dialogues with regard to the whole text, proverbs and comparisons occurring in the text, etc.

The third chapter is more traditional. In it the authoress portrays the principal and the secondary personages in *KCHHC* and point to the *Darstellungsarten* employed by Li Pao-chia.

It should perhaps be remarked that one outstanding study escaped Dr. Ruh's attention, viz. that by V. I. Semanov, *Evolutsiya kitaiskogo romana* (The Evolution of the Chinese Novel), Moscow 1970, where on pp. 150—185 the author writes precisely about *KCHHC*. Probably, she was likewise unaware of the existence of the study "*Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi*" *ts'an lun* (Briefly about the "Exposure of the

Official World”), by Niu Yang-shan, in *Chung-kuo ku-tien hsiao-shuo p'ing-lun-chi* (A Collection of Essays on Chinese old Fiction), Peking 1957, pp. 170—183.

The book by Dr. Ruh could in no way be assigned to the lighter type of reading. It conceals in its pages much exerting work that will certainly be of help to investigators in this as yet uncharted jungle of the late Ch'ing literature.

*Marián Gálik*

Töpelmann, Cornelia: *Shan-ko von Feng Meng-lung. Eine Volksliedersammlung aus der Ming-Zeit* (Hill Songs by Feng Meng-lung. A Collection of Folksongs from the Ming Dynasty). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1973. 491 pp.

Dr. Töpelmann's *Shan-ko von Feng Meng-lung* is the 8th volume of Münchener Ostasiatische Studien and the first of this series to devote attention to old Chinese literature. It analyses and makes accessible a very important topic that has remained unexplored until now.

*Shan-ko* or Hill Songs were produced and collected within the framework of the so-called democratic or popular culture. In the article *Demokraticeskaya kultura v kitaiskom obshchestve XVI—XVII vv.* (Democratic Culture in Chinese Society of the 16th and 17th Century) D. N. Voskresensky gives the following characteristic of this culture: “Democratic culture develops in the midst of the people (demos) and this fact determines its content and forms. In that sense democratic culture is close to the concept of popular culture.” (See *Kitai: obshchestvo i gosudarstvo*, Moscow, Nauka 1973, p. 175.) It differs from folk culture in its being influenced in a greater or lesser measure by “high” literature and culture. Nevertheless, it also serves the masses at large if transmitted orally, not by writing.

Feng Meng-lung (1574—ca 1646) was one of the most influential representatives of this democratic or popular culture. He lived in the golden age of this culture during the long reign of Wan-li (1573—1619). The printed version of *Shan-ko* dates from the period immediately following, one that witnessed a profuseness of works of fiction, dramas, half-folklore genres: *t'an-tz'u*, *ku-tz'u* and folk songs. This collection remained totally forgotten for whole centuries and was discovered only in 1935 by Cheng Chen-to and made accessible by Ku Chieh-kang.

Feng Meng-lung was born at Ch'ang-chou not far from the town of Su-chou in Kiangsu province. Of the 347 songs included in *Shan-ko*, only the last 25 come from the environs of the town of T'ung-ch'eng in the Anhui province; all the others were collected by Feng in his native Wu country.

As a matter of fact, poems of the *shan-ko* genre had no justification for being included in the strictly controlled, hierarchically arranged and exactly defined concept of *shih-wen* in the domain of Chinese literature. Feng Meng-lung was fully

aware of this. But he was likewise aware of the impasse then facing literary creation. The literature of the Ming epoch was dominated by the "t'ai-ko" style and the "back-to-antiquity" tendencies which became manifest in a practically total creative crisis. One poetic generation followed another without this issue being resolved in a positive manner. Hence, it was not by chance that Feng Meng-lung called this poetry *chia shih-wen* (false poetry). His comparison of *shan-ko* to poems from the classical anthology *Shih-ching* was more or less a Confucian trick, the entire *Foreword* to the collection of *Shan-ko* was intended to say far more to the attentive reader, as for instance, when he underlines the difference between "false poetry" and *shan-ko* which need not be false. To Feng Meng-lung, the latter were true poetry, though not necessarily the poetry recognized by the orthodox literary criticism, even if they could not be assigned to *shih-wen*. In Feng Meng-lung's literary system, *chen* (true) corresponds antithetically to *chia* (false): "Weil Shan-ko nicht mit dieser Dichtung um Ruhm und Anerkennung kämpfen müssen, deshalb brauchen sie auch nichts Unechtes! Wenn sie also nichts Unechtes nötig haben, könnte ich doch mit ihnen etwas Echtes bewahren, oder nicht?" (p. 69).

An attentive study of the little that has survived from Feng Meng-lung's theoretical reflections reveals *ts'un chen* (*Echtes bewahren*) to have been one of the fundamental premises of his literary and artistic creed. And a second such fundamental premise is also apparent to the reader from the *Foreword*. It concerns *chen ch'ing* (true feelings) which are set in opposition to *wei yao* (false drugs) of morals and institutions (*ming chiao*). By "true feelings" are understood those that are the outcome of natural relations between man and woman (including sexual ones), looked upon by contemporary society influenced by Confucian or Buddhist views, as taboo. The concept of *ch'ing* (feeling) constitutes the most fundamental basis of Feng's theoretical thought and practical activity. In this he comes close to a senior colleague and the greatest playwright of the Ming dynasty, T'ang Hsien-tsu (1550—1616) who eulogized *ch'ing* in his famous *Mu-tan t'ing* (The Peony Pavilion). According to T'an's own preface, the principal heroine of the play "while still alive, wills her death and while in death she wills to have her life restored. To stay alive without courage to die, and to die without volition to regain life—such is not the condition of one supremely committed to love" (or *ch'ing*, M. G.). See, C. T. Hsia's translation in Wm. Theodore de Bary (Ed.), *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York and London, Columbia University Press 1970, p. 276.

Feng Meng-lung's epoch seems to have something in common with that of Goethe's Faust who proclaimed that *Gefühl ist alles*. Evidently, Chinese cultural and philosophical world of 16th and 17th century was fully under the sway of rationalist Neo-Confucianism and its exponents, in particular Ch'eng I (1033—1108) and Chu Hsi (1130—1200). Even the so-called subjective idealistic philosophy of mind (*hsin hsüeh*) of Wang Yang-ming (1472—1528) declined owing to Wang's unfaithful followers. From among those, Wang Ken (1483—1540), for instance, came forward

with the idea of the "common man as sage", with an emphasis on the meaning of *shen*, i.e. person, bodily self. That was an age of unusual optimism. Human nature (*hsing*), usually a Confucian concept, began to be linked with spontaneity (*tzu-jan*), usually a Taoist concept, thus laying the foundations for a comprehension of man's creative forces on condition they were not obstructed by anything false. Wang Ken came forth with one of the most rebellious ideas in the history of Chinese philosophy, namely that the "substance of man's heavenly nature is manifested in people's desires and wants" (de Bary, op. cit., p. 168). From there it was only a step to interpreting *ch'ing* as one of the most important parts of human being. In the collection *Ch'ing shih* (The History of Feeling) by Feng Meng-lung we may read: "Vitality (*sheng*) of plants manifests itself by motion, growth and florescence. Why could not feelings which are man's vitality, grow and flourish? Plants could fail to grow and bloom, presuming winter weather would persist, but I don't think it possible." (Quoted according to Yang Kuo-hsiang, *Feng Meng-lung chien lun*, in: Chi-lin ta-hsüeh Chung-wen hsi (Ed.), *Wen-hsüeh lun-ven chi* (Essays on Literature), vol. 2, Ch'ang-ch'un 1959, p. 167.)

Thus, by grounding the ideal of the sage, by laying emphasis on the individual, his vitality expressed in feelings and passions (*yü*), emotions of love and erotic passions, natural, spontaneous, genuine, unsophisticated feelings and passions (even though at times rough), writers in the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century helped to create in China a prolific popular and democratic literature and culture (democratic in a social not a political sense).

Another important fact that should be kept in mind when studying literature of this period, i.e. Su-chou, whence come the majority of *shan-ko*, was at that time the most significant economic and cultural centre of China.

It might be difficult to find in China literature that would surpass this particular one in eroticism. In my view, *Chin P'ing Mei* or *Jou-p'u-t'uan* are less erotic and especially less natural. There is less of that *Echtes* in these two books looked for by Feng Meng-lung in literature and interhuman relations. Apart from the literary and aesthetic qualities of the two novels, it should be noted that the former are depreciated by an arrogant, haughty, even inhuman attitude on the part of the principal hero Hsi-men Ch'ing towards the opposite sex, while in the latter, the erotic is overdone, too sophisticated, so that the novel is more of a handbook of love. The relation between the two sexes, whether seen as expressions of eroticism, love or normal life, are richer, fuller (even though, as has already been observed, often vulgar). Evidently, the authors of *Chin P'ing Mei* and *Jou-p'u-t'uan* were beyond the reach of that social stratum that exerted an effective influence on the way of thinking of Wang Ken and his followers and on the collecting and editing work of Feng Meng-lung and that ilk. They were only swayed by the plebeian wave which they exploited in their own way. They created noteworthy literary works, even though these contain less natural sentiments and interhuman relations.

Cornelia Töpelmann took much trouble with the translation of all *shan-ko*, written for the most part in the dialect of Wu region, difficult to understand. She judged the content of the poems more from the aspect of "psychology of sex" than from that of a philosophical context of the period and of Feng Meng-lung's apprehension of the relationship between life and work of art. This is, of course, one possible approach and has to be respected. It will undoubtedly be of help to those interested in this field of Chinese *Sittengeschichte*, little surveyed thus far. Just a remark in this connection: *hua-hsin* (p. 234) is the same as *yin-kui* (see *Tz'u-hai*, 1948, p. 1423; also 59th or 68th chapter of *Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua*). Erotic symbolism is also suggested by *hsiao* (p. 279) and the song on p. 182.

In conclusion, two items of interest:

The town of T'ung-ch'eng which helped to provide material for the *shan-ko* collection in the form of a score of songs, later, towards the beginning of the 18th century, became famous by the so-called T'ung-ch'eng School, of a reactionary and orthodox orientation for the times in the development of Chinese literature. Its influence lasted until the beginnings of the twentieth century.

Feng Meng-lung's birthplace was likewise the birthplace of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1899—1935) who was very active in the field of literature written in the language of the masses (*p'u-t'ung-hua*) and destined to the masses. He had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with *shan-ko* edited by his fellow countryman Ku Chieh-kang (born in 1893 in Su-chou) for he was killed by the Kuomintang. Had he lived a few months more and read the lines reviewed here, he might have agreed with the words that the literature old Feng Meng-lung had collected and enjoyed, "truly reflected the emotions and thought of the masses".

Marián Gálik

Chen, Chi: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und China bis 1933* (The Relations between Germany and China up to 1933). Hamburg, Institut für Asienkunde 1973. 341 pp.

The book under review, appearing as the 56th volume in the series *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Asienkunde*, is primarily a picture of what has been achieved thus far on this as yet little surveyed field. This of course, insofar as it was known or accessible to the author. The reader may rightly feel dumbfounded at the absence in the book of any reference to such a significant book as that by John E. Schrecker, *Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism: Germany in Shantung*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1971, or to the works by Lee Kuo-chi, e.g. *Die chinesische Politik zum Einspruch von Shimonoseki und gegen die Erwerbung der Kiautschou-Bucht*

Münster, Fahle 1966. A more favourable fact is that the author has attempted to process original materials from the Political Archives of the German Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes) in Bonn.

The book consists of four parts. The first two deal with political aspects of the Sino-German relations, while the third is devoted to cultural and the fourth to economic relationships.

The first two parts take up more than half the book. They analyse briefly or in detail as the case may be, events starting with the year 1304 when a German monk named Arnold came to China as an aid to the Franciscan Giovanni de Monte Corvino, up to February 20th 1938 when Hitler recognized Manchukuo and thereby severed diplomatic relations with Nationalist China. The events subsequent to 1933 are described very concisely. It should be noted that certain facts, mainly those that contemporary Germans might feel as unpleasant, are, in our view, analysed rather too concisely, or are altogether omitted by Mr. Chen, as for example, the so-called Stenz case from the year 1898, and the punitive expedition of 1899 which followed it. Mr. Chen does not adopt an objective line when he characterizes the events of March 24th 1927 at Nanking according to Fu Ch'i-hsüeh, *Chung-kuo wai-chiao shih* (A History of Chinese Diplomacy), Taipei 1957, p. 373.

The part dealing with the German-Chinese cultural relations reminds the present reviewer to a great extent of the book by F. W. Mohr, *Fremde und deutsche Kulturbetätigung in China*, Münster 1927 and M. Linde, *Die Tung-chi Universität in Shanghai-Woosung. Fremde und deutsche Kulturbetätigung in China*, Münster 1928. The author deals solely with the "external" components of this relation, such as schools or high schools in China directed by Germans, or Chinese students, eventually outstanding Chinese personalities studying originally at German universities. He takes no note at all of the deeper influence of German culture on Chinese culture and speaks only in passing about a *Chinabegeisterung* among the great German philosophers or men of letters, from Leibniz to Goethe. From among the significant figures in modern China he mentions only Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and Chu Chia-hua, though Carsun Chang, Ho Lin, Feng Chih, Chang Shou-lin, Lin Yü-t'ang and others would certainly deserve attention. This part brings very little new into the study: of interest are only the statistical data and the corresponding explanations in the last passage dealing with Chinese students in Germany after World War I.

Perhaps the last part of the book is the most trustworthy.

In the supplement to the book we may read original documents on important events in the Sino-German relations and browse through the selected references on the topic studied.

Marián Gálik

Wu, Yüan-li (Ed.): *China: A Handbook*. Newton Abbot, David and Charles 1973. 915 pp.

The title is not quite appropriate to the book under review. It should rather be *People's Republic of China: A Handbook*, for the latter is concerned with an elucidation of the most diverse issues relating to the PRC and those that led to its foundation, moulding and development up to the end of the sixties.

It consists of three parts. The first of these, the most important and the most comprehensive, comprises 29 essays dealing with the physical geography, natural resources, agriculture, demography, the Chinese Communist Party, government, the People's Liberation Army, foreign policy, relations with the other countries of the world. Considerable space in this part is devoted to essays on economic issues, which probably reflects Mr. Wu's personal likings, for he is currently Professor of Economics at the University of San Francisco. The remaining essays treat of questions of science and technology, health and medicine, Chinese society and education, language and literature, art and music. Each of them provides concise, but important bibliographic data. To this part is appended also an essay entitled *Sources of Information: A Brief Survey*, which presents a ready-to-use list of the bibliographical tools, different publications, research institutions dealing mainly with a study of political, economic and cultural aspects relating to the People's Republic of China. The *Selected Bibliography* attached to this essay will certainly be welcome by all those anxious to acquire a deeper knowledge on the subject than it is possible to provide in a few brief essays, however factual or realistic they may be. While speaking of factualism, a commendable trait at all times, it should be observed that some of the statements by the participating authors should be judged with caution: this is due to their political and ideological convictions. The great majority of their statements, however, are based on objective facts and data and are therefore fully reliable and trustworthy.

A reviewer, not specifically oriented to political, economic and cultural events in the People's Republic of China, finds it difficult equitably to judge the value of the various essays. Of the last two devoted to questions of literature and art, the second by F. S. Yang is decidedly better written than the first whose author is the late S. H. Ch'en (Ch'en Shih-hsiang).

The second and third parts of the book are substantially shorter. Part Two, entitled *Documents*, for instance, publishes the translation of some of the weightier sections of the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party from the years 1956 and 1969, further the "Common Programme" of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference which was proclaimed on the occasion of the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, further, a partial translation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China from the year 1954 and some others.

Part Three, called Data, comprises the most diverse data bearing on Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party, a chronology of the development of the Central Government structure, data on output and production in the various branches of industry, on transportation, on population estimates and projections, on the first fourteen nuclear and two satellite tests in China, on the institutions of higher education, on institutes of scientific research and various other sectors.

The book will prove an indispensable aid for a study of the most diverse aspects of the People's Republic of China. It is of interest to the general reader, but historians, economists, sociologists, eventually also culturally oriented scholars will find in it much valuable material insofar as similar problems are an object of their study or form part of their interests.

*Marián Gálik*

Leslie, Donald D.—Mackerras, Colin—Wang Gungwu (Eds): *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*. Canberra, Australian National University Press 1973. 378 pp.

The book under review is a peculiar kind of *Festschrift*. It is dedicated to Professor C. P. Fitzgerald, a well-known historian and sinologist, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. It does not follow the patterns usual in publications on similar occasions but endeavours to present a homogenous work, the content of which is adequately expressed in the title.

As it is to be expected, the depth of the papers varies with each contributor. Not every topic was tailored to suit the author's professional taste and skill, and sometimes even if it was, as in the case of the essay on archaeological studies in China, the subject proved to be satisfactorily processed only so far as the period antecedent to 1949 was concerned. Incomparably better in this respect is the essay on oracle bones, one of the most succinct but also the most outstanding in the book, with a comprehensive bibliography.

The essay on pre-Han literature has come from the pen of an expert not on the pre-Han, but on the Han epoch in Chinese history. It is, however, excellent, for the author is a well-read, erudite sinologist. Another brilliant study is that on the wooden documents by an author who was actively engaged on this topic.

Of the 24 "standard histories" (*cheng-shih*), the first 15 form the topic of the first essay by K. H. J. Gardiner. The second essay comments on the remaining 9. The first essay is often a historiographic exposition of the general and particular in these histories, the second one endeavours to characterize only the particular, for the general had been, according to Wang Gungwu, the author of the essay,



expounded in the study entitled *The Organization of Chinese Official Historiography: Principles and Methods of the Standard Histories from the T'ang through the Ming Dynasties*, by Professor Yang Lien-sheng in W. G. Beardsley and E. G. Pulleyblank, (Eds), *Historians of China and Japan*, London 1961, pp. 49—59.

The essay on the so-called “universal histories” is concerned primarily with *San-t'ung* (i.e. *T'ung-tien*, *T'ung-chih* and *Wen-hsien t'ung-kao*).

O. B. van der Sprenkel is one of two contributors (alongside D. D. Leslie) who are authors of two essays. His first is concerned with *ts'ung-p'u*, the so-called “genealogic registers” or “lineages” or “family registers” and the second with Western sources. The latter is an extensive and significant study rather than an essay. The present reviewer considers it to be one of the best in the whole book even though its author characterizes it as “no more than a preliminary mapping” (p. 154). It should be especially underlined that Professor van der Sprenkel is currently engaged on the compilation of a *Selective Annotated Bibliography of Chinese History, Thought and Institutions*, covering writings in Western world languages (not in Russian) up to 1965—both books and articles. This is a meritorious undertaking, and the news of its being well advanced toward completion will certainly be welcome to the researchers. The following statement by van der Sprenkel should be quoted verbatim: “Experience gained in the preparation of this new China bibliography has convinced me that the Western-language sources on China are much greater in quantity than is usually supposed. An immense amount of valuable material lies hidden in journals, some obscure, others defunct, which few scholars know about and fewer open. In quality, too, the material is often much better than common opinion—especially contemporary opinion—would have us believe. One generation’s bad book may be an invaluable primary source for the scholar of the next generation but one” (pp. 171—172). These are words written on the basis of long years of experience in this field. Every student of Chinese intellectual history and whoever is interested in the cultural or other relations of China with other countries, will fully endorse Professor van der Sprenkel’s statement.

The need for bibliographic and factual material to be published is made evident in the essay on Jesuit sources (this is a painstaking piece of research), while the need of a still more extensive publication is pointed out in the essay on Russian sources.

The essay *Some Notes on Archives on Modern China* by Lo Hui-min, especially the part discussing Chinese archives, is really a depressive story. One can hardly understand that responsible archivists of a country with the richest historical material in the world could have behaved towards archival material in the manner delineated by the author of the essay. Incidentally, the present reviewer is reminded of the descriptions from Hsü Ti-shan’s (1893—1941) short story *Ch'un-t'ao* (Spring Peach) which depicts the manner in which the archival material deposited in the Forbidden

City was treated towards the end of the 1920's. The incredible passages from Hsü Ti-shan's narrative become quite probable in the light of Lo's essay. As regards the archival material from Deutsches Zentralarchiv at Potsdam, it may be noted that beside those mentioned by the author as having made use of it, there were also, for instance, K. Drechsler for his book *Deutschland—China—Japan 1933—1939. Das Dilemma der deutschen Fernost-Politik*, Berlin 1964 or J. E. Schrecker for his *Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism*, Harvard University Press 1971 and others. The present reviewer had an opportunity to browse through material concerned with Sino-German cultural relations, preserved at Potsdam. This material consists not only of the archival items, but also of booklets, articles in newspapers, etc. published in China, otherwise very difficult to come by, or completely unobtainable.

The subject of the essay entitled *Chinese Newspapers* is broader than is implied by the title. It contains material relating to the entire modern Chinese Press. The Su-pao case referred to in it was excellently treated by J. Lust, *The Su-pao Case: an Episode in the Early Nationalist Movement*, BSOAS, 27, 1964, No. 2, pp. 408—429. The analysis of the Tung-fang tsa-chih (The Eastern Miscellany) is the subject of a booklet entitled *Tung-fang tsa-chih k'an-hsing chi ch'i yin-hsiang-chih yen-chiu* (A Study on the Publication of the Eastern Miscellany and Its Influence), Taipei 1969, 156 pp. Both are not mentioned in the bibliography. Historians of modern China will probably be interested to know that the very important daily for the study of the so-called Wu-han phase of the Chinese revolution and edited by CCP, i.e. Min-kuo jih-pao (Republican Daily) is to be found in the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party from No. 57—74, i.e. from July 1st to 17th, 1927.

Just as the two essays mentioned, the following two on Kuomintang and Republican China, and on the history of CCP, are excellent guides. Particularly that by Bill Brugger will be welcome by students of the newest developments in China.

The two closing essays of the book under review are somewhat peculiar: the first of them on Overseas Chinese deals with sources to the history not of the Chinese themselves, but of American Chinese, Singaporean, Malaysian Chinese, etc. The last one is concerned with lexical problems encountered by students of modern China. However, lexicology can hardly be included among primary sources, though a study of lexicology may be of help when questions of modern Chinese history are dealt with.

The present review has not made an appreciation of the following essays in the book: on local gazetteers, unofficial regional records, on legal sources, the *Tao-tsang*, Tun-huang manuscripts, Tibetan and Manchu sources. As regard to these, perhaps one observation will do: the essay on the *Tao-tsang* has probably the greatest scholarly value, while that on the Tibetan sources will strike as new the majority of readers.

Marián Gálik

*Perspectives of the T'ang*. Edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett. New Haven—London, Yale University Press 1973. 458 pp.

The book under review is the result of "the first research conference on T'ang studies ever held in the West". It was organized under the auspices of the Cambridge University and Sidney Sussex College and, it should be stressed, this was a successful conference, as attested to also by the contributions in the present volume, which are truly outstanding.

The reader will be well advised not to skip the *Introduction*, even though relatively lengthy (pp. 1—43), written by both the editors, for the "perspectives" of T'ang thought and religion, institutions and politics, literature and criticism are subjected in it to a thorough reappraisal and are not, as often happens, a mere summarizing of what had been presented in the various papers.

The volume under review consists of three parts.

The first, called *Institutions and Politics*, is the most extensive (pp. 47—235). It starts with a paper by D. Twitchett entitled *The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class: New Evidence from Tunhuang* and winds up with Wang Gungwu's *The Middle Yangtze in T'ang Politics*. The other contributors to this part of the volume are H. W. Wechsler with his paper *Factionalism in Early T'ang Government*, Ikeda On with *T'ang Household Registers and Related Documents* and Ch. A. Peterson with *The Restoration Completed: Emperor Hsien-tsung and the Provinces*.

The central theme in the second part, dealing with thought and religion, is Buddhism. Arthur F. Wright is concerned with the Emperor T'ai-tsung's (i.e. Li Shih-min's) attitude towards Buddhism and Stanley Weinstein with the relationship of various Chinese emperors (including that of the empress Wu Chao) towards the different sects of this teaching. Wright's paper entitled *T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism* belongs among this well-known sinologist's typical works: in it the attempts a biographical approach while presenting a wide sector of realities and an analysis of the important issues. Weinstein's procedure in his paper *Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism* is in many respects similar to that of Professor Wright, only instead of one patron, he deals with three: Yang Kuang, T'ai-tsung and Wu Chao. Although the author does not intend to deal in any depth with the philosophical teachings of Buddhist schools under imperial protection, i.e. T'ien-t'ai, Fa-hsiang and Hua-yen, the present paper is also remarkable from this point of view and may be fully recommended to students of Chinese Buddhism.

All the papers of the third part concerned with T'ang literature, deal with poetry. Hans H. Frankel's contribution *The Contemplation of the Past in T'ang Poetry* is one of Frankel's several studies revealing an approach typical for adherents of New Criticism. Elling O. Eide, one of the few sinologists who studied more thoroughly the neglected genius of Li Po, gave to his extensive study the modest heading: *On Li*

Po. Eide's paper is probably the most promising, his approach being that of a literary comparatist. David Lattimore—author of the paper *Allusion and T'ang Poetry* follows at least partly in the footsteps of one of his teachers, Professor Frankel, only that Lattimore is given more to theoretical considerations, while Frankel to concrete explications.

In the second part *Thought and Religion*, we have as if forgotten David McMullen's paper *Historical and Literary Theory in the Mid-Eighth Century*. True, historiography and literary criticism both belong to the sphere of thought, but are simultaneously an inseparable part of history and literature as such. The editors could not make use of Solomon's sword! Historiography is a subject seldom touched on in sinology, and literary criticism even more so. Mr. McMullen took for the topic of his paper the period immediately following An Lu-shan's Rebellion (755) which is characterized as "a period of preparation for the fuller flowering of intellectual life that occurred during the late eighth and early ninth centuries" (p. 307). Here he studies the works of little known authors, hardly noticed until lately: Li Hua (about 710—767), Hsiao Ying-shih (706—758), Yüan Chieh (719—772), Tu-ku Chi (725—777) and Yen Chen-ch'ing (709—784). These were the "leading prose writers" of that time who helped to prepare the *ku-wen* movement of the T'ang and Sung dynasties the principal protagonists of which were: Han Yü (768—824), Liu Tsung-yüan (773—819), and Ou-yang Hsiu (1007—1072) with his disciple Su Shih (Su Tung-p'o) (1036—1101). Mr. McMullen concentrates on the concepts of *wen* (pattern) and *chih* (substance) which have a firm position in the field of Chinese historiography and literary criticism, at least from Confucius (551—479 B.C.) up to Hu Shih (1891—1962). It may be observed that the really fine passages by McMullen can be suitably supplemented with the study *Han Yü as Ku-wen Stylist*, written by Diana Yu-shih Mei and published in *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, New Series, VII, 1968, No. 1, pp. 143—207. The same applies also to the study by V. F. Gusarov, *K istorii stanovleniya obshchemetodologicheskoi dogmy kitaiskogo klassicheskogo literaturovedeniya* (On the History of the Origin of the Methodological Dogma of Chinese Classical Literary Criticism), in G. B. Sukharchuk et al., *Kitai: obshchestvo i gosudarstvo* (China: Society and State), Moscow, Nauka 1973, pp. 136—144. This latter study deals likewise with the literary and critical views of Han Yü. Both point to the beginnings of that "intellectual flowering" spoken of in the paper under review. Both the studies make it evident that Han Yü associated literature in its broad sense with Tao which was more congenial to him as it enabled to express the didactic and ideological purpose for which literature, as a "vehicle of Tao", was to be created.

Marián Gálik

Ch'en, Kenneth K. S.: *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1973. 345 pp.

*The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* is the second book by Professor Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, currently holding the post of Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages at the University of California, Los Angeles. His first book on the subject was entitled *Buddhism in China. A Historical Survey* (Princeton 1964).

The title of the volume under review is not quite appropriate, nor an exact one either. Under "Chinese transformation" of Buddhism, the reader figures out the transformation of Buddhist teachings in China, but the author makes no serious attempt at substantiating this implication. What he actually does is to show how Buddhist teachings, religion and communities altered or at least left a mark on certain social, economic, political and cultural institutions in Chinese life approximately since the Northern and Southern dynasties (4th cent. A.D.) up to the T'ang and Sung dynasties (13th cent. A.D.), a major stress being laid on the former.

The Introduction which simultaneously is the first chapter of the book, engages in a polemic with a paper formerly an address presented at the Tercentenary Celebration of Harvard University in 1936, by Professor Hu Shih entitled *The Indianization of China*. Professor Ch'en admits that "the process of Indianization did take place in China", but in the study of Buddhism, of institutions associated with it we witness also the opposite process, namely an adaptation of Buddhism to Chinese conditions which he terms "Sinization of Buddhism". In comparing the results of his research with observations by H. G. Quaritch Wales in *The Making of Further India*, he puts forward a very plausible concept which might be shortly stated as follows: if two highly developed systemo-structural entities meet, then the receiving one takes over and modifies what it receives according to its own inherent needs. When Buddhism was introduced to Ceylon, Burma or Thailand, it met with no systemo-structural entity that would in some way have to stand up to and get even with its impact, to set up some relationship towards it. In China where philosophical, literary and artistic traditions had reached a high standard, Buddhism as a conglomerate of teachings and also as its expressions in various spheres of activity, had to be modified in some manner.

In the second chapter headed Ethical Life, the author points out the adaptability of Buddhism over the issue of filial piety, "the basis of virtue" according to Confucian teaching. In addition, he deals briefly with ancestral worship which was foreign to the original Buddhist teaching in India, and with the relationship between the so-called five *sīlas* and five norms. The five Buddhist *sīlas* (or cardinal precepts) are "not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to tell lies and not to drink intoxicating liquor". The five norms in Confucianism are "human-

heartedness, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and trust" (pp. 55—56). Of course, quite a lot of distortion was involved in this. For instance, the Confucian pendant for the precept "not to drink intoxicating liquor" should be knowledge (*chih*, Mathews No. 933). According to another text it ought to be propriety (*li*, Mathews No. 3886). There is hardly any need to emphasize that the adherents of Confucius understood something quite different under "knowledge" and "propriety".

The way Buddhist institutions developed, changed and even disappeared and the relationship of the State towards them is dealt with in the third chapter entitled Political Life. This, together with the following chapter Economic Life, links up with the results of Professor Ch'en's research included in his first book. At the same time, these are the most important passages of the book under review.

The title of the fifth chapter Literary Life is rather misleading. Having gone through the preceding two chapters, the reader entertains the hope of learning about the Sinization of Buddhist attitudes towards literature, but is sadly disappointed when, after a few pages devoted to Wang Wei (701—761), Meng Hao-jan (689—765) and Liu Yü-hsi (772—843), he realizes that the author satisfies himself with the statement that it would be "a Herculean task to trace the role of Buddhism in the poetry and prose of the major T'ang literary luminaries, let alone the host of minor figures" (p. 184). Mr. Ch'en focused his attention to the great poet Po Chü-i (772—846) and showed the impact of certain Buddhist teachings on his literary output. And yet "to trace the role of Buddhism" in literature would not have been such a difficult labour. It would have sufficed to look around and see what has already been written on the topic. The significance of the translations of Buddhist *sūtras* for Chinese literature had been discovered precisely by Hu Shih. In the work called *Pai-hua wen-hsieh shih* (A History of Vernacular Chinese Literature), Shanghai 1928, Mr. Hu devotes chapters 9 and 10 (pp. 157—215) to this question. The importance of these translations as well as that of *pien-wen* and religious tales in the moulding of the beginnings of Chinese popular *hsiao-shuo* (fiction) were studied by Cheng Chen-to, Ch'en Yin-ko with whom Mr. Ch'en polemizes, and also by Sun K'ai-ti, P'ei Su-hsien, Chi Hsien-lin, A. Waley, the Prague sinologists and some others.

Not the philosophical, but rather a literary study of Po Chü-i would convince Mr. Ch'en that however powerful, the impact of Buddhist ideas did not change at all the literary aspect of Po Chü-i's poetry. A similar view was expressed also by B. Watson when translating Han Shan's poetry. Even such verses as the following are written in the five-syllable lines typical for Chinese poetry: Ti-i mo ju Ch'an / ti-erh wu ju tsui. / Ch'an neng min jen wo, / tsui k'o wan jung ts'ui /, which when translated mean: "First, there is nothing like Ch'an, / Second, there is nothing like being drunk. / Ch'an can erase the difference between myself and others, / Drunkenness can cause one to forget glory and disappointment. Naturally, Buddhist literature exerted a great influence in the field of prose and fiction, but Professor

Ch'en by-passes all this in his book even though he makes mention of some works of this type.

The closing chapter, Educational and Social Life, links up mainly with those on the political and economic life. It involves a scrutinizing of the methods employed in the propagation of Buddhist teachings and practices of the religious life.

Those passages in the book under review deserve high praise that are result of the author's study of the original material from Tun-huang deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) and in the British Museum (London). Students of Chinese Buddhism in the U.S.A. and Europe will find great help also in having made accessible works by contemporary Japanese sinologists in the field of Buddhism.

Marián Gálík

Pak, Hyobom B.: *China and the West. Myths and Realities in History*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 120 pp.

The topic China and the West is beginning to find a steadily increasing place in sinological studies. While earlier books devoted to this theme, from A. Reichwein's *China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic Concepts in the Eighteenth Century* (1925) up to Donald W. Treadgold's *The West in Russia and China*, 2nd Vol. (1973), were more concerned with facts of impact and were therefore historical in character, the book under review is predominantly of a theoretical and even meditative nature, though set in the relevant historical framework.

In the Introduction, Dr. Pak divulges to the reader what he may expect from this book. The most important question begging an answer is: Why did China lag behind, especially economically and why did the Western countries achieve such intense progress? Allegedly the reason lay in the religious dimension of politics or the political dimension of religion which resulted in what is termed modernization, "growth of industry and economy in a given society" (p. 1). Quite rightly Pak refutes Max Weber's concept of "Protestant ethics", but sees instead the cause of the changes to reside in social myths which in turn were the products of Christianity. However, many of those who already saw those "myths" in the very heading of the book, became probably disappointed when in the text they found out that the myths were "monotheism, divine law and the kingdom of heaven" (p. 7). This is a view expressed by Henry B. Parkes in *Gods and Men: The Origins of Western Culture*. In the first part of the present work dealing for the most part with the West, Mr. Parkes is the principal source of Pak's argumentation. In the second chapter

entitled *The West of Monotheism: Its Inception and Evolution*, ten of the thirteen references came from Parkes' pen.

The work is divided into two sections, the first of which is concerned (though not exclusively) with problems of the West, Christianity and Judaism and their legacies in modern times. The second section is devoted (though again not fully) to China, particularly to Confucianism and its legacy through the long Chinese history.

It may generally be said that Mr. Pak has devoted rather too much attention to and simultaneously laid too great a stress on religion (Christianity and Judaism on the one hand, and Confucianism on the other) in matters of the social, economic and political development of the West and China, respectively. As if religiosity, the degree of its fervour and organization were the decisive factor for setting up certain economic potentials, social order or even a political milieu. This may apply to the West, hence to the world that professed and still partially professes "the Jehovah-Christ centered view of the Universe" (p. 32). The markedly different course of the Chinese development is attributed by the author to the hypo-religiosity of Chinese thinking. Confucianism being, according to Mr. Pak, relatively more rationalistic and less religious in tenets, "it is nevertheless in the penumbra of rationalism and religion" and therefore "it could not quite develop itself into an organized faith to generate as many social myths as did the Christian creed. Thus the dominant socio-political philosophy down to modern times, Confucianism, has failed, despite its 'modernizing' attempts, to play as positive a function of social ideology as did the organized religion of the West; when Christianity became socially more revolutionary, if not more rational, Confucianism was already nonfunctional, or even counter-revolutionary; when Christianity became less religious in outlook, Confucianism became more religious and orthodox in orientation" (p. 70).

As far as China is concerned, the most important authority for Mr. Pak would seem to be the second volume of Joseph Needham's monumental *Science and Civilization in China*. But here too, he gives priority to Parkes. Yet, Professor Needham would hardly acquiesce to Pak's views on the relationship between religion and social myths. At least, this might be inferred from Needham's study *Science and China's Influence in the World* (see his *The Grand Titration*, London 1969, pp. 55—122).

According to Pak, the problem of the divergent development in the West and China resides in the fact that in the former case a Church-centered and in the latter a hypo-religious society had a basically different approach to the economic life. This is open to doubt and could trigger a heated controversy. In Europe the Church was rather a retarding factor. Trade, commerce, productive forces and relationships developed in opposition to the Church. "*Stadthuft macht frei*" was a slogan directed also against the excessive power of the Church. Revolt certainly played here an



important role, but the Chinese State also endeavoured to break up and finally did succeed in suffocating the power and economic strength of Buddhist organizations, as is known from the history of the T'ang dynasty, but this had no decisive effect on the development of Chinese economic life. Of far greater significance to the various and at the same time decisive changes was the progress of science and the ensuing development of production forces and relations.

The last chapter of the book under review called China and the West: a New Perspective, is intended to be a prognosis of the future development of modern China. In Pak's view, religion is evidently a very heterogeneous concept when he writes here about "Communism, in its nationalistic label of anticolonialism" as "a new religion of national salvation" (pp. 103—104). This is supposed to apply to China of our days. The present reviewer is of the opinion that a solid scientific work does not admit of such a treatment of serious concepts. A scholarly study is not a noncommittal leaflet, and "poetic licence" has no place in it. Religion should be a clearly defined concept. The economic and social progress of contemporary China does not depend on the exploitation of any form of religious doctrine, or social myth, but rather on a correct understanding of social, economic and political realities of our times.

*Marián Gálik*

Lind, Andrew W.: *Nanyang Perspectives: Chinese Students in Multiracial Singapore*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1974. 292 pp.

Nan-yang in Chinese means Southern Ocean or Southern Seas and is commonly understood as South-East Asia. However, in this book the term carries a more specific connotation, referring to the university known as Nan-yang ta-hsüeh or Nan-ta whose campus lies about fifteen miles from the centre of Singapore on an abandoned rubber plantation. It was founded in 1953 as an institution "where the Chinese language would be used as the chief medium of instruction" (p. 99) and is a rarity in that until lately it was a purely Chinese university in a non-Chinese milieu, with Chinese as the teaching language. As a result of recommendations and efforts by Professor Wang Gungwu and his team, the university was given a new aim: to produce graduates at least bilingual if not trilingual, who would be capable of working in Singapore and Malaysia.

The first part of the title simultaneously indicates the goal of the book: to outline the perspectives of Nan-yang University. A. W. Lind, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, is an American scholar "with a long professional interest in the field of racial relations" (p. xiii). In 1969 he responded to an invitation to spend

9 months at Nan-ta and help to establish teaching and research programme in sociology. A few months prior to his arrival (May 1969) racial disturbances broke out in neighbouring Malaysia which found a reflection also among the students on the campus, for many of these had relatives or acquaintances in Malaysia who were directly affected by the disturbances. According to the official and heavily censored reports, 196 people lost their lives in these riots, 439 were wounded and 39 missing. Matters in Singapore itself were incomparably better. There were series of encounters between Malays and Chinese in which at least two persons were killed and some wounded.

Mr. Lind chose Chinese students as subjects of his observations for they were closest to him. He carried out his survey by means of a questionnaire comprising 130 items. All the students, numbering over two thousand, were given the forms and more than two thirds (1303 exactly) returned them duly filled.

The book under review was not written solely on the basis of these questionnaires. The first two chapters entitled *The Changing Immigrant World of Singapore* and *Ethnic, Racial and Political Factors in Singapore's Development* respectively, are concerned with the history of Singapore insofar as it was associated to racial problems. The third chapter called *A Chinese University in a Foreign Setting* describes the founding and the twenty-year history of Nan-ta. Chinese immigrants who were its initiators, had a colourful history in Singapore and Malaysia. Originally, they had come to Malaysia for the most part illegally. Those who left China, were considered by the Manchu government as potential traitors, because by abandoning "the benefits of the Middle Kingdom" (p. 97) they exposed themselves to the suspicion that they would engage in the most diverse anti-Manchu movements, which proved only too correct. The immigrants were mostly uneducated people who at the beginning did jobs as unskilled workers and later as shopkeepers and tradesmen. Some of them of course did unusually well, became financial magnates and gave considerable support to, for instance, Sun Yat-sen. Similarly to other immigrants, they strove at the start to have their own schools, whether primary or secondary. As regards university education, they used to send their children to China (after 1911). After 1949 this possibility became limited and as a result the Singapore Chinese decided to found their own university.

The second half of the book constitutes the core of the whole book and has been written in great part on the basis of the questionnaire survey. The fourth chapter entitled *Personal Resources for Multiracial Society* deals with certain traits of the Nan-ta students associated with the setting in which they live, with problems involved in the cultivating of personnel with the capacity to serve the whole community. In the fifth chapter *Racial and Ethnic Perspectives* a point is made mainly of the relationship of the Chinese towards the Malays, the Chinese relations towards their own ethnic groups and their own ancestry. But far more space is devoted to attitudes of the Chinese students of both sexes towards

questions of marriage within their own community and with members of other ethnic or national groups. In the last, the sixth chapter, *Nanyang Perspectives*, the author processes replies to questions concerning contemporary life in Singapore, for instance, industrialization, modernization, freedom of speech and of assembly, and life at the campus and the university itself. This chapter will probably prove of highest significance to those interested in the subject. But the sinological society (including also sociologists or politologists) would no doubt be interested in the replies bearing on the students' attitudes towards questions of neocolonialism, national liberation struggles, their views on classics of Marxism and so on. These are, however, missing from the book, although the entire undertaking was anonymous and there was no danger of intrusion by secret government agencies.

The omission of an index is to be deplored for it would certainly have been of great help to the reader in tracing definite references.

Marián Gólik

Young, Marilyn B. (Ed.): *Women in China. Studies in Social Changes and Feminism*. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan 1973. 259 pp.

The book under review is certainly an exception among collective endeavours dealing with modern Chinese history. All the contributors are women. The editor of the book, Marylin B. Young, an expert on America-China policy and the author of *Rhetoric of Empire*, states in her *Introduction* that "the subject of women" in China is not a new one and that new, this time, is their "subjective appreciation of its importance". The intense interest among American women in questions of emancipation of Chinese women is a reflection of their own needs. It would be difficult otherwise to explain the new, and apparently strong interest in Jack Belden's *China Shakes the World*, or Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*. *Gold-flower's Story* from Belden's classic was reprinted and bought by the young who seek in it "some vision of how they might begin to change their lives". However, this is probably only a fad of the moment, an ephemeral interest. The problems facing Chinese and American women are too divergent to be bridged in so a simple manner.

The standard of scholarship of the different contributions in this book is uneven. The book opens with an outstanding but older study by Roxane Witke, *Mao Tse-tung, Women and Suicide* from the year 1967, and another of her works is entitled *Woman as Politician in China of the 1920s* which simultaneously is part of her Ph.D. thesis *Transformation of Attitudes Towards Women During the May Fourth Era of Modern China*. This is a brief characteristic of Hsiang Ching-yü,

supplementing what Helen Foster (alias Nym Wales) had written about this outstanding revolutionary in *Women in Modern China*.

Then follow two historical studies: *Chinese Women in the Early Communist Movement* by Suzette Leith, and *Women in the Liberated Areas* by Delia Davin. Both are interesting and useful but rather too brief. The most extensive and simultaneously the most exacting study *Institutionalized Motivation for Fertility Limitation* was written by Janet W. Salaff. Similarly as the last study entitled *The Status of Women in Taiwan: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, by Norma Diamond, it is sociologically oriented and perhaps brings more new facts into the problem studied than any other of the contributions.

The remaining essays and studies are weaker. It may seem something of a paradox that this applies also to Salaff's part on Chinese women in the article written together with Judith Merkle. The contributions by Sun Ch'ing-ling, Sun Yat-sen's wife, and by Lu Yu-lan, a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, are of an essayist and propagandist nature. Less essayist, though more propagandist are also the papers contributed by Nancy Milton and Jane Barrett. These are products by American China fans.

All the papers and essays deal exclusively with historical, sociological and political issues. The editor did not set herself the task of presenting "women of China" in all serious facets and from every aspect involved. Probably, she could not even think of such a comprehensive goal at the time she planned this book. It may however be expected that certain aspects from the life of women in ancient and modern China will be elucidated in the publication now being prepared by the Stanford University Press as proceedings of a conference held in June 1973 and dealing with women in Chinese society.

The book under review, for instance, contains nothing about old poetry written by Chinese women which was a centre of interest on the part of Chinese literary historians, particularly in the thirties of this century. And yet, considerable similarities exist in the "men—women" relationships in old Chinese poetry and in the modern Chinese emancipation movement. Most of what was written in old Chinese literature concerned with women, representing their interests, expressing their feelings, was written by men. Professor Witke shows that "two thirds of the original membership of the Peking Alliance for Women's Rights Movement (at the beginning of the twenties, M. G.) was male, a fact which came as a surprise even to contemporary observers of the political scene. This fits in with other evidence showing that in the early twentieth century the issue of women's emancipation was supported as much or more by men than by women" (p. 40).

If, for example, we take the very influential supplement to the Min-kuo jih-pao newspaper (Republican Daily) called Fu-nü p'ing-lun (Woman Critic) and examine the names of the contributors, we find that the great majority of the contributors were men and quite famous at the time, even though often hindering behind pseudo-

nyms. Thus, Shen Yen-ping (Mao Tun), whose share in the field of women's emancipation has not been as yet investigated fully, used the pen names of P'ei Wei, Wei, Hsi Chen, Chen, then his name or parts of it: Shen Yen-ping, Yen-ping or Ping. Ch'en Wang-tao liked to hide behind the pseudonym Hsiao-feng; Li Hsiao-feng made use of the pseudonym Y. D. In this supplement we also find Lu Hsün and his brother Chou Tso-jen, further Shen Tse-min, Liu Ta-pai, Hsia Mien-ts'un, Wang P'ing-ling and others. *Woman Critic* published also several letters to the editor by women, but a point of interest is that any reply that may have been made to them, always came from men. For instance, a letter by Miss Han Ying who was convinced that every ill in the society is caused by men, elicited a reply from two brothers, Shen Yen-ping and Shen Tse-min, while again Ch'en Wang-tao and Shen Yen-ping reacted to a discussion on "women's position", led by correspondence by several women, including Miss Han Ying already referred to.

The present reviewer is under the impression that the entire women's movement was led in considerable measure by men. Suzette Leith's remark that it was a man "who organized the cells" among the girls in New Student Society, Canton, in the twenties was not made inadvertently. A thorough study would probably supply evidence not only from the female fraction of the student movement, but also from the labour and peasant movement as well. It is likewise plausible to presume that the so-called stereotypes in portraying "love and revolution" in Chinese literature at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties were not influenced merely by earlier Russian literature or the schematic figments of the writer's phantasy fired by revolutionary prospects, but were also affected by life itself. Young people uniting love with revolution really did exist.

The women question was much spoken about in China. Many, e.g. Mao Tse-tung, or Mao Tun, spoke about it during the course of whole decades. It used to be spoken of within limits that presented two extremes: the first of these held that the women question in China has not been settled; the second, on the other hand, insisted that it had been resolved. Over the decades, certain issues have been resolved in favour of women in People's Republic of China. Women there have reason to be more satisfied than the majority of those living on Taiwan which is strongly under the influence of the spirit of Japanese tradition—truly misogynistic in certain respects. But the situation is not quite satisfactory even in People's China, as may be inferred from Sun Ch'ing-ling's remark on the "feudal patriarchal ideology" still prevailing in the rural areas and small towns of contemporary China (p. 203).

At the present time there is nothing in China that could be characterized as "women's movement", although, like everywhere else in the world, the female question is being dealt with. The tenets that were applicable to the women's movement in the twenties, are still valid in a considerable measure for the solving of the

women's question today. "Everywhere we went", writes Jane Barrett, "we asked about sex breakdown on revolutionary and party committees, and almost everywhere men predominated. The extreme case the embroidery factory in Tientsin, where 90 % of the workers were women, but a single man occupied the top positions on both committees" (p. 197).

The writer Huang Lu-yin wrote in one of her essays that a "way out" for women had already been indicated a long time ago by Ibsen. Only that there are few Noras in society, but many such as play the principal role in a doll's houses. The point is that the latter be as few as possible. Otherwise, emancipation or liberation will not be possible. By keeping to the doll's house, a woman misses the opportunity of self-realization, of imposing her own individuality, of enforcing her position in society and in fact she "buries" her own female "human nature". Some may object that this is a rather narrow view of the "way out" proper to the petty bourgeoisie. That may be true, but the socialist "way out" is not much different except as regards the specification of that place in society: endeavour, struggle for a better social order, participation in the progressive political fight. Huang Lu-yin underlines the significance of the family life, division of labour in the family, mutual help, life in common. The ideals cherished by K'ang K'o-ch'ing, a well-known Chinese amazon, are evidently very one-sided.

The bibliography appended to the volume consists only of English and French works. Evidently it lays no claims whatever to completeness for, according to the editor, the bibliography like the essays themselves, "is intended to encourage students to ask and answer new questions: about Asia, about women, about ourselves".

This last statement makes the book in a certain sense more actual, enhance its attractiveness for various strata of readers. Only it might perhaps be remarked that the subject of women, although hardly a new one, requires many deep and all-sided studies. Then the "subjective appreciation" spoken of in the *Introduction* will turn into an "objective evaluation" which is in fact the principal concern.

Marián Gálík

Shulman, Frank J.: *Japan and Korea. An Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations in Western Languages, 1877—1969*. Chicago, American Library Association 1970. 340 pp.

Frank J. Shulman has been for many years engaged on a meritorious and highly useful work. He is one of those few scholars who have turned their attention to a very valuable, though thus far fairly neglected and for the most part inaccessible "fountainhead" of knowledge: Doctoral Dissertations scattered all over the world,

sometimes published, often however sunk into oblivion in some university library. Mr. Shulman is co-author of *Doctoral Dissertations on China: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages, 1945—1970*, further, a compiler of *Doctoral Dissertations on South Asia, 1966—1970*. In addition, he is also an editor of *Doctoral Dissertations on Asia*, a semiannual, published by the Association for Asian Studies, Inc. in Ann Arbor. In it are currently published titles of the dissertations of various kinds concerned with China, Korea, Japan, Indochina, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Afghanistan, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The book under review is a continuation of C. W. Stucki's *American Doctoral Dissertations on Asia—1933—June 1966*, Ithaca 1968, and P. Cornwall's *Unpublished Doctoral Dissertations Relating to Japan, Accepted in the University of Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States, 1946—1963*, Ann Arbor 1965.

Shulman's present book is an "annotated bibliography", whereby it becomes a far more valuable aid to interested scholars and scientists than the majority of normal bibliographies of doctoral dissertations published until now and to which we have been accustomed, for instance, in the domain of the Far East. It is of value not only because of the annotations that follow the conventional bibliographic data in every dissertation, but primarily for the sake of the published results (either in book or in journals), or the dissertations themselves, or their parts, whether in their original or a modified form.

The contents of the book are arranged alphabetically from Anthropology and Sociology up to the Theatrical Arts in the part concerning Japan, and from Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology and Social Psychology up to the Sciences Medicine and Technology in the part concerning Korea.

The Introduction to this book provides such items of information as how to procure microfilms or xerox-copies of the various studies listed in the book (though this is unfortunately not possible in every case).

The appended Author and Institutional Indexes facilitate work with the book under review, while the Bibliographical Index provides personal data on Japanese or Korean personalities to whom the various entries in the bibliography are dedicated.

The book belongs among the important and indispensable reference works for japanologists and koreanists.

*Marián Gálík*

Sedláček, Kamil: *Tibetan Newspaper Reader* (Tibetisches Zeitungschrestomathie). Bd. I, 368 S.; Bd. II, 520 S., Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1972.

Durch die Veröffentlichung zahlreicher profunder wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten über sino-tibetische Sprachen ist der Verfasser der in Rede stehenden Publikation in der internationalen Fachwelt bereits gut bekannt und genießt eine hohe Wertschätzung. Mit dem *Tibetan Newspaper Reader* (TNR) legt Kamil Sedláček nun eine zweibändige Monographie vor, zu der wir ihn aufrichtig beglückwünschen. Vergleichend kann man feststellen: Was Prof. Dr. Erich Haenischs *Lehrgang der klassischen chinesischen Schriftsprache* für die Unterweisung in den Grundlagen des klassischen Chinesischen ist, stellt der *Tibetan Newspaper Reader* von Dr. Sedláček für das moderne Schrifttibetische dar. Diese beiden Bände schliessen damit eine grosse Lücke im Bereiche der Lehrmaterialien für das Tibetische, denn es existiert in der internationalen tibetologischen Literatur keine dieser vergleichbare Arbeit.

Im Vorwort (S. 7—8) stellt der Verfasser fest, dass der TNR „... is first and foremost intended for students of Universities and Oriental Institutes where Tibetan is taught who have already passed through a basic course of Spoken or Literary Tibetan and have a good notion of the structure of this language. We have however also borne in mind those who begin to study this rich and beautiful language by themselves“. Der TNR ist so vorzüglich systematisch aufgebaut, dass jeder, der sich mit der modernen tibetischen Schriftsprache befasst (vom Anfänger bis zum Fachmann!), daraus grundlegende Kenntnisse, wie auch weitergehende Hinweise und Anregungen empfangen wird.

Die beiden Bände beinhalten insgesamt vier Teile, davon Band 1 die Teile I—III (Tibetan Articles—Transliterated and Translated; Short Grammatical Notes; Tibetan Texts) und Band 2 den Teil IV (Tibetan-English Glossary). Im Teil I (S. 25—144) bietet der Verfasser 63 Lesestücke, jeweils in Transliteration und Übersetzung. Diese Artikel wurden entnommen der tibetischsprachigen Parallelausgabe der in Peking erscheinenden illustrierten Zeitschrift *Rén-mín huà-bào, mi-dmañs brñan-par* (Jahrgänge 1951—1959). Sie stellen in ihrer thematischen Breite eine repräsentative, durch den damit vorgestellten sachlich umfassenden und zum Teil lexikographisch noch gar nicht erfassten Wortschatz ausserordentlich nützliche Auswahl dar. Der Übersetzung jeweils angeschlossene grammatische wie auch sachliche Annotationen (Erläuterungen) erleichtern dem Studierenden das Textverständnis wesentlich. Für den Studenten, den Anfänger wie den Fortgeschrittenen, hat der Verfasser die Short Grammatical Notes als Teil II (S. 145—289) aufgenommen. Diese Aufzeichnungen „...contain only a very brief outline of the grammar of the Tibetan language, ...“ (S. 146), doch hat Dr. Sedláček hier (auf über 140 Druckseiten) in mühevoller wissenschaftlicher Kleinarbeit nicht nur die wichtigsten bisherigen einschlägigen Forschungsergebnisse verarbeitet, sondern bietet zugleich eine Vielzahl neuer Erkenntnisse grammatischer Detailforschung. Die häufige Hinzufügung chinesischer Äquivalente erhöht noch den Wert dieser Darstellung. Die sachliche Anordnung ist übersichtlich, sie erfolgt nach dem tibetischen Alphabet. In diesem Zusammenhange teilt der Verfasser zudem die Vorbereitung einer ausführlichen



Grammatik (in deutscher Sprache) mit. Die Short Grammatical Notes stellen eine qualitative Bereicherung der Literatur zum grammatischen System des modernen Schrifttibetischen dar. Teil III (S. 291—368) bringt die in Teil I zunächst in transliterierter Form gebotenen 63 Lesestücke nunmehr in einer sehr gefälligen, handgeschriebenen tibetischen (dbu-tšan) Schrift. Den drei Teilen von Band 1 sind vorangestellt u. a. eine Tabelle mit Transkriptionsentsprechungen von im TNR verwendeten chinesischen Namen (S. 15—19), ein Literaturverzeichnis (S. 20—22), ein Verzeichnis von Transliterationsentsprechungen (Systeme von Sedláček, Jäschke und Dás) für das tibetische Alphabet (S. 23—24) und eine Tabelle der tibetischen Ziffern (S. 24). Teil IV, Tibetan-English Glossary (520 S.), bildet allein den Band 2 des TNR. Dieses Glossar bietet mit seinen etwa 15 000 Wörtern, den vielen eingegliederten Phrasen und Satzbeispielen dem Benutzer eine hoch einzuschätzende, weit über den Rahmen dieses Werkes hinaus bedeutsame Hilfe beim Studium dieser und weiterer moderner tibetischer Texte.

Vermerkt sei schliesslich, dass beim Verfasser auch Kopien von Tonbandaufnahmen erworben werden können (Bd. 1, Preface, S. 10).

*Eberhardt Richter*

Krása M. (Ed.): *Jawaharlal Nehru, A Political Leader*. Prague, Czechoslovak-Indian Committee of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations 1974. 140 pp.

In November 1974, the Symposium on Jawaharlal Nehru was held in Prague to commemorate the 85th anniversary of the birth and the 10th anniversary of the death of this outstanding Indian politician. The participants of the symposium focussed their attention on "the evolution of Nehru's political views and their implementation or reflection in Indian public life" (p. vii). The present book is a collection of the main contributions to the symposium, all except one having been presented by research scholars of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

In the first contribution *Jawaharlal Nehru and the Principle of Secularism in Indian Politics* (pp. 4—25), J. Marek introduces the main preconditions of Indian secularism, namely the existence of many religio-philosophical systems forced to tolerate one another, the existence of the progressive leading representatives realizing the reactionary role of religion, and the existence of communalism. Then the principle of secularism as understood by J. Nehru is discussed.

J. Nehru was conscious of the negative influence of religion on the progress of mankind and therefore he emphasized that the political life in independent India,

as well as the ideology of the new state had to be completely free of religion. This idea is a substantial feature of the concept of secularism as understood by him as well as by some other progressive representatives of the Indian national bourgeoisie. However, secularism was not understood as atheism. It meant the exclusion of religion from state politics, but at the same time it preserved religious freedom for all.

In the paper *Nehru as a Political Thinker* (pp. 26—39), J. Filipský presents Nehru's socio-political views, the events and facts that exerted a powerful influence on his political development, namely the political atmosphere in India in 1905—1908, the revolutionary upheavals in Russia, and the study of the works of Marx and Lenin. Under the impression of the progress of the Soviet Union, Nehru drew the conclusion that socialism alone could solve the problems of India. However, he did not mean the socialism as understood by Marxists, but tried to evolve a model of "Indian socialism" best suited to Indian conditions. According to the author, "despite its shortcomings and inconsistencies, it was the socialist vision of Jawaharlal Nehru which distinguished him from other nationalist leaders who were far less receptive to the new currents of thought and far more rooted in a conservative outlook" (p. 37).

The next contribution is O. Novák's paper *The Role of Tradition in Nehru's Thought* (pp. 40—62) which deals with the nature of tradition and the role it plays in Indian society. Nehru's views on the problem are summarized in three basic themes: tradition as a unifying element, tradition as a factor of change, and tradition as a method for social reconstruction.

The contribution by M. Krása *Nehru's Début in Indian Foreign Relations* (pp. 63—104) is devoted especially to Nehru's participation in the Congress against Colonial Oppression that took place in Brussels from February 10 to 15, 1927. The author discusses some problems solved in the congress as well as the contents of some resolutions submitted there. He points out the appearances of J. Nehru who, in his speech on India's struggle for independence presented at the opening session, as well as his personal discussions with various delegates, especially with those of China, proved to be an accomplished political thinker and party leader.

J. Kovář devoted his paper *Nehru's Foreign Policy—Face to Face with Reality* (pp. 105—122) to the principles of Indian foreign policy created by J. Nehru, especially to his concept of the policy of non-alignment. He discusses the development of the various stages of this policy, i.e. the years 1947—1950, years 1950—1954, the second half of the fifties, and the period since the late fifties when India's policy of non-alignment was seriously influenced by the Sino-Indian border conflict.

The last contribution entitled *The Literary Echo of Nehru's Socio-Political Views* (pp. 123—140) by D. Ansari draws attention to the contemporary Hindi literature and points out some characteristic features of its development reflecting Nehru's domestic and foreign policy, especially in the fifties.

Czech research workers have done a good piece of work which deserves the attention of those interested in the life and political views of Jawaharlal Nehru, a great political leader of India.

Anna Rácová

Komarov, E. N. (Ed.): *Indiya: sovremennost i istoriya* (India: The Present and Past). Moscow, Nauka 1974. 238 pp.

The book under review is a collection of 13 essays on topical problems of social and political life in India. The essays are divided into two parts, namely, *Sovremennyye problemy* (Contemporary Problems, pp. 3—161, 7 essays), and *Iz istorii natsionalnogo dvizheniya* (From the History of the National Liberation Movement, pp. 162—238, 6 essays).

The first study by P. V. Kutsobin entitled *Nekotorye problemy kommunisticheskogo dvizheniya v Indii* (Some Problems of the Communist Movement in India) is concerned with the main features of the policy of the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and their different attitudes towards the basic problems of the socio-political development of the country.

V. N. Yegorov contributed to the collection by his article *Formirovanie kadrov upravleniya v nezavisimoi Indii* (Formation of the Cadres of the Administrative Apparatus in Independent India) which treats of the administrative apparatus of British India and that of India after Independence. The stress is laid on the role of the Indian Civil Service and the formation and the role of the Indian Administrative Service. The reasons of the inevitable reorganization and democratization of the existing administrative apparatus are discussed, too.

B. I. Klyuev is the author of the next study called *Khindi kak sistema natsionalnogo yazyka* (Hindi as a System of the National Language). It is an interesting analysis of the language situation in the Hindi-speaking region. Hindi is discussed as a very complicated system of many interrelated elements. Hindi-speaking population is considered as an ethno-historic community being still in a process of transformation into a nation. When studying the problem, the author makes use of knowledge of Soviet sociolinguistics gained in the process of formation and development of national languages belonging to different families.

The article by B. P. Suprunovich, *Regionalnye osobennosti politicheskoi zhizni Indii* (Regional Peculiarities of Political Life in India), draws attention to the unevenness of political development in different states and regions in India from the middle sixties to the beginning of the seventies. The author discusses various factors that have brought about numerous differences which have resulted in the

origin of regional political parties and organizations. He delineates the character of these parties and organizations, their roles, positions and mutual relations, as well as the way in which the regional interests have influenced their policy.

In her essay, *Subregionalnye otnosheniya v shtate Andkhra Pradesh* (Subregional Relations in Andhra Pradesh State), N. I. Semenova describes the separatistic movement in Andhra Pradesh in 1972—1973, the basic preconditions for its development, the course of events, and gradual extinction.

Yu. E. Biryukov has written an article called "*Dravida munnetra kazhagam*" *i politicheskoe razvitie shtata Tamilnadu* (The "Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam" and the Political Development of Tamilnadu State) that deals with some aspects of economic, social and cultural policy of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). It also treats of the relations between the DMK and the Indian National Congress and the reasons of the disunion of the DMK in October 1972.

The next contribution, by N. G. Prussakova, presents some notes *K voprosu o reforme ekzamenatsionnoi sistemy v universitetakh Indii* (On the Problem of the Examination System Reform at the Universities in India).

In his article *Vozdeistvie Sovetskogo Soyuza na osvoboditelnoe dvizhenie v Indii* (The Soviet Union's Influence on the Freedom Movement in India), E. N. Komarov focusses attention on the stimulating ideological and political impact of the revolutionary upheavals in Russia in 1905—1907, that of Great October Revolution, and the influence of the practical achievements of the Soviet Socialist State in building up socialism on the development of India's struggle for freedom.

D. Vaideman's brief contribution to the book, *M. K. Gandi i agressory* (M. K. Gandhi and Aggressors), illuminates Gandhi's attitudes towards war, German fascism, Japanese militarism, and British imperialism.

The Soviet authors devote attention to the study of all the periods of the history of the Indian National Congress. The essay entitled *Natsionalnyi kongress v period pervoi mirovoi voyny* (The National Congress during World War I) by I. Khashimov is an important contribution to the study of the problem.

The article by M. M. Kutina called *Lingvisticheskoe dvizhenie v Bikhare v poslednoi chetverti XIX—nachale XX vv.* (Linguistic Movement in Bihar in the Last Quarter of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Centuries) aims at an elucidation of the basic moments of the movement which resulted in the partition of Bengal and the creation of modern Bihar in 1912.

The study *Narodnye dvizheniya v Indii v 80-kh godakh XIX v.* (Popular Movements in India in the 1880's) by E. Ya. Lyusternik deals with the different characters and methods of numerous popular uprisings in the 80th of the last century. Special attention is drawn to the uprisings of the Bhils, especially that in January 1883 of which no mention exists in foregoing works by Soviet and Indian historians. The author discusses also the peasant rebellion of the Moplas, the riot in Broach, the combat headed by Tantiya Bhil, as well as uprisings in feudal

principalities. Lyusternik's comprehensive study has disproved the authors of the book *Novaya Istoriya Indii* (The New History of India) who consider the 80th of the last century as a period of a declining activity of people's movements in India.

D. Domin is the author of the final article called *O polozhenii Indii v britanskoi kolonialnoi imperii* (On the Position of India in the British Colonial Empire) delineating the character of the British colonial policy in India in 1832—1917.

The reviewer is of the opinion that the major part of the articles included in the collection are of historical interest and high quality. This applies to the essays that promptly respond to the most contemporary events and problems of India, as well as to those dealing with the recent history of India.

Anna Rácová

Chekki, Danesh A.: *Modernization and Kin Network*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 184 pp.

The traditional Indian society is undergoing many changes brought about by different factors, such as new technology, education and occupations, new ideas, values and attitudes, etc. which evoke a complex process of modernization that follows several patterns. Some of them are closer to the Western models of modernization ("westernization"), and others to the local socio-economic context. According to K. Ishwaran, the author of a valuable foreword to the present book, westernization is not modernization. "The former process confuses a specific historical manifestation of modernization for a universal process of modernization. It implies, in fact, a process of transferring the western models of modernization uncritically, whereas modernization is a process of which universalistic goals and values of the modern ideology—equality, freedom and progress—are realized through indigenous efforts in indigenous contexts. Westernization is imitative, while modernization is creative" (p. xiii).

Perhaps, it was also the difference between the two models of modernization the author of the book bore in mind when he focussed his research on two communities, namely, the Lingayat and the Brahman which were not only the major caste groups in the city surveyed but also the typical representatives of the two models of modernization.

Mr. Chekki carried out the research during 1962—1963 in Dharwar, Karnataka State. The main aim of his study, the seventh publication in the series *The Monographs and Theoretical Studies in Society and Anthropology in Honour of Nels Anderson*, was to analyse the influence of modernization on the family and kin network.

The author sought to place his study within a broader context and therefore he introduced not only the results of his own field-work but also a concise review of previous research on family and kinship, as well as various explications of some concepts such as modernity and modernization. For him, "modernization is not just a matter of imitation or adoption of foreign technology and cultural values; it is a unique process of fusion of old and new cultural systems and, as such, differs in different societies. The new cultural trait need not necessarily come from the West. It may originate within a society or may originate outside a society. Moreover adoption of innovations from another country need not make the recipient country a carbon copy of the original because the requirements of adjustment to different cultural settings of receiving countries usually modify cultural elements" (p. 6).

Due attention is drawn to the historical background of Dharwar, to the functional zones of the city, to its demography and social structure. Special note is taken of Kalyan and Gokul (size of households, type of family, education and occupations of respondents).

Chapters 3—7 are the real core of the present book which is a comparative study of two castes. Each of the chapters is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to the Lingayats of Kalyan suburb and the second one to the Brahmans of Gokul. In these chapters, the author presents a descriptive analysis of the structure and the quality of knowledge of kin among the Lingayats and the Brahmans, as well as an analysis of various aspects of social interaction among kin such as visiting, frequency of services, co-operation in various rites, etc. Also the changes in the patterns of kinship behaviour are discussed. The author suggests that in spite of some change, "the kinship values, in their essential, have remained the same" in the process of modernization.

Quite a lot of space is devoted to the description of some aspects of marriage (i.e. selection of partner, age of marriage, propinquity, interkin marriage, desertion and divorce, widow remarriage, attitudes towards dowry, etc.), to the social stratification in Kalyan and Gokul, as well as to the channels of social mobility. Various factors which could affect the kin relations and the relationship with friends and neighbours are delineated, too.

Chapter seven treats of the modernization of Hindu law and its impact on the kinship system of the Lingayats and Brahmans. It demonstrates different attitudes towards the laws regarding marriage and divorce, succession, adoption and maintenance, as well as different effectiveness (and its reasons) of the same legislation in the Lingayat and the Brahman communities.

The final chapter Modernization and Kin Network is a summary of the main findings in the study.

Besides 44 well-arranged tables, the study includes six appendices (they present kinship terminology, subcastes, *bedagu* and *gotra*, kinship diagrams, a glossary, and abbreviations of journal titles), a bibliography and an index.

Chekki's monograph which successfully illuminates some major trends of modernization and their interaction with family and kinship in two communities in Dharwar, can be highly recommended to students of sociology, especially to those interested in the sociology of family and kinship.

Anna Rácová

Gupta, G. R.: *Marriage, Religion and Society*. Pattern of Change in an Indian Village. London—Dublin, Curzon Press 1974. 187 pp.

The present book, a revised version of a dissertation thesis for the Ph.D. degree, is an excellent sociological study of the Indian village based on a field survey in Awan and the surrounding region in the Kota district of Rajasthan, carried out between 1958 and 1965.

After introducing the basic data about Awan's ecological setting as well as its cultural background, historical perspective and pattern of dwelling, the author focusses his attention on two main problems, i.e. the caste system, and especially the Hindu marriage through which "an insight can be gained into the complex network of kinship ties, the entanglement of religion with the social structure, the functioning of the caste, the relationship between castes, and the cohesiveness of the extended family unit" (p. 1).

The caste system is studied with regard to its functioning in Awan. The author presents the traditional hierarchy of Hindu castes in the village along with their short characteristics including the information on occupation which has become an important factor in determining the position of a caste in Indian society.

Due attention is paid to the internal organization of castes, to the nature and working of their various units, i.e. subcastes, clan, lineage, and family.

Each person in India is necessarily a member of various units of Indian society which determines all his duties and rights, all his performances that are generally suited to the needs of his caste. This is true also for one's marriage. Each caste and subcaste determines certain rules according to which a prospective spouse is to be chosen.

The next three chapters, that are of a very high quality, bring a great deal of interesting data regarding the rituals preliminary to marriage (pp. 54—77), the ritual complex of marriage (pp. 78—96), and the post-wedding rituals (pp. 97—103). The data result from the precise and competent field-work. In our view, the reader may fully agree with Professor S. C. Dube's statement (in the Foreword to the present book) that in describing the marriage rituals "Dr. Gupta has made a conscious effort to avoid tedious details, taking care at the same time to ensure that the essentials are not left out".

The role each member of the family plays in ritual performances clearly mark the position of the person involved. The author devotes attention to this fact in the next chapter describing the role of the father, the mother, the siblings, the father's father and his wife, the mother's brother and his wife, and the male affines in the marriage. Similarly, he discusses the position of the fellow caste members as well as the interrelationships of castes and their hierarchy depending on the characteristic features of a caste such as ranking, commensality, occupation, dietary habits and ritual attributes.

Reciprocal relations are divided into two categories: the *jat-buar*, "which are based on the acceptance of food and water and rendering and receiving of assistance on ritual occasions. The mutual obligations of the *jat* enlist aid from persons of different castes. The second category called *beti-buar* includes marital alliances and is thus limited to the subcaste group" (pp. 117—118).

After these problems, the specific services rendered by each caste to a particular family during the course of marriage rituals are dealt with. The services have been classified in three categories: 1. *vyavahari* (reciprocal relationships among the castes based on mutual courtesy), 2. *jajmani* (traditional patron-client relationships), and 3. *majuri* (contractual services).

In the next chapter, the author draws attention to the ritual and social status of a widow, desertions, divorces and remarriages which are not popular among the higher castes but generally practised by the lower ones. The author clarifies the various aspects of remarriage (*nata*) by describing five cases that took place in Awan.

The last chapter of the reviewed book is devoted to the major changes in society, religion and the family, that have occurred in Awan since the independence of India. Dr. Gupta points out the role of extensive communications which have enabled people to know new things and new ideas, to be conscious of the power of education that often means improvement of one's economic status. Due attention is devoted also to literacy, the rate of which increases not only among the upper, but also among the lower castes. Then the changes of ritual aspects of marriage as well as the changes in marital and caste values are discussed, such as the raised age of marriage, the growing freedom in selection a mate, the social relations effected by the development in cash economy, the growing political consciousness, the reduction of social and cultural differences, etc. According to the author's view introduced at the very end of the chapter, "Changes have occurred and still are occurring as a result of secular intrusions. Thus the future direction and rate of change will ultimately depend on external secular forces" (p. 163).

The Appendix (pp. 167—171) presents a comparative analysis of the marriage rituals as practised in Awan with those prescribed in the *Dharmasastras*.

The study is concluded by an abundant bibliography, a glossary and an index.

This significant book is of particular interest to those concerned with the



sociology of family. It brings a wealth of data, the analysis of which will meet any, criterion of quality.

*Anna Ráková*

O'Malley, L. S. S.: *Indian Caste Custom*. London—Dublin, Curzon Press; Totowa N. J., Rowman and Littlefield 1974. 190 pp.

The caste system is considered as the main feature of Indian society and as such it has captivated more observers than any other institution in India. Many have studied and still are studying the origin of castes, their traditional hierarchy, their role in everyday life of an individual, as well as the merits and demerits of the caste system. The author of the present book has also devoted his attention to Indian castes.

The book under review is a reprint of an oldish work (first published in 1932), and it, naturally, differs from modern works as to the method used: being more descriptive, it does not try to analyse the gathered data and affords the reader more freedom at drawing conclusions (with the exception of the last chapter dealing with good points and defects of the caste system); neither does it include any diagrams and tables that are nearly indispensable for modern works of a similar character. On the other hand, it is illustrated by a number of episodes and proverbs that make the work very attractive for an ordinary reader.

O'Malley's book consists of nine chapters: The Caste System (pp. 1—33), Caste Government (pp. 34—55), External Control (pp. 56—72), Penalties (pp. 73—88), Marriage and Morals (pp. 89—102), Food and Drink (pp. 103—121), Occupations (pp. 122—136), The Untouchables (pp. 137—160), and Modern Tendencies (pp. 161 to 182).

In discussing various problems of the caste system, the author starts especially from the data published in Indian Census Reports and District Gazetteers, and also from his own experience in India.

Although O'Malley's book has been written more than forty years ago, it can be used as a valuable material by observers of Indian castes even today, after many changes have occurred in Indian society (especially since the independence) that have exerted a great influence also on the working of the caste system.

One could argue against some of the conclusions regarding the merits and demerits of the caste system presented in the last chapter of the work, that were necessitated by experience and knowledge of the time when the book came into existence, as well as, perhaps, by the author's British attitude towards the problem.

O'Malley's book, reviewed here, is really worth reading.

*Anna Ráková*

Wilkins, W. J.: *Modern Hinduism: An Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus in Northern India*. London—Dublin, Curzon Press; Totowa, N. J., Rowman and Littlefield 1975. 423 pp.

This is a new impression of the second, largely rewritten, edition (1900) of the well-known and excellent work first published in 1887 as complementary to the author's previous book *Hindu Mythology: Vedic and Puranic*.

The aim of the present book is to give "a concise account of the social life of the Hindus as governed by their religious observances" (Preface).

The book consists of twenty five chapters divided into six thematic sections, i.e. Life and Worship (pp. 1—141), Morals (pp. 145—176), Woman (pp. 179—231), Caste (pp. 235—294), Hindu sects (pp. 297—365), and Death, Shradha, and the Future Life (pp. 369—418) providing the reader with enormous wealth of data showing the main aspects of the Hindu's social and religious life, i.e. his birth, marriage and death as well as their attendant ceremonies, worship in the home and temples and religious ideas expressed in it, festivals in their proper order, as arranged in the almanacs used in Bengal, description of some popular shrines in North India, basic features of the Hindu's character and his various dispositions, the position of woman as taught in the *Sāstras* and as practised in Indian society, castes, their origin, growth and working, different Hindu sects and their peculiarities, etc.

Each chapter contains a great number of various happenings which make the book readable not only for the Indologist, but also for the general reader.

Naturally, the present book is not possible to be reviewed with application of the same criteria as those used in reviewing modern works on Indian society, especially as regards the methods of processing the data. It is true, also, that today many of the facts described are the past, that the individual, domestic and national life of the Hindus has considerably changed since the time of the origin of the book, but in spite of this Wilkins' book has not lost its value. Although a knowledge of the great majority of data included in the book is not applicable to the contemporary life of the Hindus in India, it is of great help in the study of the life of the North Indian society in the past. It will help even those studying modern Indian society especially to appreciate the depth and value of many of the changes that have been brought about by the modernization of the society.

*Anna Rácová*

Shulman, Frank J.: *Doctoral Dissertations on South Asia, 1966—1970: An Annotated Bibliography Covering North America, Europe, and Australia*. Ann Arbor, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan 1971. 228 pp.

Mr. Shulman's Bibliography is a compilation of 1,305 doctoral dissertations on the former civilizations as well as contemporary affairs of India, Pakistan (naturally, the subdivision of Pakistan into republics of Pakistan and Bangladesh is not taken into consideration because all the dissertations listed in the bibliography had been written before 1971), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim brought to completion between 1966 and 1970 essentially in the English-speaking world (the United States, Great Britain, Australia). Sporadically also the works written in some other languages, e.g. in German, French, Dutch, Czech and Polish occur. In such cases the English translations of the titles are given in square brackets.

The dissertations are classified according to countries with which they are concerned and further on the basis of the special subject or time period which is discussed in them: e.g. the doctoral dissertations on India (925 entries) are subdivided into those on culture, economy, education, history, journalism and the mass media, language and linguistics, overseas communities, politics, government, law and international relations, religion and philosophy, science and medicine, and society. The doctoral dissertations in individual subdivisions are further classified on the basis of subtler criteria, e.g. the subdivision History comprises different groups of entries on agriculture, banking, finance, foreign trade, etc.

The author's full name, the complete title and subtitle of his dissertation, the name of the university in an abbreviated form, and the calendar year in which the dissertation was completed are provided for each entry. The bulk of the entries (75 percent) include very brief annotations which have been based essentially on information provided in Dissertation Abstract International and if this is the case, the bibliography gives DAI reference volume and page numbers along with the University Microfilms order number.

The very important information on the availability of dissertations (on microfilm or in xerox form) is included in the Appendix C (pp. 186—189) and in the Institutional Index (pp. 209—220) which is a listing of universities with their complete names.

The Appendices A and B (pp. 184—185) provide the reader with information on the distribution of dissertations by country and year in which they were completed, as well as according to the subject with which they deal.

Finally, the Author Index (pp. 191—207) and Subject Index (pp. 221—228) are included designed to help the reader a ready orientation in the bibliography.

The bibliography is an excellent work the value of which lies not only in the information on the themes of the doctoral dissertations on South Asia, but especially in the information that will help a student in securing copies of materials at various universities.

*Anna Rácová*

Korson, J. H. (Ed.): *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 151 pp.

This collection of seven scientific essays on the most contemporary economic, political and social problems of Pakistan was published as the 15th volume of the series *International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology*. The essays are by scholars "who have written widely on various aspects of the nation and people of Pakistan since its inception" (p. 3).

Professor Baxter's article *The People's Party vs. the Punjab "Feudalists"* treats of the position and the role of the major landlords in the political system in the Punjab since the introduction of the Government India Act in 1919, and the interaction between the traditional rural elite families and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in the elections of 1970 in which victory was gained by the PPP, that, naturally, put an end to the rural elite control of government in the Punjab.

In his contribution *Islam and the New Constitution of Pakistan*, F. Rahman examines some issues of the new Constitution of Pakistan which was inaugurated on August 14, 1973. He analyses its new and progressive socio-economic orientation, as well as the compromises on Islam. Mr. Rahman points out the efforts of President Bhutto to compromise with traditionalists, that are the cause of the desolatory character of the Constitution. Some comparisons with the two previous constitutions are made, too.

Hafeez Malik has contributed to the collection by his study *The Emergence of the Federal Pattern in Pakistan* that delineates Pakistan's political scene since December 1971, namely, the struggle for power between the representatives of the PPP and the National Awami Party (NAP), the endeavour of Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province to create the separate state—Pakhunistan, and President Bhutto's counter-strategy.

In his essay, *Bhutto's Foreign Policy, 1972—1973*, Professor Ziring shows Bhutto as a firm believer in the theory of interdependence, in a "bilateral foreign policy" that would permit the country to maintain friendly relations with all the great powers. Then the antagonism of Pakistan and Afghanistan, and Pakistan's relations with India and Bangladesh are discussed. The article is concluded by the text of the agreement signed by the representatives of India and Pakistan in New Delhi on August 29, 1973.

W. E. Gustafson's article called *Economic Reforms under the Bhutto's Regime* aims at an elucidation of the major reforms in contemporary Pakistan, namely, the nationalization of some industries ("which could hardly be characterized as the industrial powerhouse of Pakistan's economic growth", p. 84), labour reforms "the full meaning and effect of which would not be clear except to the specialist", p. 85), land reforms cutting limit of holdings, the devaluation of the rupee that is consider-

ed as the centre-piece of the reforms by the author, the banking reforms, as well as the reforms regarding all special services in government employment.

The aim of the next article by L. L. Bean and A. D. Bhatti, *Pakistan's Population in the 1970's: Problems and Prospects*, is to examine the development and administration of population policies in the country, as well as the estimates of levels of population growth, the reasons of differences in growth rates between the two census intervals and among the four major provinces of Pakistan, and the population prospects to 1980.

The final contribution to the collection is J. H. Korson's essay *Bhutto's Educational Reform* dealing with President Bhutto's new policy that calls for the restructuring of the whole educational system in Pakistan. Great emphasis is placed not only on achieving literacy through a universal and free elementary education, but also on the expansion of higher education. The author discusses the major proposals in the plan, e.g. the necessary shift toward science and technology in the universities and colleges, the question of educated unemployed, the development of special schools for gifted students, the reorganization of the training of teachers, the establishment of the National Foundation for Book Production, the nationalization of private schools and colleges, etc.

The book is concluded by a short index proceeded by Biographical Notes giving basic data about the authors of the contribution to the collection and their previous production.

Anna Ráková

Heinz, Wilhelm: *Der indische Stil in der persischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1973. 122 S.

Die Frage nach der Genese des sog. „indischen Stils“ in der persischen klassischen Literatur interessierte bereits die mittelalterlichen persischen Philologen und ist auch für die heutigen Iranisten von Interesse. J. E. Bertels zufolge soll man den indischen Stil nicht als einen konkreten geographischen Terminus auffassen, die Dichter dieses Stiles lebten doch nicht nur auf dem Hof der Mogulherrscher, sie schufen gleichsam in Herat, Tabriz, wie in Schiraz. Bertels hebt den sozialen Aspekt der Entstehung des indischen Stiles hervor, der seiner Ansicht nach eine Verschiebung der Poesie auf sozialer Ebene von der Dichtkunst der Feudale in Richtung zur Dichtkunst der städtischen Bevölkerung bedeutet.

Das rezensierte Werk von Wilhelm Heinz stellt sich zum Ziel in die konkreten charakteristischen Züge dieses nur ungenügend erforschten Stiles der klassischen

persischen Poesie Licht zu bringen. Diese seine Arbeit hat der Autor als Habilitationsschrift im Jahre 1971 an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Würzburg vorgelegt und verteidigt.

Der indische Stil (auch Sefewiden oder Isfahaner Stil genannt) verbreitete sich seit der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts und erstreckte sich über das gesamte Gebiet, in dem die persische Sprache als Medium des literarischen Ausdruckes gebracht wurde, also das heutige Iran, die islamisierten Gebiete des indischen Subkontinentes, das heutige Afghanistan und in Zentralasien bei den turksprachigen Völkern und Tadschiken.

Bei seiner Arbeit standen dem Autor allgemeine Formulierungen der charakteristischen Züge des indischen Stiles zur Verfügung, so wie sie in den Werken von J. Rypka (*Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959) und A. Bausani (*Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, Milano 1958) definiert wurden. Er übernimmt im Prinzip deren Thesen und führt eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Merkmale des indischen Stiles an:

„Als Eigenschaften des indischen Stiles werden in den Literaturgeschichten angeführt:

a) Der Vers ist häufig in zwei Hälften geteilt, indem der erste Halbvers eine Behauptung aufstellt und der zweite Halbvers die Begründung hierfür bringt.

b) Sprichwörter und Sentenzen werden oft angeführt.

c) Eine erweiterte und gesteigerte Verwendung der rhetorischen Figur *murāʿāt an-naẓīr*.

d) Die Hyperbel wird bis an die äussersten Grenzen geführt.

e) Der Wortschatz der Volkssprache findet Eingang in die Dichtung.

f) Gedichte des indischen Stiles sind schwer zu verstehen.“ (S. 65—66.)

Wilhelm Heinz widmet seine Aufmerksamkeit der unter dem Punkt e) angeführten Charakteristik, also der Bereicherung des poetischen Wortschatzes um Wörter der Umgangssprache, um idiomatische Redewendungen und um Metaphern, die aus dem Alltagsleben ausgehen. Im Kapitel B, Definition des indischen Stiles und Beschreibung seiner konstituierenden Merkmale anhand von Beispielen (S. 11—80) analysiert der Autor ausser anderem eine Kasside von ʿUrfī und ein Gasel von Bidil. Nach einem Vergleich beider poetischer Arten mit den vorhergehenden Stilen kommt der Autor zum Schluss, dass während sich die Kasside in bezug auf ihren Inhalt fast gar nicht ändert, ist das im indischen Stil geschriebene Gasel thematisch sehr zerspalten: „Die Realität dringt nicht nur in die sprachliche Formulierung ein als Erweiterung des Wortschatzes durch Wörter der Alltagssphäre und volkstümlich idiomatische Redewendungen, sondern auch in den Inhalt des Gasels“ (S. 64). Mit seiner Analyse demonstriert der Autor, dass sich der Umgang und Geltungsbe- reich der einzelnen Wörter erweitert, dass in grossem Masse Komposita verwendet werden. Eine weitere Eigenschaft des indischen Stiles, laut W. Heinz, ist seine Tendenz, Gedankengänge in einer an türkische oder tadschikische Einflüsse er-

innernden substantivischen Ausdrucksweise zu formulieren, weiter ist es die häufige Verwendung von Abstrakta, die als handelnde Wesenheiten in der Welt dargestellt werden. Eine wichtige Entwicklungsänderung ist, dass im indischen Stil sehr oft mehrere Topoi miteinander verflochten und einzelne ihrer Aspekte zu einer neuen Aussage verwendet werden. Als die für den indischen Stil repräsentativen Dichter nennt der Verfasser: 'Urfī, Ġalāl-i-Asīr, Nazīrī, Kalim, Ṭālib-i-Āmulī, Šā'ib und Faiḏī. Dem letztgenannten Dichter ist das Kapitel D, Die Biographie Faiḏīs als eines der wichtigsten Vertreter des indischen Stiles und sein Werk (S. 84—113) gewidmet. Ein Literaturverzeichnis (S. 115—118) und ein Register (S. 119—122) ergänzen das Buch.

Wilhelm Heinz widmet sich schon viele Jahre lang dem Problem des Wortschatzes der persischen Sprache, so dass er an dieses anspruchsvolle Thema mit tiefgehenden Kenntnissen gerüstet herantreten konnte. Das Ergebnis ist eine meisterhafte Stilanalyse der im indischen Stil geschriebenen Poesie und eine daraus sich ergebende klare Definierung ihrer charakteristischen Merkmale.

Kamil Baňák

Kessel, Lev Mikhailovich: *Gete i "Zapadno-vostochnyi Divan"* (Goethe and "West-Eastern Divan"). Moscow, Nauka 1973. 118 pp.

Besides his *Faust*, the most important work by J. W. Goethe is his *West-östlicher Divan*. The *Divan* is the work of the author's ripe age (Goethe wrote it between 1814 and 1827) and it has attracted attention of many scholars, viz. those interested in the history of German literature as well as those doing research in the history of literature of the Near East. The problem of the interpretation of the *Divan* has been dealt with in numerous articles and books all of which have tried to answer the same question: is the *Divan* only a splendid example of the Orient-like variations that have become the fashion at that time, or is it the realistic philosophical poetry disguised intentionally in an Oriental moulding?

The Soviet Orientalists, while dealing with this problem, share the opinion that the *West-östlicher Divan* is neither a specific combination of the Western and Oriental motifs nor an artificial conventionalism, but they emphasize that the *Divan* represents an organic synthesis of the two cultures.

Of the same opinion was the author of the reviewed book, the late L. M. Kessel (1890—1968). As he demonstrates in the book, Goethe in his *West-östlicher Divan* has tried to expose the similarity between the political situation of his time and the political atmosphere of the life of the classical poets of the East, mostly those

of Persia, and in this way he tried to display the likeness of his own life to the Persian poets' life.

L. M. Kessel states that the poems of the *Divan* do not reflect Goethe's personal experiences but that their verses are allegorical, they are symbols of the most actual contemporaneity. At the same time the author adds that only a genius like Goethe could display so sensitive ironical attitude towards his own poetry and in this way to belittle its bitter and tormenting truthfulness. This style is a very characteristic feature of the poetry written by the Persian poet Hafiz and the author calls it the "hafiz-like" poetical style.

The author also emphasizes that the *West-östlicher Divan* cannot be interpreted entirely as Goethe's reaction to his contemporary social life: the *Divan* demonstrates also the new quality of Goethe's intellectual and literary activity, his interest in the East, in its history and culture. The last factor evidences Goethe's rapprochement to the romantic literature which has shown a particular interest in the East.

Kamil Baňák

Fevzi Mostarac: *Bulbulistan* (Nightingale's Garden. Translated from the Persian into Serbian by Džemal Čehajić). Sarajevo, Izdavačko preduzeće Svjetlost 1973. 142 pp.

An important role in the literary and cultural life of the Muslims of Bosnia in the first half of the 18th century was played by Fevzi Mostarac. He was born (the exact data of his birth is not known, between 1670 and 1677) in a village near Mostar and died in 1747 in Mostar. After receiving his secondary education in Mostar, Fevzi went to Istanbul to complete his schooling. He had mastered both Persian and Turkish: in the former he wrote the *Bulbulistan* (Nightingale's Garden); in the latter he composed about twenty pieces of poetry.

Priority in the scholarly interest in Fevzi must be attributed to Safvet-beg Bašagić. The first translation of the *Bulbulistan* into a foreign language as well as a critical survey of Fevzi's life and activity were made by Milivoje Malić, namely in French (Milivoje Malić, *Bulbulistan du Shaikh Fevzi de Mostar*. Paris 1935).

The present book consists of the essay of Fevzi Mostarac's life and work (pp. 7—43) and of the first translation of the *Bulbulistan* into Serbian (pp. 45—137). The translator has used six manuscripts: four of them are in the possession of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (YASA) in Zagreb, the last two are deposited in the University Library of Bratislava (Czechoslovakia). The main source



has been the manuscript of the YASA dating from 1747; that means the manuscript has been written either while Fevzi was still alive or shortly after his death.

Fevzi's *Bulbulistan* is another example of the favourite *pand* or *andarz* genre in the literatures of the Islamic civilization. As the literary pattern for his work Fevzi had undoubtedly used Sa'di's *Gulistan* or, as it is stated and demonstrated very clearly by D. Čehajić, both the subject and the form of the *Bulbulistan* are derived from Ğami's *Baharestan*. The arrangement and the headings of the chapters of both works are very alike, there is a striking similarity between both poets' points of view and between their comments of the related stories. However, we must add that the pupil has not outdone his master (or masters).

Kamil Baňák

*Researches in Altaic Languages* (Forschungen in den altaischen Sprachen). Papers read at the 14th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference held in Szeged, August 22—28, 1971. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XX. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1975. 338 S.

Die bedeutungsvollste Institution für Forschungen in der Altaistik ist PIAC (Permanent International Altaistic Conference), die infolge der Initiative Prof. Dr. Denis Sinors i. J. 1958 an der Indiana Universität in USA gegründet wurde. PIAC organisiert jedes Jahr Kongresse, zu denen diese Institution Forscher aus allen Ländern einlädt, damit sie die Erfolge ihrer Forschertätigkeit vortragen und über Probleme der Altaistik diskutierten. Diese Kongresse wurden in den ersten Jahren in USA abgehalten; es nahm an ihnen nur ein engerer Kreis von Forschern teil. Es zeigte sich jedoch bald, dass diese Kongresse sehr fruchtbar waren, weshalb sich die Notwendigkeit ergab, sie auf alle Gebiete der Altaistik, besonders aber der Mongolistik und Turkologie auszubreiten und die Teilnahme an ihnen einer grösseren Menge von Forschern der ganzen Welt zu ermöglichen. In den letzten Jahren fand sich eine gute Lösung: die Kongresse jedes Jahr abwechselnd, einmal in den westlichen Ländern, einmal in den sozialistischen Ländern, zu organisieren. Der 12. Kongress i. J. 1969 wurde bereits in Ostberlin, der 14. in Szeged abgehalten.

Das vorliegende Sammelbuch, das als der 20. Band der Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica erschien, enthält Vorträge und Diskussionen, die beim Kongress PIAC in Szeged gehalten wurden; diesen Kongress organisierte Prof. András Róna-Tas von der Szegediner Universität in den Tagen des 22.—28. August 1971. Zur Konferenz erschien eine grosse Anzahl von bedeutenden Gelehrten-Philologen aus der UdSSR, USA, Ungarn, der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, der Deutschen Demokratischen

Republik, Polen, Frankreich, Tschechoslowakei, Bulgarien, Türkei, Mongolen, Japan und Grossbritannien.

Der Hauptgegenstand der Szegediner Konferenz wurde im Einverständnis bereits vorher bestimmt: die Frage der Verwandtschaft der altaischen Sprachen und Nationen. Das Hauptgewicht wurde auf die Sprachwissenschaft gelegt, damit sich die Konferenz nicht in Detailprobleme oder entferntere Beziehungen zersplittete. Trotzdem verbreiteten sich die Vorträge auf sehr verschiedene Gebiete der Altaistik und zu den Problemen wurde mit sehr verschiedenen Methoden geschritten.

Der grösste Anteil der Vorträge beschäftigt sich mit komparativen Studien der altaischen Sprachen oder mit den Problemen der einzelnen (besonders der mongolischen und türkischen) Sprachen. Mit allgemeinen Fragen der Altaistik und Phonetik der altaischen Sprachen beschäftigten sich diese Vorträge: L. Ligeti, *La théorie altaïque et la lexico-statistique*; Eric P. Hamp, *The Altaic Non-obstruents*; S. N. Muratov, *Some Regular Changes of the Phonetic Structure of Root in the Altaic Languages*; V. I. Tsintsius, *On the Pre-Altaic System of Consonants*.

Über die Semantik und Pflanzennamen der altaischen Sprachen handeln: T. A. Bertagayev, *On Some Common Semantic Indices of Root Elements in the Altaic Languages* und K. M. Musaev, *On Some Plant Names in the Altaic Languages*.

Sehr bedeutungsvoll ist ein grosser Artikel auf dem Gebiete der uralo-tungusischen Komparatistik, in dem Denis Sinor neue Ergebnisse, *Uralo-Tunguz Lexical Correspondence*, bringt. Über den gemeinsamen Ursprung der possessiven Nachsilben spricht N. A. Baskakov, *On the Common Origin of the Categories of Person and Personal Possession in the Altaic Languages*.

Über die Beziehungen des Japanischen zu den altaischen Sprachen auf dem Gebiet der Phonetik schreibt Roy A. Miller, *Japanese-Altaic Lexical Evidence and the Proto-Turkic "Zetacism-Sigmatism"*. Über altaische Elemente im Japanischen trug Schichiro Murayama, vor, *Altaische Komponente der japanischen Sprache*.

Von mongolistischen Artikeln handelt nur ein einziger mit grammatischer Thematik: Marie Lise Beffa—R. Hamayon, *Le nom verbal en mongol*. Die übrigen Vorträge berührten andere Gebiete der Mongolistik, besonders die *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*; John A. Boyle, *Some Additional Notes on the Mongolian Names in the History of the Nation by the Archers*; L. Lőrincz, *Ein historisches Lied in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen*; L. Manaljev, *Two Translations of the Secret History of the Mongols in the Ulanbator State Library*; N. P. Shastina, *Mongol and Turkic Ethnonyms in the Secret History of the Mongols*.

Über mongolisch-türkische Komparatistik handeln diese Artikel: A. Tretiskoff, *Comparaison des lois de succession de voyelles en turc et en mongol*; S. Kenesbajew—Sch. Sarybajew, *Kasachisch-mongolisch lexikalische Vergleiche in der Verwandtschafts-terminologie und in den Namen der Körperteile*; A. Róna-Tas, *The Altaic Theory and the History of a Middle Mongolian Loanword in Chuwash*. Über Turkismen im Mongolischen spricht G. D. Sanzheyev, *A Mongolistic Reconstruction of Turkisms*; Even

Hovdhaugen, *The Mongolian Suffix "lig" and its Turkic Origin*; E. A. Novgorodova, *Ethnocultural Relation of the Tribes of the Mongol Altai* (Mongol-Altaic Tergen).

Der grösste Teil der Vorträge beschäftigt sich jedoch mit verschiedenen Problemen der Turkologie. Drei Vorträge behandeln die türkische Grammatik, von denen zwei die Phonetik: John Lotz, *The Turkish Vowel System and Phonological Theory*; Talât Tekin, *Further Evidence for "Zetacism" and "Sigmatism"*; Nuri Yüce, *Einige auffällige Gerundialformen im Türkischen*. Über fremde Elemente im Alttürkischen sprach Sir Gerard Clauson, *The Foreign Elements in Early Turkish*. Die landwirtschaftliche Terminologie im Osmanisch-Türkischen behandelte A. S. Tveritina im Artikel *Lexical Material as a Source of Studying Agricultural Traditions of the Ottoman Empire*.

Die übrigen turkologischen Artikel berühren einige Türksprachen und bringen interessante Ergebnisse. Diese sind: B. Scherner, *Probleme arabischer und neupersischer Lehnwörter im Tatarischen*; Evelyne Lot-Falck, *Ütügen ches les Jakuts*; Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, *Uzbek Female Folk Healers*; Peter Zieme, *Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich*; L. Hřebíček, *The Phonemic Structure of the First Syllable in Several Turkic Languages*.

Diese Reihe interessanter Artikel, die viele nutzbringende neue Ergebnisse bringen, zeigt, dass die Konferenz PIAC in Szeged sehr fruchtbringend war. Das Sammelbuch bildet ein schönes Dokument der gehaltenen Vorträge und bleibt ein gutes Handbuch für die Forscher im Altaistischen.

Jozef Blaškovič

Atsız, Bedriye—Kissling, Hans-Joachim: *Sammlung türkischer Redensarten*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1974. (2) + 186 S. 8°.

Für den Unterricht und das Studium des Türkischen, dessen Gestalt sich im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte durch die Sprachreform grundsätzlich verändert hat, werden die Bedürfnisse an guten Hilfsmitteln immer mehr erkannt. Einige Neuerscheinungen im Bereich des türkisch-deutschen Sprachkontaktes, wie die türkisch-deutschen und deutsch-türkischen Wörterbücher von K. Steuerwald, machten deutlich, dass man hier einen wichtigen Fortschritt verbuchen kann. Mit dem Erscheinen des vorliegenden Buches wurde wieder ein Schritt in dieser Richtung getan: ein seit langem bestehender Wunsch der Turkologen ging in Erfüllung.

Die Verfasser des Buches wurden bei der Zusammenstellung und Interpretation der türkischen Redewendungen von den Bedürfnissen der praktischen Vermittlung der Sprachkenntnisse geleitet. Ihre sehr pragmatischen Anhaltspunkte bei der

Handhabung des Materials, die man für den gegebenen Rahmen billigen kann, wurden im Vorwort deutlich formuliert, wobei auch auf Grenzen und Beschränkungen des Unternehmens sehr selbstkritisch hingewiesen wurde. Das klare Wort über den Rahmen der Arbeit orientiert den Benutzer darüber, was er von dem Buch erwarten kann.

Um die Dimensionen des Materials zu veranschaulichen, schien es uns angebracht zu sein, einen wenn auch nur stichprobeartigen Vergleich mit dem türkisch-deutschen Wörterbuch von K. Steuerwald, das bei der Aufnahme von Redewendungen auf einer sehr soliden Basis steht, vorzunehmen. Für diesen Zweck wurden ganz willkürlich die Seiten 61 (*dört dönme — duyduk duymadık dememek*), 81—83 (*göz açıp kapayıncaya kadar — gözü bağlı olmak*), 120 (*kuda kuşa yem olmak — kuyruğunu kısmak*) und 159 (*tatlıya başlamak — temelli gitmek*) ausgewählt.

Der Vergleich fiel, wie im Falle einer Spezialstudie zu erwarten ist, zugunsten der vorliegenden Sammlung aus. Es muss aber gleich hinzugefügt werden, dass dieses Plus zahlenmässig eigentlich geringfügig ist, was auch die lexikographische Akribie von K. Steuerwald charakterisiert. Unter den 112 Lemmata haben wir nur 11 gefunden, die bei K. Steuerwald nicht registriert sind.

Der wesentliche Vorteil des vorliegenden Bandes besteht darin, dass die Verfasser gerade in den Punkten weitergegangen sind, wo der Lexikograph des Gesamtwortschatzes aus gut verständlichen Gründen aufhören muss. Sie haben ihre Sammlung mit weiteren wichtigen Hinweisen über Rolle und Wert der Redewendungen versehen und ihren Gebrauch sogar — in einen lebendigen Sprachkontext eingebettet — geschickt demonstriert. Der Informationswert des Buches wurde dadurch in grossem Masse erhöht.

Die vergleichende Durchsicht hat uns auf einige Punkte gelenkt, wo wir Fragen stellen möchten. *Durup durup turnayı gözünden vurmak*: Sollte man die Wendung *durup durup* von der anderen Wendung nicht konsequenter trennen? *Duyduk duymadık dememek*: Die Wendung ist eigentlich auch aus anderen Verba zu bilden. Das macht ihren Stellenwert fraglich. *Kurda kuşa yem olmak*: Könnte man bei dem Mustersatz eventuell an eine solche Übersetzung denken: „Dem Armen wird doch wohl unterwegs nichts passiert sein“? *Kuyruğunu çekmek*: Die von K. Steuerwald angegebene Bedeutungsnuance ist zwar implizit registriert, der Mustersatz aber verschleiert vielleicht diesen Aspekt der Wendung.

Der Reichtum des Türkischen an Redewendungen wurde durch die erfolgreiche Zusammenarbeit der Verfasser als *native speaker* des Türkischen und des Deutschen sehr klar demonstriert. Man gewinnt einen interessanten Blick in eine Sphäre der Sprache, die sowohl in der Epoche der osmanischen Hochsprache als auch der Spracherneuerung unberührt und stabil erhalten blieb. Der Apparat der Turkologen wurde um ein nützliches Handbuch reicher, das zweifelsohne würdig ist, zu weiteren, ergänzenden Arbeiten anzuregen und zu führen.

Georg Hazai

*Ağaca Takılan Uçurtma* (Der Drache im Baum). Herausgegeben von Yüksel Pazarkaya. München, Jugend und Volk Verlag 1974. 224 S.

Es ist nicht leicht eine solche Auswahl aus der modernen türkischen Literatur zusammenzustellen, die ihren Charakter und die Entwicklungstendenzen der letzten Jahrzehnte in vollem Masse widerspiegeln würde. Nach der deutschen Anthologie (*Moderne türkische Lyrik*, Tübingen—Basel, 1971. Siehe unsere Rezension in *Asian and African Studies*, 9, S. 235—238), die dem europäischen Leser einen geschlossenen Blick auf die moderne türkische Poesie gewährt, kommt nun der türkische Dichter Yüksel Pazarkaya mit einer neuen Auswahl aus der türkischen Literatur, die der im Ausland lebenden türkischen Jugend bestimmt ist. Die deutsche Übersetzung des Buches befindet sich gegenwärtig in Vorbereitung. Aus diesem Grund hat der Herausgeber die Auswahl so gestaltet, damit sie dem Leser, sei es ein junger Angehöriger des türkischen Volkes, oft für viele Jahre lang von seiner Heimat getrennt und den Kontakt mit dem türkischen Milieu langsam verlierend, oder aber ein über die Türkei und die türkische Literatur im Grunde wenig informierter ausländischer Interessent, den Charakter des zeitgenössischen türkischen literarischen Schaffens vorstellt, ihm jedoch gleichzeitig auch die Türkei mit ihren Traditionen, sowie dem jetzigen Leben nahebringt.

Die Auswahl besteht aus Gedichten, Erzählungen und Theaterstücken von fast dreissig Autoren. Ein Ehrenplatz in der Auswahl gehört Nasrettin Hoca, als dem Vertreter der Volkstradition. Die Dichtkunst wird von so klangvollen Namen wie Nazım Hikmet, Orhan Veli Kanık, Melih Cevdet Anday, Oktay Rifat, Behçet Necatigil, Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca vertreten, gleichzeitig finden wir hier jedoch Gedichte der Zugehörigen der jungen türkischen Dichtergeneration. Im Prosateil des Buches fehlen nebst namhafter Schöpfer der modernen türkischen Prosa Fakir Baykurt, Samim Kocagöz und Aziz Nesin auch die jungen Autoren nicht. Die Auswahl enthält auch drei Proben aus dem zeitgenössischen kurzen dramatischen Schaffen in der Türkei. Ausser der bewährten Dramatiker Orhan Asena und Aziz Nesin trägt auch der Herausgeber Yüksel Pazarkaya mit seinem dramatischen Erstlingswerk zur Auswahl bei.

Als Autor der originellen, die Auswahl passend ergänzenden Illustrationen zeichnet der bekannte türkische Maler Orhan Peker.

Die Tatsache, dass wir hier eine Publikation von rein populärem Charakter präsentieren, hat nur einen Grund, und zwar den, dass wir sie als eine geeignete Chrestomathie für Studenten der Turkologie an den europäischen Universitäten empfehlen möchten, wo ein ständiger Mangel an geeigneter Ergänzungslektüre zum Studium der türkischen Sprache, wie auch der türkischen Literatur herrscht. Die sich in Vorbereitung befindende deutsche Ausgabe des Buches wird es den Studenten ermöglichen, ihre eigene mit der deutschen Übersetzung zu konfrontieren.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Başgöz, I.—Tietze, A.: *Bilmece: A Corpus of Turkish Riddles*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London, University of California Press 1973. 1063 pp.

The roots of Turkish riddles as a specific genre of folklore creativity reach far back into the distant past. Already the famous work by Mahmud Kashgarî *Divan-i Lûgat üt-Türk* from the 11th century and the subsequent not less illustrious *Codex Cumanicus* from the 14th century attest to the popularity of this genre among Mediaeval Turkish nations.

As is typical for Turkish folklore in general, riddles, too, found their first collectors and editors towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present century in the ranks of foreign scholars. It came about only with a growth of Turkish national consciousness that riddles became an object of interest of Turkish folklore and began to be systematically recorded and studied.

The present publication comprising over one thousand riddles has resulted from the efforts of numerous collectors. Besides the foremost Turkish folklorist Pertev Naili Boratav, İlhan Başgöz, a former Boratav's assistant at the university of Ankara has the greatest credit for the collection of the basic material published in the book under review.

But the principal merit for the conception of the book, its definite processing and the arrangement of the material goes to the American Turkologist Andreas Tietze. He and W. Eberhard translated the riddles into English. Prof. Tietze is also the author of the Introduction, the Bibliography, footnotes, Indices and the Glossary.

The Introduction (pp. 1—23) is divided into four parts (A. Previous Work; B. The riddles presented here; C. Arrangement; D. Some remarks on the structure of the Turkish riddle). Part A characterizes the trend of the study and publication of Turkish riddles. Alongside the pioneering work of I. Kúnos, T. Kowalski and A. Caferoğlu, Prof. Tietze highly values the deserts of the so-called Halkevi (People's Houses) and the journals they published in the collection and study of Turkish riddles.

The present book sets as its aim to give the broadest possible spectrum of the Turkish folk riddle. With the exception of a single Kurdish riddle, it does not include any from the national minorities living in present-day Turkey. Nor does it comprise any riddle of other Turkish languages. Literary riddles (*lûgaz*, *mu'ammâ*), which relate to Persian and Arabic traditions are included in the publication only as supplementary material.

The riddles included in the book have been arranged according to the English wording of the answers. However, this mode of arrangement gives rise to complication in cases where the answer to the riddle is not unequivocal, or where the character of the riddle requires a special assignment. Consequently, the material has been assigned into several categories (these will be dealt with presently).

The last section (D) of the Introduction provides an informative view on the structure of Turkish riddles. Prof. Tietze gives the percentage composition of the material according to the type of rhyme. The most frequent type of riddles (up to 40 % of the presented material) are rhyming two liners. But even if 28 % of the riddles are not subjected to a rhyming scheme, it does not mean that they have no firm structure. They are governed by laws of alliteration, inner rhyme, rhythm, etc.

Characteristic for Turkish riddles, as also for Turkish folk poetry in general, is the seven-syllable verse with a caesura after the fourth syllable.

The riddles are frequently introduced by a short stereotype prologue, eventually they are closed with a final formula. The majority of these formulae are organically bound up with the text of the riddles either according to meaning or according to rhythm. Hence, they are not arbitrary supplements, but an integral part of certain riddle types, as observed by Prof. Tietze.

Riddles composed according to the fundamental forms of Turkish folk poetry (*mani*, *ninni*, *tekerleme*) more than any other folklore genres make use of onomatopoeia and child speech with characteristic word formations which may represent a stumbling block in translation.

In conclusion, Prof. Tietze touches upon the stylistic traits of riddles of a literary origin.

The appended list of topics points to their frequency in figuring as answers to riddles. Terms occurring less than ten times have not been taken into consideration.

The Bibliographical section consists of bibliography proper (pp. 25—50) and a Geographic Distribution with the Number of Riddles (pp. 50—58). This inclusive bibliography comprises all the collections of Turkish riddles and studies on them—even those unpublished—and in the case of the more significant works, the bibliographic reference is supplemented with a brief characteristic of the contents. From the Geographical Distribution it is evident that the riddles in the publication originate not only from the whole of Turkey, but also from certain regions of Bulgaria, Cyprus, Georgia, Greece, Iraq and Yugoslavia. A map of the geographical localities whence the riddles are derived, is attached.

The riddles and their translation constitute the basic and the substantial part of the publication (pp. 59—947). Category I—Single Concepts (nos. 1—857) includes riddles proper, describing some concept in a paradoxical way and followed by an unexpected but clear-cut answer. They are preceded by the Subject Index sorting the concepts into five groups according to their general signification (nature, domestic life, social life, other concepts, and unexplained). The first three groups are further subdivided according to the specific significance (e.g. astronomy, weather, time, etc.). As already stated, the riddles are numbered and arranged in an alphabetical order according to the English wording of the answer. The various notes consist of an identification number, text of the riddle in the original, its English

translation, reference to the source and identification number referring to the Index of Riddle Ideas.

Roughly speaking, what has been said of riddles in Category I, may also be applied to those of Category II—Multiple Concepts (nos. 858—1042), but the latter are arranged according to meaning (A. Nature, B. The Human Scene, C. Scenes, D. Symbolic Language, E. Unusual Situations, F. Unconnected Concepts).

The last three categories of riddles (III. Knowledge Test Riddles, nos. 1043—1049, IV. Word Component Riddles, nos. 1050—1078, and V. Mock Riddles, nos. 1079 to 1089) are numerically less represented, but they are noteworthy by their formal aspect and also their wealth of content. The dialogue form is encountered here on several occasions. Some of the riddles are reminiscent rather of a minor humorous story (e.g. Riddle no. 1079.12). Other items of interest are also charades based on multiple meaning of words, grammatical modes and verbal connections giving rise to puns (e.g. *yüz*—"a hundred" or "a face": *Bir kafada yüz kulak* gives the following meanings: "A hundred ears on one head" or "A face and ear on one head").

Notes to the text of the riddles are appended to each Category.

The Index of Turkish Riddle Answers (pp. 949—980) which follows the corpus of the riddles, lists all the answers recorded in all the sources of all the riddles, whether main text or variant. The Index of Last Words of the Riddles (pp. 981—1052) is an index of the main riddle texts, excluding the variants. The Index of Riddle Ideas (pp. 1025—1051) has been set up in accordance with the prototype introduced by the outstanding folklorist Archer Taylor (in his work *English Riddles from Oral Tradition*, Berkeley—Los Angeles 1951).

The Glossary (pp. 1053—1059) embodies specific Turkish and Islamic expressions, personal names and geographical terms.

As the authors underline, the work has not for aim analytically to process Turkish riddles from the historical, sociological or psychological aspect, but only to present a corpus that might be of use as a solid basis for further research of Turkish proverbs, and simultaneously would be a suitable material for a comparative folkloristic study. And this aim may be said to be fully met by I. Başgöz' and A. Tietze's book.

Xénia Celnarová

Šabanović, Hazim: *Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima* (Die Literatur der Musulmanen von Bosnien und Herzegowina in orientalischen Sprachen). Bibliografija. Sarajevo, Svjetlost 1973. 726 S.

In den letzten Jahren ist ein gesteigertes Interesse für die orientalischen Literaturen der Angehörigen südslawischer Völker, vor allem der Bosnier und der



Herzegowiner feststellbar. Dieses Interesse ist gewiss nicht zufällig, es wurde nach langen Jahren des Schweigens über diese Problematik wach.

Ähnlich wie bei den meisten Fragen der osmanischen Geschichte und Literatur stand auch bei diesen Anfängen der Literaturforschung der südslawischen Musulmanen in orientalischen Sprachen Joseph von Hammer mit seinem Werk *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst I—IV*. Pest 1836—38, das auf den osmanischen Biographien von Dichtern und Wissenschaftlern baute. Von dem Werk von Hammers ging auch Savfet beg Bašagić in seiner Arbeit *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* (Die Bosnier und Herzegowiner in der islamischen Literatur), Sarajevo 1912, aus. Bašagićs Arbeiten, unter denen noch das Werk *Znameniti Hrvati, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u turskoj carevini* (Bedeutende Kroaten, Bosnier und Herzegowiner im Osmanischen Reich), Zagreb 1931 zu erwähnen ist, bildeten und bilden eine weitere Grundlage für die Bearbeitung der orientalischen Literatur der Jugoslawen. Aus seiner Arbeit ging auch Mehmed Handžić im *Književni rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana* (Die literarische Tätigkeit der bosnisch-herzegowiner Musulmane), Sarajevo 1933 sowie in weiteren Beiträgen hervor.

In selbständigen Artikeln veröffentlichte Smail Balić vor kurzer Zeit kurze Übersichten über in orientalischen Sprachen schreibenden südslawischen Autoren (*Der südslawische Anteil an der Prosaliteratur der Osmanen*. In: Österreichische Osthefte, 8, 1966, S. 469—477, und *Der südslawische Anteil an der Dichtung der Osmanen (Dichter aus Bosnien)*. In: Österreichische Osthefte, 9, 1967, S. 162—171). Mit dieser Problematik befasste er sich auch in seinen grösseren Arbeiten über die bosnische Kultur (*Cultural Achievements of Bosnian and Hercegovinian Muslims*. Croatia. Land, People, Culture 2. Toronto and Buffalo, Toronto UP 1970, S. 299 bis 361 und *Kultura Bošnjaka. Muslimanska komponenta*. (Die Kultur der Bosnier. Die muslimische Komponente.) Wien 1973). Eine kritische Übersicht über das Schaffen der jugoslawischen Musulmanen samt einer Bibliographie veröffentlichte A. Popović (*La littérature ottomane des musulmans yougoslaves. Essai de bibliographie raisonnée*. In: Journal Asiatique, 259, 1971, S. 309—376).

Die erwähnte Übersicht über das Schaffen der Angehörigen der jugoslawischen Völker zeigt, dass diese Problematik keineswegs ein Novum in der Fachliteratur darstellt. Es muss jedoch bemerkt werden, dass eine Grundlage aller bisheriger Arbeiten von Hammers Werk war, welches um weitere Angaben aus den Biographien der Dichter und Wissenschaftler, aus der neuen Fachliteratur, usw. bereichert wurde. Hazim Šabanović wollte die beschränkte Quellengrundlage der bisherigen Werke durch das Studium von Handschriften jugoslawischer Autoren überwinden und deren objektive wissenschaftliche Bewertung geben. Da das Werk über die Musulmanen neben anderen Arbeitsverpflichtungen und Interessen des Verfassers entstand (Herausgabe von Quellen und deren Übersetzungen, Studien aus der Geschichte jugoslawischer Völker in der osmanischen Zeit), blieb es hinsichtlich des frühzeitigen Todes Hazim Šabanovićs (1971) unvollendet.

Ahmed S. Aličić hat die Arbeit aus Šabanovičs Nachlass redigiert und für den Druck vorbereitet. In der einleitenden Anmerkung erklärt der Herausgeber den Zustand, in welchem sich das Werk zur Zeit von Šabanovičs Tod befand und seinen eigenen Redaktionsvorgang. Man kann nicht sagen, dass dieser Vorgang des Redakteurs in irgendeiner Weise schöpferisch gewesen war. Wie er selbst sagt, unternahm er aus Pietät zum Autor so wenige Eingriffe in den Text wie nur möglich, obwohl sich viele Gedanken und Angaben öfters wiederholen, während andererseits bei den Angaben von Quellen und Literatur leere Stellen blieben. Hier fiel am häufigsten die Seitenangabe und oft auch der Titel des Werkes weg. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass es schwer ist bei Handschriften, die sich nicht auf jugoslawischen Boden befinden, diese Arbeit vom Redakteur zu verlangen, in vielen Fällen geht es jedoch um leicht erreichbare Fachbücher, Artikel, bzw. Kataloge von Handschriften. Ebenfalls mit der Transkription von Namen und Benennungen kann man nicht eindeutig zufrieden sein: z. B. *‘Ösmān*, *‘ösmānlī*, ja sogar beim Zitieren von Uzunçarşılı's Werk *Osmanlı Tarihi*! das Missachten des türkischen Phonems *ı*, usw.

Die Einleitung (S. 13–26), die von Ahmed S. Aličić verfasst wurde, informiert über die Folgen der Islamisierung Bosniens aus das Leben und die Kultur der Bevölkerung und über den Anteil der jugoslawischen Musulmanen am politischen und kulturellen Leben des Osmanischen Reiches. Der zweite Teil der Einleitung ist eine Übersicht der bisherigen Forschung der literarischen Tätigkeit der jugoslawischen Musulmanen bis zum Ende des 2. Weltkrieges. Die Arbeiten über diese Problematik, die nach 1945 entstanden sind, erwähnt Aličić nicht.

Der Teil Quellen und Literatur (S. 29–36) enthält lediglich die *Tezkerre*, Biographien der Wissenschaftler und der Derwisch-Scheiche, und dann Handschriften-Kataloge. Die in der Arbeit benützte Literatur ist überhaupt nicht angeführt, nicht einmal Mehmed Süreyya, Mehmed Tahir und Katip Çelebi, die von Šabanović am häufigsten zitiert werden.

Was das eigentliche Werk betrifft, ist es aus zwei Teilen zusammengestellt. Nach dem Inhaltsverzeichnis, das bei der letzten Version von Šabanovičs Handschrift erhalten blieb, reihte Ahmed S. Aličić zuerst 164 Autoren von unterschiedlichem Niveau der Bearbeitung in eine chronologische Reihenfolge ein (S. 39–624). Dann folgen 77 alphabetisch eingereihte Autoren, meist nur mit einem kurzen Hinweis auf das Leben oder die Herkunft des Autors, oder mit Angabe der Quelle, in der die Autoren erwähnt werden. Diesen Teil bezeichnete der Zusammensteller als Autoren, die nicht bearbeitet sind (S. 625–716).

Es ist nicht leicht ein Werk, das der Autor nicht vollendete, zu beurteilen. Man kann Šabanović das Streben nach einer bestmöglichen Bearbeitung der gegebenen Problematik nicht absprechen, es gelang ihm jedoch lediglich einige der Autoren auf wünschenswertem Niveau zu bearbeiten, z. B. Hasan Kâfî, teilweise auch Ibrahim Pečević, Mehmed Allamek, Mehmed Nergisî, Hüseyin Bosnevî

und andere. Von den grossen Gestalten fehlen jedoch Nasuh Matrakçı und Sabit, aber über diese Autoren gibt es eine ausreichende Anzahl von Angaben in der Fachliteratur. Bei vielen Autoren gibt Šabanović lediglich die Erkenntnisse älterer Forscher wieder. Ein unabstreitbarer Beitrag des Werkes ist das Zusammenfassen von Angaben über Handschriften bosnischer Autoren in den Bibliotheken zu Istanbul.

Im zweiten Teil des Buches, unter den sog. nicht bearbeiteten Autoren sind Angaben lediglich über Autoren versammelt (z. B. Ömer Efendi Novali). Meist handelt es sich um bruchstückartiges Material.

Man kann nicht unerwähnt lassen, dass im Buch eine grosse Anzahl von Druckfehlern vorkommt, und zwar nicht nur in den Fremdsprachen, sondern auch im Serbokroatischen.

Wenn Šabanović auch sein Werk nicht vollendete, gelang es ihm die bislang grösste Anzahl von biographischen und bibliographischen Daten über die Literatur der jugoslawischen Musulmanen in orientalischen Sprachen zu versammeln. Die Form jedoch, in der der Redakteur Ahmed S. Aličić dieses Werk zugänglich machte, erscheint jedoch als nicht angebracht. Der Arbeit würden zweifelsohne gute Indizes nützen: ein Index der Autoren, der Werke und der geographischer Namen, denn in dem gegebenen Zustand ist das Werk beinahe unbrauchbar. Raum hätte durch eine rationellere technische Bearbeitung des Werkes gewonnen werden können.

Vojtech Kopčan

*Cronici turcești privind Țările Române. Extrase I. Sec. XVII—începutul sec. XVIII.* Volume întocmit de Mihail Guboglu (Türkische Chroniken die rumänischen Länder betreffend. Auszüge I. XVII. — Beginn des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Der Band ist von Mihail Guboglu zusammengestellt). București, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România 1974. 539 S.

Die Bedeutung osmanischer Quellen für die rumänische Geschichte des 15.—19. Jahrhunderts steht ausser jeden Zweifel und die rumänischen Historiker sind sich dieser Tatsache seit langem bewusst. Der Initiative der Mitarbeiter des Historischen Instituts und des Instituts für südosteuropäische Studien (Institutul de studii sudest europene) der Rumänischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Folge leistend haben sie sich entschlossen Auszüge aus den osmanischen Narrationsquellen zur Geschichte der rumänischen Länder zu veröffentlichen. Der Umfang dieser Übersetzungen wurde in drei Bände geteilt. Unter der Redaktion von M. Guboglu und M. Mehmed erschien im Jahre 1966 der 1. Band dieser Übersetzungen, der die

Zeitspanne vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts in sich einschloss. In diesen Band wurden Übersetzungen von 24 osmanischen Chroniken eingereiht, darunter z. B.: *Behcet üt-tevarih* (Şükrullah), *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* (Uruc), *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth* (Tursun Bey), *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* (Aşıkpaşazade), *Cihannümâ* (Neşrî), *Heşt bihişt* (İdris Bitlisi), die Anonymen *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* (İbn Kemal), *Fetihname-i Kara Boğdan* (Nasuh Matrakçı), *Tac'üt-tevarih* (Saadeddin), *Künh'ül-ahbar* (Mustafa Ali), *Tarih-i Selanikî*, *Nühbet ül-tevarih* (Mehmed ben Mehmed), *Tarih-i Pecevi*.

Die Herausgeber entschlossen sich für eine einheitliche Konzeption der ganzen Edition. Die Übersetzungen aus den Werken einzelner Autoren werden von einer kurzen Charakteristik des Autors eingeleitet. Darin finden wir den Lebenslauf des Autors, eine kurze Inhaltsangabe des Werkes, dessen Ausgaben bzw. Übersetzungen und die Beziehung zur rumänischen Geschichte. Die Seitenangabe des türkischen Textes befindet sich am Rande der Übersetzung. Unserer Ansicht nach wurde die Frage der Erläuterung und des Kommentierens des Textes nicht am besten gelöst, da in der Übersetzung lediglich die islamischen Daten auf die christliche Zeitrechnung transponiert wurden, nicht immer wird eine nähere Charakterisierung der in der Anmerkung angeführten Person gegeben (bei den Herrschern ist es gewöhnlich nur die Regierungszeit), auch ist die Auslegung bei den geographischen Namen nicht einheitlich und bei allen Lokalitäten ist der gegenwärtige Name nicht angeführt.

Der zweite Teil der *Cronici turceşti* ist ebenfalls in der obenangeführten Weise zusammengestellt. Er führt die Übersetzungen folgender Werke an: *Fezleke-i tarih*, *Takvîm üt-tevarih*, *Cihannümâ*, *İrşad ul-hayara* von Kâtip Çelebi, *Tarih-i Solakzade*, *Tarih* von Hasan Vecihi, *Tarih-i Gülmanı* vom Mehmed Halife, *Kamenice Seferine Dair Tarihe* von Hacı Ali, *Sahaif ul-ahbar* von Müneccimbaşı, *Silahdar Tarihi* und *Nusretname* von Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa Silahdar.

In der Einleitung zu den Übersetzungen ergänzt und konkretisiert M. Guboglu einige Fragen, die er in der Einleitung zum 1. Band nur berührte. Selbstverständlich betrachtet der Herausgeber auch hier die osmanischen Chroniken, vor allem als Quellen zur rumänischen Geschichte und begründet die Einreihung der obenerwähnten Chroniken. Guboglu beantwortet ebenfalls die Einwände der Rezensenten zum ersten Band und führt an, dass die Register und ein Wörterbuch der türkischen Ausdrücke (der Termini) als Ergänzung zum dritten Band erscheinen wird.

Da die Einleitung eine Ergänzung der Informationen über die osmanische Geschichtsschreibung zum Ziel hatte, gestatten wir uns einige Anmerkungen hinzuzufügen.

Die „Neuausgabe“ der *Tarih-i Selaniki* ist ein unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe Istanbul 1864 und erschien in Freiburg im Breisgau, K. Schwarz Verlag 1970, und nicht in Breslau (heute Wrocław).

Das Werk Hasan Kâfi Akhisarîs wurde ausser ins Französische auch ins Ungarische (I. Karácson), ins Deutsche (L. von Thallóczy aus Karácsons ungarischer

Übersetzung) und ins Serbokroatische (Bašagić) übersetzt. Die neueste Wertung Hasan Kâfis mit einer ausführlichen Biographie und Bewertung seines Werkes siehe H. Šabanović, *Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*. Sarajevo 1973, S. 153—192.

Einen neuen Weg zur Bewertung des Werkes Koçi Beys beschreitet K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*. Berlin—New York 1973, S. 84—96.

Was die *şahnameci* als Hofdichter betrifft, reicht diese Tradition bis in die Zeit Mehmed II. zurück. Siehe J. H. Kramers, *Historiography among the Osmanli Turks*. In: *Analecta orientalia* I. Leiden 1954, S. 16, und H. İnalcık, *The Rise of Ottoman Historiography*. In: *Historian of the Middle East*. Ed. by B. Lewis and P. M. Holt. London 1962, S. 163.

Eine neue ausführliche Biographie İbrahim Peçevîs und die Wertung seiner Geschichte bringt H. Šabanović, op. cit., S. 290—316.

Das Problem des Entstehens der Institution der *vak'anüvis* scheint nicht definitiv gelöst zu sein. Guboglu hält Abdürrahman Abdi Paşa für den ersten *vak'anüvis*, was mehr als problematisch ist. Die Auslegung, die L. V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*. Ed. by N. Itzkowitz. New York 1972, S. 36—42, bringt, scheint zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt die annehmbarste zu sein.

Die Angabe, dass im 17. Jahrhundert drei, unter dem Namen Mehmed Halife bekannte Geschichtsschreiber existierten, entstammt Babingers Werk *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*. Wie die jüngsten Nachforschungen bewiesen haben, geht es im Falle Mehmed Halife II. und Mehmed Halife III. um zwei verschiedene Redaktionen des Werkes *Tarih-i Gulmanı*. Siehe B. Kütükoğlu: „*Tarih-i Gulmânî*“ ’nin ilk redaksiyonuna dâir. In: *Tarih Dergisi*, 27, März 1973, S. 21—40.

Was die Quellen *Silahdar Tarihi* betrifft, kann man feststellen, dass von Fındıklı Mehmed Ağa für den Zeitraum 1663—1669 vor allem das *Cevahir üt-tevarih* genannte Werk Hasan Ağas benützt wurde, der der mühürdar des Grosswesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha gewesen war, siehe V. Kopčan: *Eine Quelle der Geschichte Silâhdars*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, 9, 1973. Bratislava 1974, S. 129—139.

Da es uns unsere Kenntnisse des Rumänischen nicht gestatten die Übersetzung zu beurteilen, richten wir im weiteren unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Konkretisierung der geographischen Namen und andere Ergänzungen.

S. 32, Fussnote 26 — Pesprim (Vesprim) — heute Veszprém, Ungarn. Agram ist der deutsche Name der Hauptstadt Kroatiens Zagreb.

S. 49, türk. Vağ — ung. Vác nicht Vacs.

S. 56, Fussnote 173 „Ujvár (Ungaria)“ — heute Nové Zámky, Slowakei (deutsch Neuhäusel).

S. 59, „Geyerdilem“ — richtig Ciğerdelen Parkı — heute Štúrovo, Slowakei.

S. 59, Semlin — heute Zemun, Jugoslawien.

- S. 65, Fussnote 229 Resan — es geht um das Städtchen Risan bei Hercegnovi.  
Fussnote 230 Castelnuovo — heute Hercegnovi, Jugoslawien.  
Fussnote 233 Pojon — ung. Pozsony — heute Bratislava, Slowakei.
- S. 66, Fussnote 235 Erdemidi? — es geht um Pál Örvendi.
- S. 90, Fussnote 397 — „Kikureş — fegyveres(?), unitate de cavaleria austriacă“ sagt Guboglu. I. Karácson entzifferte dieses Wort richtig (siehe Török történetírók III. Budapest 1916, S. 337) mit ungarischen Bedeutung Waffenträger, Bewaffneter, keinesfalls jedoch eine „Einheit der österreichischen Kavallerie“!
- S. 92, Fussnote 406 — Jinte — richtig Jitve ist der Fluss Žitava, der gemeinsam mit den Flüssen Nitra, Váh (Waag) und der Kleinen Donau Szöny gegenüber in die Donau münden. Die Auslegung „Zenta, localitate pe Tisa, în Ungaria“ ist unrichtig.
- S. 98, Fussnote 451 — Ak Yayla nannten die Osmanen Biele Karpáty (Gebirge in der Slowakei).
- S. 98, Fussnote 455 — Ser-Peice — es geht wahrscheinlich um das Städtchen Szerencs, Ungarn.
- S. 100, Fussnote 465 Rima Simbot — heute Rimavská Sobota, Slowakei und nicht Szombathely.  
Fussnote 466 Sican oder Sičan — heute Szécsény, Ungarn.  
Fussnote 467 Kermat — Gyarmat — heute Balassagyarmat, Ungarn.  
Fussnote 468 Lova — richtig Leva — heute Levice, Slowakei.  
Fussnote 469 „Nora — recte Nova, vezi și la Karacson op. cit. 387 nota 3“. Guboglu begriff hier nicht die Auslegung Karácson, der sagt, dass Nova (im Druck irrtümlich Nora!) wahrscheinlich von der Abkürzung des Stadtnamens Tirnova(!) d. h. Trnava, Slowakei, stammt.  
Was die lokalität Sependik (S. 100 ohne Anmerkung) betrifft, die nicht einmal von Karácson identifiziert wurde, ist dem Text zufolge eine Entstellung des ungarischen Namens Szent Benedek, heute Hronský Beňadik, Slowakei.
- S. 101, Fussnote 477 Zara — heute Zadar, Jugoslawien.  
Fussnote 478 Karafa — wahrscheinlich Korfu?
- S. 102, Fussnote 482 — Sari Kamaş — es geht um die Sitch von Saporog, die jedoch nicht „în apropiere de Don“, sondern des Dnepr war.
- S. 147, Fussnote 138 Tumar Bal — richtig Tomory Pál und nicht Tomar Pal.
- S. 152, Fussnote 182 zur *balyemez* aus der deutschen Faule Metze, siehe: H. J. Kissling, *Balyemez*. In: ZDMG, 101, 1951, S. 333—340.
- S. 157, Halkalı Bunar — heute Slivnica, Bulgarien.
- S. 172, Fussnote 22 Gustav Adolf(?) — richtig Karl X. Gustav.
- S. 186, Fussnote 71 Bekian — Batthány.
- S. 201, Fussnote 61 — es geht um 20. zilhicce 1073 h. — also 26. Juli 1663 und nicht 6. Oktober 1659.  
Fussnote 62 — Novgrad — türkisch Novigrad war Sitz des Sandschak (1544—1594 und 1663—1683), heute Nógrád, Ungarn. Auf keinen Fall kann es sich um Belgrad: Alba Iulia handeln!  
Fussnote 63 Ujvár — heute Nové Zámky, Slowakei.  
Fussnote 64 es geht um 5. muharrem 1074 (und nicht 1075) — also 28. August 1663.
- S. 237 Fülek — heute Filakovo, Slowakei.
- S. 237, Fussnote 32 Süğan — Szécsény, Ungarn.  
Fussnote 34 Puhan — Graf Puchaim.  
Fussnote 35 Pojon — Bratislava, Slowakei.  
Fussnote 35—38 es geht um die Familien Zrínyi, Batthány, und Nadasdy.
- S. 243, Fussnote 88 Zemun ist richtig, und nicht Zemlin!
- S. 263, Polata (Bulata) — heute Palota, Ungarn.

- S. 275, Fussnote 328 — Joj — ist Louis Rattuit de Souchès, kaiserlicher General, den die ungarischen Quellen oft Zsuzsa nennen woraus auch das türkische Juja, Juje entstandt.
- S. 319, Ğivan de Goes — Johann von Goess, kaiserlicher Gesandter, der mit der Porta über den Frieden in den Jahren 1662—1663 verhandelte.
- S. 325, Fussnote 140 — es geht um die Komitaten Nitra, Bars (Tekov), Hont und Novigrad (Nógrád).
- S. 330, Fussnote 149 — siehe unsere Notiz zur S. 275 F. 328.  
Fussnote 150 — Comran — heute Komárno, Slowakei.
- S. 359, Bakořta (Yakořta) — heute Pákozd, Ungarn.

Wir haben nur einige Beispiele angeführt, die beweisen, dass das Werk eine grössere Sorgfalt bei der Bearbeitung von Anmerkungen verdient hätte. Die Übersetzung bereichert die Quellenbasis der rumänischen Historiker, die sich mit dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert befassen ohne der türkischen Sprache mächtig zu sein.

Vojtech Kopčan

*Österreich und die Türken. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 1969 in Mogersdorf.* Band 1. Hrsg. vom Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, Landesarchiv. Eisenstadt, Im Selbstverlag des Amtes der Burgenländischen Landesregierung 1972. 211 S.

Der rezensierte Sammelband bringt Referate aus dem internationalen kulturhistorischen Symposium, das im Jahre 1969 unter der Schirmherrschaft der Burgenländischen Regierung und der Teilnahme von Wissenschaftlern Österreichs, Ungarns, Jugoslawiens und der BRD, in Mogersdorf stattfand. Das Symposium war dem Thema *Österreich und die Türken* gewidmet, zu welchem 18 Referate aus der Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, der osmanischen Oberherrschaft in Südost- und Mitteleuropa, der österreichisch-türkischen Beziehungen, aus der Geschichte Burgenlands, sowie der Kunstgeschichte, der Geschichte der Wissenschaft und des Kriegswesens vorgetragen wurden.

Auf den Verlauf des Symposiums und dessen Ziele wies im einleitenden Artikel F. Gall, *Das Kulturhistorische Symposium Mogersdorf 1969* (S. 7—11) hin. Ausser anderem stellt er fest, dass ab 1971 alljährlich ähnliche Symposien abwechselnd in Österreich, Ungarn und in Jugoslawien unter dem Namen Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf stattfinden werden. Der eigentliche Eröffnungsvortrag zum Generalthema des Symposiums wurde von Professor H. Wagner, *Österreich und die Türken* (S. 13—27) vorgetragen. Es ist dies ein breitangelegter Überblick der Beziehungen Österreichs zu den türkischen Völkern mit den Hunnen beginnend bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein, mit dem Hauptakzent auf die habsburgisch-

osmanischen Beziehungen. Wagner hält den türkischen Faktor für die Entstehung der Monarchie für dominant und sehr stark auch in den weiteren Jahrhunderten ihrer Existenz.

Eine Übersicht der Entwicklung des heutigen Burgenlands seit der Karolingerzeit bis zum Anschluss des Gebietes zu Österreich im Jahre 1921 bringt A. Ernst, *Zur Geschichte Burgenlands* (S. 29—45). Der Beitrag ist interessant für die ausländischen Teilnehmer des Symposions, bzw. die Leser, da er ausser der politischen Geschichte dieses Gebietes auch einen kurzen Überblick über dessen kulturelle und religiöse Entwicklung bringt.

Die ungarische Seite wurde beim Symposion von G. Perjés, *Ungarn und die Türken* (S. 47—58) vertreten, der über die jüngsten Ergebnisse der ungarischen Forschung aus der Geschichte des Kriegswesens berichtete. Er wendete sich drei Problemen zu: Dem Zusammenhang zwischen Logistik und Strategie und der Frage des Aktionsradius in den Türkenkriegen, der Wirkung der Grenzverteidigung auf das ungarische Kriegswesen und Zrínyi und dem Feldzug von 1664. Perjés führt an, dass angesichts der Probleme mit der Versorgung der Aktionsradius der osmanischen Armee weder bis Wien, noch bis Ofen (Buda) reichte, die strategisch günstigste Grenze für die osmanische Armee lag vielmehr an der Drau und an der Save. Andererseits reichte jedoch auch der Aktionsradius des habsburgischen Heeres nicht immer bis Ofen. Die Lage änderte sich erst am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts, als es der kaiserlichen Armee in vier Feldzügen das zu erreichen gelang, was sie in den 150 Jahren Türkenkriege nicht zu erreichen vermochte. Im weiteren Teil seines Berichtes analysiert G. Perjés den Einfluss der Grenzverteidigung gegen die Türken auf das Entstehen der ungarischen leichten Kavallerie — der Husaren und der leichten Infanterie — der Heiducken. Schliesslich bewertet Perjés die militärischen Pläne von M. Zrínyi im Jahre 1664 — vor allem den Feldzug gegen Osijek (Esseg) und die Belagerung von Kanizsa. Wäre Zrínyis wohldurchdachter Plan gelungen — so Perjés — würden die osmanischen Armeen in eine sehr schwierige Situation versetzt worden: entweder wären sie dem von Montecuccoli belagerten Esztergom zu Hilfe gezogen, oder aber Kanizsa, was beides gleichzeitig nicht gut möglich war. Zrínyis Pläne wurden jedoch nicht in die Tat umgesetzt, woran der Hofkriegsrat in Wien den Grossteil der Schuld trägt.

Die Angriffe der Türken und deren Auswirkungen auf die drei innerösterreichischen Länder — die Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain — verfolgt F. Posch in seinem Vortrag *Innerösterreich und die Türken* (S. 59—73). Der Autor weist auf die einzelnen Angriffe der türkischen Armee auf diese Länder und auf die Organisation der antitürkischen Verteidigung hin — besonders auf die Militärgrenze, die von den innerösterreichischen Ländern verwaltet und finanziert wurde.

Der letzte militärische Aufschwung der Osmanen in Europa, der dem Reich Gebietsgewinne in Siebenbürgen und Ungarn, die Eroberung von Kreta und Erfolge in Podolien eingetragen hat, ist mit den Grosswesiren der Familie Köprülü ver-



bunden, hauptsächlich mit Mehmed Pascha und seinem Sohn Fazıl Ahmed Pascha. Mit diesen Fragen befasste sich in seinem Vortrag *Die Köprülü-Restauration* (S. 75—83) H. J. Kissling. Der Vortrag verrät eine grosse Erudition und Übersicht des Autors.

Den türkisch-österreichischen Beziehungen auf dem Gebiet der Wissenschaft widmet sich F. Gall, *Türkisch-österreichische Beziehungen in der Geschichte der Wissenschaft* (S. 85—93). Im Bericht geht es eher um einen Überblick der Kenntnisse über das Osmanische Reich in Österreich, über das Studium orientalischer Sprachen und später um die Hilfeleistung der österreichischen Spezialisten dem Osmanischen Reich.

Die Vorträge von J. Žontar, *Die Südslawen und die Türken* (S. 95—108), und von J. Koropec, *Die christlichen Kirchen der Jugoslawen unter der Türkenherrschaft* (S. 145—155) repräsentierten die jugoslawischen Teilnehmer des Symposions. Trotz des Umfangs beider Themen sind die Berichte hoch informativ, obgleich sie weder neues Material, noch neue Gesichtspunkte bringen.

Zwei Berichte von W. Hummelberger, *Die Janitscharen* (S. 109—120) und *Die Bewaffnung der Türken (Dargestellt am Beispiel der Türkenbeute im Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien)*, (S. 127—131) befassen sich mit den kriegsgeschichtlichen Aspekten der osmanischen Armee. Leider kennt der Autor die neuere Literatur über die Janitscharen, z. B. Uzuncarşılı, Palmer, Weismann und die Diskussion um die *Devşirme*, an der Vryonis und Ménage teilgenommen hatten, sowie die Arbeit von B. Papoulia nicht. Auch im Artikel über türkische Waffen kommen sachliche Fehler vor, z. B. S. 129 das zweiklingige Schwert Zülfikar war nicht Muhammads, sondern Alis Schwert.

Weitere kleine Beiträge betreffen die Problematik der Ansiedlung Burgenlands (E. Kranzmayer, *Die burgenländische Siedlungsnamengebung innerhalb des Rahmens der Zweisprachländer im Lichte der strengen Gruppenforschung*, S. 121—126), die türkischen Einflüsse auf die Bewaffnung und Ausrüstung der österreichischen, bzw. der ungarischen Armee (F. Gall, *Der türkische Einfluss auf das äussere Bild der kaiserlichen Armee*, S. 133—135) und die Beziehung Österreich-Ungarns zum Osmanischen Reich während des 1. Weltkrieges (K. Stuhlpfarrer, *Österreich-Ungarn und die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, S. 139—144).

Einen wertvollen Beitrag bildet der Vortrag von H. Prickler, *Verlauf und Folgen der Bocskay-Rebellion im österreichisch-ungarischen Grenzraum* (S. 157—174), der zwar keine neue Einschätzung der Bocskay-Rebellion darstellt, trotzdem aber eine grosse Anzahl wertvollen Materials über die Verwüstungen durch die Bocskayschen Heiducken im Burgenland und in der Steiermark und über deren Folgen vorlegt. Das Referat enthält einen kritischen Apparat und, da es sich um eine wenig bearbeitete Problematik handelt, ist er ein willkommener Beitrag.

Im Artikel *Die Darstellungen der Türkenkriege an der Südgrenze Mitteleuropas* (S. 175—200) bietet G. Cenner-Wilhelmb nicht nur eine Übersicht graphischer oder

malerischer Darstellungen der Türkenkriege an der Südgrenze, ja er bringt auch eine künstlerisch-kritische Bewertung dieser Werke. Dieser Artikel mit seinem kritischen Apparat gehört zu den wertvolleren Beiträgen dieses Sammelbandes. Wir können noch hinzufügen, dass in den Sammlungen des staatlichen Schlosses Betliar sich eine Ölmalerei des flämischen Malers Jan Baptist van der Meyren Die Schlacht bei Osijek 1688 befindet.

Der Sammelband schliesst mit dem Beitrag von R. Neck, *Österreichs Türkenkampf — Versuch einer welthistorischen Ortung* (S. 201—211), der die Bedeutung des Phänomens der Türkenkämpfe für die österreichische Geschichte mit Erfolg zusammenfasst. Die Artikel haben ein ungarisches, serbokroatisches oder slowenisches Resümee.

Vojtech Kopčan

*The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History.* Ed. by Kemal H. Karpat. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 129 pp. Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East, Volume XI.

This is a collection of papers presented at a conference on Ottoman Studies held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, May 6 through 9, 1971 and attended by foremost American and British scholars of Ottoman and world history.

In the *Introduction* (pp. 1—13), the editor Kemal H. Karpat attempted to evaluate the present status of Ottoman studies in the U.S.A. and the world and suggested measures for its development. At the same time he also proposed the principal themes for research in this branch, calling for a deeper co-operation by institutions engaged on a study of Ottoman history, literature and culture. In his critique of Ottoman research in the past, Karpat made a point of some known facts that slowed down and still retard an objective study of Ottoman history and culture. However, in his prospects he speaks of such topics—for instance, of Ottoman policy and European protestantism—as are hardly likely to yield any greater profit now than before, but at the same time he fails adequately to stress the abundant opportunities for research in the field of economic history of the Ottoman empire. This is clearly manifested in the results achieved by investigators from the Balkan countries and Hungary, by Ö. L. Barkan and others in Turkey, but also in the United States of America (e.g. Stanford J. Shaw, T. Halasi-Kun, G. Bayerle and so on).

In our view, the part of the book presenting papers by Ottoman scholars is of more value than that comprising contributions by world historians represented by such an authority as Sir Arnold Toynbee, even though the former are sometimes rather specific within such a broadly-conceived theme.

In his paper entitled *The Ottoman Empire's Place in World History* (pp. 15—27)

A. J. Toynbee essentially gives his characteristic of the Osmanlis as he had outlined it in his book *A Study of History* back in the thirties, with some additional views. When describing the Ottoman government system, Toynbee started, to a large extent, from A. H. Lybyer's ideas (*The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1913), as also observed by the author of the Comment on Toynbee's paper, J. W. Barker. And Toynbee's "novel" view on the fate of the former nations of the Ottoman empire after its fall is also, to say the least, questionable and wholly unacceptable. According to him, the situation of all the ex-Ottoman peoples considerably deteriorated except that of the Turks themselves. Toynbee also looks for a parallel between the fate of the successor States of the Ottoman and the Habsburg empires. With regard to the Byzantine legacy to the Ottoman empire, Toynbee resolves the question by the conception of a united "Christian-orthodox" civilization which survived in some of its forms also within the Ottoman empire.

William H. McNeill's paper *The Ottoman Empire in World History* (pp. 34—47), commented by A. C. Hess, does bring numerous ideas of interest and historical contingencies, unfortunately not grounded on documentary evidence (e.g. the connection between protestantism as a protest against the Habsburg empire in Europe and the creation of the Safavid State in Azerbaijan against the Osmanlis). McNeill's further hypothesis on the consequences of gunpowder weaponry for the historical development in the 15th to 18th centuries appears to us as if the author had transferred the parallelism relating to the significance of nuclear weapons for the present historical development, to firearms in the past. In our view, however, an explication about a gunpowder revolution cannot be taken as a basis for a comparative study of such complex phenomena as took place in those centuries on territories dealt with by McNeill.

Both these considerations would probably have profited from a deeper understanding of Ottoman history which would have kept them on the solid basis of what is known and documented.

A stimulating study is that by H. İnalcık, *The Turkish Impact on the Development of Modern Europe* (pp. 51—58), commented on by C. M. Kortepeter. On a relatively restricted space İnalcık tried and partially succeeded to show in what areas the Ottoman empire exerted an influence on Europe with the principal accent being laid on political and economic events. İnalcık's explanation of the economic organization of the Ottoman empire helps towards a better understanding of what the Ottoman empire contributed to the economic development of Western Europe on the one hand, and on the other, how the economically stronger Europe affected the Ottoman empire.

The significance of the Ottoman empire for Modern Middle East is dealt with in the contribution by Albert Hourani, *The Ottoman Background of the Modern Middle East* (pp. 61—78), in which the author endeavours to give an objective evaluation

of the principal developmental trends of Arab history during the Ottoman domination.

The editor, Kemal H. Karpat included in the book also his outline of the periodization of Ottoman history which he had published earlier in the book *Social Changes and Politics in Turkey* (Leiden, E. J. Brill 1973). Here the article bears the title *The Stages of Ottoman History, A Structural Comparative Approach* and the comments are by C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze (pp. 78—99). Karpat formulates the periodization in these words: "The purpose of this study is to divide Ottoman history into periods, stages, or phases of development and evolution according to the changes in the land system and the social groups which gained dominance in the government and society largely through their control of the land. Thus, this periodization of Ottoman history is based essentially on the organization of the basis of economic resource—the land—and the rise and fall of the elites on the basis of their role in its ownership and operation" (pp. 78—79). Taking these criteria as his starting point, Karpat divides Ottoman history into the following periods: 1. The Frontier Marches: *Uç beyleri* (frontier lords) 1299—1402; 2. The Centralized Quasi-Feudal Stage, 1421—1598; 3. Provincial Autonomy, and the *Ayans*, 1603 to 1789; 4. The stage of National Statehood: The Modern Bureaucracy and Intelligentsia, 1808—1918. To these basic stages Karpat adds also the so-called transitory periods when passage from one period into the next was accompanied by violence or a mass social confusion; these were the years of 1402—1421, 1596—1603 and 1789—1808. Karpat's periodization may be said to derive from a solid knowledge of Ottoman history, is logical and stands on factual foundations.

A paper that fits in well into the collection is that by Charles Issawi, *The Ottoman Empire in the European Economy 1600—1914. Some Observations and Many Questions* (pp. 107—117) which, in addition to several priorities, suitably supplements İnalcık's contribution. Issawi follows up four basic topics, viz. "population, commercial routes, foreign trade and foreign investments".

The closing article of the book is by Stanford J. Shaw, *Ottoman and Turkish Studies in the US* (pp. 118—126). Shaw's paper will be of interest to scholars of Ottoman history outside the U.S.A. for it not only provides an overview of the history of American investigation into Ottoman studies and its contribution to our knowledge on this subject, but also points out the stimuli of this investigation. In conclusion, Shaw makes suggestions and proposals for upgrading and completing the Ottoman studies in the U.S.A.

The book *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History* certainly brings in numerous valuable and novel reflexions on this problem, however, it can in no way be considered as the last word on this truly important and interesting theme of world history.

Vojtech Kopčan

Thomas, Lewis V.: *A Study of Naima*. Ed. by N. Itzkowitz. New York, New York University Press 1972. XI + 163 pp. New York University, Studies in Near Eastern Civilization, No. 4.

Despite the intense development of Ottoman studies during recent years, the investigation of Ottoman historiography and its representatives lags far behind. True, numerous significant results have been achieved as regards our knowledge of the origin and initial development of Ottoman historiography (H. İnalcık, F. R. Unat, V. L. Ménage) and useful monographs have appeared on the various historians (V. L. Ménage's on Neşri, H. Wurm's on Hezarfenn, the works by S. N. Atsız, F. R. Unat and others), but no solidly documented synthetic work has appeared to date on the development, the genre and historical contribution of Ottoman historiography, much less on literary issues concerning historiographic production.

And thus the monograph on the Ottoman historian Mustafa Naima (1665?—1716) from the pen of the late American Ottoman scholar Lewis V. Thomas appears quite unexpectedly. This is certainly a meritorious deed on the part of the editor N. Itzkowitz, and the General Editors of the series Studies in Near Eastern Civilization R. Bayly Winder and R. Ettinghausen are to be congratulated for deciding to publish this doctor's dissertation thesis. Though written almost thirty years ago, it still has much to say to those interested in the work of the historian Mustafa Naima. Except for an effort to render Turkish terms and names into modern Turkish, to reduce the copious notation to manageable proportions, and to add some items of bibliography where it seemed appropriate, the Editor made no interventions into the text.

Thomas' work consists of these parts: Introduction (pp. 1—4), Chapter I: Life (pp. 5—63), Chapter II: Ideas (pp. 65—124), Chapter III: Work (pp. 125—158), Conclusion (pp. 159—160) and Bibliography (pp. 161—163).

It may be observed that Thomas' work is not the first to have drawn on data from the writings of the historian whom it investigates. This method has been successfully used in studies on Ottoman historians by Ahmed Refik who compiled the biographies of Fındıklılı Mehmed Aga Silahdar and Mehmed Halife on the basis of their own data. As a matter of fact, this is often the only possible way, for unless the historian was a poet or an *ulema* or higher dignitary, no data on him will be found in Ottoman biographies.

Thomas has coped with this task in an unusually successful manner. On the basis of Naima's own data and statements in further sources (e.g. the historian Tayyazade Ahmed Ata) he composed a plastic picture of Naima's life, who, as a descendant of an Aleppo janissary family, achieved a fitting career, thanks to his family connections, in the Palace service at Istanbul and later as an official historian. Naturally, Thomas devotes considerable attention to Naima's activity as a professional historian. In part 25 entitled Official Historian (pp. 36—42), the author clearly

defines the meaning of the term *vak'anîvis* (or *vakayinîvis*) in Ottoman historiography and thus solves plausibly the question of the so-called "official" Historians. However, we have certain reservations to his statements in this section, for instance, "... Naima's daybook served Raşid as a source, and perhaps as his main source, for the period it covered" (i.e. from 1702), when we know from other sources that what served Raşid as the principal source for copying the so-called *Edirne vakası* 1703 was Silahdar's Nusretnâme. (See Köprülü, O. F., *Râşid Tarihi'nin kaynaklarından biri; Silahdar'ın Nusretnâmesi*. Belleten, *II*, 1947, No. 43, pp. 473—487.)

Many valuable data on the understanding of history and a historian's role to be found in Chapter II of Thomas' work which is primarily based on two introductions to Naima's work (I. pp. 2—65; Appendix pp. 2—58).

An interesting sidelight is that in Naima also, even though only through the intermediary of Kınahzade Ali Efendi, the influence of Ibn Khaldun's theories on historical development may be observed even before the direct translation of Khaldun's work into Turkish. From among Ottoman historians, the strongest influence on Naima's theoretical considerations was that of Katib Çelebi. Thomas' analysis of Naima's ideas shows how this historian endeavoured through his reflections to contribute to an uplifting of the State during the troubled period of the Ottoman empire. It would seem, and this is borne out by the second part of Thomas' book, that an analysis of the spiritual climate of Ottoman society at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, designed on a wider basis, might yield valuable and interesting results.

An analysis of Naima's work—particularly the manner in which Naima wrote it, its sources and manner of their utilization—is the object of the third chapter. In Naima, Thomas may be said to have struck a lucky subject of investigation, for in contrast to other historians, Naima lists his own works. But in spite of this, Thomas' reflections and the manner of his analysis are a valuable contribution to the method of studying Ottoman historical works.

As to the bibliography at the end of the book, the editor might have inserted also the work by A. H. Çelebi, *Naima. Hayatı, sanatı, eserleri*. İstanbul, Varlık Yayınevi 1953, 138 pp., but should have appended an index.

Thomas' book *A Study of Naima* constitutes an unusual enrichment of the study of Ottoman historiography, and it is a pity that the work was not published at the time it was written—towards the end of the forties; it would certainly have stimulated further study of the Ottoman historians and their works.

Vojtech Kopčan

*Vostočnye istočniki po istorii narodov Jugo-Vostočnoj i Centralnoj Evropy III*. Pod red. A. S. Tveritinovoj. (Orientalische Quellen zur Geschichte der Völker Südostund Mitteleuropas. Unter der Red. von A. S. Tveritina.) Moskau, Nauka 1974. S. 307.

Der dritte Band des Sammelbandes Orientalische Quellen zur Geschichte der Völker Südost- und Mitteleuropas ist den Gedenken von A. Zajaczkowski, den bedeutenden polnischen Turkologen und Iranisten gewidmet. Im Vergleich zu den vorangehenden ist dieser Band verhältnismässig homogen gestaltet. Im Prinzip bringt er lediglich zwei stoffliche Gruppen. Die erste ist den Fragen der Beziehungen der arabischen Welt zu den Slawen, bzw. zu den Chasaren gewidmet, während die zweite Gruppe der Beiträge ausschliesslich den osmanischen Quellen gehört.

In die erste Gruppe gehört die Studie des Numismatikers A. A. Bykov, *Iz istorii deneznogo obraščeniija Chazarii v VIII i IX vv.* (Aus der Geschichte des Geldverkehrs Chasariens im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert) (S. 26—71), in der er auf Grund von einem umfangreichen numismatischen Material (des sog. Schatzes von Dievitza) und weiterer archäologischer Funde Beweise erbringt, dass im chasarischen Kaganat ein selbständiges Münzenwesen existierte, das verschiedene Typen arabischer Dirhame nachahmte. Der zweite Beitrag von V. M. Bejlis, *K ocenke svedenij arabskich avtorov o religii drevnich slavjan i rusov* (Zur Beurteilung der Nachrichten arabischer Autoren über die Religion der alten Slawen und Russen) (S. 72—88) ist eigentlich eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der Methode und dem Beitrag zu dieser Frage wie sie der westdeutsche Autor P. Kawerau im Buch *Arabische Quellen zur Christianisierung Russlands*, Wiesbaden, 1967 darlegt.

Die Gruppe osmanischer Quellen wird vom Beitrag des verstorbenen A. Zajaczkowski, *O stratagemach i vojennych ulovkach po tureckim istočnikam (traktat o vojennom iskusstve Ādāb-i ḥarb)* (Über die Stratagemen und die Kriegsbeuten nach türkischen Quellen (eine Abhandlung über die militärische Kunst Ādāb-i ḥarb)) (S. 9—25) eingeleitet. Der Verfasser wies auf die weite Verbreitung von Abhandlungen über die militärische Kunst unter den Denkmälern der arabischen, persischen und türkischen Literatur und auf die Verwandtschaft derer Terminologie hin. Er charakterisiert die Abhandlung „Die Regel des Krieges und des Heldentums“, die für den in Indien regierenden türkischen Sultan İltutmusch (1210—1236) geschrieben wurde. Er führt den Text und die Übersetzung von zwei Teilen dieser Abhandlung an. Zahlreich sind im Sammelband die Beiträge zur Geschichte der osmanischen Oberherrschaft in Ungarn vertreten. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (*Formirovanie narodonaselenija i sel'skochozjajstvennogo proizvodstva v gorode Tolne v XVI v.*) (Die Gestaltung der Bevölkerungsansiedlung und der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion in der Stadt Tolna im 16. Jahrhundert) (S. 90—101) untersucht auf Grund von Dokumenten der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung die wirtschaftliche Lage und die demographische Entwicklung der Stadt Tolna. Trotz der Tatsache, dass die Stadt ein Sultan-Chass war und daher eine günstigere Position den osmanischen Behörden gegenüber einnahm, als es der Fall bei gewöhnlichen Siedlungen war, kann man nicht sagen, dass die wirtschaftliche und demographische Entwicklung der Stadt so positiv war wie bei den Sultan-Chassen zwischen der Donau und der Theiss— in den Städten Czegléd, Kecskemét und Kőrös. Die Weinproduktion in Tolna z. B. ging

zwischen 1565 und 1576 um die Hälfte zurück, und eine ähnliche Erscheinung ist auch in der Getreideproduktion festzustellen. Der wirtschaftliche Verfall konnte auch auf den Rückgang der Einwohnerzahl nicht ohne Auswirkung bleiben—im Jahr 1557 weist die Stadt 941 Häupter steuerpflichtiger Familien auf, während es der Zählung im Jahr 1590 zufolge nunmehr 576 Häupter gab, was einen Rückgang der Einwohnerzahl um mehr als 1/3 darstellt. Unter dem Titel *Materialy dlja charakteristiki tureckoj sudebno-pravovoj sistemy v Vengrii (1569—1686)* (Materialien zur Charakterisierung des türkischen gerichtsrechtlichen Systems in Ungarn (1569 bis 1686)) (S. 102—149) veröffentlicht K. Hegyi eine umfangreiche Materialienstudie, in der er auf das praktische Funktionieren des Kondominien-Systems im osmanischen Ungarn hinweist. Seine Aufmerksamkeit widmet er dem Gebiet zwischen Donau und Theiss (wobei er jedoch auch die Stellung von z. B. Rimavská Sobota erwägt), wo es weder osmanische Militärgarnisonen, noch eine türkische Kolonisation gab, so dass hier die örtlichen, mit den Komitatsorganen auf kaiserlichem Gebiet in Verbindung stehenden Verwaltungsorgane eine bedeutende Rolle spielten. Zu diesen Fragen bringt er Beweise aus 51 Dokumenten, die von osmanischen und örtlichen Behörden herausgegeben wurden. Wenn auch viele dieser Dokumente bereits herausgegeben wurden, ist eine Gesamtheit einer so grossen Anzahl von Dokumenten zu den Fragen der administrativen und gerichtlichen Verwaltung im besetzten Ungarn doch ein wertvoller Beitrag.

J. Blaškovič, *Dva tureckich dokumenta k istorii Transilvanii* (Zwei türkische Dokumente zur Geschichte von Siebenbürgen) (S. 150—160) veröffentlicht aus dem bekannten Göttingener Kopiar Turc. 29 Fotokopien, Übersetzungen und Transkriptionen zweier türkischer Schriften adressiert an den siebenbürgischen Fürsten Georg Rákóczi I. (aus dem Jahr 1644).

Die bulgarische Historikerin E. Grozdanova publiziert und analysiert im umfangreichen Artikel *Nalog džiz'je s balkanskich zemel' v sisteme dochodov gosudarstvennoj kazny Osmanskoj imperii (po tureckim dokumentam XVII—XVIII vv.)* (Die Steuer dshisje aus den Balkanländern im System der Einkünfte des Staatshaushaltes des Osmanischen Reiches (nach türkischen Dokumenten des 17.—18. Jahrhunderts)) (S. 161—234) bisher unbekannte Archivmaterialien, die die Kopfsteuer — *cizye* in den Balkanländern betreffen. Zuerst analysiert sie die Art auf welche die nicht-moslemische Bevölkerung der Balkanhalbinsel im Verlauf des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts mit der *cizye* belastet wurde und nachher verfolgt sie im Genauen wie der Staatshaushalt die Einkünfte aus dieser Steuer in seinem Budget nützte. Zu den angeführten Fragen veröffentlicht sie 6 osmanische Dokumente.

M. Maxim-Vorniceni (Rumänien) publiziert in seinem Beitrag *Tureckie dokumenty o finansovo-ekonomičeskich objazatelstvach Moldavii i Valachii pered Osmanskoj imperiej vo vtoroj polovine XVI v.* (Türkische Dokumente über die finanziell-ökonomischen Verpflichtungen der Moldau und der Walachei zum Osmanischen Reich in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts) (S. 235—294) 14 türkische Do-



kumente, die sich auf die Steuerverpflichtungen der rumänischen Fürstentümer dem Osmanischen Reich gegenüber beziehen.

Die Herausgeberin der ersten drei Bände der Orientalischen Quellen A. S. Tveritina veröffentlicht auf Grund der in der Staatlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in Leningrad sich befindenden Kopie den Brief Sultan Murads III. an den polnischen König Stefan Báthory samt einer Einleitung und einem Kommentar (*Pis'mo tureckogo sultana Murada III polskomu korolju Stefanu Batoriju* (Der Brief des türkischen Sultans Murad III. an den polnischen König Stefan Báthory) (S. 295 bis 307).

Der Sammelband Orientalische Quellen wurde zu einem anerkannten internationalen Organ der Orientalisten aus den sozialistischen Ländern und wir möchten unsere Überzeugung zum Ausdruck bringen, dass er auch nach dem Tode seiner Herausgeberin erfolgreich fortgesetzt werden wird, was die würdevollste Ehrung ihres Andenkens sein wird.

Vojtech Kopčan

Hospers, J. H. (Ed.): *A Basic Bibliography for the Study of the Semitic Languages*. Vols I—II. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1973—1974. XXV + 401 and XII + 108 pp.

The Basic Bibliography presents material collected by the teaching staff of the Institute for Semitic Studies and Archaeology of the Near East at the State University in Groningen. Originally, the purpose of the collectors was to prepare relevant data for delivering a number of bibliographical lectures to the students of the Institute during the academic year 1967—1968. For purposes of the present publication, the material brought together was supplemented and made up to date.

The first volume includes two parts:

Part A. Languages of the Ancient Near East and their historical relationship (pp. 1—362), is further subdivided into XIV Chapters as follows: I. Akkadian, and II. Sumerian, by W. H. Ph. Römer; III. Anatolian languages, and IV. Hurrian, by Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate; V. VI. Urtian, Elamitic, and VII. Ancient Persian, by L. de Meyer; VIII. Ugaritic, and X. Amarna-Canaanite, by J. P. Lettinga; IX. Phoenician-Punic, by K. R. Veenhof; XI. Hebrew, by J. H. Hospers and C. H. J. de Geus (and others); XII. Syriac and Aramaic, by H. J. W. Drijvers; XIII. Epigraphic South Arabian, by A. J. Drewes, and XIV. Ethiopian languages, by J. H. Hospers (supplementary to W. Leslau's *An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. The Hague, 1965).

Part B. Comparative Semitics, by J. H. Hospers (pp. 363—386).

The first volume further contains List of periodicals, series, collective works and manuals (pp. 387—396) and Additions (to Akkadian, Sumerian and Hebrew (pp. 397—401)).

The second volume contains two parts: Part I: Pre-Classical, Classical and

Modern Literary Arabic, by J. H. Hospers (pp. 1—87), and Part II: Modern Arabic Dialects, by F. Leemhuis (pp. 88—108).

The Bibliography has a didactic-selective character. Despite the subjective factor, necessarily involved in a work of this type, the material included shows a very good balance as regards the relative importance, availability and other criteria governing the selection of the items included. It is quite natural that, from a personal point of view, one may be surprised here and there by certain omissions, such as (in the domain of Arabic studies): H. Birkeland, *Altarabisches Pausalformen*, Oslo 1940; or D. V. Semyonov, *Sintaksis sovremennogo arabskogoazyka*, Moscow—Leningrad 1941, and some others. What appears, however, rather difficult to understand is the omission of one of the very few really utilizable MWA lexicons, that of Kh. K. Baranov, *Arabsko-russkii slovar'*, Moscow 1958 (2nd ed.).

It should be appreciated that the Bibliography does not restrict itself to an exclusively linguistic material, as it might be deduced from the title. Systematic references are made to literature, (cultural) history, archaeology, religion, etc. for each linguistic domain.

When we disregard the concise (and, by now, considerably antiquated) W. S. LaSor's *A Basic Semitic Bibliography (Annotated)*, Wheaton, Ill., 1950, and a number of too narrowly oriented bibliographical devices (such as W. Leslau, *Modern South Arabic Languages. A Bibliography*, New York 1946; J. Cantineau, *La dialectologie arabe*, Orbis, 4, 1955, pp. 149—168, and the like), the present work is the first comprehensive bibliography of a modern design and workable size to cover the general field of Semitology. It will be of invaluable help to the students in any particular field of Semitology and, in some respects, it will be useful even for the scholarly work in these fields.

Ladislav Drozdík

Blachère, R.—Chouémi, M.—Denizeau, C.: *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais (Langue classique et moderne)*. Arabic/French/English Dictionary. Vol. III, fasc. 32—33. Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose 1974. 1963—2090 pp.

The present Dictionary differs from the current Arabic lexicons produced in Europe in several significant points: (1) It is based on the best authorities of Classical Arabic. Lexical material taken from mediaeval Arab lexicographers, which alone constitutes the substantial part of all older lexicons, is quite consistently checked against the usage confirmed by the best Classical authors. (2) Every Arabic root is located in a wider Semitic context in order to trace the main etymological relationships. In view of the fact that no reliable etymological dictionary of Arabic is available so far, the latter feature will greatly help to overcome this gap and, together with such works as D. Cohen's *Dictionnaire*

*des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques* (Paris—La Haye, 1970—), it will constitute a reliable basis for a true etymological dictionary of Arabic. (3) An attempt is made to abstract the basic conceptual meaning from every Arabic root which considerably facilitates the acquisition of the semantic information needed. (4) The Classical material is matched, even if not quite consistently, with the colloquial lexical items, as in *jā'a* (root *j-y-'*) *-hu, bihi, -hā* “to come with s.o., sth., to bring s.o., sth.” (p. 1967) vs. *jāba* (root *j-y-b*) “to bring, to carry, etc.” (p. 1972), etc.

In matching Classical Arabic lexical units with their colloquial counterparts a number of misleading points may be found, notably in the linguistic treatment of some lexicographically relevant inflectional data. The Classical Arabic *jayyār*, for instance, as far as being identifiable with a mass noun (viz. “lime mortar (made of ashes, plaster and quicklime)”), is unpluralizable and so is correctly described (p. 1975). Since the authors are quoting the colloquial usage as well (viz., “lime-burner, lime-merchant”, in the Eastern and Maghribi dialects), the indication of relevant inflectional properties, here number, should have been modified accordingly, e.g., the Takrūna Arabic *žayyār*, plur. *žayyāra* (W. Marçais—A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takrūna*, II. *Glossaire*, vols I—VIII. Paris 1958—1961; see vol. II, p. 706).

The way of presenting nouns which constitute part of the derivational system of the collective nouns (CN) and unit nouns (UN) does not seem to be quite satisfactory, either. First, the question of terminology. The UN *ḥabba*, for instance, is related to the CN *ḥabb* “grain, seed(s) (of a cereal, of a graminaceous plant)” (p. 2004) as a singular (= sing.) to a collective. When taking into account the grammatical status of this type of CN (viz., Demombynes—Blachère’s “collectifs d’espèce”, see *Grammaire de l’arabe classique*, Paris 1952, § 234, b), which should be classified (typically in Classical Arabic, exclusively so in modern colloquial varieties thereof) as masculine singular nouns, the presentation of these cases in terms of a ‘collective-singular’ opposition seems to be definitely inferior to that of CN—UN. Furthermore, particular members of a CN—UN relationship are alternatively quoted in the order CN—UN (e.g., *ḥabb* — *ḥabba*, p. 2004) and in that of UN—CN (e.g., *ḥabaka* — *ḥabak*, “(staked) vine-plant, vine stock”, p. 2044). A uniform way of quotation, preferably in terms of a CN (unmarked) — UN (marked) order, could have been adopted instead.

Of course, these few remarks touch but a rather limited number of insignificant subtleties of formal presentation. What really matters is the innovating design, the over-all reliability and the giant size of this admirable lexicographical device. When completed, it will be one of the largest lexicons of Classical Arabic and perhaps the first Arabic lexicon to provide both inter-Semitic and inter-Arabic lexical relationships at the present high-levelled stage of consistency and precision.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Knutsson, Bengt: *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. LVI + 322 pp.

Knutsson's monograph on the Arabic versions of the Book of Judges is a valuable scholarly contribution to the study of Middle Arabic. It will be presented in two parts. The present first volume covers a wide range of items which may briefly be outlined as follows: Chapter I (The Introduction, pp. 1—11) gives a general statement of the research carried out in the field of the Arabic versions of the Bible. It further presents the scope of the study and the method adopted for the subsequent analysis. Chapter II (The Manuscripts, pp. 12—38) provides a short survey of the whole manuscript material of the Arabic versions of the Book of Judicum and gives a description of the manuscripts analysed in the present treatise. Chapter III (The Language of the MSS, pp. 39—314) constitutes the crucial part of the book. It deals with orthographical, morphological and syntactic features of the language of the manuscripts analysed, and with a number of lexical units (viz., Lexical section, pp. 184—197) which may be considered worthy of scholarly interest for one reason or another. With regard to the material included and the method of description adopted, this chapter may be taken for a true grammar of the Christian Arabic variant of Middle Arabic. It completes in many respects the linguistic material collected by G. Graf (*Der Sprachgebrauch der ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1905), J. Blau (*A Grammar of Christian Arabic Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Text from the First Millennium*, I, II, III, Louvain, 1966—1967), and others.

As the author himself emphasizes (p. 45 ff.), there is a substantial difference between the linguistic report of the present treatise and that of more systematic descriptions of Middle Arabic, such as Blau's monographs on Judaeo-Arabic and Ancient South Palestinian Arabic. While Knutsson's work is primarily based upon a textually very limited material, notably chapters 1, 6, 11, and 21 of the Arabic versions of the Book of Judges, Blau's analysis is based on a large assortment of manuscripts and edited texts which have been examined both extensively and intensively. Blau's texts are, furthermore, by far more homogeneous than those used by Knutsson, with regard to the place and time of their origin. Nevertheless, the evidential value of the textual material examined by Knutsson does not differ too drastically from that peculiar to more homogeneous textual bodies used by some other investigators. For the bulk of manuscripts constituting the Middle Arabic linguistic evidence are not autographs but merely copies of other manuscripts and, accordingly, they are markedly influenced by various undatable and unlocalizable scribal manipulations over centuries.

Knutsson's monograph may serve as an introduction to the study of the whole of problems peculiar to Middle Arabic. The linguistic data collected present an

important step forward in completing the material and theoretical basis for the study of the Christian Arabic variant of Middle Arabic. Since Middle Arabic constitutes the intermediate link between Classical Arabic and Modern Arabic dialects, Knutsson's book will be read with profit by all those interested in the historically oriented dialectology, as well.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Omar, Margaret K.: *The Acquisition of Egyptian Arabic as a Native Language* (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, 160). The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1973. XIX + 205 pp.

Despite the fact that considerable work has been carried out in the field of primary language acquisition, no appreciable attention has been paid to the language learning process outside the linguistic domain of the Indo-European languages. The present monograph is the first investigation into the acquisition of Arabic as a native language. The linguistic variety of Arabic, examined in the monograph, should be identified with a northern-Sa'idi variant of Upper Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, as spoken in the small village of Sheikh Mubārak. The village is located in the district of Abu Qurqās, province Al-Minya, about twenty miles of Al-Minya, the provincial capital. The local speech variety stands somewhere mid-way between Lower Egyptian (representative speech variety: Cairo) and Upper Egyptian (representative speech variety: Assuan) varieties of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. For the sake of convenience, it will be referred to as Egyptian Arabic in what follows. The study of developmental stages in acquiring Egyptian Arabic as a native language is based on the linguistic behaviour of a selected group of 37 children ranging in age from six months to 15 years.

Goals of the study are based on suggestions outlined in the publication Dan I. Slobin (Ed.), *A Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of the Acquisition of Communicative Competence* (Berkeley, 1967). The general goals were to determine the rate and order of linguistic development of the children studied. The specific goals included investigation of the following features:

1. the basic characteristics of the physical and social environment in which the native language was learned;
2. the characteristics and development of early communication and speech;
3. the stages and rate of development of the phonological system;
4. the stages of development of two syntactic transformations, the negative and interrogative transformations;
5. the stages of development of two complex morphological inflections, the plural of nouns, and the gender and plural of adjectives;
6. comparison of findings with those reported in studies of other languages, and

testing hypotheses and generalizations about the acquisition of language by children (pp. 1—2).

The book is divided into seven chapters as follows: 1. Introduction (pp. 1—12); 2. Basic Characteristics of the Physical and Family Environment (pp. 13—22); 3. The Development of Phonology (pp. 23—73); 4. Early Communication and Initial Vocabulary (pp. 74—92); 5. The Development of Syntax (pp. 93—135); 6. The Development of Morphology (pp. 136—186), and 7. Conclusion (pp. 187—198). The book is closed by a list of Bibliography (pp. 199—205).

The data obtained reveal many interesting facts about the process of language acquisition and may serve a solid basis for the description of various stages by which the Egyptian children acquire particular structures of their native language. The order of acquisition proved to be in most respects similar to the acquisition of language structures observed in other languages. The babbling stage began at about six months. In early imitation the phonology of model words was simplified with a simultaneous retention of stressed syllables. Phonology was acquired in stages and the increase in phonemes was more sudden than that observed for middle-class children learning other languages. Vocabulary development proved to be similar to that observed in other languages: most of the words the children began to acquire at about age 1—1.5 were nouns referring to people, foods and various objects in their environment. On the grammatical level, most syntactic features were mastered before morphology. Syntactic development began by advancing from single-word utterances to those composed of two or three words, at about age 2.5—3. Early morphology was characterized by the tendency to use uninflected words and a correlation between frequency of use and age was observed. The first use of inflections began by age 2.5, the age of mastery of these inflections varied. An over-all mastery of the language system was achieved at about age 6 or 7.

M. K. Omar's monograph is a work of importance. It opens an entirely new chapter in the history of Arab studies by inaugurating the study of the primary language acquisition in the linguistic domain of Arabic. Of interest to the Arabists, dialectologists, linguists, educators and research workers in related fields.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Doniach, N. S. (Ed.): *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1972. XII + 1392 pp.

The present dictionary is designed to meet the needs of the native speakers of English who are learning Arabic as well as those of the Arab students of English. This twofold purpose necessarily involves a number of problems resulting from

the wide linguistic and cultural gap between both domains. The socio-cultural stratification of both languages, considerably complicated by the specific problems of what is known as Arabic diglossia, is generating another set of difficulties. It should be said at the very beginning that the authors largely succeeded in finding suitable solutions for most of them.

One of the truly innovating features of the present work is the criterion of 'current usage' applied to the selection of lexical items to be included. Despite the fact that the question of what is 'current' in a language, and quite particularly so in a language like Arabic, involves a great deal of subjectivism and arbitrariness, the procedure of intuitive selection and evaluation, as that adopted by the authors, seems to have led to workable results.

The English-Arabic lexical relationship is mostly presented in terms of translating which is, no doubt, the procedure which best suits the general design of a bilingual dictionary. So we find, e.g., "orientalist" *mustašriq* (846) or "bicycle" *darrāja*; *ʿajala* (colloq.) (118), etc. In a number of cases, however, the Arabic equivalents are obtained by way of definitions, as in "brougham" *ʿaraba yaḡjurruhā ḥiṣān wāḥid* (160), "box-camera" *ʿālat taṣwīr bi-ṣakl ṣundūq* (146), etc. Presenting Arabic equivalents of the English lexical items in terms of definitions is mostly justified, as in the examples quoted above. Nevertheless, in a number of instances, the latter procedure may appear quite superfluous and misleading and, moreover, it overtly opposes one of the basic principles underlying the present approach, notably that postulating the presentation of the Arabic items "at the same level of usage" (p. viii) as that peculiar to the words and phrases of current English. Some examples: "Arabist" *ʿajnabī mutaxaṣṣiṣ fī l-luḡa al-ʿarabiyya wa ʿādābihā* (57), quoted instead of/besides *mustaʿrib* which is nowadays currently used, etc. Even less acceptable seem to be numerous meta-linguistic definitions intermingled with true lexical data, as in "planetary" *kawkabī, nisba ʿilā l-kawākib* (927) (viz., "a relative adjective to *al-kawākib*" which is, in turn, rather misleading because of the twofold derivational relation of the respective *nisba* formations to both singular and plural bases, viz., *kawkabī/kawākibī*, cf., *Wörterbuch des klass. arab. Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1957—, p. 447), etc. In some cases the true lexical equivalents may be totally missing, although readily available in Arabic, as in "vegetable, adj." *nisba ʿilā n-nabāt wal-xuḍrāwāt* (p. 1331), instead of e.g., *nabātī, lin-nabāt, lil-xuḍrāwāt*; etc.

Further, the Arabic definition of the adjectival term "Czech", i.e., *nisba ʿilā bilād tšīkūšufākiyā* (p. 300) rather corresponds to the adjective "Czechoslovak", as that subsequently quoted in the Dictionary. The nominal entry "Czech" *luḡat at-tšīkiyyīn* (ibid.) (lit. "the language of the Czechs") does not seem to be in harmony with the current usage, either: instead of the annexion-type construction, as that quoted in the Dictionary, *luḡa tšīkiyya* is currently used; moreover, the plural *tšīkiyyūn* is almost never used in MWA, being currently supplanted by the collective noun *at-tšīk* "the Czechs".

The way phraseological and idiomatic units are here presented is one of the best ever adopted in the lexicographical treatment of Arabic. The same holds for the typographical procedure adopted which is based on a combination of photo-composition and calligraphy. At the present stage of perfection, it marks an entirely new way in the printing techniques suitable to Oriental languages.

In the present Dictionary the English student of Arabic has received an efficient tool to minimize the discouraging effect of those well-known problems stemming from the constant mingling of 'archaic' and 'modern' layers of the Arabic lexicon. The Arab student of English will use it with benefit, too.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Shebaby, Nabil: *The Propositional Logic of Avicenna. A Translation from al-Shifā': al-Qiyās*. Dordrecht—Boston, D. Reidel Publishing Company 1973. 296 pp.

The presented English translation by Mr. Shebaby of Avicenna's work on the propositional logic undoubtedly means a valuable gain for our knowledge of Mediaeval Muslim thought and logic. This book is the first translation into any European language of the part of Avicenna's encyclopaedia *al-Shifā': al-Qiyās*, which belongs to the Analytics of this major work.

Mr. Shebaby in his introduction and his commentary on the text of *al-Qiyās* underlines Avicenna's new approach to the problems of philosophy and logic. Unlike his predecessors, Avicenna did not only record and explain the standard works of Greek philosophy passively, he already tried to expound various views on the same topics critically and to integrate them at the same time. Thus he, in fact, used a similar method as Aristotle.

*Al-Qiyās* deals with the conditional propositions and syllogisms. Avicenna considers the conditional propositions to be single statement-making sentences in contrast to some modern logicians who regard the conditional proposition "If p, then q" a compound sentence consisting of three propositions. He argues that both components of a conditional proposition are neither true nor false because they are not complete statements. So he can treat the conditional statement unconditionally, i.e. categorically, in terms of quality and quantity. Avicenna distinguishes between two kinds of conditional propositions: a) connective-conditional and b) separative-conditional sentence. Connective propositions ("If..., then...") are divided into two subgroups: 1. the relation of implication — meanings of both components are so connected that whenever the antecedent is true, the consequent must also be true; 2. the chance connection — both the antecedent and the consequent are true without their meanings being connected in any way.

It is interesting to find that it was probably Avicenna who mentioned the concept of logical equivalence — "complete connection" as he put it — for the first time in



the history of logic, though he expressed it in the form of two implications, not in a special functor.

The separative-conditional proposition ("conflict") is the relation in which the antecedent and the consequent cannot be true together. Avicenna names three types of the separative propositions: a) a "complete/real" conflict — if one of the component parts is true and the other false; b) an "incomplete/unreal" conflict — if both parts are false or c) if both parts are true.

It should be pointed out that the analysis of the separative propositions shows the influence of the Peripathetic views on logic. Avicenna stresses that logic is concerned with facts rather than with words.

Avicenna's theory of conditional syllogisms differentiates three kinds of conditional syllogisms. 1. The "conjunctive-conditional" syllogism in which at least one of the premisses must be a conditional proposition. It may also consist of one connective and one predicative premiss. 2. The "exceptive" syllogism consists of a conditional premiss and a predicative one that asserts or denies the antecedent or the consequent of the conditional premiss. 3. The "divided" syllogisms in which one of the premisses is always a separative proposition whose component parts share their subject or predicate, the other premiss is a) a group of predicative propositions which share their subject or predicate or b) which share neither subject nor predicate; further, it may be c) one predicative proposition, d) one connective proposition or e) a separative proposition.

The text of al-Qiyās shows a detailed analysis of conditional propositions and syllogisms and it exerted considerable influence on Mediaeval Arabic and European logic.

The translation also provides a commentary on the text and a full glossary. Mr. Shebaby goes into a detailed discussion of Avicenna's Greek sources, moreover, he tries to bring even some contemporary opinions on the problems discussed. He supplies us with a carefully processed amount of information on the history of Greek and Arabic thinking. We are sure that the scholars and students of philosophy and logic will appreciate this book as both a revealing translation and a well-commented text.

Ján Letaši

Rogerson, J. W.: *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* (Der Mythos in der Interpretation des Alten Testaments). Berlin—New York, Walter de Gruyter 1974. 206 S.

Den wenigen Worten, die in der Einführung (Preface, S. V—VI) die Ziele der rezensierten Arbeit kennzeichnen, ist kaum zu entnehmen, dass uns ein einzigartiges synthetisches Werk vorliegt, dessen Autor ein hervorragender Systematiker mit einer besonderen Gabe für Objektivität ist. Es ist nicht bekannt, wie lange J. W. Rogerson das Studium jener Literatur dauerte, in der vom Mythos im Alten Testament die

Rede ist, oder der Literatur, die ihre Theorie des Mythos auf Grund von Stoffen des Alten Testamentes aufbaut.

In der Einführung des Buches deutete der Autor an, dass er chronologisch vorgehen würde. Diesen Arbeitsvorgang hält er beinahe konsequent bei der kritischen Analyse der wichtigsten Anschauungen über den Mythos im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert ein. Für das 20. Jahrhundert ist es bereits schwieriger gewesen diesen Vorgang einzuhalten, da sich insbesondere in der Zeit nach dem 2. Weltkrieg gleichzeitig mehrere voneinander abweichende und dabei wichtige Konzeptionen des Mythos geformt hatten, deren Einfluss auch in das heutige Denken übergreift.

In den ersten fünf Kapiteln gibt J. W. Rogerson vor allem (wenn auch nicht ausschliesslich) die Ansichten deutscher Gelehrter über den Mythos und die Sage im Alten Testament wider. Er analysiert und bewertet den Beitrag der mythischen Schule (J. G. Eichhorn, J. P. Gabler, G. L. Bauer) und die später darauf erfolgende Reaktion (W. L. M. de Wette, J. F. L. George). Des weiteren analysiert er sehr genau H. Ewalds Definition des Mythos, er erwähnt die Hauptexponenten der sog. komparativen Mythologie (H. Steinthal, I. Goldziher) und macht auf die grosse zeitbedingte Bedeutung der sog. astralen Mythologie (H. Winckler, A. Jeremias, F. Delitsch) auf die Auslegung des Alten Testamentes in der Zeit um die Jahrhundertwende aufmerksam. Das Exposé der deutschen Gelehrten schliesst J. W. Rogerson mit einem kritischen Blick auf Hermann Gunkel ab.

Seit dem Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts haben sich die Zentren der produktiven Forschung des Mythos im allgemeinen und des Mythos im Alten Testament im besonderen von Deutschland in den Westen verlagert. In England ging man daran die wechselseitige Bedingtheit des Mythos und des Ritus hervorzuheben (S. H. Hooke, M. Eliade), in Amerika erreichten eine grosse Bedeutung die Ansichten von H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, Th. Jacobsen, W. A. Irwin und G. E. Wright (insbesondere dessen Monographie: *The Old Testament Against Its Environment*, im Jahre 1950 publiziert). Die amerikanischen Theoretiker übernahmen die Ansichten des Neukantianers Cassirer über den Mythos, zu denen er über das Studium der primitiven Kulturen gelangte. Diese verpflanzen sie in die geistige Welt der alten vorderöstlichen Zivilisationen. Ein Resultat dieses sehr komplizierten methodologischen Vorganges ist es, dass sie im Endergebnis die Existenz des Mythos im Alten Testament verneinen. J. W. Rogerson steht den Ansichten dieser Schule skeptisch gegenüber.

Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg wurden in Frankreich die Studien des strukturalistisch orientierten Lévi-Strauss sehr bekannt. Lévi-Strauss wendet in seiner Theorie die Ansichten des Prager Linguistischen Zirkels (Le Cercle linguistique de Prague), so wie sie später von Roman Jakobson bearbeitet wurden, an. Roman Jakobson gründete seine phonologische Theorie auf dem Prinzip der sog. binären Gegensätze. Das System der binären Gegensätze ist einer der wichtigsten theoretischen Ausgangspunkte, von denen Lévi-Strauss an die primitiven Denkungsformen und an

den Mythos herantritt. Ein anderer bedeutender Beitrag der französischen Wissenschaftler, dem J. W. Rogerson im rezensierten Werk ein eigenes Kapitel widmete, sind die Arbeiten des phänomenologisch orientierten Philosophen P. Ricoeur.

Das letzte Kapitel des Buches widmete J. W. Rogerson der Analyse der Arbeiten deutscher Wissenschaftler nach H. Gunkel (O. Eissfeldt, C. Westermann, W. H. Schmidt, J. Hempel), sowie den jüngsten Untersuchungen in Amerika und England (B. S. Childs, J. L. McKenzie, T. H. Gaster, G. Henton Davies, W. Johnstone).

Die Zusammenfassung (Conclusions, S. 174—189) bildet den Abschluss des rezensierten Buches. In zwölf grundlegenden Punkten summierte darin der Autor alle überwiegende Ansichten über den Mythos, er lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit auf jene, die wenig wahrscheinlich erscheinen, und unterschied die, welche den Ursprung des Mythos in Betracht ziehen von jenen, die die Bedeutung und die Funktion des Mythos zu erklären versuchen. In seine Schlüsse hat er schliesslich auch die Definition des Mythos einbezogen, die er selbst bejaht.

Im rezensierten Buch gelang es J. W. Rogerson klar und übersichtlich die komplizierten theoretischen Ausgangspunkte zu erklären, an die sich verschiedene Wissenschaftler in ihren Überlegungen über den Ursprung, die Natur und die Funktion des Mythos anlehnen. Ähnliche Aufmerksamkeit und Bewunderung verdient auch die objektive und kritische Art, mit der der Autor an das Problem herantrat.

*Ján Pauliny*

Duignan, Peter—Gann, L. H. (Eds): *Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960*. Vol. 5. *A Bibliographical Guide to Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Hoover Institution Publications. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1973. 552 pp.

This is the last volume of the massive five-volume collaborative history of Europe's imperial record in sub-Saharan Africa, projected to provide a comprehensive bibliography and a guide to the sources for the study of colonialism in Africa from about 1870 to 1969.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of European imperialism, its nature and its impact on Africa, belongs to seemingly well established topics in African history that have enjoyed a solid historiography for years. The experienced bibliographers<sup>2</sup> have attempted to provide a bibliographical reference tool for specialists from various disciplines

---

<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing the projected fourth volume on economic effects of colonialism has not yet been published.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Duignan is a co-author of *Guide to Research and Reference Works on Sub-Saharan Africa*. Hoover Institution Bibliographical Series, XLVI. Edited by Peter Duignan; compiled by Helen F. Conover and Peter Duignan. Stanford, Hoover Institution Press 1972. See also Gann, L. H.: *Archives and the study of society*. In: Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, vol. 20, 1956, pp. 48—67.

involved in African studies, thus going well beyond the conventional definitions of history and political sciences. Historical material was naturally stressed but works from many other disciplines, such as anthropology, law, economics, geography, religion, linguistics, ethnography and also subjects as diverse as biology and botany, medicine, natural science and geology have been included. The extent of the topics covered testifies to the incredible mass of literature and the range of material produced during the colonial period. The new presentation of African history which has come into existence in the last ten to fifteen years resulted, however, in a diametrically different assessment and interpretation of the phenomenon, its nature, its place within the wider context of African history, and its impact on African societies together with the complex character of African responses and involvement in the colonial process, i.e. colonialism at its grass-roots, as it was experienced on the ground and as it actually operated in Africa. The present-day trend in African historiography, Africanization of African history has naturally led to a concentrated effort on these topics which resulted in the influx of publications, often involving a complete revision of some of the classics of current Africanist reading. The impressive mass of literature on the subject with its varied aspects, including the African side of the story, thus continues to proliferate.

A reader seeking an exhaustive compilation of all the material available will not find it here and the compilers modestly disclaim any intention to provide one. It can be regarded as a welcome complement to existing bibliographical tools. That is to say, this one-volume survey of the sources for the study of colonialism is not only a guide to works published up to 1969 and to some important contributions printed through 1971 and early in 1972, but also a guide to more specialized guides and bibliographies concerned with particular imperial powers, regions or topics. This last volume provides more than a bibliographical annex to the preceding four volumes of the series *Colonialism in Africa*. Still, as the authors themselves admit, "there was not enough room to include even all the relevant material within our stated terms of reference, and vast areas remain to be covered".<sup>3</sup> The work is deficient on the material produced and available in European socialist countries.

The material included is organized in three parts. Part I provides a Guide to Reference Materials. In its first section the compilers indicate centres, institutions and organizations concerned with African Studies, guides to research on Africa and registers of individual researchers. The following section on Libraries and Archives first lists general reference works and then works for specific regions and countries, i.e. library and archive collections in France, Germany, both Democratic and Federal, Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, Italy, United States. Then Africa follows, after general reference works, those for specific regions are provided, such as West Africa, Equatorial Africa, East Africa, The Horn (Ethiopia), South Central Africa, Southern Africa and Madagascar and the Mascarenes. The last section of Part I

---

<sup>3</sup> See *Colonialism in Africa*, vol. 5, Preface, p. XII.

supplies bibliographies for Africa in general, i.e. bibliographies of bibliographies, current bibliographical sources, retrospective bibliographies, library catalogues, special bibliographies, serial lists, official publications and dissertations, atlases and maps.

Part II is a Subject Guide for Africa in General which provides a guide to carefully chosen important general reference works which the two bibliographers regarded to be of real value to students of Africa, followed by a subject guide to the bibliographic sources and reference works regarding anthropology and linguistics, including maps, demography, economics, education, geography, history, labour, law, literature, medicine and health, natural sciences, politics, religion and missions and sociology.

But it may be Part III, which includes well over half of the entries and comprises an area guide by colonial power, region and colony, which most students should find of the greatest value. First the former British Africa is dealt with in general, then by region and colony, as West Africa, Nigeria, Gold Coast etc., Eastern Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika etc. Then follow French Africa arranged in the same way, Belgian Africa, German, Italian and Portuguese Africa, Spanish Guinea (Equatorial Guinea) and at last Ethiopia. Each basic colonial section usually has four parts, atlases, bibliographies, serials and reference works. The three parts into which this Guide is organized are integrated by a meticulous and comprehensive index. Both Parts II and III should be consulted for some works which could have been categorized by either subject or area. All the 2516 succinct, but never misleading entries are critically annotated. Moreover, the thirty page long introduction surveys colonial research on Africa by individual powers, from first Western scholarly efforts to learn about Africa, up to the growth of African archives and archival research.

As has already been mentioned here, the publication is deficient on the material produced and available in the European socialist countries. Despite the wealth and variety of the Soviet Africanist production, e.g., no mention is made here of *Survey of African Studies in the Soviet Union*, Moscow, Nauka 1969 or the annual *Africa in Soviet Studies* also published by Nauka. Bibliography included in *Survey of African Studies* by S. L. Milyavskaya and T. A. Mitnik, supplement Bibliography of Africa by S. L. Milyavskaya and I. E. Sinitina published in 1964, also mentioned in the reviewed Guide. This can be found under Special Bibliographies, entry No. 280 where three other bibliographies of Soviet publications on Africa are also mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Holdsworth, Mary: *Soviet African Studies, 1918–1959: An annotated bibliography*, Oxford, distributed for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Oxford University Press 1961, and its sequence Central Asian Research Centre, London. *Soviet writing on Africa, 1959–1961: An annotated bibliography*. London, distributed for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Oxford University Press 1963. Also Venyš, Ladislav, et al.: *A select bibliography of Soviet publications on Africa in general and Eastern Africa in particular, 1962–1966*, Syracuse, N. Y., Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University 1968. And Supplement 1, 1967–68. 1968. Supplement 2, 1968–69. 1969.

Some Western works dealing with Soviet views concerning decolonization or theories of modern nation-building in Africa, the process of social stratification and the prospects of socialism are included, but of all the rich recent Soviet production only a study on African Political Parties is mentioned.<sup>5</sup> No mention whatsoever is made of the research conducted or works produced in other socialist countries, such as e.g. successful Czechoslovak two-volume history of Africa,<sup>6</sup> with the exception of East Germany.

Despite these comments this bibliographical guide is a valuable addition to the existing bibliographical tools, it is essential to libraries, but also to individual students of colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa.

Viera Pawliková

Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P.: *Chronology of African History*. London, Oxford University Press 1973. 312 pp.

It is probably impossible to write a history of Africa which would please all one's critics. The same may be true of a chronology of African history. Inevitably the author is at his best in his own area of specialization and the critic spots the flaws in his own field. Professor Freeman-Grenville's area of expertise lies in East Africa. He has conducted detailed research in pre-colonial East African history and is the author of a number of books which serve the practical needs of students and teachers of African history, such as his *East African Coast, Select Documents*. From the first to the earlier nineteenth century;<sup>1</sup> *The Medieval History of the Coast of Tanganyika*, with special reference to recent archaeological discoveries<sup>2</sup> or *The Muslim and Christian Calendars*.<sup>3</sup>

This *Chronology of African History* is also designed to serve a utilitarian purpose. In the author's own words, "to supply the kind of aid to perspective that European and Islamic historians enjoy in their respective spheres. These historical tables display, in a calendrical fashion, the whole course, so far as it is known, of the

---

<sup>5</sup> Cohn, Helen Desfosses: *Soviet policy towards black Africa: The focus of national integration*, New York, Praeger 1972; Morrison, David: *The U.S.S.R. and Africa*, London, Oxford University Press 1964 or Klinghoffer, Arthur Jay: *Soviet perspectives on African socialism*, Rutherford, Farrleigh Dickenson University Press 1969, all include bibliographies of Soviet material. Solodovnikov, V. G.—Letnev, A. B.— Manchka, P.: *Politicheskiye Partii Afriki*, Moscow 1970 was put out in English in 1971 as *Political parties of Africa* (A Soviet Study) by United States Department of Commerce, Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Virginia 1971.

<sup>6</sup> Hrbek, I. (Ed.): *Dějiny Afriky*. Praha, Svoboda 1966.

<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Press 1962.

<sup>2</sup> O.U.P. 1962.

<sup>3</sup> O.U.P. 1963.

principal events and dates in the whole continent of Africa from c. 1000 B.C. until the end of 1971". This work is therefore expected "to provide an instrument that will be of use not only to students and teachers of African history, but also to all those who in different ways find an interest in the African continent and perceive the need to see it whole... to view this corpus in proper perspective and to perceive the sequence of events in both their temporal and spatial aspects".<sup>4</sup>

Thus, as has been stated, this is a sort of pioneering work that attempts to provide a comprehensive chronological reference tool, covering the principal events in African history in the stated, arbitrary selected, temporal confines. Over 12,000 entries are arranged in columns, four at first and six later, so that the events which occurred in the different areas of Africa and elsewhere are synchronized by presentation in parallel columns. By the inclusion of an outline of relevant events from other areas, Western Asia and Europe, without which the history of Egypt, Northern and Eastern Africa is not intelligible, African history is also set in its world context. The divisions adopted in these historical tables, ranging from four to six, are conveyed on a single page or upon a double page facing one another, to produce clarity and ease of reference to the eye of the reader, who thus may quickly perceive something of the range and pattern of prominent events. From ca 1000 B.C. to A.D. 599 only four columns were used, the first one for Egypt, the Sudan and the eastern part of Africa, the second for Northern and Western Africa, the third column contains the most prominent items in the history of Western Asia and the fourth one similar items from the history of Europe. The allocations of columns to a particular area change from period to period as appropriate, due to the progressively increasing knowledge of datable events. From 7th century the first column is used solely for Egypt and the Sudan, the second was allotted to Northern Africa, the third column contains the whole of Africa south of the Sahara and the last one is devoted to "Other Countries". The four column scheme changes into six from 14th century onwards, as the sub-Saharan Africa was sub-divided into three columns: Western, Eastern, Central and Southern Africa. The last change comes for the period from 1800 till 1971. Once again, Northern Africa merges with Egypt and the Sudan into one column, and Central Africa gets separated from Southern Africa.

The coverage of such tabular presentation is, of necessity, uneven. Because of the necessary dictionary precision of entries and our uneven knowledge of datable events in the course of African history, almost half of the material relates to the period after 1800 and over a quarter of the book is given to the twentieth century. In the introduction the compiler briefly touched upon the methodological problems of African chronology and especially those connected with attempts to construct

---

<sup>4</sup> Introduction, pp. IX—X.

early African chronology from oral traditions. There is also a meticulously prepared index.

As the main competence of the compiler lies in the pre-colonial history of the East African coast, for a good many entries he was obliged to rely upon the best secondary authorities available. It is therefore inevitable that minor or major errors may have crept in and any reviewer is likely to spot them in the area of his own expertise. To avoid them would have required a full-scale collaborative effort. Limitation of space prevents reference to more than a few instances from Bugandan history. When the first Arab reached Buganda in 1844, he arrived at Mengo, because Kampala was non-existent at the time. Kabaka Mwanga was surely not deposed on 6 September 1889 but a year earlier. And it was certainly not Lugard who in 1894 partitioned Buganda between Protestants, Catholics and Muslims, for he had left Buganda in 1892. This scheme was introduced by Sir Gerald Portal in 1893 and just confirmed by Colonel Colvile one year later. Sir Apolo Kagga was not Katikiro (this title is often mis-spelt as Katakiro) between 1894—1925, but already from 1889 till 1926, when he was forced to resign (as is once correctly stated in this book for a change). The official title of Kabarega, the ruler of Bunyoro was Omukama, not Mwami. It is a pity that no mention is made of the military campaigns against the renowned resister between 1894—1899.

When this is said, Professor Freeman-Grenville must be thanked for this work of reference, certainly the fruit of many years of hard labour, which is a welcome addition to the number of straightforward reference tools available both to students and teachers of African history. A new revised edition might perhaps correct any minor errors of fact that surely suppress one's confidence, and should also bring it more up to date.

Viera Pawlíková

Kiwanuka, M. S. M. Semakula: *A History of Buganda. From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*. London, Longman Group Limited 1971. 322 pp.

This book by one of the leading authorities in the field is to be welcomed as the first attempt at a detailed and comprehensive study of the history of this East African kingdom, from its foundation around A.D. 1200—1300 to 1900, since the days of Baganda historians of the turn of the century, such as Sir Apolo Kagga, James Miti, B. M. Zimbe and others. The major difference is, however, that Dr Kiwanuka, himself also a Muganda, is a professional historian and has applied his scholarly expertise to pursue the reappraisal of the evidence and its interpretation set in motion by other scholars. As a very competent African scholar and historian with a remarkably wide knowledge of the sources (for it must be remembered that Buganda belongs to the best documented African countries), the author has



certainly achieved a fine synthesis of the evidence gathered from the readily available primary and secondary sources with sources that are not so easily available to other scholars and with the results of his own field studies.

Dr Kiwanuka is to be congratulated on the very impressive body of documentation gathered in his bibliography so far as both primary and secondary sources are concerned, as well as the impressive list of the principal informants consulted during his field researches. The documentation is meticulous and the reader can almost always refer to the relevant source and form his own conclusions. The student of Bugandan history who trusts this book can be sure that little or virtually nothing of the available material has been ignored, and that it has been carefully studied and sensibly assessed.

The author of the book modestly disclaims to provide more than a "sketch, a few outlines and some impressions" of the history of his country, "his own conception of how the main threads of the period cross and intertwine with one another and how the tapestry was composed".<sup>1</sup> His version of events and developments is never implausible, or unduly speculative, even though Dr Kiwanuka is one of those African historians who are convinced that many of the published works on the history of Uganda in general, and Buganda in particular, have been inadequately and, at times, too hastily researched. These studies, mostly from the pen of writers who were not trained historians, but social anthropologists or amateurs — explorers, missionaries or colonial administrators, have created many problems. He feels that the descriptions provided and the prevailing interpretations and assumptions need to be critically checked and seriously re-examined, and Bugandan history needs to be updated with the help of original research and in the light of the new evidence, with reliance on written European accounts reduced to a minimum. Thus the Luganda written sources and the information collected from the author's field studies have become the primary sources on which this work is based.

On the basis of the whole corpus of sources Dr Kiwanuka traces the kingdom's "territorial growth and expansion, the evolution of its organs of government and the triumph and decline of some of the political institutions".<sup>2</sup> No one interested in any aspect of Bugandan political history will find this monograph unrewarding.

The greatest value of the first chapter (out of the ten), *The Sources of Evidence* is that it offers a priceless overview of the sources and a critical assessment of source material, both unwritten and written, Luganda and foreign. Chapter Two provides a geographical background, its impact on the country, and an account of the migrations and settlement of the kingdom. Some of the views embodied

---

<sup>1</sup> Preface, p. III.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

in the following chapters have been expressed elsewhere, such as his critical reappraisal of the discredited Hamitic and Lwoo theories, the problem of state formation and the rise of the so-called complex political organizations in Chapter Three, Buganda and Its Neighbours.<sup>3</sup> Kiwanuka straightforwardly traces the expansion of Buganda, especially between 1600 and 1800 (Chapter Four) and is illuminative when describing (in Chapters Five to Seven) the growth of political institutions, chieftainship and monarchy and the eventual triumph of the former over royal authority (ca 1400—1900), or the triumph and decline of the kingdom between 1750 and 1900 (Chapter Seven).

Most interesting are the sections dealing with the nineteenth century (8 to 10), based on an encyclopaedic knowledge of the sources, which he uses to good effect to provide a thoroughly detailed and factual account of the main trends and developments in this century, which historical research has covered in greatest detail. It is especially true of the third quarter of the nineteenth century dealt with in Chapter Eight, The Brave New World where, however, Kiwanuka also repeats some views expressed elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> and of the “pacification” period which saw the imposition of the British rule. Here he has managed to provide intriguing glimpses of Baganda objectives and attitudes. Also, what is certainly praiseworthy throughout, is that the author has been at pains to put local affairs within the wider East African and imperial context.

He is illuminating and original when he discusses and reassesses certain events and phenomena, such as Lugard’s role and involvement in the Kiganda politics, that had tremendous repercussions on future developments, or similarly, the involvement of the C. M. S. and the White Fathers missionaries in the internal politics of the kingdom and their participation in forming Baganda reactions and attitudes to the incoming colonial powers. Likewise, he is original when discussing the career of Kabaka Mwanga, or the war of independence 1897—1899 where he offers a nationalist interpretation. He is certainly the first Western student of Buganda who, perhaps because of his African origin, has interpreted this phenomenon in the only possible and correct way, as a struggle of those who opposed colonial rule and chose to defend their independence.

The book is moreover equipped with three Appendices. They provide information which has already appeared elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> chronological and genealogical evidence and a comparison of the dynasties and chronologies of Buganda and Bunyoro, and the tables of clan genealogies. Appendix Two lists British administrators during

---

<sup>3</sup> Cf. with Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *The Empire of Bunyoro-Kitara, Myth or Reality?* Makerere History Paper No. 1. Kampala, Longmans of Uganda 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. with Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *Muteesa of Uganda*. In: Uganda’s Famous Men Series. Nairobi—Kampala—Dar es Salaam, East African Literature Bureau 1967.

<sup>5</sup> Kiwanuka, M. S. M. (Ed.): *The Kings of Buganda*. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1971 (In: Historical Texts of Eastern and Central Africa).

the nineteenth century and Appendix Three provides the text of the Uganda Agreement of 1900.

In the present reviewer's opinion, *A History of Buganda* is an impressive achievement from the pen of an African historian, imbued with a due African pride, but it is also in its own merits an important piece of scholarship, and a valuable addition to the incredibly numerous bibliography of various aspects of the history of this African kingdom. It has added to it a new item, but also a new richness.

Viera Pawliková

Wright, Michael: *Buganda in the Heroic Age*. Nairobi—London—New York, Oxford University Press 1971. 244 pp.

*Buganda in the Heroic Age* is not written by a professional historian. Its author was an administrative officer, first in the Lango District and later in the Buganda Kingdom, on the eve of Ugandan independence. His interest in Buganda history was stimulated by meetings and talks with old Baganda patriarchs at which his knowledge of the local language (Luganda) proved invaluable. It is upon the great mass of oral evidence collected between February 1959 and March 1963, when he resigned from the Overseas Service, that this book is based. The author's special knowledge, acquired mostly through the collection of oral evidence, resulted in a broadly interpretative essay on the history of the kingdom of Buganda, covering the reign of Kabaka Mwanga, i.e. from about the last years of Mutesa's reign till the turn of the century. Information gathered through numerous interviews with survivors from this epoch was combined with wide reading of the Entebbe Archives, Luganda historical chronicles, and some secondary material such as Lugard's Diaries.

Mr Wright's attention to detail is remarkable and he evidently tried hard to grasp and explain often obscure details and facts in the history of the epoch, "the teeming events of these years... now just passing below the horizon of living memory in Buganda, and many recollections of a dying generation... unrecorded elsewhere and unknown to its children".<sup>1</sup> There are, however, moments when one feels that sometimes the author has allowed rhetoric to take the place of explanation and often he has taken as given the information collected and has interpreted vernacular and other sources at their face value, though sometimes they need historical exploration. There are many fascinating details in the different chapters that contain in a large measure the fruit of the author's independent research. But the way he tends to interpret the information gathered from such sources unfortunately follows largely the well-worn tracks of the common presentation of the history of

---

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, p. VIII.

Buganda. He is illuminating and original for example when he deals with the careers of the major and minor chiefs of the time, their backgrounds, or when he clears some obscurities in well-known vernacular sources, such as Kaggwa, Zimbe, Miti and others. This is certainly the field where Michael Wright has offered priceless information. The book's shortcomings are probably most marked in the interpretation of certain phenomena and events. To cite but a few examples taken at random. Wright's interpretation of Lugard's career in Buganda, his involvement in the local politics and participation in precipitating the crisis resulting in the battle of January 1892 defies the recent reassessment by Rowe and Kiwanuka.<sup>2</sup> Likewise his survey of rebels, waverers and loyalists is priceless, but his interpretation of the phenomena follows the traditional, well worn out tracks of African resistance to colonial occupation and thus stands for instance, at sharp points with Kiwanuka's nationalist interpretation.<sup>3</sup> It never once occurred to Wright that the rebellion of 1897—1899 might have been for those resisting the occupying power a war of independence and the loyalists in high places could have been also presented as collaborators with all the condemnatory attributes associated with this term, opportunism, moral corruption and political self-seeking.

It is also a pity that there has been no attempt on his part to see the history of Buganda in its broader contours, nor to integrate the history of the kingdom with that of the neighbouring territories with which it has been so intimately interwoven from the earliest times and without which it can hardly be fully comprehended.

For the historian of pre-colonial and early colonial Africa oral sources are no doubt indispensable. All those interested in this epoch of the history of Buganda, and having been unable to conduct a field research on a similar scale, must thank Mr Wright for this gallant attempt to shed light upon some important issues and collect as much oral evidence as possible while old people of the calibre of his informants were still alive. What, however, in the present writer's opinion would have been even more valuable, seems to be the presentation of the whole corpus of the information gathered from the survivors of the epoch in the form designed by some African historians for other areas.<sup>4</sup>

Viera Pavliková

<sup>2</sup> Rowe, J. A.: *Lugard at Kampala*. In: Makerere History Papers, No. 3. Kampala, Longman<sup>8</sup> of Uganda 1969 and Kiwanuka, M. S. M. Semakula: *A History of Buganda. From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*. London, Longman Group Ltd. 1971, especially pp. 220—236.

<sup>3</sup> See Kiwanuka, op. cit., pp. 242—270. Also my article in *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. XII, 1976, pp. 29—42. *A military response to colonial occupation: The Baganda against the British*. A reappraisal of an Afro-European relationship.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Were, G. S.: *Abaluyia Historical Texts*. These are the results of the fieldwork. The texts are being published separately under the title *Western Kenya Historical Texts*. Or Ogot, B. A.: *Padhola Historical Texts*, Two volumes and by the same author Luo Historical Texts, Two volumes. Also Uzoigwe, G. N.: *Kitara Historical texts*. In the possession of the author. According to their author they may be either published or deposited in the Archives of the Department of History, Makerere University in due course.

- Aspects of Vietnamese History*. Ed. by Walter F. Vella. Asian Studies at Hawaii, No. 8. The University Press of Hawaii 1973. 269 pp.
- Atsız, Bedriye—Kissling, Hans-Joachim: *Sammlung türkischer Redensarten*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1974. (2) + 186 pp. 8°.
- A Basic Bibliography for the Study of the Semitic Languages*. Ed. by J. H. Hospers. Vols I, II. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1973—1974. XXV + 401 and XII + 108 pp.
- Bayerle, Gustav: *Ottoman Tributes in Hungary*. The Hague, Mouton 1973. 228 pp.
- Blachère, R.—Chouémi, M.—Denizeau, C.: *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais (Langue classique et moderne)*. Arabic/French/English Dictionary. Vol. III, fasc. 32—33. Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose 1974. 1963—2090 pp.
- Bravmann, René A.: *Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa*. London, Cambridge University Press 1974. 189 pp. + 83 plates.
- Carroll, Vern—Soulik, Tobias: *Nukuoro Lexicon*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1973. 834 pp.
- Chekki, Danesh A.: *Modernization and Kin Network*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 184 pp.
- Chen, Chi: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und China bis 1933*. Hamburg, Institut für Asienkunde 1973. 341 pp.
- Chevrier, Jacques: *Littérature Nègre*. Paris, Armand Colin 1974. 287 pp.
- Ch'en, Kenneth K. S.: *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1973. 345 pp.
- China: A Handbook*. Ed. by Wu Yüan-li. Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1973. 915 pp.
- Chinese Literature. An Anthology from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Ed. by William McNaughton. Rutland—Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1974. 836 pp.
- Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960*. Volume 5. *A Bibliographical Guide to Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Ed. by Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann. Hoover Institution Publications. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1973. 552 pp.
- Contemporary Problems of Pakistan*. Ed. by J. H. Korson. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 151 pp.
- Cronici turcești privind Țările Române. Extrase I. Sec. XVII — începutul sec. XVIII*. Volum întocmit de Mihail Guboglu. București, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România 1974. 539 pp.
- Dark, Philip J. C.: *An Introduction to Benin Art and Technology*. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1973. 114 pp + 205 plates.
- Eberstein, Bernd: *Bergbau und Bergarbeiter zur Ming-Zeit (1368—1644)*. (= Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens LVII). Hamburg 1974.
- Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*. Ed. by Donald D. Leslie—Colin Mackerras—Wang Gungwu. Canberra, Australian National University Press 1973. 378 pp.

- Fage, J. D.: *States and Subjects in Sub-Saharan African History* (Raymond Dart Lecture, 10). Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press for the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa 1974. 24 pp.
- Fevzi Mostarac: *Bulbulistan*. Sarajevo, Svjetlost 1973. 142 pp.
- Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P.: *Chronology of African History*. London, Oxford University Press 1973. 312 pp.
- Gupta, Giri Raj: *Marriage, Religion and Society*. Pattern of Change in an Indian Village. London—Dublin, Curzon Press 1974. 187 pp.
- Haji Omar, Asmah—Subbiah, Rama: *An Introduction to Malay Grammar*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1968. 154 pp.
- Hassan, Abdullah: *The Morphology of Malay*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1974. 292 pp.
- Heinz, Wilhelm: *Der indische Stil in der persischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1973. 122 pp.
- History of West Africa*. Ed. by J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder. Vols I, II. London, Longman 1975—1974. 568 and 764 pp.
- Japanese Culture and Behavior*. Selected Readings. Ed. by Takie Sugiyama Lebra and William P. Lebra. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1974. 459 pp.
- Japanese Research on Mass Communication: Selected Abstracts*. Ed. by Hidetoshi Kato. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1974. 128 pp.
- Jawaharlal Nehru, A Political Leader. Ed. by M. Krása. Prague, Czechoslovak-Indian Committee of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations 1974. 140 pp.
- Káldy-Nagy, Gyula: *Kanuni Devri Budin Tahrir Defteri (1546—1562)*. Ankara, Ankara Universitesi Basimevi 1971. 374 pp.
- Kiwanuka, M. S. M. Semakula: *A History of Buganda*. From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900. London, Longman Group Limited 1971. 322 pp.
- Knutsson, Bengt: *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicium with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. LVI + 332 pp.
- Kuroda, Yasumasa: *Reed Town, Japan*. A Study in Community Power Structure and Political Change. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1974. XIV + 283 pp.
- Lind, Andrew W.: *Nanyang Perspectives: Chinese Students in Multiracial Singapore*. Asian Studies at Hawaii 13. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1974. 292 pp.
- O'Malley, L. S. S.: *Indian Caste Custom*. London—Dublin, Curzon Press; Totowa, N. J., Rowman and Littlefield 1974. 190 pp.
- Österreich und die Türken. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 1969 in Mogersdorf*. Band 1. Hrsg. von Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, Landesarchiv. Eisenstadt, im Selbstverlag des Amtes der Burgenländischen Landesregierung 1972. 211 pp.
- The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*. Ed. by Kemal H. Karpat. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 129 pp. Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East, Volume XI.
- The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage*. Ed. by N. S. Doniach. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1972. XII + 1392 pp.
- Pak, Hyobom B.: *China and the West. Myths and Realities in History*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974. 120 pp.
- Payne, E. M. F.: *Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1970. 152 pp.
- Perspectives of the T'ang*. Ed. by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett. New Haven—London, Yale University Press 1973. 458 pp.

- Researches in Altaic Languages*. Papers read at the 14th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference held in Szeged, August 22—28, 1971. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XX. Ed. by Louis Ligeti. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1975. 338 pp.
- Rogerson, J. W.: *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation*. Berlin—New York, Walter de Gruyter 1974. 206 pp. DM 76,—
- Ruh, Christel: *Das Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi — Ein Beispiel für den „Politischen Roman“ der ausgehenden Ch'ing-Zeit*. Bern—Frankfurt/M., Herbert und Peter Lang 1974. 275 pp.
- Ruzui, Septy: *A Survey of Relations Between Indonesian, Malay and Some Philippine Languages*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1968. 172 pp.
- Šabanović, Hazim: *Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*. Bibliografija. Sarajevo, Svjetlost 1973. 726 pp.
- Shebaby, Nabil: *The Propositional Logic of Avicenna. A Translation from al-Shifā' : al-Qiyās*. Dordrecht—Boston, D. Reidel Publishing Company 1973. 296 pp.
- Shulman, Frank J.: *Doctoral Dissertations on South Asia, 1966—1970: An Annotated Bibliography Covering North America, Europe, and Australia*. Ann Arbor, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan 1971. 228 pp.
- Shulman, Frank J.: *Japan and Korea. An Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations in Western Languages, 1877—1969*. Chicago, American Library Association 1970. 340 pp.
- Thomas, Lewis V.: *A Study of Naima*. Ed. by N. Itzkowitz. New York, New York University Press 1972. XI + 163 pp. New York University, Studies in Near Eastern Civilization, No. 4.
- Topping, Donald M. with the assistance of Bernadita C. Dunga: *Chamorro Reference Grammar*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1973. 301 pp.
- Wilkins, W. J.: *Modern Hinduism. An Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus in Northern India*. London—Dublin, Curzon Press; Totowa, N. J., Rowman and Littlefield 1975. 423 pp.
- Women in China. Studies in Social Changes and Feminism*. Ed. by Marilyn B. Young. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan 1973. 259 pp.
- Zamani. *A Survey of East African History*. Ed. by B. A. Ogot. Nairobi, EAPH Longman Kenya, East African Publishing House Ltd. 1974. 405 pp.

## ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES XII

Prebal a väzbu navrhol *Ján Meisner*

Redaktorky publikácie *Klára Moravcová a Eva Zikmundová*

Technický redaktor *Jozef Szabó*

Vydanie prvé.

Vydala VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied v Bratislave,  
roku 1976 ako svoju 1901. publikáciu. Strán 320.

Vytlačil Tisk, knižní výroba, n. p., Brno, závod 1. AH 24,90  
(text 24,43, ilustr. 0,46), VH 25,51. Náklad 600 výtlačkov.

1197/I-1973

71-059-76

TS: 12/12

509/58

Kčs <sup>49</sup>  — I